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Sandinista Leader Discusses Problems of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast Region



Fred Murphy/IP

Miskitu Indians from Atlantic Coast participated in February 1980 farmers demonstration in Managua.



Haig's Asian Trip

Washington Takes Aim at Vietnamese Revolution

PERUVIAN POLICE ATTACK HUGO BLANCO

Haig targets Vietnam

By David Frankel

Asia—the most populous area of the world—also confronts some of its most pressing problems. Hunger, malnutrition, and disease affect millions. In most countries economic development has been stunted by the legacy of colonial oppression. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea are still attempting to reconstruct their countries, which were the victims of the most savage destructive campaign in world history.

But not one of these problems has been addressed by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig in his tour of Asia. Instead, Haig has concentrated on threats against Vietnam: support to the shaky dictatorships in Thailand and the Philippines; encouragement of greater militarization in Japan, Australia, and New Zealand; and new steps in Washington's counterrevolutionary alliance with Peking.

Haig wasted no time in setting the tone for his trip. After three days of meetings with officials in Peking, he announced June 16 that Washington would open up arms sales to the Chinese regime.

This announcement was followed up with a June 18 article by *New York Times* correspondent Philip Taubman, who reported: "The United States and China are jointly operating an electronic intelligence-gathering station in China to monitor Soviet missile tests, according to senior American officials."

According to Taubman, Washington provided the equipment for the spy station, which is operated by Chinese technicians and periodically visited by advisers from the CIA.

Putting military pressure on Vietnam

U.S. officials left no doubt as to the aim of any arms sales by Washington to the Peking regime. In a June 16 speech in Peking, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs John Holdridge singled out Vietnam.

Complaining that the Vietnamese "are very tough people," Holdridge declared that "we will seek, if we can, to find ways to increase the political, economic, and, yes, military pressures on Vietnam. . . ."

The following day, Haig flew to Manila to meet with the foreign ministers of the five members (Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines) of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Upon his arrival in the Philippines Haig asserted that he had come to consult with the ministers on "the dangerous activities of Vietnam with the encouragement and with the support of the Soviet Union."

Emphasizing his support for the corruption-riddled regime of Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos, Haig said that Washington was prepared to "shore up those who are under threat and danger and in the front lines."

Precisely because of the ever-present danger of revolution that they face from their own people, the ASEAN regimes are haunted by the threat of the Vietnamese revolution—although they pretend that the threat is military rather than political.

At the center of the campaign against the Vietnamese revolution right now is the demand that Vietnamese forces withdraw from Kampuchea. Washington sees this as the first step toward reestablishing a counterrevolutionary beachhead there.

With encouragement from Washington, both the Thai military dictatorship and Peking have been funneling arms and supplies to the Khmer Rouge army of former Kampuchean ruler Pol Pot, which was responsible for the deaths of millions of Kampuchean during its years in power.

U.S. arms sales to Peking mean that this aid to the Pol Pot forces will be stepped up. And at the ASEAN meeting, Singapore's foreign minister, Supiyal Dhanabalan threatened that if Vietnamese forces are not withdrawn from Kampuchea, "Vietnam will continue to be isolated, aid to them from the international community opposed and denied and every nationalist group resisting Vietnamese occupation will be encouraged."

Behind the bold front

Behind the bold front put up by the ASEAN regimes and Haig, however, there is not much confidence.

Far from resisting "Vietnamese occupation," the Kampuchean people view the Vietnamese presence as a welcome guarantee against any return of the hated Khmer Rouge

Covering Central America Takes Money

Last March, the Salvadoran army massacred dozens of refugees as they tried to cross the Río Lempa to safety in Honduras. The attack occurred in an isolated border area, and information took a while to reach the outside world.

The *New York Times* gave its readers an account of the killings on June 8. But a month and a half earlier, our correspondent Lars Palmgren visited the area, and *Intercontinental Press* readers got his report in our May 4 issue.

A bigger massacre, on the Río Sumpul, left some 600 dead in May 1980. The first major attention this received in the world press was a feature in the February 22, 1981, London *Sunday Times*.

But readers of *Intercontinental Press* had already learned of the Río Sumpul massacre months before. Our correspondent J. Melán interviewed survivors who had managed to reach San Salvador, and his report appeared in our June 16, 1980, issue.

When Washington issued its "White Pa-

per" on El Salvador last February, the capitalist news media took its allegations for good coin and lent a hand in the smear campaign against the Salvadoran freedom fighters.

Intercontinental Press immediately carried articles exposing the lies and inconsistencies in the White Paper and analyzing U.S. imperialism's drive against the revolutionary upsurge in Central America.

Later, in early June, papers like the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, and *Washington Post* got around to acknowledging that parts of the White Paper might indeed be "misleading" and "over-embellished" and reporting the admission by one of its authors that "we completely screwed it up."

We think our readers appreciate the timeliness and accuracy of *Intercontinental Press's* coverage of Central America and the Caribbean—one of the main fronts of the world revolution today.

Our correspondents, working out of our

Managua bureau, will continue to provide regular reports on the progress of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions, including such exclusive features as the interview with Commander Manuel Calderón that appears in this issue, and reports from inside Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica.

Firsthand reports from Cuba, Grenada, the Dominican Republic, and other parts of the Caribbean will also continue to keep our readers posted on key developments.

We would like to provide even more of this kind of coverage, but it takes money. Our present financial difficulties have forced us to reduce most of our issues from thirty-two to twenty-four pages.

Our readers can help to insure that our coverage of Central America and the Caribbean does not fall victim to mounting costs of printing, paper, and travel.

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regime.

Militarily and politically, the counterrevolutionary forces are fragmented and there appears to be little prospect of their unification. Despite murderous raids and harassment, they have been unable to prevent a new government from being consolidated and from reviving the economic life of the country.

Nor are the capitalist regimes in the area convinced that more extreme measures would prove any more effective. The announcement that Washington will sell arms to Peking revives memories of the Chinese invasion of Vietnam in January 1979.

As David Van Praagh reported in the June 29 issue of *Business Week*, "A growing ASEAN fear is that China, emboldened by U.S. military hardware, would go to Thailand's help if it were threatened by Vietnam. But some Southeast Asians fear that Chinese forces could be beaten."

The fact that Washington is being forced to turn to Peking for help in containing the Indochinese revolutions is an indication of just how weak the U.S. position in the region really is. Capitalism, after all, has been abolished in China, despite the counterrevolutionary foreign policy of the current regime.

Referring to the possibility of a change in government in China, one ASEAN diplomat told *Washington Post* correspondent William Branigin, "Although the ASEAN countries now see Vietnam as the main threat in the region, in the longer term China could be the main threat."

No help from Japan

A further indication of the underlying weakness of Washington's position was the response of Japanese officials to Haig's demands that they increase military spending and move to play a broader military role in east Asia.

Massive opposition to such moves among Japanese working people had led to the resignation of Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito in May and to the cancellation of Haig's planned visit to Japan—originally scheduled as

the first stop on his tour (see *Intercontinental Press*, June 1, page 570).

The week before Haig arrived in Manila, U.S. and Japanese military and governmental officials met in Hawaii. According to a report in the June 20 *Washington Post*, the U.S. team proposed military spending increases as high as 50 percent to the Japanese.

At Manila, the new Japanese foreign minister, Sunao Sonoda, met with Haig and rejected the proposed military increases.

Finally, at the other end of Asia, the Reagan administration has proposed more than \$3 billion in military and economic aid to the Pakistani regime over the next five years. This package for the military dictatorship of General Zia ul-Haq was announced June 15, to coincide with Haig's visit to Peking.

Reagan is apparently toying with the idea of channeling larger amounts of arms to the guerrilla groups in Afghanistan as a means of putting pressure on Moscow. However, Zia's regime is if anything even less stable than those in Thailand and the Philippines.

"If he is an appealing strategic bet, he is a risky political one," the editors of the *Washington Post* warned June 17.

Similarly, an editorial in the June 19 *New York Times* described the Pakistani dictatorship as "a narrowly based regime whose insecurity is as much domestic as external, like the Shah's in Iran."

For all the hoopla about Reagan's toughness, the imperialist rulers appear to have remarkably little confidence in the results of his policies. And for good reason. □

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Ultrarightist attack in Britain

On June 20 ultrarightist thugs stormed into The Other Bookshop in London, a socialist bookstore in the same building as the national headquarters of the International Marxist Group (IMG—the British section of the Fourth International).

A woman member of the IMG who was in the bookstore was severely beaten and had to be hospitalized. The goon squad vandalized the bookstore and scattered profascist material around.

Messages of solidarity should be sent to the IMG at P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

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Begin's lies exposed

UN condemns Israeli bombing raid

By Janice Lynn

One after another, every justification given by Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin for the June 7 bombing of an Iraqi nuclear reactor has turned out to be nothing but lies—pure and simple lies.

The Israeli government stands exposed before the entire world for the lengths it will go to carry out its warlike and expansionist course.

- On June 9, Begin had read reporters a quote he said was from Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. It was supposed to have appeared in the October 4, 1980 official Baghdad newspaper, *Al Thawra*.

The statement Begin read was supposedly made several days after planes, reported to have been Iranian, damaged the Iraqi nuclear facility.

According to Begin, the Iraqi newspaper quoted Hussein as saying: "The Iranian people should not fear the Iraqi nuclear reactor, which is not intended to be used against Iran, but against the Zionist enemy."

This quote, widely distributed by Israel's Foreign Ministry, was picked up by much of the bourgeois press in an attempt to give credence to the Israeli claim that the bombing was really in self-defense.

It turns out that no such quote ever existed!

U.S. State Department official Nicholas Veliotis said June 17 that the State Department had conducted a thorough search for this article and any others supposedly threatening Israel with nuclear weapons. "Those articles did not exist," Veliotis flatly admitted.

Both Begin's office and the Israeli Foreign Ministry were forced to finally admit that there was no such quote.

- Begin repeatedly claimed that the Iraqi nuclear reactor was designed to produce atomic bombs.

On June 17, U.S. Under Secretary of State Walter Stoessel admitted that the CIA had not been able to come up with a shred of evidence to show that Iraq was planning to develop a nuclear weapon.

"We had some concerns about the nature of the Iraqi program," Stoessel said in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, "but we had not made any definitive conclusions that they were aiming for a nuclear weapons capability."

- Begin had also claimed that Iraq had refused to allow the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to inspect the reactor.

In fact, the agency's inspectors had visited the facility as late as this January and had found no evidence that the Iraqi regime was attempting to build bombs.

IAEA director-general Sigvard Eklund said it was "practically impossible" for the Iraqi reactor to have been making plutonium, for the production of nuclear weapons.

U.S. Senator Alan Cranston (one of the most outspoken defenders of Israel's bombing raid), tried to rebut Eklund's testimony by producing a former IAEA inspector who testified he believed Iraq was developing nuclear weapons.

But this was contradicted by every other scientist who testified. And it turns out this self-appointed expert on Iraqi intentions had never even inspected the reactor.

- Knowing he was on shaky ground, Begin resorted to an even bigger lie. On June 11 he declared that the real target of Israel's bombing raid was actually a secret, underground facility (about 130 feet underground, in order to avoid detection, he said), where the Iraqis were secretly preparing atomic bombs. (Begin later changed it to a chamber that was only thirteen feet underground.)

French nuclear experts firmly denied the existence of any underground "bomb chamber." On June 14, Bertrand Barre, a chief attaché at the French embassy in Washington, declared:

"We have built this reactor and every auxiliary piece of equipment that goes with it and there is nothing secret about it."

Israeli authorities later backed away from

the whole claim that there was a secret room under the reactor.

Meanwhile, the United Nations Security Council voted unanimously to strongly condemn the Israeli military attack. The resolution, however, contained no call for sanctions against Israel.

Just to make clear where Washington really stood, in case anyone had questions, the American delegate Jeane Kirkpatrick declared before the vote that even though Washington had condemned the attack, "we know it is necessary to take into account the context of this action, as well as its consequences."

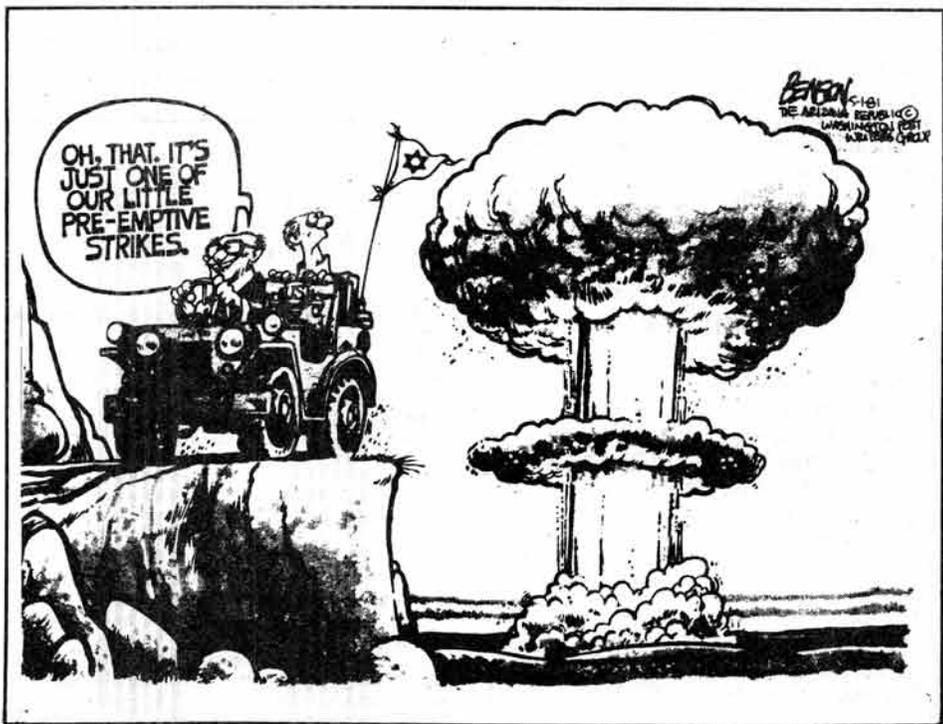
Kirkpatrick reminded the UN delegates that "President Reagan said Israel might have sincerely believed it was a defensive move," and she extolled the "strength of the United States ties and commitment to Israel."

"Nothing has happened that in any way alters the strength of our commitment or the warmth of our feelings," Kirkpatrick said. "We, in the Reagan administration, are proud to call Israel a friend and ally."

New evidence of Washington's "commitment to Israel" surfaced June 19 when a representative of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission revealed it had advised Israeli scientists about how much damage could be inflicted on a nuclear reactor with 2,200-pound bombs.

Bombs of that size were used in the Israeli raid on the Iraqi reactor.

The resolution condemning the raid was worked out in negotiations between the Iraqi and U.S. representatives. Explaining why the resolution did not include a call for sanctions, Iraqi Foreign Minister Saadun Hamadi explained that because of the veto power of the United States, "the United Nations is driven to



adopt half measures or no measures at all.

