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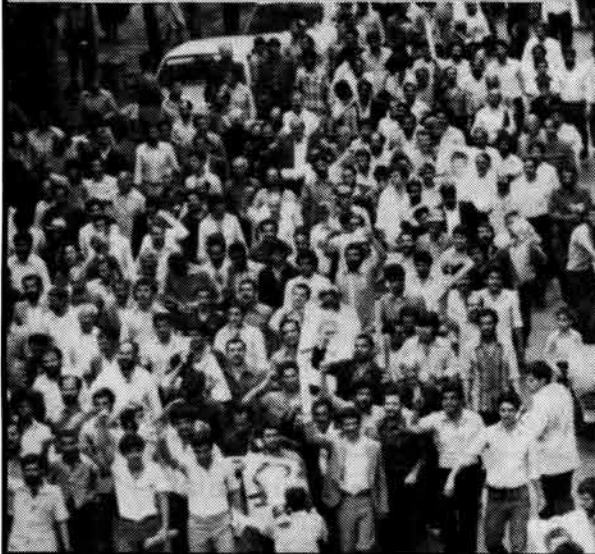
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Iranian Workers Seek to Defend Revolution as Government Factions Feud



Central America

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Apartheid regime confronts strikes, student protests

By Fred Murphy

The apartheid regime in South Africa has launched a fresh wave of repression in an effort to halt student protests and strikes by Black industrial workers.

More than forty persons were jailed under the security laws in the month of June. The laws allow detention without charge or trial, or even public acknowledgment of the victims' whereabouts.

Among those arrested was Khotso Seatlholo, former president of the Soweto Students Representative Council and one of the central figures in the Black student revolt in Soweto in June 1976. Seatlholo had been forced to flee South Africa in February 1977; he was apparently detained shortly after reentering the country clandestinely.

Seven other Black student leaders were arrested at about the same time as Seatlholo. The security forces claim the eight are leaders of the Botswana-based South African Youth Revolutionary Council, which distributed leaflets in Soweto on June 16 calling on Blacks to "organize and act against the enemy."

Strikes by Black workers

Leaders of Black trade unions have also been jailed. These include Thozamile Gqweta and Sisa Nijikelana, president and vice-president of the South African Allied Workers Union, which is based in East London; as well as much of the leadership of the Motor Assembly and Components Workers Union of South Africa (Macwusa), a new and militant Black organization in Port Elizabeth.

The apartheid rulers are especially worried by the mounting unrest among Black industrial workers. Since the beginning of 1981 there have been some fifty strikes by Black workers. "In 1980 there were 175,000 man-days lost in 207 stoppages," the June 6 London *Economist* reported, "and since then each strike seems to have involved a larger number of workers downing tools for a longer period."

In May there were strikes by 4,000 Blacks at the Sigma Motor Corporation near Pretoria and by 1,900 at the British Leyland subsidiary near Cape Town.

The most significant struggle was in Port Elizabeth, the center of South Africa's auto industry. When 1,500 Black workers at the Firestone tire factory there stopped work to oppose planned cuts in pension benefits, the company fired them en masse. Later all but 160 were reinstated. Nevertheless, 3,500 Blacks at three of the city's Ford plants went on strike in solidarity with those dismissed at Firestone, and 200 Black workers at General Motors did the same.

According to the *Economist*, "This is the

first time black workers have staged strikes in support of workers in other sections of an industry."

The Port Elizabeth work stoppages lasted for two weeks and ended with a partial victory on June 3. Firestone agreed to immediately reinstate twenty-one of those fired and to rehire the others as jobs became available.

The Port Elizabeth strikes were led by the Motor Assembly and Components Workers Union of South Africa. *New York Times* correspondent Joseph Lelyveld described Macwusa in a June 3 dispatch as "one of the newest and most assertive black labor unions." He said it stood out for "its refusal to play by the intricate rules of the South African system of labor relations and its insistence on its right to act on behalf of the entire black community."

In East London, the South African Allied Workers Union is playing a role similar to that of Macwusa. According to a June 25 dispatch by Lelyveld, "it insists on voicing the political grievances of black workers" and also rejects the apartheid regime's labor laws. The employers have fought the union by firing some 2,000 of its 16,000 members, but this has not dampened its militancy. On June 24, more than 1,000 persons rallied in the East London city hall to demand the release of fifty-seven workers from the Wilson-Rowntree candy factory who were jailed in early April.