"The obstruction that prevented the Council from calling for sanctions will serve only to encourage the aggressor to repeat his acts of aggression," Hamadi declared.

He placed full responsibility for such ag-

gression squarely on Washington whose "unlimited support and assistance," Hamadi said, "has enabled Israel to commit its repeated aggressions, to refuse to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people and to persist in its policy of territorial expansion." □

Libya

U.S. destabilization campaign

Qaddafi denounced as 'patron saint of terrorism'

By Suzanne Haig

[The following article appeared in the June 19 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

The Reagan administration announced June 2 that it would support all African nations that want to resist Libyan "interventionism."

The State Department expressed concern over Libya's role in anti-imperialist struggles, and particularly the presence of Libyan troops in Chad since December 1980.

The administration is asking Congress for major increases in military assistance to proimperialist governments that neighbor Libya, including Egypt, Tunisia, and the Sudan.

Sharp border fighting took place in 1977 between the regime of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat and Libya. Sadat has frequently threatened to launch a war against Libya to bring down the government of Muammar el-Qaddafi.

The June 2 statement was only the latest move by Washington against the Qaddafi government. On May 6, the State Department ordered Libya's mission in Washington closed and its staff expelled.

Libyans visiting this country will now be screened by the State Department, police, and intelligence agencies. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is now spying on student leaders regarded as pro-Qaddafi.

Also in May, a secret White House plan to engineer the overthrow of the Libyan president was reported by the New York *Daily News*. Qaddafi was described by one official as "a menace that we would like to see disappear."

Why the stepped-up attacks against Libya and what borders on an open call for Qaddafi's assassination?

The Reagan administration claims Libya's supposed support for "international terrorism" as the reason.

Qaddafi is "a patron saint of terrorism," trumpeted Anthony Quainton, director of the State Department's working group on terrorism.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig has publicly connected Libya to "Soviet-backed terrorism" and claims that Libya's oil revenues "are almost exclusively diverted to the purchase of armaments [and] the training of international terrorists. . . ."

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger on NBC-television's "Meet the Press," May 17, portrayed the ouster of Libyan diplomats as "increasing the safety of people in the United States.

"The Libyan embassies, or People's Bureaus, are really almost assassination headquarters, and what we need to do is get people of that kind . . . out of the country," he said.

Weinberger was referring to claims that Qaddafi was responsible for the shooting in Colorado last October of the leader of an anti-Qaddafi student group by a former Green Beret.

The Libyan government has denied all the charges.

Major Abdussalam Jalloud, a top aide to Qaddafi, pointed out that it was the United States that was engaged in forms of terrorism when it sent aircraft carriers to "frighten people," denied wheat to the hungry, or used the CIA to assassinate its foes.

But Qaddafi's supposed terrorism is not the reason for the stepped-up attacks on Libya. The charge of terrorism is being used by Washington as a pretext to step up aggression against people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who rebel against oppressive dictatorships or foreign domination. And the charge is also being leveled against those—like Qaddafi—who lend aid to some of these struggles.

The Reagan administration is hoping to mesh together into a fantastic network of world terrorism all opponents of its policies.

Washington is particularly concerned about Libya's political and military support for the Chad government of President Goukouni Oueddei.

That government is composed of forces based on Frolinat (National Liberation Front), which has fought against French imperialist domination of Chad since the mid-1960s.

Oueddei asked Libya last year to send troops to help fight off French- and Egyptian-backed rebels who unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow his government.

Oueddei's victory over French imperialism was an important blow to imperialist domination on the continent. That's why it upset Washington.

In April, Libya also decided to provide Nicaragua with a \$100 million loan. The action came after Reagan cut off all aid to Nicaragua in an attempt to starve the revolution. □

Qaddafi is a strong supporter of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and an opponent of the Israeli-Egypt accords. His was the first government to publicly back Iran after the Iraqi invasion.

Libya has asked the Arab world to send volunteers to Lebanon to fight against the Israeli-backed Christian rightists in the current battle there. And he has lined up with Syria in its confrontation with the Zionist regime in Israel.

Like the governments in Iran and Syria, Qaddafi is seen in Washington as an obstacle to plans for a counterrevolutionary alliance in the Middle East.

The Libyan government has also refused to join in the imperialist propaganda campaign around the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Qaddafi recently visited Soviet President Brezhnev in Moscow.

Washington has responded to Qaddafi's friendship with Moscow by painting a lurid picture of Libya as a Soviet "proxy" in Africa, "being built into a staging base for future Soviet military adventures," as the *U.S. News and World Report* described it.

Washington intends for its terrorist smears against Libya to spill over and tarnish those countries and movements that Libya supports in a gigantic guilt by association frame-up.

So, it's not surprising that, in addition to its friendship with the Soviet Union, Nicaragua, and the PLO, Libya has been accused of supporting "terrorists" in El Salvador and the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland.

Qaddafi came to power in a popularly supported 1969 coup that overthrew the feudal monarchy of King Idris, one of the Arab world's most backward and proimperialist rulers.

The new regime carried out a number of nationalizations, including some major oil companies and imperialist banks.

British and U.S. military bases were shut down.

The regime has used some of its oil revenues for literacy campaigns and to raise the standard of living of the 3 million people who make up the population.

Libya is one of the OPEC nations favoring more independence from the oil cartels.

At the same time that Washington has stepped up its campaign against "terrorists" like Qaddafi, those who commit brutal acts for the benefit of the U.S. multinational corporations and banks are treated by the U.S. government as liberators.

New York Mayor Koch declared May 20 to 27 "Cuban Lover of Freedom Week" and presented his proclamation to a delegation including representatives of at least two notorious counterrevolutionary murder squads, Omega 7 and Alpha 66.

Currently, terrorist training camps of Cuban exiles and followers of the late Nicaraguan dictator, Somoza, are openly operating in Miami in preparation for an invasion of these countries.

These—along with their backers in Washington—are the real terrorists. □

Police beat Hugo Blanco

More than 7,000 protest attack

LIMA—Between 7,000 and 10,000 persons gathered in the May 2 Plaza here June 18 to protest the police beating one week before of parliamentary deputy Hugo Blanco and the leader of Lima's street-vendors association Guillermo Nolasco.

Blanco, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT—Peruvian section of the Fourth International) who was elected to the Peruvian parliament last year, was released from the hospital the day before the rally. He had been treated for a broken nose and massive head bruises received when Civil Guards broke up a street-vendors' protest march here on June 11.

Lima's street vendors—some 150,000 in all—have been protesting for weeks against plans by the municipal government to dislodge them from the busy downtown shopping district and force them onto vacant lots in an isolated part of the capital. The vendors are mostly unemployed workers who have found it necessary to sell goods on the street in order to scrape together a livelihood.

On June 11 the Vendors Federation of the Department of Lima (FEDEVAL) organized a march to protest the growing attacks on their rights by the city government. Three members of parliament headed the march—Hugo Blanco, Agustín Haya of Democratic People's

Unity (UDP), and Enrique Fernández of the Socialist Workers Party (PST).

The demonstration was brutally attacked by the Civil Guard, a branch of the armed forces that specializes in repression. The guardsmen singled out FEDEVAL General Secretary Guillermo Nolasco and began beating him. Hugo Blanco tried to come to Nolasco's defense and was immediately set upon by a dozen or more Civil Guards.

Víctor Ríos, a municipal council member from the Lima suburb of Villa María del Triunfo who also belongs to the PRT, was badly beaten as well. The other members of parliament, Haya and Fernández, escaped injury but were knocked down by a high-pressure stream of water aimed at the demonstrators from a *rochabus*—a special firetruck used mainly for repressive purposes.

The guardsmen also beat up several journalists and photographers, including representatives from the bourgeois press. Some reporters were detained and cameras and film were confiscated in an effort to prevent news of the attack from reaching the public.

But some photographers escaped, and pictures of Hugo Blanco and others being beaten were published in subsequent days.

Despite such evidence, however, the government of President Fernando Belaúnde has

refused to acknowledge that Blanco was attacked and his parliamentary immunity violated. Vice-president Javier Alva Orlandini has even declared that an investigation should be opened to determine if Blanco was neglecting his parliamentary duties and violating the law!

The beating of Blanco and FEDEVAL leader Nolasco has evoked widespread outrage here. Many trade-union locals and other popular organizations sent messages of solidarity to the June 18 protest rally. Leading bourgeois magazines such as *Caretas* and *Oiga*—which usually specialize in attacking the left—have also protested the violation of Blanco's parliamentary immunity.

Special attention has been called to the fact that one day before the attack on Blanco, the PRT leader had appeared on television and sharply criticized the Belaúnde government's policies of economic austerity and repression.

At the June 18 rally, Blanco spoke at length about the need for unity of the workers movement in face of the mounting attacks on democratic rights. He expressed regret that the main coalition of groups on the Peruvian left, United Left (IU), had declined to participate in the rally. Blanco said that the workers need effective leadership if they are to resist the current government offensive, and he called on the IU to put itself at the head of the struggle.

Despite the fact that the rally was held on a weeknight and many participants would have to arise early for work the following day, the crowd listened enthusiastically and remained in the plaza until 10:30 in the evening. The rally was one of the largest political gatherings held in Lima in recent months. □



Blanco speaking during 1980 election campaign.

Amauta

Rights under attack

'Rouge' interviews PRT leader Hugo Blanco

By Vincent Kermel

[The following article appeared in the June 5-11 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

In the May 1980 general elections, Fernando Belaúnde's People's Action Party (AP) reaped the benefits of the deep antidictatorial sentiment among the Peruvian people.

The bourgeois Christian People's Party (PPC) was too openly proimperialist to attract much of the popular vote, and the APRA,* a declining old bourgeois-populist formation, was largely discredited by its earlier policy of collaboration with the military.

Belaúnde carried out an ultrapopulist campaign, even promising to create 2 million jobs in a country where 60 percent of the active population is either without work or underemployed. But the AP's support began to decline after Belaúnde took office in July 1980. It became clear that he was not going to keep such promises.

Hugo Blanco, a member of the Peruvian parliament and a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT—Peruvian section of the Fourth International), explained to us the effect that Belaúnde's policies have had on the masses of people. Belaúnde's regime has taken on a more and more authoritarian character.

The antiworker offensive of the Belaúnde government has meant cuts in social-service spending, price increases on basic consumer goods (more than 60% since the beginning of 1981), opening the economy to foreign capital, and a series of minidevaluations of the currency. Over a period of just a few months this devaluation reached 36.5 percent, a record for Latin America. A law reducing the subsidies for municipal governments was aimed at punishing the left for its victory in local elections in November 1980.

So, as Hugo Blanco pointed out, "the Belaúnde government, which in political terms represented a certain step forward after twelve years of military dictatorship, has in fact brought setbacks economically. It has even retreated from some of the reforms introduced by the military dictatorship."

"In the mining industry," Blanco said, "Belaúnde has thrown open his arms to the multinational corporations." A law on petroleum development granted tax exemptions to foreign companies, which means a US\$3 million loss for the state.

In agriculture, the regime is pressing for a

restructuring to benefit capitalism. "One of the means employed," Blanco said, "is to allow the peasants to mortgage their land in order to obtain credit. So, naturally, when one cannot repay the loans owing to a bad harvest, the land is taken over by the banks." Then the peasant is forced to join the ranks of the *desocupados* (unemployed) crammed into the shantytowns of Lima and other cities.

"And now that the unemployed have tried to make a living as street vendors, the mayor of Lima banishes them in the name of beautifying the city," Blanco said.

Taken as a whole, these measures fall "within the framework of a deteriorating political situation," the PRT leader explained.

"In theory, Peru is a country where laws originate in parliament. Belaúnde, in alliance with the PPC, controls a majority in both chambers. But even though they could pass all the laws they want, they are afraid to even discuss the country's acute problems. So the parliament has voted to give extraordinary powers to the executive branch to adopt laws of its own choosing."

'Antiterrorist' law

The taking of "full legislative power" by Belaúnde's government has reinforced the regime's authoritarianism.

A repressive, so-called "antiterrorist" law has been decreed, and a number of trade-union and political leaders have already felt its effects.

This law, legislative Decree No. 46, calls for prison sentences for anyone "disturbing public order" or attempting to do so, an accusation that could even be applied to participants in a strike. Persons demonstrating in solidarity with El Salvador could be charged with using "means capable of affecting international relations."

What is worse, Article 5 of the law calls for prosecution of every member of a party that makes reference to "violence" or to "armed struggle." Thus, for instance, if our comrade Hugo Blanco recounts the history of the peasant revolts he led in 1962, he risks being charged with justifying violence—as would every member of his party, even those who were not yet born in 1962!

Repressive acts have grown more and more numerous, and even have reached into parliament itself with the suspension of two leftist deputies for "irreverence toward the president." Also, Blanco said, "right-wing propaganda calling for reinstating the death penalty" is another sign of a hardening of the government in face of popular discontent.

Blanco pointed out that "there are bourgeois economists who are saying that Belaúnde's economic policy—comparable to those of the

Chilean and Argentina regimes—can be applied by a military dictatorship but not by a democracy."

At present, the Belaúnde government is trying to resolve this contradiction by stepping up harsher repression and moving toward a civilian-military dictatorship. The first stage involved relaxing the constraints, however modest, implied by the existence of bourgeois-democratic forms such as parliament. The next stage will mean calling into question the right to strike and launching a frontal attack on freedom of expression and the public activity of trade unions and political parties.

But that will entail a sharper confrontation with the workers movement. As Hugo Blanco told us, "despite the initial economic blows, the masses of the people have not been defeated. On numerous occasions they have demonstrated their combativity. They have still to make their voices heard." □

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Political police on trial

Ex-SWP member testifies for FBI

By Michael Baumann

[The following article appeared in the June 26 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

NEW YORK—In the eleventh week of the socialist trial against government spying, attorneys for the FBI reverted to a classic move, used in past frame-ups of the labor movement.

They produced a star witness a former member of the Socialist Workers Party, in this case Hedda Garza, who they revealed had collaborated with them.

At two secret meetings held off the record, without counsel for the plaintiffs present, she discussed her cooked-up story with Edward Williams, the head attorney for the government.

The story, told on the witness stand June 12 by Garza, is part of government efforts to frame a Bolivian revolutionary and SWP leaders as participants in an illegal transfer of funds to aid the Bolivian guerrilla movement.

This false charge of illegal activity—although never clearly and openly stated—has been central to the FBI's attempts to justify in court more than four decades of spying on the SWP. (The government has been unable to come up with any real evidence of a single illegal act, or a single incident since 1941, despite the years of spying.)

Through Garza's testimony, the government hoped to directly link the socialists to the illegal funding of a foreign guerrilla movement. And to undermine the credibility of SWP leaders who had consistently denied the charge, on the stand and off.