At the rally, it was announced that twenty-one of those workers had just been released. (The jailings were carried out by the authorities of the Black "homeland" of Ciskei, where most East London workers live.)

'Republic Day' protests

While the strikes by auto workers in Port Elizabeth were going on, the regime was fac-

ing more generalized protests against its apartheid policies. The focus was the government-sponsored celebrations of "Republic Day," the twentieth anniversary of South Africa's withdrawal from the British Commonwealth.

There were calls for a boycott of the festivities by many organizations, ranging from the banned African National Congress to the South African Council of Churches. Inkatha, the organization headed by Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of the KwaZulu "homeland," placed advertisements in major South African newspapers calling on Blacks to boycott Republic Day.

Also calling for a boycott was the Roman Catholic Church. Owen Cardinal McAnn, archbishop of Cape Town, declared in a pastoral letter read in all churches that "the bishops believe that the vast majority of our people are not participating and generally do not wish to do so. . . . They are deprived and oppressed and have no meaningful say in the government, nor full citizenship in this, the land of their birth."

The archbishop's letter was accompanied by a quotation from the Old Testament's book of Amos: "I hate and despise your feasts, I take no pleasure in your solemn festivals. . . .

"Let me have no more of the din of your chanting, no more of your strumming harps.

"But let justice flow like water, and integrity like an unfailling stream."

On May 27 there were student demonstrations at the Johannesburg city hall, at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, and in Cape Town. Each involved several hundred protesters.

At Chris Botha high school in the Coloured suburbs of Johannesburg, 150 students held a hunger strike. ("Coloured" refers to persons of mixed ancestry. Coloureds are part of the overall Black population, but are placed in a separate category by the apartheid regime as part of its attempt to divide the oppressed masses.)

Botha's cops broke up the university students' protest in Johannesburg and arrested forty-eight students in Cape Town. Among those jailed in Cape Town was Andrew Bo

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raine, the white leader of the National Union of South African Students. As of June 26 Boraine was still being held under the security laws.

Police also moved against the Coloured high-school students who organized the hunger strike in Johannesburg, arresting student council president Aziz Jardine. On June 3, thousands of students set out from Chris Botha high school on a march to demand the release of Jardine. As the marchers approached Westbury high school, where they planned to call on other students to join them, they were brutally attacked by police.

Using tear gas, bullwhips, and guard dogs, the cops broke up the march and then proceeded to attack students at Westbury high school as well. Tear gas was fired into classrooms and students were chased into the adjacent hostel where many of them live.

"All the children wanted to do was get away from the classrooms where they were suffocating," said the wife of Westbury's principal, Yvonne Petersen. "This is their home but they were dragged across the floors of their hostel and kicked. I had a total feeling of helplessness and when I protested they came at me with a bullwhip and slashed me."

Two students were hospitalized and between forty and sixty arrested. The next day, June 4, three more Coloured students were injured when police attacked peaceful protesters at Rivierlea high school.

Anniversary of Soweto rebellion

On June 9, some 6,000 Coloured high-school students in Johannesburg and Cape Town boycotted their final examinations to protest the brutal attacks and continue demanding the release of Aziz Jardine.

The boycott of Republic Day was accompanied by several armed actions for which the African National Congress later claimed credit. A police station near East London was attacked with hand grenades and machine-gun fire, bombs hit commuter rail lines in Durban and Johannesburg, power lines were sabotaged in the province of Orange Free State, and a powerful explosion destroyed an army recruiting office in Durban.

On June 16, nearly 5,000 persons gathered at a church in Soweto to mark the fifth anniversary of the student uprising in that Black township of Johannesburg. Police attacked the gathering, firing tear gas at the church and routing the crowd. For several hours, riot police in battle dress chased youths through the backyards and alleys of Soweto.

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 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."

In the days following the Soweto protests, the security forces announced the arrest of Khotso Seathlo and other Black student lead-

ers, Thozamile Gqweta and other trade unionists, and journalists. Among the latter were two leaders of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, ex-President Zwelakhe Sisulu and General Secretary Thami Mazwai. Mazwai is the news editor of *The Sowetan*.

The identities of most of the arrested trade-union leaders have not been reported. However, the *New York Times* said June 23 that they were "mainly from black unions that have so far refused to seek formal registration under the Industrial Conciliation Act, which bars labor leaders from taking any active role in polit-

ics."

The apartheid regime can no more prevent Black workers from taking part in politics—that is, from fighting for their liberation—than it can stop the tides. The constant strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, and other acts of resistance, in defiance of the most vicious repression, is testimony to the irrepressible struggle that is gathering force in South Africa.

In the meantime, defenders of human rights around the world should demand that the South African government release its latest victims. □

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Workers movement sweeps elections

Voters give Mitterrand a mandate for change

By Will Reissner

The workers movement won an overwhelming victory in the second round of France's parliamentary elections, held June 21.¹ When all the votes were counted, the Socialist Party had won a clear majority of the seats in the National Assembly. The SP now holds 269 of the 488 assembly seats (three more remain to be elected). The new National Assembly will serve for five years.

In addition, although the Communist Party saw its representation drop from the 86 seats it held in the outgoing assembly, it retained 44 seats. Between the SP and CP, therefore, the workers parties now hold 64 percent of the seats in the assembly. This victory far surpasses any previous electoral showing by the workers parties in French history.²

The smashing sweep by the workers parties in the legislative elections comes on the heels of Socialist François Mitterrand's May 10 election to a seven-year term as president of France.

Left vote steadily rose

Significantly, the vote for the workers parties rose steadily through the two rounds of the presidential election in April and May and the two rounds of the legislative election in June. In the April 26 first round of the presidential poll, the candidates of the SP, CP, and other workers organizations won a total of 44.7 percent of the votes cast. In the May 10 second round, Mitterrand won 52 percent as the sole candidate of the left.

The total of votes for the left continued its rise in the June 14 first-round of the legislative elections, with the workers parties taking 54 percent of the total vote.

The steady increase in the vote for the workers parties reflects a groundswell of support for fundamental change in France. With each successive trip to the polls, the workers as a whole became more confident, and the more hesitant elements swung into the "workers camp." In this process, the workers parties

1. French elections take place in two rounds. If no candidate receives a majority in the first round, a runoff election is held. Any candidate who received at least 12.5 percent of the vote in the first round is eligible to continue into the second round.

Before the elections, the SP and CP made a formal agreement that each party would withdraw in favor of whichever did best in the first round.

2. In addition, six independent leftists of various stripes and fourteen members of the capitalist Movement of Left Radicals were also elected to the assembly and have pledged to support the new parliamentary majority.

drew in millions of people representing new layers of the working class and important segments of the petty bourgeoisie.

The increase in the left's standing between the May 10 presidential poll and the June 14 first-round of the legislative elections is all the more significant because the electorate was bombarded by a month-long scare campaign by the capitalist parties and big-business media on the dire consequences that would result if the workers parties controlled both the legislative and executive branches of government.

The working-class vote in the face of this propaganda barrage was a sweeping mandate for change. It was also a massive repudiation of the policies of Mitterrand's predecessor as president, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. Giscard's program had aimed at driving down the wages and living standards of French workers, attempting to make working people bear the brunt of the international capitalist recession.

Immediately after taking office, Mitterrand decreed a number of popular measures that helped insure the election of a legislative majority for the Socialist Party. These measures included a 10 percent raise in the minimum wage, a 25 percent boost in state benefits to low-income families, a 20 percent hike in old-age benefits, and a 25 percent increase in rent subsidies for the poor.

Mitterrand also announced the cancellation of plans to build the Plogoff nuclear power plant in Brittany, which had been the target of massive protests. He annulled the unpopular decision to take over large amounts of farm land in central France to expand a military base, and he abolished some of the political spying that French police agencies carry out against citizens.

The new president also announced a program to create new jobs, financed by an increase in taxes paid by corporations and the wealthiest layers of French society.

CP ministers

On June 23, two days after the second round of the legislative elections, Mitterrand named a new forty-four person cabinet, which includes four members of the Communist Party. One of the four CPers, Charles Fiterman, was named to the important post of minister of transport and was designated a minister of state, a title he shares with only four other cabinet members.

The inclusion of the four CPers marks the first time since 1947 that Communists have served in a French cabinet, and it drew a public protest from the U.S. State Department.

While the election results reflected a sweeping victory for the workers parties, they also

confirmed a basic restructuring that has been taking place within the French left for a decade.

Until the mid-1970s, the French CP had been the strongest workers party in every respect—membership, apparatus, strength in the union movement, and electoral support. Since World War II the CP had regularly polled about 20 percent of the vote nationally.