However, the government's only witness on this destroyed her own credibility when she was revealed during the testimony itself to have perjured herself on the witness stand.

Secret meetings

It was only with Garza's appearance on the stand that her role in manufacturing these charges became clear.

Hints of the charges suddenly appeared, for the first time, in FBI lawyers' questioning of SWP leaders in March pretrial depositions. This came after years of depositions, during which there was no mention of the charges.

The accusations first emerged in the trial shortly after it opened, when Assistant U.S. Attorney Williams cross-examined Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary.

It is now established that Garza met secretly with FBI lawyers February 23, following pretrial testimony she gave at government request. Another secret meeting occurred "in a nearby

restaurant" April 1, the day before the trial opened.

Her allegations against the Bolivian revolutionary leader were not in her pretrial deposition. The topic wasn't even raised. (At pretrial depositions the witness is under oath, a public transcript is made, and both sides can have their lawyers present.)

Instead, the allegations were discussed with the FBI lawyer off the record, depriving the socialists of the opportunity of answering them until she appeared on the stand.

Strange questions pop up

Following the first secret meeting with Garza, government lawyers began to ask SWP leaders an unusual and almost bizarre series of questions during pretrial testimony.

The questions focused on a visit to the United States in the late 1960s by Hugo Gon-

What is the socialist lawsuit

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) are putting the U.S. government on trial for illegal acts that have been committed against them.

The lawsuit, begun in July 1973, demands \$40 million in damages for years of government spying and harassment, and an injunction to halt any further illegal government activity against the SWP and YSA.

An important part of the lawsuit is the socialists' challenge to the U.S. government's antidemocratic thought-control laws and presidential executive orders, which try to make just the advocacy of socialist ideas illegal.

On trial are the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and other U.S. government agencies that have interfered with the political rights of the socialists.

These agencies claim they have the legal right to spy on, harass, and deport anyone whose political views they disapprove of.

The lawsuit has forced the release of thousands of U.S. government documents describing burglaries, electronic surveillance, informers, interception of mail, blacklisting, bomb threats, physical violence, and so on.

The trial opened on April 2 in New York City and is expected to last until July.

zález Moscoso, a leader of the Bolivian section of the Fourth International.

González Moscoso was in poor health at the time, the result of mistreatment at the hands of the Bolivian dictatorship. He had come to the United States in 1967 to seek medical care.

In pretrial testimony March 5, SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters was asked if she had met González Moscoso when he came to the United States "in 1968."

The following day, Jack Barnes was asked the same question, as well as whether he had gone to see the movie *Battle of Algiers* with González Moscoso "in 1968."

Confusion over dates

To be noted is the date. Williams kept insisting that González Moscoso's visit must have occurred in "1968." He did so though Barnes said González Moscoso had come to the U.S. only one time, in 1967, and was a guest observing the SWP convention that was held that year. Thus, his visit was public knowledge.

During cross-examination of Barnes at the trial, Williams asked:

Did González Moscoso attend the SWP's 1967 convention? Did Barnes, González Moscoso, and others go to see the *Battle of Algiers* at this time? Did they see it at a theater in Manhattan? Did the SWP ever give "financial support to guerrilla warfare activities in Latin America?"

The series of questions seemed clearly to imply an allegation that at the movie Barnes slipped González Moscoso a substantial sum of money.

Barnes answered that most of this was true. Except for one thing: The SWP gave no money to González Moscoso.

In an interview with the *Militant*, published April 24, Barnes denounced Williams's innuendos as a lie.

"In pre-trial testimony I told the government lawyers that when González Moscoso came to this country there was deep repression in Bolivia," Barnes said. "It was not long after the murder of Che Guevara in that country.

"The left wing of the labor movement was hit hard. Many miners were in jail.

"In a poor country like that, when the breadwinner goes to jail, a family of five or six finds it difficult to even survive," Barnes said.

"So it's entirely possible that people in this country would have raised money to help their families. González Moscoso may have gotten money from some of them. . . .

"But the SWP did not give him any money, and he did not ask us for any," Barnes said.

When Hedda Garza took the witness stand, she gave a much different version of the purpose of González Moscoso's visit. In a series of carefully prepared leading questions, based on what they had already worked out—on matters that were never touched on in Garza's February deposition—Williams asked:

"Isn't it true, Ms. Garza, that Hugo González Moscoso stayed at your home at 252 West 85th Street for a number of days?"

Isn't it true he "only briefly left the apart-

ment? . . .

"And isn't it true, Ms. Garza, that you had a conversation with Hugo González Moscoso about the situation in Bolivia and what he planned there?"

Garza answered yes each time.

Source of confusion

"When was it that Mr. Moscoso stayed in your apartment with you and your husband?"

"I don't recall the exact date on that," Garza replied.

Her next statement explained the government's confusion on the dates since their first meeting with her in February:

"I believe it was in the spring of 1968. . . ."

"And didn't Hugo González Moscoso tell you that he had gotten what he wanted during his visit—and that was financing to carry out revolutionary activities in Bolivia?"

"He didn't use those words," Garza said. "He said that he had come to get aid for his struggle there, yes, and that he had also come for medical attention."

Williams continued: "And did he say to you or indicate that he had obtained the aid that he sought?"

"Yes, he said that he had gotten what he came for."

"Did he indicate what the aid was?"

"Presumably financial. He said he had come for financial aid."

"Did he indicate to you that it was obtained from the SWP?" Williams asked.

"No, he didn't say he obtained anything from the SWP," Garza replied.

"Did you understand it to mean that he had obtained it from the SWP?"

"Well, that would be conjecture on my part. I don't know what he did after he left my home, I don't know where he went or who he saw in the street or what he did. I didn't go with him to see people or anything like that, so I don't know."

"Did Mr. Moscoso indicate to you in these words or words to this effect, 'Everything is fine, I got what we wanted,' meaning the money?"

"Well, he didn't speak like a street person, no. . . . He just said, 'My trip was successful. I did what I came for. I got what I came for.'"

Cross-examination

Under cross-examination, SWP attorney Margaret Winter began by offering Garza the opportunity to alter the impression she had left that the SWP had given González Moscoso money for guerrilla activities:

"Ms. Garza, do you believe that Moscoso could have been talking about medical aid or help rather than money, in this conversation? Is that possible?"

"He could have been," Garza replied.

"Is it possible that he was talking about political support rather than money in this conversation?"

"No, he was talking about money."

"But it could have been about something to



Michael Baumann/Militant

GARZA: collaborated with political police.

do with the medical problems that you referred to?"

"No, I don't think it was his own personal medical problem. . . ."

"Are you positive he was talking about money?"

"Yes," Garza said.

She then denied under oath that she had discussed González Moscoso's visit with the FBI attorneys, or anyone else, at any time.

She first tried, however, to give the impression that her husband, Catarino Garza, knew about the matter. Catarino Garza, who has been separated from Hedda Garza for several years, is today a member of the SWP National Committee and a leader of the party in Northern California.

Winter asked: Was Catarino Garza "present at the conversation with González Moscoso you have referred to?"

"No. . . ."

"Did you ever tell him about that conversation?"

"Yes," Garza said at first. Then she said, "Or it may have been—I don't know whether he was ever present when it was mentioned or anything. I don't recall."

"But you do recall telling him about it?" Winter asked.

"Well, I recall that he knew about it, he knew what went on in the house. I don't recall how he knew about it."

Hedda Garza's view of FBI

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Catarino Garza branded Hedda Garza's statement as a complete fabrication.

"She was lying on the stand," he said after reviewing a copy of the transcript.

"I spent hours with González Moscoso when he stayed at our apartment, and he never mentioned or implied getting money for anything from the SWP."

González Moscoso was a veteran of the revolutionary movement, Catarino Garza said. "He knew how irresponsible it would be even to joke about such a thing."

Garza said Hedda Garza had spoken to him by phone around the time she gave government lawyers her pretrial testimony.

"I warned her not to collaborate with these people," he told the *Militant*. "I reminded her it was the FBI who had murdered the Rosenbergs."

"Her bitter response was that she 'knew the party' but that she did 'not know the FBI.'"

In the courtroom, as Williams began questioning Garza, an obvious question arose: How was the government able to ask such detailed, leading questions about conversations that never occurred?

Attorney Winter repeatedly asked Garza if she had discussed the matter with Williams or any other government lawyer. Garza denied this. Williams then stood, ashen-faced, and asked permission to approach the bench. He did so, and was joined by Winter and the court reporter.

The conference with the judge was not audible to others in the courtroom. But the following is the official court transcript of what Williams said:

"Your Honor, I do wish to advise the court that on February 23rd immediately following the deposition of Miss Garza I did have a conversation with her for about an hour, and I have detailed notes of that conversation."

"I also further met personally with her on April 1 in a nearby restaurant, as she testified, to deliver the transcript. But I also had another conversation with her about that, which included in part some of the testimony she gave here today."

Star witness a perjurer

On pain of placing himself in the position of knowingly allowing perjured testimony to enter the record—for which he could be found in contempt of court—Williams was forced to disavow the FBI's own star witness of the day.

Following this conference with the judge, Winter again gave Garza the opportunity to correct her answers. She asked if there was anything Garza wished to add about meeting with the government lawyer.

At this point Garza plunged deeper: "I already said that I did not. You asked me that and I did not. The only thing I might add is that I know the Socialist Workers Party has been spreading rumors that I have because the rumors were deliberately filtered back to me, and I think I would like to put that into the record."

Hedda Garza split from the SWP in 1974, along with other members of the International Tendency (IT) grouping. A number of former members of the IT have since rejoined

the SWP. Garza, however, has remained bitterly hostile to the party.

Once it became clear that she intended to stand by false allegations that could damage the workers movement, Winter asked her a series of questions attempting to shed light on her objectivity as a witness.

In response, Garza stated that she viewed her separation from the Socialist Workers Party as an "unjust," "illegal," and "unfair," expulsion, providing "further evidence that the democratic rights question in the SWP had

eroded very severely."

Repeats FBI slanders

Garza also rehashed a slander, made the day before in court by an FBI witness. FBI agent Joseph McMahon had said in reference to the IT, "I was suspicious that the party might be trying to rid itself of some of its more radical members to enhance its position in the lawsuit."

Garza echoed this view. "My own feeling," she said, "is that we were thrown out of the party precisely so the SWP would not be taint-

ed with terrorism. . . ."

The truth is that the SWP has consistently defended the IT, explaining that its separate status was recognized not because of its *ideas*, but because it had broken party discipline in organizational matters.

Testifying in court April 7, Jack Barnes stated that the IT not only "never advocated terrorism," but also did not "urge the SWP to advocate terrorism," did not "urge the SWP to break any law," "never broke a law themselves," and "never planned to break one either." □

Ireland

Hunger strikers win worldwide support

H-Block campaign isolates British government

By Sean Flood

DUBLIN—I recently got a sense of the extent of worldwide support for the republican hunger strikers in the H-Blocks of Maze prison by speaking to Sean Halpenny, the secretary of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of Sinn Féin (the political organization associated with the Provisional Irish Republican Army).

"There has been support from all quarters of the world," Halpenny pointed out, "and this has been an ongoing process since the start of the first hunger strike." That hunger strike ran fifty-three days in October, November, and

December 1980 and ended with concessions by the British government, which were later reneged upon. "On the second hunger strike," Halpenny continued, "this support has solidified and advanced."

In particular, Halpenny drew attention to the massive support for the hunger strikers that has been seen in the **United States**. A number of state legislatures have passed resolutions in support of the demands of the hunger strikers.

Many U.S. trade unions have expressed their support for the hunger strikers. Among them are the Teamsters Union, the Texas

Farmworkers Union, the New York Central Labor Council (representing 1 million workers), the New York Trades Council, the California Labor Federation (representing 1.75 million workers), and numerous individual union branches.

Other U.S. groups that have expressed support include the Arab-American University Graduates, the International Indian Treaty Council (a body representing ninety-eight Indian nations in the U.S.), and Puerto Rican and Chicano organizations.

Two important messages of support were sent to Sinn Féin from **Nicaragua**—one from the government and the other from Julio López, director of foreign affairs for the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

Maurice Bishop, the prime minister of the Caribbean island nation Grenada, discussed Ireland in his speech on the second anniversary of the Grenadian revolution. Bishop called the Irish struggle an inspiration to all revolutionaries throughout the world.

Messages of solidarity with the Irish freedom fighters have also come from the major organizations currently battling to overthrow the repressive junta in **El Salvador**.

Cuban diplomats have publicly declared their support for the Irish prisoners.

In **Canada**, the Irish struggle has been closely followed in Quebec in particular. Halpenny pointed out that the major unions in French-speaking Canada, have sent messages of support. A May 8 support demonstration in Montreal was led by the president of the Quebec Federation of Labor and the general secretary of the Quebec Teachers Federation.

European support for the hunger strikers has been "incredible" according to Halpenny. During the first hunger strike, the **Portuguese** parliament passed a resolution condemning the Thatcher government and calling for recognition of the prisoners' political status. British Prime Minister Thatcher responded by threat-

New York: thousands protest visit by Prince Charles



Will Reissner/IP

June 17 demonstration against appearance of Prince Charles at opening of Royal Ballet in New York City drew at least 5,000. Participants in a reception for the prince were forced to run a gauntlet of booing demonstrators. Meanwhile, on June 10, the Massachusetts House of Representatives demanded that the British government withdraw its consulate from Boston unless it meets the demands of the hunger strikers.

ening to cut off diplomatic ties.

Nevertheless, during the second hunger strike the Portuguese parliament passed another motion in support of the five demands of the strikers. About seventy members of that body went to the British embassy to express their views.

On the day Bobby Sands died, some 9,000 people marched through Lisbon carrying black flags and pictures of Sands.

In **France**, Halpenny said, all four major union federations have called on the British government to grant the demands of the prisoners. There have also been big demonstrations around the prisoners in France. One of 10,000 people was organized by the Communist Party.

The new French president, François Mitterrand, sent messages of condolence to the Sands family following Sands's death.

In **Belgium** youth organizations responded by printing tee-shirts bearing pictures of the prisoners and slogans supporting their demands.

The teacher's union in **West Germany** has declared its support for the prisoners. Prominent writers, artists, and musicians have signed a solidarity petition.

A Sinn Féin delegation recently toured **East Germany**. The delegation, which included two former prisoners, was interviewed on radio and television and by two leading newspapers.

The British government lodged a formal protest about the visit, but the East German government responded with a statement blasting the use of torture in British prisons.

Halpenny told me that every Communist Party in Europe, with the notable exception of those in Ireland and Britain, has declared its support for the demands of the hunger strikers.

Representatives of two left parties in the **Danish** parliament, and thirty-eight members of the **Finnish** parliament have declared their solidarity, as have the **Catalonian** and **Basque** parliaments in Spain.

In **Italy** the three major union federations have all taken up the cause of the hunger strikers and there have been street demonstrations.

The major newspapers in **India** have blasted the British government's attitude and supported Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's criticisms of Margaret Thatcher.

Leading figures in **Iran** have also made strong statements. Abolhassan Bani-Sadr and Ayatollah Khomeini sent messages, as did the prime minister and Tehran's mayor. The Iranian government sent a representative to Bobby Sands's funeral and renamed the street running past the British embassy in his honor.

Sinn Féin has also received support for the demands of the hunger strikers from the National Democratic Front—a broad coalition of political and cultural organizations—in the **Philippines**.

Messages have been received from a number of important trade unions in **New Zealand** and **Australia**, including the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

Among the national liberation movements that have endorsed the demands of the hunger strikers are the Popular Front for the Liberation of **Palestine**, the **Zimbabwe** African National Union (now the governing party), the **South West Africa** People's Organisation in **Namibia**, the African National Congress in **South Africa**, the Polisario Front in the **Western Sahara**, the **Eritrean** People's Liberation Front, and the South African Youth Revolutionary Council, which is a Soweto-based group.

Halpenny is greatly encouraged by the growth in solidarity inside **Britain**. Messages of support have come from the Edinburgh Trades Council, the Scottish Trades Union

Congress, the National Union of Miners, and other unions. Several city councils and student organizations have also expressed their support for the hunger strikers' demands.

According to Halpenny, Thatcher "must be snowed under with protests from every corner of the globe by now." He noted that the British embassy in Paris stopped answering its telephone after it was flooded by angry calls.

He added that "the key now is in the international solidarity," and stated that "the international campaign must get stronger and stronger if we are to save the lives of those currently on hunger strike."

May 25, 1981

Switzerland

Equal rights amendment wins

Guarantees women equal pay for equal work

By Janice Lynn

Women in Switzerland won an important victory June 14 when voters approved a constitutional amendment on equality of the sexes.

The amendment expands an article in the present constitution that proclaims "all Swiss are equal under the law," making explicit that women and men are entitled to both equal rights and equal pay.

The full text of the amendment that was approved by Swiss voters states, "Men and women have the same rights. The law provides for equality, especially in family, education, and work domains. Men and women are entitled to equal pay for equal work."

The amendment grew out of a proposal initiated by various women's organizations. The women withdrew their original proposal after the bourgeois parties in the Federal Council introduced a counterproposal. While not as inclusive as the women's original initiative, the Federal Council's proposal still contained the important equal pay principle. The women's groups campaigned actively for approval of the amendment.

This victory will lay the legal groundwork for women to carry on their struggle for equal rights and to campaign for implementation of the amendment.

It wasn't until 1971 that Swiss women first won the right to vote in national elections. Yet there are still cantons where women are not allowed to vote in local affairs. Under the new constitutional amendment, women may be able to bring legal action to win their right to vote in local elections.

Similarly, the amendment gives legal backing for the trade unions to fight for securing equal pay for women workers. The amendment was bitterly opposed by the employers. At present, Swiss women earn 25 to 30 percent less than men for the same job.

In the watch-making industry, one of the most important industries in Switzerland, half of the 40,000 employees are women (and 35 percent of these are immigrant women). Yet, 80 percent of the women workers are employed in unskilled categories, as compared to only 17 percent of the men. This means almost all the men are in skilled positions, such as mechanics, or in research.

The women, who perform the bulk of the very repetitive, detailed work, receive an hourly wage, and in 93 percent of the cases this wage is linked to productivity. Meanwhile, the bulk of the male workers receive a monthly wage.

One of the demands in the coming contract negotiations is for a monthly wage for all workers.

However, only 12 percent of the women workers in the watch-making industry are unionized. This makes it more difficult for the women to fight for their rights.

The Socialist Workers Party (PSO), Swiss section of the Fourth International, points to the need for the trade union movement to increase its presence in the watch-making industry and revise the industry's present policy of orienting women workers to the unskilled, lower-paying jobs. The PSO calls for training programs that will allow women access to all trades.

The PSO was actively involved in the campaign in support of the equal rights amendment. It calls for the independent mobilization of women workers and the workers organizations to assure that the rights now legally guaranteed to women are actually implemented. □

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Interview with 'Comandante Rufo'

How Sandinistas are dealing with problems of Atlantic Coast

[The following interview with Guerrilla Commander Manuel Calderón was obtained in early May by Lorraine Thiebaud and Matilde Zimmermann in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua.

[Calderón, also known as "Comandante Rufo," is the military commander of the northern half of the Atlantic Coast region and a central leader of the FSLN in the area. (In Nicaragua, the term Atlantic Coast refers to the entire eastern half of the country.)

[The interview was conducted in Spanish. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*. The interview has been slightly edited for reasons of space.]

* * *

Q. When we visited the gold mines of the Atlantic Coast, representatives of the unions explained to us how the miners are divided along racial lines. Can you explain to us how this problem affects not just the mines but the whole region of the Atlantic Coast?

A. Under Somoza, one's status here was defined by race more than by social class. This was the way Somoza kept things in control.

North Americans were at the top, the people who could do anything. Then came the Chinese, who didn't speak Spanish and were the merchants. Then came the Blacks, whose status was lower but who had a special relationship with the North Americans because they spoke English and with the Spanish because they learned Spanish quickly. Still lower were the Miskitus, and then below the Miskitus the Sumos, and lower still the Ramas.

Somoza took advantage of all these divisions, pitting the Miskitus against the Blacks, the Sumos against the Miskitus. The Ramas were hardly considered worth worrying about.

The "Spaniards," those who spoke Spanish, were always the ones in governmental posts, so here the person who speaks Spanish has come to represent exploitation, humiliation.

The "Spaniards" learned English, but they didn't learn Miskitu, because there was no economic or social reason to learn Miskitu.

The Blacks already knew English and they learned Spanish too. The Miskitus learned English better than Spanish. The Sumos almost never spoke their own language. They spoke Miskitu because the Miskitus had higher status.

Q. How did this situation come about?

A. The Atlantic Coast was colonized by the English, not the Spanish. It wasn't until 1894 that this region was incorporated into Nicaragua, but even then it was only a legal incorpo-

ration. There was no economic relationship, nor social, nor cultural, no recognition of the special character of the coast.

What happened was the foreign companies came to exploit the area and they built economic enclaves. They built big company stores and hired lots of people—as laundry women, ironers, wood cutters, drivers, and mechanics.

The people of the coast, because of their political backwardness, did not see how they were

Somoza took advantage of all these divisions, pitting the Miskitus against the Blacks, the Sumos against the Miskitus . . .

being abused by the companies. The truth is that imperialism exploited this area even more cruelly than other areas.

At least in the Pacific Coast they allowed a certain amount of economic development, but here they did nothing. There wasn't even the development of class consciousness here, because of the racial divisions.

What they said was—"You're a Sumo, you can't do anything. You can't either, you're a Miskitu. You're a Black, maybe you can be a mechanic. You're half white, or half Spanish, maybe you can be a boss."

In this area you can have two workers, one Miskitu and the other Spanish-speaking, and they don't think of themselves as workers. They have racial consciousness rather than class consciousness. The companies taught them racial consciousness, although of course they never solved the problems they have as a race.

When people here resisted this domination, they resisted on the basis of being Miskitus, or Blacks, or Ramas. Never on the basis of being exploited, of being workers, of being desperately poor.

Q. What kinds of problems are these divisions causing today, and to what extent is imperialism able to take advantage of this situation?

A. There is an organization here called MISURASATA (Miskitus, Sumos, Ramas, and Sandinistas United). But the top leader of this organization, whose name is Steadman Fagoth, turns out to have been a police agent for Somoza. He has been leading the organization to take antigovernment positions, and this was made easier by the isolation of the area.

This is a population that didn't know how to read and write, a population that wasn't organized in any way. And they are upset and don't understand why their leader has been arrested. They don't understand, even though we've tried and tried to explain. We even brought Fagoth here so that he could explain.¹

As revolutionaries, we have to understand the concerns of our people, even when our people are ignorant of the facts, or are being tricked.

The reactionaries are taking advantage of this situation. Recently articles have been coming out in the Honduran press saying that the Miskitus are fleeing to Honduras because they are being repressed, because the Sandinista armed forces are after them.

There is also the matter of the radio station called "15th of September." It calls on the people of Nicaragua to follow the example of the struggle of the Miskitu people, who are rising up against the government to win their final liberation. It calls on Miskitus to come to Honduras to join the Somozaists, to join the ex-National Guard who will liberate them.

Q. What is being done to overcome these problems?

A. The organization of trade unions has helped some. The unions are formed by Miskitus, Blacks, and Spanish-speaking. They elect their own leaders—it's not a question of the FSLN choosing leaders for them. Little by little, this is starting to improve things.

We know that overcoming these divisions will take a long time. We need time. The problem is that this is an extremely undeveloped area.

There are no means of communication. There are no sources of permanent work. There are no good schools or good health centers. There are no vocational schools. The illiteracy rate is very high. For example, there were areas where 90 percent of the population was illiterate. The population is very dispersed.

The economy is basically one of subsistence. People grow food in order to live, in order to eat. This is not because they want it that way—it is because they have no way to

1. Since this interview, Fagoth was released from house arrest in Managua and allowed to return to Puerto Cabezas. He had promised to use his influence to persuade Miskitu youth who had left for Honduras to return to Nicaragua. Instead Fagoth himself fled to Honduras, where he made broadcasts in Spanish and Miskitu on the Somozaists' radio station attacking "the Sandino-Communist government."

sell their products.

In 1980 we went way into the countryside. We handed out all kinds of loans to peasants, but we did it in a romantic way, only to find out later that there was no way to get out the products they had grown.

This cost the country millions of córdobas. But as good revolutionaries we can't take away a peasant's little plot of land. That would be anti-Sandinista. So we have a real problem.

Q. Do you think that economic development is the most important way to win the confidence of the residents of the coast?

A. It is a many-sided task. A lot of different elements have to come into play.

The revolutionary war never reached the Atlantic Coast. If you haven't lived through a war, if you haven't experienced the difficulty of this struggle, then how are you going to know the revolution except through its accomplishments? And here, frankly, the revolution has not accomplished great things because we just haven't been able to.

There is a problem with communication. We are trying to finish this landing strip so that big planes can land. We weren't able to finish the Waslala-Siuna road (linking the Atlantic and Pacific coasts) because the rainy season came early. Water transportation is a problem we haven't been able to resolve.

Here even a little project costs 10 million córdobas (10 córdobas = US\$1). Providing drinking water just for the town of Puerto Cabezas costs 9 million córdobas. Improving the landing strip costs about 8.5 million.

Another example is the housing we are building for the miners. We know that these houses won't be fit to live in in five years. But we don't have the resources to build better houses. The ones we are building cost 49 million córdobas.

We have to bring the prefabricated houses in by sea, and then by river to Alamikamba, where we take them off the boats and put them on trucks to take to the different mines. And

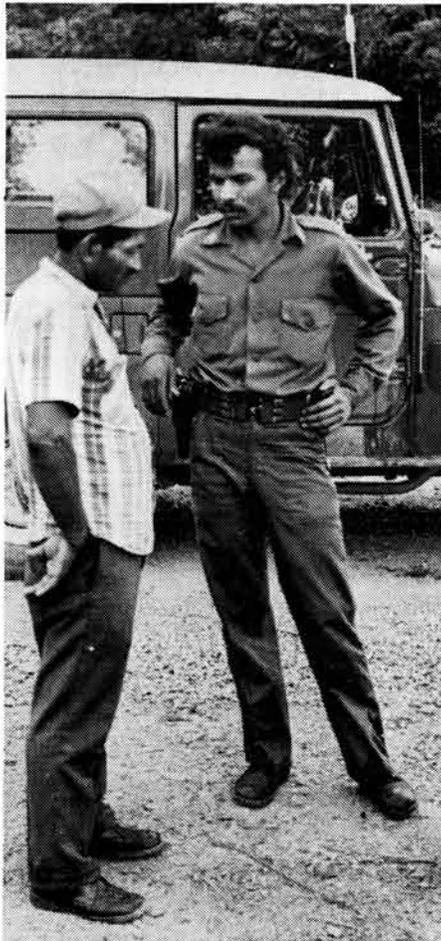
The truth is that the people of the coast are Nicaraguans, and they are oppressed . . .

we don't really have the trucks and big boats we need to transport them. It is an enormous task.

Q. What kind of role can an organization like MISURASATA play in helping to change this situation? What types of demands does MISURASATA put forward?

A. The role it plays depends on what kind of orientation it has. If the organization had a nationalist orientation, if its purpose was to build nationalist sentiment or patriotic sentiment, it could help.

In the first place it could unite the three different Indian groups. Then at least the problem



Lorraine Thiebaud/IP

'Comandante Rufo' (in uniform). "We know that overcoming these divisions will take a long time."

of racial antagonisms among the three groups could be resolved, and it would be easier for them to move forward if they were united. The problem is that the individuals who are heading the organization tend to lead it in another direction.

One of the demands MISURASATA puts forward, for example, is that 80 percent of the coast's earnings should be kept here for the development of the coast. The truth is that if we limited ourselves to 80 percent of the coast's earnings, this region wouldn't be developed in 100 years.

The total earnings of the Atlantic Coast are less than 100 million córdobas a year, because the industry that produces the most is mining, and their goal for 1981 is 70 million córdobas. But in 1981 the government plans to invest 250 million córdobas in developing the coast.

Q. But don't people believe that the mines are producing tremendous wealth which is being stolen from the Atlantic Coast by the Pacific region?

A. The leaders of the MISURASATA certainly know that is not true. They know that the

Siuna mine, up to recently, was losing almost two million córdobas a month. Rosita was losing a million or a million and a half. Up to recently Bonanza was the only mine producing a surplus, and the leaders certainly know this.

Part of this problem could be a lack of communication. It is the same problem of a lack of human resources. A person can't be in every different community. And then there has been a language problem, which we are trying to overcome.

Q. Does MISURASATA carry out activities like the other mass organizations, organizing literacy classes, the militias, community projects, and so forth?

A. It has played a role in some areas. It participated in the literacy drive in Miskitu, Sumo, and English, for example. On the other hand, in the current vaccination campaign it has done nothing.

Q. What is the history of this organization?

A. There was an organization called Alpromisu formed in 1972. In the beginning it was against Somoza, but Somoza was able to buy off some of the leaders, and the organization almost died. It stopped causing Somoza any problems.

Then with the triumph of the revolution, this new organization was born. There was an assembly in which it took the name MISURASATA, which gave the false impression that it was going to be a Sandinista organization.

I don't think it is fair to say it is anti-Sandinista. It is a question of understanding the whole history of this region. The truth is that the people of the coast are Nicaraguans, and they are oppressed.

The Atlantic Coast has always been considered very far away. When I graduated from high school, I thought all there was on the Atlantic Coast was Bluefields. I didn't even know Puerto Cabezas existed, or the mines, or any-

There has never been a political life here before, no meetings, no seminars. These things can't be acquired overnight . . .

thing, because in school we never learned anything about the Atlantic Coast.