Traditionally, the SP had been much weaker. In the 1969 presidential elections, for example, the Socialist Party had declined to the point where its candidate received barely 5 percent of the vote.

At the 1971 Socialist Party congress, the SP decided to try to stem the erosion of its support by making a fundamental turn in its orientation, opting for cooperation with the CP instead of its previous orientation of participating as a junior partner in successive center-left capitalist governments.

The leading proponent of this new orientation was François Mitterrand. The alliance with the CP was consummated in 1972 with the establishment of the Union of the Left and the adoption of its Common Program.

Although the Common Program set a class collaborationist and procapitalist framework, the prospect of what was seen as a united workers government aroused great enthusiasm in the working class. Through the Union of the Left the SP steadily grew in size and influence, while the CP maintained its traditional strength.

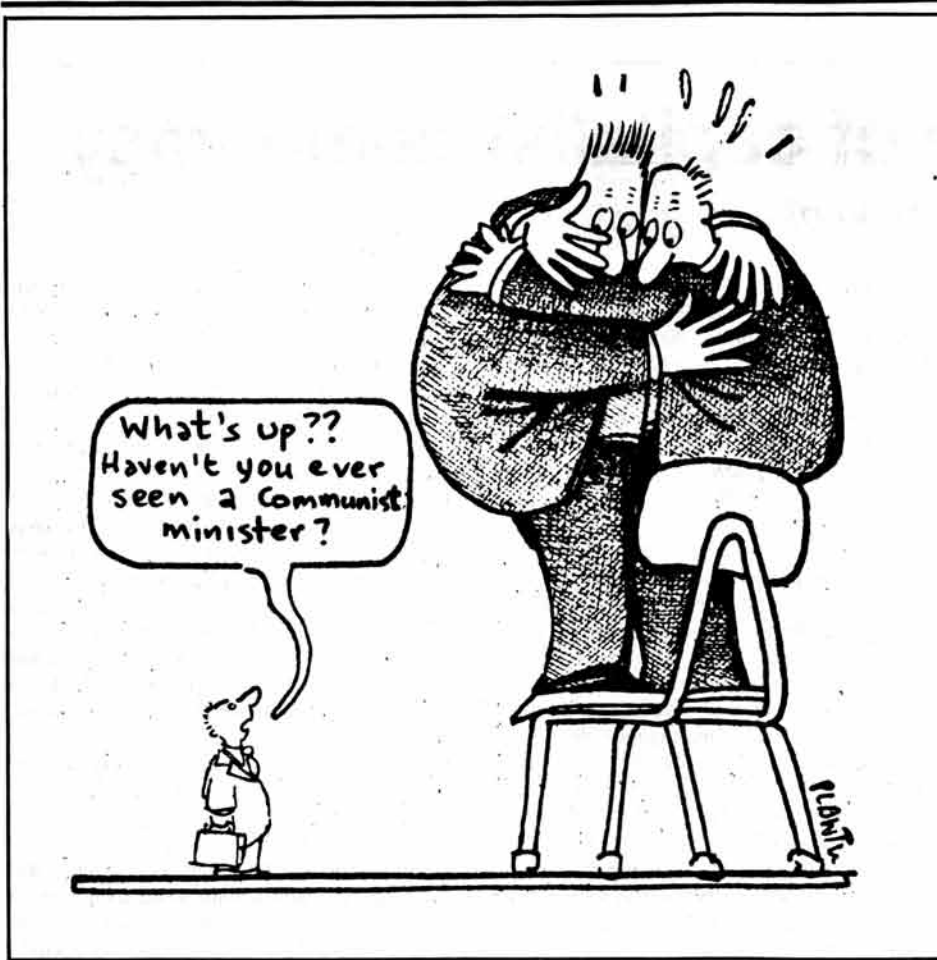
SP growth

The SP's growth came primarily from new layers of the working class such as technicians and newly proletarianized residents of rural areas like Brittany and western France that were undergoing significant industrialization for the first time. At the same time, the SP established a limited degree of influence in the traditional working class strongholds controlled by the CP.

The CP leadership became alarmed at the SP's steady growth, worrying that the SP was taking the lion's share of the gains from the Union of the Left. As a result, in 1977 the CP leadership torpedoed the alliance, only a few months before the 1978 legislative elections that had been expected to result in a victory for the Union of the Left.

By breaking up the Union of the Left, the CP hoped to turn the clock back to 1971, reestablishing its unchallenged position as the premier party of the French workers.