Q. When did you come to this area?

A. I've been here since the revolution, as head of the region on the military level and as a member of the provincial leadership committee of the FSLN.

Q. But you also fought here during the war. People have told us that during the war the Sandinistas got a lot of support from the peasantry of the coast but not from the miners. Can you tell us if that is true?

A. It is not right to put it like that. The truth is that we never tried to do political work among the miners because we didn't think we were strong enough. There were only three of us working in the area of the mines, and our most urgent task was to organize a support network among the peasants—a logistical base that would enable us to come in and out safely and bring in arms, because it was a question of arming people for war.

It was a question of giving people military training, organizing arms caches, couriers, or-

When the *gringos* left they said that in six months the mines would close for lack of parts. It has been a year and a half and they haven't closed, and they aren't going to close . . .

ganizing guerrilla columns. We couldn't go into a barrio, work alongside the people, have meetings, discuss their problems and their demands, resolve these problems. All we could do was grab the most active types and recruit them to the FSLN.

Q. How much time did you spend in the mountains?

A. I spent a little more than four and half years in the mountains and a total of seven years in the FSLN before the revolution.

I was recruited in León, as a student. I grew up on a farm outside of town. Then I spent three years at the National Seminary in Managua, studying to be a priest. I started working in the high-school student movement in 1970, when I was sixteen. Then I worked in the student movement in Managua inside the seminary. Then they threw me out of the seminary.

So when the earthquake came in 1972 I went back to León and started to study at the Instituto Nacional del Occidente. There I began working with the FSLN as well as continuing to work in the student movement. I was doing political work in the student movement and also work in the barrios with the FSLN, so I got burned [known to the police] fast. I was burned at school and burned in the barrio, so I had to go underground.

Mostly because of my physical condition—because I was used to the country and used to walking long distances—they decided I should go directly into the mountains. And I never came out until the victory.

Q. And you lived with campesinos in the mountains?

A. We had some contact with the campesinos in order to get information or food, but we tried to stay off on our own as much as possible to avoid their being victimized. Sometimes we had to walk half a day or even a whole day to get food when we were camped.

It was a very irregular life. Sometimes we camped two or three days. Sometimes we could camp fifteen days, but at other times we couldn't. Sometimes we would come down and carry out two or three military actions and then go back and watch and see how the enemy would react.

We were part of what was called the Pablo Úbeda Brigade. It included Commander Hugo Torres, Commander William Ramírez, Commander Francisco Rivera. Who else is still alive? Commander René Vivas, Commander of the Revolution Henry Ruiz, and also Commander of the Revolution Víctor Tirado López. At its biggest it was about 100 people.

The Pablo Úbeda Brigade was almost wiped out in 1977. We were reduced to about eleven people as a result of CONDECA² getting involved. People were captured, and there was brutal repression in the area.

I only came out of the mountains once. I got a Lanica plane in Bonanza, along with a nun who was pretending to be my sister. This disguise enabled me to get to Bluefields, where I had to have an X-ray because of a little matter of a bullet. I had been wounded in 1976 and the bullet stayed inside.

When the war ended, I stayed for the liberation of the mines and then came here to Puerto Cabezas. When we got to Puerto Cabezas the National Guard had already left.

Q. You helped organize the taking of the mines. What was the reaction of the miners?

A. It was positive. Just in Rosita and Bonanza, about 300 young people joined us. That was May 28, before the victory. And mine workers joined us too.

The first response of the miners was to want us to burn down the mines. We said no, we couldn't do that. And we explained why. We told them they would need a place to work afterwards. And we told them we would win within a month or a month and a half. Then for the first time they believed that victory was close.

The workers here, such as the miners, don't have ideological or political vices. The problem is the one I described to you earlier, the lack of any experience with organization. There has never been a political life here before, no meetings, no seminars. These things can't be acquired overnight.

But the miners, for example, have told us about some attempts at sabotage or theft, and they are the ones watching out for these things.

In the mines we have had tremendous problems getting spare parts, and the miners themselves have had to make them from the parts that are there. When the *gringos* left they said that in six months the mines would close for lack of parts. It has been a year and a half and they haven't closed, and they aren't going to

2. CONDECA—Central American Defense Council, a U.S.-sponsored military pact among the armies of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

close.

There have been difficult times. At one point the miners had to make something out of cloth to replace a screen that was broken. They knew it wouldn't last more than a week, but that was enough to look for the part. The miners go through the old dumps where the *gringos* threw things out, looking for parts they can use.

Another example is the participation in the People's Militias. We are at the point of form-

The fact is that we are still fighting a war, and a harder war than before . . .

ing a Reserve Battalion in the mines. There are departments where all the workers want to join the militias, although it hasn't been possible to organize everyone yet.

The fact is that we are still fighting a war, and a harder war than before. Before you could see what imperialism was doing. It was right in front of your eyes and you had a motive for fighting it. Now we have thrown out the foreign companies. But we still have the job of forging a class consciousness in order to take on the huge problems of development that we face. □

New U.S. 'White Paper' slanders charities

The State Department is planning to release another "White Paper" on Central America soon.

Like the one issued on El Salvador last February and now largely discredited, the new White Paper will be based in part on what the U.S. government claims are "captured guerrilla documents."

According to the June 8 *Wall Street Journal*, State Department official Jon Glassman claims that some of these documents "show that relief funds raised by several major U.S. charities are subject to diversion to the Communist war effort. . . ."

The charities, which include Catholic Relief Services, Oxfam America, and the World Council of Churches, deny these accusations.

"There are thousands of people, chiefly widows and children, for whom this money is responsible for their daily food," said Nancy Clark of the World Council of Churches.

Lawrence Simon of Oxfam told the *Journal* that the State Department's charges could harm the group's fund raising, but that "we're more worried about the Latin American newspapers getting this information. Saying someone is connected to the Communist Party of El Salvador is tantamount to signing someone's death warrant down there. We're concerned about the danger this has placed our field staff in."

Government takes over power company

'We can stand up to any transnational and win'

By Diane Wang

"Power in the people's hands," rejoices the headline of Grenada's *Free West Indian* newspaper. Electrical power, it means, not just political power.

Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) took over majority control and management of the island's electrical power company, Grenlec, on May 24. The move thwarted an attempt by the British Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) and Esso Standard Oil Company to cut off electricity to the island, sabotage essential equipment, and plunge the government into a financial crisis.

The attempt to sabotage electrical service was the latest of a series of attacks on Grenada, the first successful workers revolution in the English-speaking Caribbean.

On May 21 an Esso ship pulled into Grenada's harbor to fill the island's near-empty fuel tanks. Grenada had only enough oil left to continue electricity until 8:00 p.m. that night. But before it would deliver the fuel, Esso demanded payment of EC\$478,000 (East Caribbean dollars—about US\$184,000) by 4:00 p.m. that day. Moreover, Esso threatened, all future deliveries would have to be paid for in advance and even those deliveries would not be guaranteed.

Why had Grenlec fallen behind in its fuel payments? Because customers had not been

billed for a month, creating a debt of some EC\$500,000. Grenlec claimed it simply could not get its bill-collecting equipment to work.

The majority of Grenlec's stock was held by the British CDC. That parent company refused to advance money for the Esso bill and would not even help negotiate a bank loan.

The PRG's solution to the crisis was People's law No. 13, enabling the government to assume majority control and management of the company.

The May 21 provocation was the climax of a sabotage campaign by the CDC. In 1960 the utilities company passed from local control to the CDC. The company was given a monopoly on the island, along with tax-free and duty-free status. Not only did the CDC extract the highest possible dividends; it paid itself large fees for "technical assistance" and commissions as buying agent for equipment or supplies purchased for Grenlec.

At the same time, however, the CDC froze all investment in the utility after 1974, cut off credit to the company, and refused to provide needed repairs and maintenance on equipment. The cost of reconditioning the Grenlec facilities now will be two or three times what it would have cost if repairs had been done when originally needed.

Last August the CDC demanded a rate increase. The PRG refused and set up a commission to investigate and document the CDC's

mismanagement. Since then the CDC has been waging what the *Free West Indian* described as "a war of attrition against the government and people of Grenada."

Electrical power was frequently and erratically disrupted. Grenlec manager Rodney George was even detained in March after he threatened to disrupt the March 13 celebration of the revolution's second anniversary by cutting off the island's power supply.

Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop announced the take-over of the electrical company at a May 24 African Liberation Day rally. "This is the most classic example of what we mean by imperialism," declared Bishop.

"But what they are not realizing is that times are changing and the people will no longer take orders from imperialist countries. As long as the government, party, people and the Revolution exist," said Bishop, "we will always stand up against such companies trying to put us down."

"We are sure that we can stand up to the CDC and any transnational and win," Bishop concluded.

The CDC and Esso sabotage effort was only one part of a general campaign to undermine the Grenadian revolution. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) held up a requested loan for US\$7.6 million. Instead, it approved a US\$4 million standby credit. Even that was done with the U.S. director abstaining on the vote.

Grenada's Finance Minister Bernard Coard pointed out that the initial loan application had been successfully negotiated with the IMF staff and management. The request was considered technically sound until the U.S. director of the IMF asked for its indefinite postponement.

The attack on Grenada's IMF loan went hand-in-hand with U.S. maneuvers to pressure the World Bank and European Economic Community to refuse funding for Grenada's vital airport construction project.

Not content to undermine Grenada's economy by their policies on international financial bodies, the imperialists have also tried to meddle within the island.

Grenada's Seamen and Waterfront Workers Union (SWWU) and Public Workers Union (PWU) are led by business unionists trained by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). AIFLD is a CIA front associated with the Salvadoran junta's phony land reform—in reality a rural counterinsurgency project.

The SWWU has encouraged work stoppages by dockworkers. Earlier this year the PWU de-



Lou Howort/Militant

Caldwell Taylor, Grenada's ambassador to the United Nations, speaking in New York June 19. About 300 people attended meeting to launch new chapter of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society.

manded a 70 percent increase for public workers. The result would have meant that half of the tax money collected would have been spent on salaries, with less money for health care, education, housing, and agriculture subsidies.

Fortunately, in May the PRG was able to negotiate an agreement that provides a 45 percent pay increase for public workers over the next three years.

At Grenada's May Day rally, attended by contingents from nearly all the trade unions except the SWWU, union leaders exchanged views on the AIFLD role in Grenada. Septimus Forsythe, president of Grenada's Trade Union Council, indicated that a SWWU leader would soon attend an AIFLD course on

unionism.

In response John Ventour, general secretary of the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union, called on Grenada's trade unions to stop sending any members to the AIFLD activities. Ventour, who is also general secretary of the TUC, charged that the AIFLD has connections with the CIA and has helped overthrow legitimate governments throughout Latin America.

During the week before Grenada's May 21 showdown with the CDC and Esso, a propaganda campaign against Grenada aired in the United States. In New York a three-part series of supposed investigative reports on Grenada, titled "Prisoner in the Police State," was broadcast on television.

Using fanciful drawings, distorted tape recordings and other gimmicks, the series portrayed Grenada as a totalitarian state where people are unjustly arrested, tortured, and shot.

Grenada's Attorney General and Minister of Legal Affairs Kendrick Radix flew to the United States to answer the televised charges. In addition to addressing a New York rally of about 200 supporters, Radix spoke on radio.

"Nobody is being tear-gassed in our country as used to happen in the past," Radix explained. "We could not be building a police state in our country and support our brothers and sisters in South Africa and in Namibia for their liberation . . . because our foreign policy is an extension of our domestic policy." □

Iran

Young socialists meet

Discuss work in high schools and military mobilizations

[The following is excerpted from an article in the April 27 issue of *Kargar*, weekly newspaper of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE). The HKE is one of three organizations in Iran affiliated to the Fourth International. The translation is by the HKE.]

* * *

The sixth national conference of the Young Socialists (YS) was held on April 10, 1981, in Tehran.

The YS was founded about a year and a half ago around the ideas and program of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) and its newspaper *Kargar* to build the revolutionary socialist movement among youth.

At the conference, discussions were held and views exchanged on the activities of the YS over the last seven months in the high schools, in the Jihad for Reconstruction, and in the military mobilizations against the imperialist-Iraqi military aggression.

The tasks of the YS for the next period were outlined, based on its activities and its general analysis of the present political situation.

The student struggle

Activity in the high schools and among students has been a major focus of the YS's work over the last seven months. The imperialist-Iraqi aggression against the Iranian revolution raised the need for a national, mass, military mobilization. The military mobilization of students has a special importance for defeating the aggressive forces.

Students are the main force among the youth of this country and have played an important role—from the struggle against the dictator-

ship and the triumph of the revolution, to the occupation of the Spy Nest and the continuation and deepening of the anti-imperialist struggle, up to the cultural revolution."

The YS put forward a program for building student resistance units in the high schools and for uniting these units with others, like the resistance units in the mosques, the Jihad for Reconstruction, and the Pasdaran Corps. The YS also called for political liberties in the high schools.

Participants at the YS conference discussed their experiences in building these student resistance units. Often students have had to confront the principals of the schools and the bureaucracy of the Ministry of Culture and Education, as well as sectarian political forces like the Mujahedeen and Fedayeen.

Because of the absence of a consistent, organized, anti-imperialist leadership among youth, the Mujahedeen and Fedayeen played a leadership role in the student struggles. But the starting point of these groups was never the need for a revolutionary action program in defense of the revolution. Their only concern was for the narrow self-interests of their organizations. By adopting a sectarian policy, which resulted in conflicts and quarrels, these groups destroyed the unity and mass mobilization of the student movement.

The Islamic societies, although composed of sincere, young, revolutionaries, also fell into the trap of organizational infighting.

The YS had some partial successes in building the military mobilizations in the high schools in collaboration with the Islamic societies and other young revolutionaries.

Another experience the YS gained was in

the struggle against the closing of the schools. The YS always patiently explained its program, inviting youth to participate in the military mobilizations and maintaining political freedoms by holding organized discussions.

Another aspect of the YS's activities in the high schools has been the wide distribution of its socialist views—setting up photo exhibits and selling socialist pamphlets.

YS participation in military mobilizations

With the Iraqi military attacks, military defense of the Iranian revolution was on the agenda. Workers, youth, and the mass institutions have been mobilized. But due to the absence of a consistent, anti-imperialist leadership, no broad, armed, mass army has yet been created.

At the start of the war, youth were mobilized in the mosques and in units of the Army of 20 Million, organized by the Pasdaran Corps. In addition to guarding the cities and sending volunteers to the front, these resistance units organize political and ideological discussion classes.

The youth who have organized themselves around the mosque mobilizations are sincere revolutionaries of action. They come together from diverse experiences and different levels of consciousness. However, the reactionary and petty-bourgeois leaders of the resistance units of twenty-two people [units of twenty-two who volunteer to go to the war front], tries to divert the energies of these revolutionary forces.