The split was manifested not simply in the electoral arena, but also on the factory floor and in the unions, where cooperation between



the two parties and the unions they influence broke down completely.

Following the break-up of the Union of the Left, the CP focused its fire on the SP rather than on the Giscard government and the bosses. It also began appealing to racist and anti-immigrant prejudices in hopes of bolstering its electoral support.

In the 1978 legislative elections the SP's vote surpassed the CP's for the first time in decades, 22.8 percent to 20.6 percent.

That process went further in this year's presidential and legislative elections. Not only did the SP's vote score continue to rise, but for the first time the CP's dropped sharply. That decline was largely due to dissatisfaction with the CP's three-year long policy of blind sectarianism toward the SP.

In the first round of the presidential election, CP candidate Georges Marchais got only 15.3 percent of the vote. This loss of one-quarter of the party's traditional electorate was then confirmed in the first round of the legislative elections, where the CP polled barely 16 percent.

The CP leadership was finally forced to back off from its sectarian stance to the SP after the first round of the presidential election. But the shift came too late for the CP to win back those who had turned to the SP in disgust.

The dramatic shift in the relationship of forces

within the left can perhaps best be seen by comparing the 1969 presidential election with the 1981 legislative election. In 1969, the CP presidential candidate received four times as many votes as his SP rival. Twelve years later in the 1981 legislative elections, the CP got only one-half the votes the SP received.

But it is important to bear in mind that the greatest part of this change in the relationship of forces between the parties came about not through a decline in CP strength, but rather through a very large growth in the total vote for the workers parties, most of which went to the SP.

The SP now has an absolute majority in the National Assembly. It could have ruled by itself if it had wanted to. Instead, it chose to broaden the base of the regime in two directions. On the one hand it gave four ministries to the Communist Party, which enhances Mitterrand's reputation as a supporter of workers unity while also forcing the CP to accept responsibility for Mitterrand's future policies.

Bourgeois ministers

But the SP also made a gift to the capitalists—providing a token of its intention to remain well within the limits of capitalist property relations. Immediately after his election as president, Mitterrand placed a few members of the

bourgeois Movement of Left Radicals and left Gaullists into the cabinet. These cabinet members do not represent the workers movement. In fact they have no base of support of their own whatsoever.

They were only elected to parliament because the SP decided to give them the seats. It chose not to run candidates against them and urged SP supporters to vote for them. Had the SP run its own candidates against them, they could not have been elected, and the SP majority in the National Assembly would have been even larger.

These powerless procapitalist forces were included in the cabinet in order to make a demonstrative statement that the SP government plans to limit the scope of its reforms.

But the bourgeoisie, which has suffered a crushing defeat on the electoral front, has stronger weapons than the Left Radicals and Gaullists for exerting pressure on the Mitterrand government. It has many tools at its disposal, including layoffs, factory closings, pressure by the general staff of the armed forces, and currency manipulation. The bosses will not sit back with folded arms and allow the new government a free rein. They will instead step up their pressure to limit the reform measures contemplated by Mitterrand.

Workers mandate

But since the elections, the workers are in a much stronger position to defend their interests and to move to the counterattack. The French working class gave the SP and CP the means to govern by themselves, without any representatives of capitalist parties. And the dancing in the streets that greeted Mitterrand's election shows that the workers fully expect the new government to rule in their interests.

They voted against austerity and unemployment and showed they are unwilling to bear the costs of the capitalist economic crisis. The expectation of the workers that Mitterrand's government will rule in their behalf makes the capitalists of France upset and anxious.

However, an electoral victory, no matter how sweeping, does not in itself decisively change the relationship of forces between the working class and the employers. The workers must also be actively mobilized around their vital objectives.

This point was made by Alain Krivine, a leader of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), the French section of the Fourth International, following the second round of the legislative elections. Noting that the election results reflected "the desire for change and for unity," Krivine pointed out that the next task of "the workers in their totality is to mobilize in unity to turn their electoral strength into combative strength against the employers, who will leave no stone unturned in their attempt to get their revenge."

The French elections have opened a new period in French politics. How that period turns out will depend in large part on how effectively the electoral victory can be turned into unity in struggle by the ranks of the working class. □

Behind façade of capitalist democracy

Socialist lawsuit poses question of who governs

By Tom Martin

NEW YORK CITY—"In 1946 I was transferred back to the seat of government."

"What do you mean by the seat of government?"

"FBI headquarters."

Joseph Sizoo probably didn't mean it to come out quite that way. Even the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) can't take all the credit for the way the country is run. Still, he got the basic point right: that a tightly controlled apparatus governs the United States with scant regard for the wishes of the majority of its people—or, indeed, for the laws of the land.

Sizoo was testifying here in a lawsuit brought against the government by the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). The two organizations are demanding \$40 million in damages for harassment and disruption of their legitimate political activity, and an injunction to stop the government from targeting them in the future.

Dozens of spy agencies

It is the FBI which has been center stage in the trial: its break-ins, smear campaigns, bug-

ging, phone-tapping, mail opening and countless other attacks on the democratic rights of the SWP and YSA have taken up the bulk of testimony. But the FBI is only part of a systematic attempt to silence opposition to Washington's policies. Recent days in the trial have revealed:

- Extensive CIA activity against the SWP and YSA—topped off by a cover-up that failed.

In 1976 the CIA claimed to have handed over all relevant documents. But recently a whole lot more popped up out of an independent request under the Freedom of Information Act. Among other things, these new documents show an informer at work in the SWP well after the supposed termination of the CIA's main domestic intelligence program, "Operation Chaos," in March 1974.

- Spying and disruption by Military Intelligence. In Chicago this included collaboration with a right-wing terrorist group, the Legion of Justice—one of the victims being the YSA. The scale of the whole operation is shown by a Senate subcommittee finding that in 1971 an Army "subversive file" held 211,243 dossiers on organizations and 80,371 biographical files.

- Detailed surveillance by Naval Intelligence, including a report on the 1968 YSA convention complete with photographs.

- Monthly reports by the United States Air Force in the 1950s on SWP activities throughout the country.

- Constant surveillance by the Secret Service. One agent, Wayne Dean, told the court how he had infiltrated the 1971 YSA convention, supplying tapes of speeches and a complete photographic record of speakers to Secret Service headquarters in Washington.

Nor are these the only agencies involved. Previous testimony has shown how the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and Internal Revenue Service (IRS) also single out SWP and YSA members for special attention. And all these agencies work hand-in-glove with each other and with other arms of the state.

'Unwritten practices'

Another thing has also become clear as different government agents wend their way in and out of court. *It was this lawsuit which directly prompted the Attorney General to call a formal halt to the FBI's investigation of the SWP and YSA in 1976.*

This is hotly denied by every government official, of course. One and all claim that suddenly they saw the light. New standards were necessary. And this just happened to coincide with a blaze of publicity for the SWP/YSA suit.

But what else could explain the extraordinary state of suspended animation which seems to reign in most of these agencies when it comes to the SWP and YSA?

The most ludicrous example came from Joseph Knazik, a top official in the Office of Personnel Management (OPM)—the body which is supposed to ensure the "loyalty" of federal employees. Knazik testified that while they still forwarded an FBI characterization of the SWP as dedicated to overthrowing the U.S. government, an accompanying statement explained that this could not be taken into account. Even the most sensitive government posts were not exempted.

Judge Thomas P. Griesa couldn't believe his ears. "I just can't understand that," he kept saying. "What if someone comes along and says . . . shouldn't we put two and two together and make four?"

Knazik was acutely embarrassed. But he told the judge that there was no way of attacking the problem without help from the Justice Department—"and that has not been forthcoming." So they just did the best they could, rely-

Trial ends after twelve weeks

NEW YORK—The trial of the lawsuit brought by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) against the U.S. government ended here on June 25.

No one knew quite what to expect when the trial opened on April 2. As Judge Thomas P. Griesa commented, after nearly eight years in preparation it could have been little more than an "elementary plodding through documents" proving the facts of forty years of spying and disruption by the FBI and other government agencies.

But the socialists' attorneys instead used the trial to expose the fundamental workings of the capitalist state. They forced out the way in which the powers of the president in "national security" matters are used to ride roughshod over the constitutional guarantees which supposedly protect the right of dissent. Some of these issues, it turns out, have never before been ruled on by the courts.

The judge himself paid tribute to these

efforts. In his final remarks he praised the lawyers for having "sensed the issues with a depth and sophistication I really didn't dream of."

Both sides now have to prepare written briefs summarizing their arguments in the trial. The SWP and YSA must file theirs by August 25; the government has three weeks to respond; and finally the socialists have a further ten days in which to rebut material in the government's brief.