Instead of giving out facts about the war and mobilizing the youth, they spend more time going after confrontations with political groups

and baiting the Mujahedeen and Peykar. Instead of showing the right way to fight sectarian politics—by revolutionary action—this leadership initiates quarrels and physical fights.

The YS has taken part in the resistance units in the mosques in order to join the youth movement, participate in the military mobilizations to defend the revolution, and build the YS. Not only has the YS been the best activists in the mobilization, but in political discussions it has proposed the best solutions and programs.

In publicizing and explaining its beliefs in the mosques, the YS acts patiently, trying to involve these units in active struggle. In the every day experiences of the revolution and the class struggle, the YS tries to prove the correctness of its socialist beliefs to young people and activists in the resistance units. This also brings them into contact with revolutionaries and other activists which can lay the foundations for a socialist revolutionary movement among youth.

Collaboration with Jihad for Reconstruction

The YS had its first experience with the Jihad for Reconstruction eleven months ago and now is familiar with the Jihad's difficulties and successes.

The Jihad for Reconstruction is an organization that has risen from the heart of the revolution. Youth and other revolutionaries have gathered in it to use their energy for reconstruction and self-sufficiency.

It may be useful to recall the Jihad's origins. It began the first summer after the insurrection, when Muslim students took part in construction work in the villages. Independent of the bureaucracy, it used funds and physical help from the people. After the Imam's call for the formation of the Jihad for Reconstruction, this institution and movement was expanded.

From the beginning, the Jihad confronted the provisional government's obstruction of funds and various other obstacles. But the deepening of the revolution saved the Jihad.

With the start of the war, the Jihad immediately got involved—forming support headquarters to organize aid for the war zones, sending volunteers and workers to the front, collecting funds from the people, and carrying out activities on behalf of refugees and civilians affected by the war. At the same time, the Jihad continues its reconstruction activities in the villages.

The Jihad still has the same problems as before, such as lack of funds. Due to the war, however, the circumstances have changed. Under the pressure of the needs of the revolution, there is more involvement by the Jihad in the war, in reconstruction, and in land reform. What has saved the Jihad up to now, has been its independence from the bureaucracy and its dependence on the people.

By working in united activity with other mass institutions (such as the workers shoras, student Islamic societies, Pasdaran Corps., etc.), the Jihad for Reconstruction can produce the united, anti-imperialist leadership needed

for victory in the war and the revolution.

Based on its experiences of the past year, the YS has the perspective of increasing its collaboration with the Jihad for Reconstruction—from activities in the front, to cultivation of the fields, to working on modernization projects (roads, plumbing, etc.) in the villages. This is especially so in the summer, when millions of revolutionary students are out of school and will be attracted to the Jihad.

STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Solidarity with Iranian revolution

[The following statement was issued by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International at its May 7-14 meeting.]

* * *

After a century of struggle against colonial and imperialist domination the Iranian people have overthrown the hated regime of the shah and have weakened the hold of the imperialist predators. They are struggling to break the imperialist and capitalist yoke over the country.

The advance of revolution, the gains that it has made, and its tendency to develop have come into irreconcilable conflict with the interests of the United States and other imperialist powers and with the reactionary forces in the region.

To attempt to roll back and defeat the Iranian revolution, the imperialist powers have resorted to economic blockade, political pressure, and military threats. The imperialists have encouraged the Iraqi regime's aggression against the Iranian revolution. The Iraqi regime has occupied territory of Iran, bombed civilian population causing death and misery, and created more than one million refugees.

The Iraqi regime's aggression however, has not achieved its goal of reversing the Iranian revolution. The heroic struggle of the Iranian toilers waged through a mass resistance movement, halted the advance of the Iraqi aggression.

The Iraqi people, who are themselves victims of imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation, have no interest in this criminal drive of the Saddam Hussein regime against the Iranian revolution. Their liberation lies in uniting with the Iranian revolution and fighting against the counterrevolutionary war of the Iraqi regime.

Against the opposition of the military hierarchy, soldiers, workers, and peasants of Iran mobilized against the Iraqi attack. The Fourth International hails this struggle to extend and defend the Iranian revolution against the military aggression waged by the Baghdad regime, and the drive of the imperialist and reac-

In the coming period, the YS has made a central task among the youth the struggle to win back the jobs of the eleven socialists who were fired for their beliefs. Not only will the YS help spread the truth about the firings, help get their sisters and brothers back to work, and help unite the working class with the youth, but by explaining its beliefs the YS can spread its socialist views and present its socialist solutions. □

tionary forces inside and outside Iran to reverse the revolution. The Fourth International supports the struggle of the workers and peasants and of the oppressed Kurdish people in Iran and Iraq against repression and for their self-determination—all of which are in the interests of the oppressed people and aid the defense of the Iranian revolution.

In the interests of the peoples of Iran and Iraq, we call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Iraqi troops from Iran.

We will do all in our power to spread the truth about the Iranian revolution, to mobilize and build solidarity among the working people of the world.

Imperialist hands off Iran!

For immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Iran!

Long live the Iranian revolution!

Iran sides with German steelworkers

Iranian representatives on the board of the German-based steel-making company, Krupp Stahl, voted June 12 against a management proposal to eliminate thousands of jobs.

In 1974, during the shah's regime, the Iranian government bought a 25 percent interest in Krupp Stahl's parent company. Today, that interest is held by Iran's new Islamic government.

Workers' representatives in Germany, who hold ten of the twenty-one seats on the board, objected to management's proposals to close several cold-rolling mills at the cost of 5,000 jobs.

Citing Islamic principles, the Iranian representatives sided with the workers. "It is our ideology that the fate of ordinary people is more important than economic affairs," declared Mahmoud Ahmadzadeh, Iran's Minister of Industry and its representative on Krupp's board.

Krupp management announced June 16 it was going ahead anyway with its plans to sharply cut back steel output leading to the immediate elimination of at least 4,000 jobs.

How miners beat back Tory offensive

February coal strike deepened divisions among rulers

By Bill Alder

MANSFIELD, Nottinghamshire—The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is one of Britain's strongest industrial unions. In the period up to, during, and following the 1914-18 imperialist world war it spearheaded workers struggles for improved wages and conditions. The defeated British general strike of 1926 was waged in defense of miners' strike action against wage cuts. Following this defeat the militancy of the miners receded.

But from the late 1960s onwards the NUM has once again taken the lead in the British class struggle. In 1972 strike action by the miners succeeded in smashing through the pay limits set by the Conservative Heath government. And in 1974 the same government was brought down by further NUM strike action.

The British labor movement has come to look to the miners for a militant lead. Consequently the current Conservative government, headed by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, knew that if it was to take on and defeat the organized strength of the working class it would have to, sooner or later, do battle with the miners. The government made its move in February 1981.

The National Coal Board (NCB) began to reveal its plans for colliery closures on February 13. By February 18 twenty-three pits had been named—a handful each in South Wales, Scotland, and northeast England, and individual pits in the Staffordshire, Lancashire, Kent, Warwickshire, and Nottinghamshire coalfields. The Board claimed that some pits were on the verge of exhaustion, while others, specifically the Welsh pits, were being closed simply because they were big "loss-makers."

Miners fight back

The response of miners at the threatened Coegnant colliery in South Wales was an immediate walkout. The South Wales NUM Area Executive was forced to move forward a delegate conference from February 18 to February 16. The delegates voted unanimously for a total shutdown throughout South Wales. The 25,000 Welsh colliers responded as one, despite a threat from NUM President Joe Gormley that they were acting unconstitutionally.

By February 18 all three Kent collieries were on strike, along with several Scottish pits, four pits in the northeast, two in the NCB Western Area, High Moor colliery in North Derbyshire, and 5,000 Yorkshire miners. In all, about 20 percent of the NUM's membership were involved in some form of action, with the Yorkshire, Scotland, and Derbyshire areas, (around 100,000 miners altogether)

pledged to total strike beginning February 23.

The Nottinghamshire Area Executive had called a delegate conference for February 21, which, despite the area's "moderate" reputation, was expected to call some form of strike action.

So it looked as though over one-half of the NUM's quarter million members would be on strike even *before* any national strike ballot.

In these circumstances the NUM National Executive meeting scheduled for February 19 would have had no option but to support strike action and call a national ballot, which would have meant a national strike within two weeks.

By mid-week rail, steel, and transport union leaders had already pledged their support in the event of a national strike.

The Tories cave in

On the evening of February 16 David Howell, the Tory energy secretary, sent the NUM and NCB a letter offering to meet them one week later. But within twenty-four hours of the letter being sent it was clear that this would almost certainly be too late for anyone—Howell, NCB head Derek Ezra, or Gormley—to stop the drift towards a national strike.

The talks were hastily brought forward to the evening of February 18.

At approximately 8:30 p.m. that evening, television programs were interrupted for an announcement that the NCB had withdrawn the closure plans and that the government was willing to discuss increased funding for the NCB and selective import controls on foreign coal.

The following day the NUM National Executive voted fifteen to eight to recommend a return to work. Executive members from Yorkshire, South Wales, Scotland, and Kent argued for continuing the action until they received written guarantees from the NCB on closures, funding, and import controls.

Nevertheless, by February 21—having received "further assurances" from the NCB—the former three area presidents were recommending a return to work. Kent area officials followed at the beginning of the next week. By February 27—two weeks after the strike action started—the miners were back at work in all the nation's coalfields.

Crisis of coal industry

As yet there are very few details as to what actions the Tory government and the NCB plan to take concerning the crisis of the coal industry. The figure of £200 million has been put forward as the amount of extra funding the NCB will receive from the Treasury. No con-

crete decision has been taken yet on the question of import controls.

Whatever is decided by the NCB, the crisis of the British coal industry is likely to deepen. This is partly due to objective factors—the general crisis of British capitalism—and partly due to specific policy goals of the Tories and the NCB.

The economic recession means a fall in the demand for coal from both private and state-run industry. The decision of Bower-Scott to close its paper mill at Ellesmere Port has alone meant a drop in demand of 200,000 metric tons of coal per year. The cut-backs in production by the British Steel Corporation also reduce demand for coal by hundreds of thousands of tons.

All in all, the fall in demand for coal caused directly or indirectly by the crisis of the tottering British economy runs into millions of tons. And if no one wants to buy coal, then it is obviously difficult for collieries to be "profitable."

High interest rates mean that the NCB will be paying in the region of £237 million to the big banks for the financial year 1980-81. And whatever the government's immediate proposals for emergency funding of the NCB, it still plans to phase out operating grants and regional grants by 1983-84. (Had the Labour Party remained in office, these were projected to average over £170 million per year for the years 1980-84.)

Given these conditions and policies, it is most unlikely that the Tories' financial targets can be met by the NCB, whatever tinkering with the system there may be.

The NCB, to all intents and purposes, still holds to the proposal for a far smaller number of "superpits." This would enable it to maintain almost the same level of output but to employ fewer miners.

Capitalist counterattack

There is already evidence that the government and the NCB are seeking to claw back ground won by the workers in February. Within days of the strike's ending, the daily papers were giving front-page coverage to a scheme for job-loss payments of "up to" £42,000 to miners taking voluntary redundancy.

This is a classic management confidence-trick. This figure includes all state benefits and NCB pensions and allowances to which miners would be entitled anyway.

Moreover, the scheme also contains clauses to the effect that applicants for the top money must have *averaged* at least £140 per week in pay for the period leading up to their voluntary

redundancy.

Other clauses specify that applicants must have been face workers for a longer period than most men manage.

One informed NUM member told me that should his pit be approached with the redundancy scheme, *no one* would receive anything like £42,000, and the top payments would more likely be in the region of £8,000.

Nevertheless, with massive media backing, this will probably be the board's strategy in the coming months and years: make a big song and dance about supposedly high redundancy payments, claim that selected pits are nearing exhaustion and take them on one by one (with a "decent" time interval in between).

This would mean comparatively few enforced redundancies for miners already in the industry: some older workers would be tempted by the voluntary redundancy scheme, others could be reassigned.

What it would mean is the massacre of *future* jobs for youth in mining areas, the destruction of mining communities whose pits were declared "uneconomic," and the strengthening of the notion of miners as industrial gypsies who can be shuttled around the country to meet the needs of the NCB and the capitalist economy of which it is a part.

Left wing in union strengthened

We also need to consider what will happen next in the NUM. Without any doubt, the February events gave a boost to the left in the union.

The media, throughout the crucial fortnight, threw its weight completely behind Joe Gormley. It did this initially by backing Gormley's "common sense" against the "mindless militancy" of the South Wales, Scotland, Yorkshire, and Kent leaders.

After the NCB/government climb-down, papers such as the *Daily Mirror* hail the miners victory as a triumph for . . . Gormley! His policy of threatening the NCB and the Tories but not actually calling strike action had supposedly succeeded in forcing a change of heart.

Such articles did not, of course, mention that upwards of 40,000 miners were already on strike with more coming out every shift, and that it may have been this rather than Gormley which "persuaded" Howell and Ezra to change course.

For many miners the February action provided confirmation of what they had learned in 1972 and 1974—that only militant *action* brings results. The clear difference in attitude within the national and area leaderships towards such action—Gormley warning against action, the left wing backing miners already out and bringing out or committing their areas to solidarity action—has not been missed by the NUM membership.

A 'put-up job'?

It has been suggested in some newspaper articles that the whole of the miners' February

action may have been a put-up job. The schema is as follows: the NCB heads knew that they couldn't meet the government's financial targets so they provoked the NUM in such a way that they knew massive resistance would emerge; this would then frighten the Tories into granting the National Coal Board more cash. (Gormley himself suggested this in an interview with the *Daily Mail*.)

This is unlikely, to put it mildly. The rise of militancy resulting from a successful industrial action not only strengthens the NUM against the NCB but also strengthens the left within the NUM.

Neither of these developments are in the interest of Ezra and his cronies, even if they coincidentally get the NCB off the hook of the Treasury's financial restrictions for the time being.

More likely, the Tories and the NCB had grown overconfident. The NCB had seen a majority of NUM members accept what was in effect a 9 percent offer in the previous wage agreement. The Tories had succeeded in defeating the trade-union movement on issues such as mass job losses in the steel industry.

Relying on Gormley's ability to hinder any fight-back, the Tories were keen to hammer home their attack on the working class.

What a shock they received!

Not only did the miners respond quickly and militantly to the NCB's threats, but rank-and-file transport, rail, and steel workers showed a willingness to take solidarity action before their own leaders were able to sabotage the developing dispute.

With the water workers and the civil-service unions threatening national action, the Tories had to suddenly readjust their line.

Questioned on television as to why the government had not "stood up" to the miners, Trade Minister Biffen (a close co-thinker of Thatcher in the Cabinet) replied: "I didn't come into politics to be a kamikaze pilot."

Disarray among rulers

Caught off-balance by the miners' magnificent response, the ruling class was temporarily thrown into disarray. Rumors of Cabinet "leaks" were raised in public as part of the battle between Tory "hards" and "softs."

Staunch Tory rags called for the resignation of Industry Minister Sir Keith Joseph (*Times*), spoke of the "pits fiasco" (*Daily Mail*) and accused the government of "incompetence" (*Financial Times*).

The miners' victory showed two main things. First was the weakness and divisions within the ruling class.

Faced by an economic crisis of massive proportions, the capitalists and their parliamentary lap-dogs cannot reach full agreement. They do agree that to resolve the crisis in favor of the banks and big business it is necessary to inflict a decisive defeat on the organized labor movement. But *how* to do this is a different matter. Secondly, the February actions showed that, despite setbacks, the organized working class

has not been tamed. The workers are still willing to take industrial action to defend their interests. The crucial question is that of *leadership*.

Where a clear and militant lead has been given—as by the South Wales miners in February—the union membership has not failed to respond.

There is evidence that the miners' victory has increased the confidence and willingness to fight of *all* workers, as happened following the NUM's struggle in 1972.

And the same is true in the mining industry itself. For example, at Sherwod Colliery in Mansfield—a pit with no tradition of militancy—there were two stoppages over pay and conditions within a month of the February victory.

Forces within NUM

As outlined above, the Tories and the NCB are already trying to claw back the ground they have lost. Moving more cautiously, they will attempt to divide the NUM on area lines or by the voluntary redundancy scheme.

The "moderate" majority on the National Executive Committee can in no way be relied on to combat this. It was the same "moderate" majority who negotiated the productivity bonus scheme with the last Labour Party government, which more than anything else has divided the miners' ranks (particularly in terms of organizing united wages struggles).

The left is also politically weak. Its leading figures (Arthur Scargill, Michael McGahey, Emlyn Williams, Jack Collins) are either members of the Communist Party or strongly influenced by its demand for import controls as the major solution to the crisis of the British capitalist economy.

This demand tends to blur over the *class* lines of the crisis. The NCB is quite happy to agree in placing the blame for the problems of British miners on their Polish, American, Australian, or German brothers.

Blaming imports of foreign coal lets the capitalists off the hook. It is the massive interest repayments the NCB makes to the banks, the blood-sucking of the nationalized coal industry by private equipment suppliers and coal product firms, and the very chaos of capitalist production for profit as opposed to social need, that are to blame for the crisis of the coal industry.

Nevertheless, it will only be by placing the left in control of the union that the membership will have the opportunity to see its weaknesses in practice.

It is also no small point that—for all their failings—Scargill and company will be much better at defending miners' immediate interests than the Gormley team has been.

Informed by these facts, all socialists—in the NUM, other unions, and the Labour Party—should give their support to Scargill's campaign for the union presidency (the election is next year) and use the opportunity to debate his policies with his other supporters in a fraternal fashion. □

'Solidarity' on aims of Polish workers—II

Draft program discusses need for democratic rights

[The following is the second and final installment of the draft program of the independent Polish trade-union movement, Solidarity. The first part, published in last week's issue, covered Solidarity's basic aims, its assessment of the causes of Poland's social and economic crisis, and its proposals for economic reform. This part deals with its proposals for the democratization of public life and its guidelines for the organization and democratic functioning of the union itself.]

[The full text of the draft program, entitled "The Course of Union Action in the Country's Present Situation," 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*.]

IV. Guarantees for the Future

1. The rule of law

We regard as matters of fundamental importance the restoration of full respect for the law in relations between the state and society and between the government and the citizens, as well as the restoration of self-government and openness in public life. Achieving respect for the law is indispensable for the establishment of normal collaboration between Solidarity and the government authorities and to find a solution to the political and economic crisis in which Poland finds itself.

The rule of law means that the laws should express the interests and will of society, and that both the authorities and the citizens should be bound by them. No one can stand above or beyond the law. Legal concepts should govern the state, administrative, and economic apparatuses. Citizens and their organizations must also be subject to those concepts. Everyone should be equal before the law. Justice must be the same for each individual, without regard for the social or official positions they hold.

It is necessary to give back to the courts their

No one can stand above or beyond the law . . .

high importance as bodies intended to judge conflicts not only among citizens, but also between citizens and their organizations and the state bodies. Since the courts are independent institutions, we regard them as the natural guarantors of civil rights and liberties.

The administration of justice requires compliance with these general demands:

- Broadening the jurisdiction of the courts

so that they can decide on questions of encroachments on the political rights of citizens (freedom of association, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and the press, etc.).

- Naming a constitutional court in order to make constitutional rights vital and respected.

- Appointing a state tribunal to judge people in high positions who have committed abuses, endangered the nation, or caused great harm.

We support the demand made by some sections of public opinion that the courts should decide on the use of preventive detention measures.² We also think that it is necessary to strengthen supervision by the procurators of the prosecution, in order to effectively protect the rights of defendants, regardless of existing procedures to assure their protection in the initial stages of legal proceedings. We think that the procurators should be attached to the Justice Department and, like the government, be subject to the control of the Sejm [parliament].

We declare ourselves for the irremovability of judges and for cancellation of the universally criticized system of temporary terms of office for Supreme Court judges, which violates the principle of the independence of the judiciary. Another necessary condition for such independence is the proper selection of assessors to the various kinds of courts. The present method of appointing assessors does not guarantee that they will be selected properly. We think that assessors should be chosen through general elections, together with councillors on local and regional levels.

The administration of justice should be accessible to all. Therefore, it is necessary to abolish the profitable character of court fees and costs and eliminate the tendency of the Justice Department to try at any price to add to the government revenues.

The rule of law requires, in addition to supervision by the courts, supervision by society as a whole over the activities of the public security organs. The Sejm and the People's Councils³ should regularly conduct open and public debates on the actions of these agencies. It is also necessary to assure social inspection of the procedures for handing down sentences and for control by the union over the working conditions of prisoners.

We demand the placing on the books of the full range of trade-union freedoms, which have

2. The police now have the power to detain anyone they want for recurrent forty-eight-hour periods of preventive detention, without having to file charges.—IP

3. The People's Councils are bodies of local government.—IP

been recognized through the ratification of the appropriate international conventions, including the right to strike and the right of workers to use other means for winning their just demands. We also insist on the inviolability of family farm ownership.

Since, as we have stated, the law should express the interests and will of society, it follows that the representative bodies empowered to pass competent legislation and resolutions should derive their powers from genuine elections. We think that it is vital to have new elec-

The representative bodies should derive their power from genuine elections . . .

tion laws for the Sejm and the People's Councils, laws that will guarantee organizations and groups of citizens the right to put up candidates for representatives and councillors, from among whom the voters can choose freely in electing their representatives.

2. Openness in public life and the problem of censorship

An effective defense of the interests of working people—as well as other forms of civic activity—is not possible unless our public life is conducted in an open fashion. One part of this is the freedom to criticize and to speak out; another part is free access to state documents by citizens, as well as the opportunity to voice and publish their views.

It is crucial that the authorities function out in the open, and not keep covering up behind a screen of official secrecy decisions that are harmful, self-serving, illegal, or even criminal.

Such freedoms and openness may be restricted only to safeguard the legally defined central values and interests of society in general; for example: against the expression of views that are offensive to the moral and religious feeling of society, for the protection of state secrets, and against the expression of opinions that could undermine international alliances.

It is necessary to define by law the permissible limits of interference by the censors, to subordinate them to judicial control, and to introduce the principle of visibility in the text that defines the censors' powers.

The placing of limitations on censorship must be accompanied by guarantees of public access to government-owned media, such as radio, television, and publishing, along with the provision of facilities necessary to enable

all legal associations to carry out their own publishing activities. The mass media, in particular radio and television, should be subject to social control.

3. The basis for selecting officials

Up to now, the personnel selection procedures have not assured the proper selection of people for leadership positions, which are legally and exclusively reserved for members of the party. The party apparatus has final say over such appointments. This situation is a restriction on the rights of citizens, since a huge majority are thus discriminated against in the filling of leadership posts. Nor does society have any influence over these appointments. Many leadership positions are occupied by people who are neither competent nor enjoy any authority among the workers. This results in great losses to our culture, broadly considered, and to our national economy.

Given this situation, it is vital that leadership positions be made accessible as rapidly as possible to all citizens with the proper professional qualifications, with provision being made for social control over appointments to such positions. In this connection, administrative positions should be filled by people who are competent and who are accepted by the workforces at the enterprises. The principle of *nomenklatura*⁴ can be employed only in relation to political positions.

4. Local government—People's Councils

We support actions favoring genuine local self-government. We especially support actions favoring autonomy in judicial administration, an essential condition for the independence of the judiciary. We also support actions favoring autonomy for higher schools and self-management for technical institutes, that is, conditions for the undisturbed development of scientific thought and the rounded education of

Many leadership positions are occupied by people who are neither competent nor enjoy any authority among the workers . . .

new generations of specialists. We see in the independent student movement a genuine social power, which will be an influential factor in giving a democratic shape to the future. The union also expresses support for the aspirations

4. The *nomenklatura* is the key institution by which the Polish United Workers Party maintains its hold over the most important institutions of society. It is a list of names from which party committees select people for appointment to key positions on the national, regional, and local levels. The list, which includes both party members and non-party members who are in favor with the leadership, is estimated to number about 200,000 names. Someone whose name is not on the list stands little chance of being appointed, no matter how qualified they are.—IP

of artistic, scientific, social, cultural, religious, and other organizations to have complete freedom of activity.

A separate question—with fundamental implications for the whole nation—is the assurance to the farmers of Poland of the full right to an independent and self-governing union movement enjoying the same prerogatives as our union. We will support the farmers in the struggle for their rights and give them all-round legal, organizational, and other assistance.

Finally, cooperative organizations are an important form of self-government, having a long tradition in our country. They should in return be worthy of their name.

Up to now, citizens have not in practice had any influence on the composition of the local government bodies, the People's Councils. Elections are to a great extent fictitious. Councilors do not have to solicit the support of the voters, and therefore do not adequately represent their interests. Thus far the People's Councils have not only failed to take adequate action on matters of interest to the people of their particular region, but in many instances have tolerated corruption, illegal privileges, embezzlement, and waste.

Our union, guided by its understanding of the best interests of working people, feels obliged to call upon the government to change this state of affairs. In particular, we must insist on the following:

- Changes in the election laws for the People's Councils, providing for a real choice of a representative from among several candidates.
- Acceptance of the principle that anyone can run in the elections to the People's Councils if they obtain the backing of enough citizens.
- The holding of new elections to the People's Councils before the end of the current year, based on newly democratized election laws.

V. Union Life

1. The regional and trade structure of the union

Our union has not yet built up a complete organizational structure, but even today it can be said that its basic principle has been established—that of regional ties assuring mutual assistance and solidarity among working people in the different trades and workplaces of the region. The regional structure of the union guarantees the best defense of the workers' interests and provides the best conditions for negotiations with the authorities and administrators on the national, regional, local, and factory levels.

However, the union also fully appreciates that the overall groups in each occupation or trade have their own particular needs. Therefore within the framework of the regional structure, occupational sections have been created. These sections encompass factory union organizations based on specific trades, or interfactory organizations based on an in-

dustry. They form coordinating councils or commissions on the regional level, from whose initiative is derived the authority of the section for that trade on the national level. In this manner, the interests and needs of each category of workers should be protected in relation to the union's territorial units. On the other hand, the subordination of the trade and occupational commissions to the territorial and national bodies of the union assures the protection of the common interests of the working people.

The union faces a big problem in organizing these sections and commissions adequately and in working out the proper relations between them and the main leading bodies of the union—the regional and national bodies.

Among the main tasks of the sections are to draft collective labor agreements and other documents on matters relating to the problems of workers in a particular trade, in addition to

We will support the farmers in the struggle for their rights . . .

initiating action on questions relating to professional qualifications, health hazards, safety and work hygiene, etc. In certain situations, the regional union authorities may also empower the trade or occupational sections to carry out other functions. In the day-to-day practice of the union, trade and occupational problems arouse very sharp feelings, both as a result of the traditions of the former trade-union structures and because of current needs. Therefore, questions relating to the proper relations of the section to the union authority, the division of labor and scope of their tasks, the methods of setting up leadership bodies in the trade and occupational sections, etc. urgently require wide discussion.

2. The main principles of trade union democracy and activity

We want our union to be independent, and we know what that means. We want it to be self-governing and democratic, and to be a source for extending democracy into the public life of the entire country. The rules and the practical work of the union should reflect the principles that define the character of our union democracy and activity.

First, all members of the union are equal. Each one has the same rights and a single vote. Each one has the right to freely express an opinion on union matters. No member is better or worse than another, regardless of any functions they carry out that may temporarily give them powers to make decisions in the name of the rest of the members.

Second, the purpose of the union leadership is to serve and to represent the members. Each full-time official in the union is no more than a representative authorized by his or her constituents to serve them and the union as a whole. They must provide regular and complete information to the members about what decisions

are taken and why. They may also be recalled from official positions if that is what their constituents want.

The effective functioning of the union is impossible without provision for the necessary full-time staff, office space, and technical equipment. However, the difficult material situation of the country and the union and the bad experience with the former CRZZ⁵ requires us to maintain a certain modesty and restraint in fulfilling these needs. It is necessary to economize in managing the union's finances. The wages of full-time officials should not be higher than other wages in the national economy.

Third, the life of the union is based on openness. The equal and representative character of official functions in the union acquires real meaning only under conditions of open activity at all levels of the union. In particular, all negotiations with the government and with the representatives of the [state] employer must be conducted openly. Every union member must have a chance to look over the documents of the union leadership and its bodies. They in turn must use all possible means to inform as many members as possible about the real problems and the measures taken.

The union organization and the factory circle have a special role to play here. Their task is not only to provide information about the positions of the union leaders, but also about the positions of individual organizations and the activities they are carrying out for the sake of the fullest possible information about the life of the union.

Fourth, the union acts in concert, on the

The purpose of the union leadership is to serve and to represent the members . . .

principle of solidarity. This is the basis for the commitment of each self-governing workplace organization to the idea of general solidarity in action by all working people. This was seen most clearly in the strikes, in which each factory or region was ready to provide mutual assistance.

These universal ties of solidarity left a special imprint on our union. In our own interests, we decide to act in response to the interests of others. Maintaining this solidarity requires regular collaboration and the exchange of information among factory organizations representing different industries and different regions, regardless of which territorial leadership body of the union they belong to.

Fifth, members of the union are bound by its common agreements. The statutes of the union or resolutions of factory meetings are binding on all members of the organization,

even if they voted against them. It is essential to adhere to decisions democratically arrived at, even when departures from them can bring some immediate benefit. Within the union, the rule of law—through our statutes and various resolutions that are establishing our precise internal legal structure—is indispensable both for effective action and for democracy.