The judge also indicated that he would then like to hear some oral argument from both sides. A likely date for this would be early October. Given the complexity of the issues, the judge's final opinion is therefore not expected much before the end of the year.

Even then, some or all of his rulings will almost certainly be appealed. And the government attorneys have already raised the further possibility of a motion to deny the whole case on the grounds that "national security" prevented them from putting up a proper defense!

ing on an "unwritten practice established in 1976."

It's strange how many "unwritten practices" this trial has turned up with regard to the SWP—and how rarely help has been forthcoming from the Justice Department. FBI agent Gary Stoops explained earlier how he had repeatedly asked the Justice Department to clarify a similar problem. But nearly five years later he was still waiting for an answer, despite at least two letters from the FBI Director to the Attorney General!

Why the silence?

Why the silence unless the Justice Department saw it as only a very temporary problem? It is difficult not to draw the conclusion that they were only waiting for a settlement in the lawsuit—expected long before now—and then everyone could open up for business as usual again.

Some agencies, indeed, still investigate the SWP and YSA—keeping their hand in, perhaps, for when the great day arrives.

Knazik testified, for instance, that the OPM "develops its own information" on members of the SWP and YSA—but isn't allowed to pass it along to anybody. And the Secret Service still updates its files in the course of monitoring all protest actions.

What is more, the FBI's informers haven't necessarily dropped out either. FBI agent Joseph McMahon testified that it was "possible" that informers could have remained inside the SWP and YSA while being "redirected" to spy on other organizations.

A crucial loophole was also left open for the CIA in the Attorney General's September 9, 1976 memo closing down the FBI investigation. This "noted that information disseminated by the CIA to the FBI indicates a significant link between the Socialist Workers Party and a foreign-based political group [the Fourth International]. This type of information should be carefully watched to see whether in the future a reconsideration of this case is required."

A gratified FBI notified the Attorney General on September 30, 1976 that, "Unless advised to the contrary, the FBI will continue to accept and review information about the SWP from the CIA and foreign intelligence agencies. . . ."

No objections from the Attorney General appear to have been forthcoming.

Actions 'undertaken by the sovereign'

All this is just what can be gleaned from the public record. So the true picture can be imagined. As former CIA Counter-Intelligence

Staff Chief James Angleton once put it: "I find it inconceivable that a covert agency is expected to obey all the overt orders of the government" (*Washington Post*, October 23, 1975).

But it would be wrong to think that the problem is just a series of maverick agencies out of control. On the contrary, every agent and government official who has appeared in court has pointed to "the inherent power and responsibilities of the President" to justify illegal acts going back over forty years. They have documents to prove it, too.

President Nixon may have been more outspoken about it, but he certainly wasn't stating anything new when he said: "It is quite obvious that there are inherently government actions which if undertaken by the sovereign in protection of the interest of the nation's security are lawful, but which if undertaken by private persons are not."

Note the words "the sovereign." That's just what the American people fought to get rid of in 1776. And the government has the nerve to claim that all this is necessary to ward off the "totalitarian" threat from the SWP and YSA!

June 16, 1981

It costs money to cover U.S. politics

Central America, Indochina, Iran and the Middle East, Poland—*Intercontinental Press* can be depended upon to cover the hot spots in the class struggle around the world.

Of course, that's not all *IP* does. Interviews with revolutionary activists, documents from different sectors of the working-class movement, features and debates on questions of particular interest, and much more are regularly carried in our magazine.

But there is something that is worthy of special mention: *IP*'s coverage of developments within the United States.

Anybody looking through *IP*'s indexes of previous years would quickly notice that the "USA" listing is almost invariably the longest.

How could it be otherwise?

No revolution takes place anywhere in the world, no mass struggle against oppression and exploitation, without the intervention, in one form or another, of the U.S. rulers.

Whether through diplomatic maneuvers, economic pressure, military threats, secret disruption programs, or outright invasion, the U.S. imperialists seek to influence events and control the destiny of the entire world.

Thus, from one point of view, our coverage of U.S. politics is an extension of

our coverage of revolutions and mass struggles outside the United States.

Side by side with President Carter's economic warfare against the Iranian revolution and his military attacks was his attempt to whip up chauvinism and militarism within the United States. The same is the case with the moves by Carter and Reagan against Cuba and against the revolutions unfolding in Central America.

Analyzing the success—or lack of success—that the U.S. rulers are having in their drive to change the attitudes of the U.S. working class is something that is of vital interest to every revolutionary.