This does not exclude criticism and debate. To the contrary, criticism and debate are signs of a healthy union. This regular criticism is vital in order to control the activities of the union and its individual bodies, but the changes resulting from such criticism should also be carried out in accordance with democratic principles.

Compliance in our union life with the above principles is not a simple matter. The need for collective action in a situation of constant threats and uncertainty may sometimes tend toward the need to place efficiency above democratic principles. But in reality, the union's democracy is its strength. There is no better discipline in action than the unity of those who have participated in a comprehensive way in the making of decisions. We therefore cannot allow a siege mentality to be imposed on us. On the contrary, it is just this defect in public life that we are struggling against.

Sixth, and finally, the union utilizes different forms of struggle to realize the interests of the workers. These include intervening in the case of disputes between workers and employers, raising demands before the employers and government, organizing and leading mass protest actions, etc. Strikes, however, play a special role. We must not forget that the strike is not only a method of last resort, but also a test of the union's prudence and solidarity. Therefore, we must have good reasons for calling a strike, and they must be seen as such by society. Moreover, there should be enough justification for calling a strike in relation to the social costs that it may entail.

As a guide to this, several principles are necessary:

A. The strike should be effective, and at the same time entail as little cost as possible.

B. The strike must have the support of society itself. In connection with this, information on the reasons for the strike must be circulated widely.

C. It is important to use strikes selectively, choosing those areas where a strike is most painful to the state employer and as painless as possible for the people. Strikes should spare those areas of the economy that supply the immediate needs of the people.

Another important element of union struggle is negotiation (with management or the government). In such talks it is necessary from the very beginning to make careful preparations and to know what to aim for. If, as is often inevitable, there are compromises, it is above all important not to allow them to lead to disputes within the union, but to solidify the organization by preparing for further struggle for its cause.

We must safeguard union democracy

through various institutions and forms of activity. When dealing with union matters, the union press and publishing operations cannot be subject to censorship on the part of the union leadership. It has to be the source of regular information and criticism of shortcomings, which are certainly unavoidable.

We must also see to it that the flow of information within the union goes in many directions, providing constant, rapid, and detailed information to the lower bodies and ranks about the decisions and actions of the higher bodies, and also regular information to the higher levels about the needs and opinions of

In our own interests, we decide to act in response to the interests of others . . .

the members. It is likewise essential to disseminate information among individual union organizations in factories and in different regions.

3. The main functions of the factory organizations

The bedrock of union life is the self-governing factory organization. Union organizations at higher levels represent the factory organizations and make democratic decisions in regular consultation with each factory labor union. Regional or national leadership bodies make decisions only on matters that are of interest to all union members.

Therefore, each factory organization must work out its own program of action. Four main types of issues are contained in such a program:

1. Actions to safeguard the rights, dignity, and interests of workers on the job. This is connected to control over the management of the workplace and its particular agencies. This requires continual control over working conditions and supervision of decisions regarding wages, promotions, transfers, compensation, benefits, and vacations.

The factory organizations act in defense of their members and in the interests of all workers, regardless of whether or not they belong to the union. They also attempt to encourage amicable relations among workers and try to involve them in organizing their work in an efficient manner.

2. Providing for the social and spiritual needs of union members and their families.

Factory organizations should plan different social activities with the aim of consolidating solidarity among the union branches and developing the individuality of union members. It is necessary, through collaboration with other factory organizations or specialized union agencies, to organize sport, recreational, educational, and cultural activities. Such common experiences can bring people closer together and prepare them for joint action in threatening situations, when the time comes for energetic

5. Centralna Rada Związkow Zawodowych (Central Council of Trade Unions), the old party-controlled and bureaucratically-run union federation that was dissolved following Solidarity's formation.—*IP*

struggle in defense of their rights.

Within the self-governing framework, each factory organization must develop its own ways to carry through these tasks. These questions are just as important as the defense of economic interests. That is why our union commits itself to the aim of developing the individuality of working people and wants to help them develop their spiritual and family lives. Therefore, the factory organization should encourage amateur sport and cultural movements. It should try to get workers to participate in university classes, and possibly widen the range of subjects. It should also arrange free time for vacations and excursions and for different forms of celebrating union holidays together.

3. It is necessary to have an all-round discussion on how employees of the union factory organizations should be paid. All (or some of them) may be paid by the enterprise, which is legally obliged to release from their duties employees who are carrying out union functions. This solution can involve considerable financial savings for the union, and may be legally enforced on the enterprise. Another solution is to cover the expenses of the individual factory organizations through the union budget, a solution that would emphasize the total independence of the union. Factory workers employed by the union factory organization would take leaves of absence from the factory without pay.

In cases where the first solution is adopted, that of using for the factory organization full-time employees from the workplace, it is also necessary to decide whether these full-time positions should be reserved exclusively for union employees (secretaries, accountants, experts on wages and health and safety matters,

There is no better discipline in action than the unity of those who have participated in the making of decisions . . .

legal advisors, etc.), or may also be used for elected union activists.

4. Control over the broader activities of union bodies and collaboration with other factory organizations. It is the duty of every union member to see to it that his or her representatives are acting in accordance with the interests of the members and with the democratic principles of the union. In cases of improper conduct, criticism is essential. It may even be necessary to relieve union officials of their functions for improper behavior.

VI. Conclusion

Solidarity is the main guarantor of the process of renewal. There is no other social force in Poland that can take its place in this task. In embarking on the road of renewal, we must

have determination and we must be ready to make sacrifices. Either Solidarity manages to transform its social environment, or the old system will impose its norms and aims on us, cripple our efforts, and in the end absorb us,

thus obliterating the hopes for a rebirth.

There is no retreat from the course we have chosen. We can only go forward, toward a complete renewal of the country.

February-March 1981

STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Protest victimizations in Japan

[The following statement was passed by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International at its May 7-14 meeting.]

* * *

The struggle against the construction of Narita airport outside Tokyo, which has lasted for almost two decades, reached the Japanese courts in March this year. The Japanese judiciary, acting under obvious political pressures, handed down verdicts whose vindictiveness is unequalled in the annals of postwar Japan.

Fourteen Japanese militants were sentenced to more than four years in prison. Seven of them are member of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (JRCL), the Japanese section of the Fourth International. It is not a pure accident that they received the heaviest sentences. Comrade Watada and comrade Maeda were given ten and eight years in prison respectively.

The trials began three years ago. More than one hundred militants were arraigned before the courts; forty of them were members of the Fourth International and they were sentenced for periods between one and four years.

The JRCL has been singled out for prosecution because it played a leading role in the protests against the new airport and was the backbone of the united front of farmers, workers and students which led the struggle.

The opening of the airport had been postponed on several occasions over the last fifteen years because of the protests. The Japanese government made it a point of prestige that it should be opened in March 1978, but the occupation of the control tower by demonstrators delayed the opening for another three months.

The ruling Liberal Democratic Party was determined to punish this audacity. Repression on the streets was not considered sufficient, although as a result of police violence, our comrade Niiyama was badly wounded and died later in the hospital.

The comrades on trial were charged with

Protests needed

Letters of protest should be sent to Judge Hanajiri, c/o Supreme Court, 1-14 Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan, with a copy to the Airport Opposition League, c/o Shinjidaisha, 5-13-17 Shiba, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

"endangering aircraft safety," a clause designed to punish hijackers, at a time when the airport was not being used. The heavy sentences are a result of this particular law.

The struggle continues to this very day. The airport, though open, has only one runway and the jet fuel is transported by rail instead of an underground pipeline, whose construction cannot be completed because of the resistance of the people who live in the area.

The local of the Railway Drivers Union with 1,400 members is on the side of the farmers, but its initiatives have been blocked by the national leadership of the union. The local branch was finally expelled, an event which unleashed further struggles within the union on a national scale.

The heavy sentences represent an attempt to paralyze the Japanese section of the Fourth International. International solidarity is crucial. We appeal to all socialist and progressive forces in the world to raise their voices against the victimizations and carry out solidarity actions wherever possible.

South Africa Blacks mark Soweto uprising

On June 16, South African police in the Black township of Soweto, outside Johannesburg, attacked a crowded church in which nearly 5,000 people were holding a memorial meeting marking the fifth anniversary of the start of the Soweto student rising, in which more than 400 Black students were killed by South African security forces.

Police fired tear gas outside the packed church. As the clouds of gas drifted into the church, the crowd inside pressed to the exits, coughing and choking. Riot police continued to fire off canisters as the people in the church tried to escape the fumes.

For several hours, riot police in battle dress chased youths through the alleys and backyards of the huge township. At dusk, the area was declared off limits to journalists.

Black leaders in Soweto had declared June 16 a day of mourning for the youth murdered by police in the 1976-77 student struggles. According to a dispatch in the June 17 *New York Times*, "the call on Soweto to observe a day of mourning was at least 50 percent effective, judging from the passenger loads on the normally packed trains and buses from the township this morning."

Successful election boycott

Reflects growing opposition to Marcos dictatorship

By Janice Lynn

A broad coalition of opposition forces, called the People's Opposition to the Plebiscite and Elections (PEOPLE), carried out a successful boycott campaign of the June 16 Philippines elections.

Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos had hoped to use the phony election to bolster the legitimacy of his shaky regime. The result, however, was the opposite.

Despite government threats to imprison anyone who did not vote, boycott organizers report that only 58.6 percent of registered voters in metropolitan Manila actually went to the polls.

An independent survey of randomly selected precincts in Manila showed about a 65 percent turnout, with 8 percent of those defacing their ballots or marking them "boycott."

The government elections commission, claiming that 85 percent of the population voted, declared Marcos to be the winner. Marcos's sixteen-year rule will now be extended another six years.

Organizers of the boycott termed the action a success and explained how the boycott would have been even greater had the government not repeatedly warned of severe penalties for not voting. They also told of widespread voting fraud, including the use of "flying voters" who were transported from one polling place to another.

Among those participating in the boycott campaign were the United Democratic Opposition (UNIDO), a formation of ex-senators, congressmen, and other bourgeois figures; the Civil Liberties Union of the Philippines, composed of lawyers and former Supreme Court justices; the May First Movement (KMU), the one-million-strong independent labor federation; as well as student, religious, political, and other groups.

At the conference that launched the boycott campaign a month before the elections, a dominant theme stressed by all the participants was repudiation of U.S. imperialist interference in the Philippines, a U.S. colony until 1946.

Correspondent Henry Kamm pointed out in the May 24 *New York Times* magazine:

"In many years of travel through formerly colonized nations, this writer has encountered nothing that rivals the Philippine-American relationship in the depth and extent of the imprint that a colonial power has left behind."

Kamm noted the striking parallels between the situation in the Philippines and what existed in Iran before the overthrow of the shah. He pointed to the wide and growing gap between the great wealth flaunted by Marcos, his relatives, and friends, and the rest of the country's vast impoverishment.

"Manila's slums are as extensive and down-trodden as before," Kamm wrote, "more conspicuously so now that Mrs. Marcos has seen to the building of sumptuous public buildings and hotels. . . . The country's wealth is still concentrated in the hands of a few hundred families; there is a small middle class, but the majority live in the rural barrios and urban slums."

Inflation last year rose more than 20 percent. And out of a labor force of about 18 million, only 5 to 6 million have regular jobs. Unemployed workers go without any compensation.

Filipino workers are among the lowest paid in Asia. At sugar plantations, wages are fixed at about \$3 a day, but workers do not always receive even this meager amount.

Labor unrest has been on the rise. Since the beginning of the year, some 200 spontaneous actions erupted in various workplaces demanding higher wages, protesting employers' refusal to pay cost-of-living allowances, and demanding the right to strike.

On May Day, an estimated 50,000 workers gathered in Manila at a rally called by the May First Movement labor federation. The rally was followed by a militant funeral procession for a worker who had been shot by his supervisor. Other regional labor actions were also held.

New arrests of Chinese oppositionists

Since early April, the movement to democratize Chinese political life has come under severe pressure. Ten prominent activists were arrested in early April (see *Intercontinental Press*, June 15, 1981, p. 629). Since then another twelve opposition leaders have been taken into custody.

Most of the figures held by police were involved with the unofficial magazines that have sprung up throughout China. Those arrested in the latest sweep were:

Chen Er-jin, from Yunnan province, author of the pamphlet *On the Revolution of Proletarian Democracy*, written in 1975-76. Chen is a Marxist who holds that China is ruled by a privileged bureaucracy.

Zhang Jing-sheng, a twenty-seven-year-old worker in a machine shop. Zhang edited the unofficial magazine *Wanderers* in 1979. The name was later changed to *The Republican Press*. Last October Zhang was actively involved in the local election to the People's Congress in the Changsha Teacher Training School. That campaign later developed into a big student strike against the bureaucratic abuses.

Chu Jian-bian, twenty-six, a worker in a Wuhan steel mill. He played a leading role in

The last year has also seen widespread student and teacher demonstrations and an increase in popular resistance in the countryside to landlord and government abuse.

Growing number of Catholic priests and nuns have become involved in supporting struggles of tenant farmers and sharecroppers.

The holding of elections for the first time in thirteen years and Marcos's January 17 proclamation ending martial law come in the context of this rising opposition among all sectors of the population to his dictatorial regime.

The U.S. bankers are worried about the estimated \$3 billion worth of U.S. investments in the Philippines. Many large corporations, including Ford, Westinghouse, and Coca Cola, have sizeable operations in the Philippines.

But perhaps even more important for the U.S. imperialists are their two big military bases in the Philippines. Both Subic Bay naval base and Clark air base (housing some 17,000 U.S. troops) are among the largest U.S. military installations in the world. With the continuing advance of the Indochinese revolutions, the Philippine bases have begun to play an even bigger role in the calculations of the U.S. rulers.

This point was underscored when U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig arrived in Manila June 17. Haig said he had come to the Philippines to consult with Southeast Asian foreign ministers on "the dangerous activities of Vietnam. . . ."

Attempts by Washington to use the Philippines as a staging ground for any new military adventures, however, would surely provoke big protests and further undermine Marcos's already shaky regime. □

the unofficial magazine *The Sound of the Bell*.

Qin Yong-min, twenty-eight, also from the Wuhan steel mill and a participant in *The Sound of the Bell*.

Liu Er-an, connected with the unofficial magazine *Brick of Democracy*, published in Henan province.

Yang Zai-xing, from Guizhou province, the coauthor of a pamphlet entitled *Tomorrow*, which discusses the need for democratic reform in China.

Wang Yun-yuan, who founded the magazine *Tianjin Review* in 1979.

Ye Zhong-wu, editor of the magazine *April* 5.

Liu Li-ping, a Changsha university librarian and leader of the unofficial magazine *Correspondence of Ideals*.

Xing Da-kun, who was active in the Democratic Comrades Society. On December 16, 1980, that group put out posters in solidarity with the Polish workers movement and opposed to the threat of Soviet intervention in Poland.

Pen Quang-zhong, editor of *Biweekly Review*, in Guizhou province.

Qin Xian-chun, about whom no details were available. □