IP readers have an important edge in this. For example, during the Iran hostage crisis, when virtually sector of the capitalist news media internationally, and even many papers on the left both inside and outside the United States, were all talking about the wave of chauvinist hysteria supposedly sweeping the U.S. working class, *IP* was explaining that the reality was quite different.

Events since then have shown that the sentiment against Iran was a lot more fierce in the editorial columns of the capitalist press than in the minds of the workers.

There is another side as well to *IP*'s coverage of the United States. The U.S. working class is the most powerful in the

world, and for the first time in decades it is being buffeted by economic crisis. Coming on top of the political shocks of the Vietnam War and Watergate, the crisis is pushing new layers of the working class into political life.

Big changes are going on in the thinking and attitudes of the U.S. workers, and these are beginning to be reflected within the trade unions. Whether it is an analysis of the myth that American workers are moving to the right, an explanation of why Reagan was elected to the presidency, or new developments within the Black liberation movement or the U.S. trade unions, you can depend on *IP*.

And we also carry such special features as the coverage of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against secret police spying and disruption, and our articles on Washington's military buildup.

We would like to do even more to keep you up to date on what is happening in the United States, but it takes money. We are limited by both the small size of our staff and the small number of pages we can afford to print each week.

However, our readers can help. Please send whatever you can afford today. Mail it to *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, USA.

FBI informer testifies against socialists

Rat tried to frame up Andrew Pulley, Ernest Mandel

[The following articles appeared in the July 3 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Edward Heisler, who functioned within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as a paid informer for the FBI, testified June 17 and 18 in the damage suit brought against the government for political victimization.

The government called Heisler to the stand as one of its principal defense witnesses.

He joined the Milwaukee Socialist Workers Party in 1960 and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in 1961. Later he was a member of the Chicago SWP and YSA. In 1975 he was elected to the SWP's National Committee and served in several capacities as a party spokesperson.

According to his testimony, he became an FBI informer in March 1966.

In bringing him to the stand, the government apparently hoped to convey that such informers are not as despicable as they seem and don't do the damage that their victims claim.

Throughout its examination of him, the government sought to establish that even though he was an informer he had been a "dedicated" and "loyal" member of the SWP. Heisler proved a cooperative witness who tried hard to bolster this preposterous thesis.

'Loyal,' 'dedicated'

Representing the defense, U.S. Assistant Attorney Edward Williams asked Heisler:

"Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, did you consider yourself a dedicated Marxist-Leninist?"

Heisler responded, "Yes."

And during this period, Williams continued, "did you consider yourself a dedicated member of the SWP?"

"Yes, I did."

"Isn't it true that without question your loyalties were with the SWP?"

Again, "Yes."

The government attempted to establish that Heisler had submitted accurate reports on the SWP.

Heisler agreed. He testified under oath that he had never fabricated information and tried, as best he could, to be accurate.

His testimony, particularly under cross-examination, proved his "accuracy" was on the same par as his veracity and his "loyalty" to the party.

His testimony established a number of things, including:

- He submitted lists of names to the FBI of people who attended public SWP forums, drawing attention to the names of foreign-born people who could be subject to deportation and victimization in their homeland.

- He submitted a report to the FBI which falsified what SWP leader Andrew Pulley had said at an antiwar conference.

- He submitted a lying report about a visit to this country by Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International and a noted economist.

- He entered the party headquarters during off hours to copy political and personal correspondence for the FBI.

Heisler told the court that he contacted the Chicago FBI in March 1966 and told them he was disillusioned with the SWP and YSA and was interested in making money as an informer.

Fanciful tale

But, he testified, what he told the FBI wasn't the real reason he had decided to become an informer. He then told the court a patently absurd tale. He had become persuaded, he said, that at some point the government would try to victimize the SWP. If he "infiltrated" the FBI, he would undoubtedly be presented as a witness at some future trial of the party. He would then expose the government frame-up.

Under cross-examination by SWP attorney Margaret Winter, a more plausible story emerged.

At the time he signed up with the FBI he was eligible for the draft and had already had his pre-induction physical.

In fact, it was established, he just received his induction notice.

Shortly after his visit to the FBI, Heisler was called up for induction, only to learn—to his "surprise"—that he had been classified 4F. [The classification of those excused for medical reasons.]

Apparently it was no routine matter. A memo from J. Edgar Hoover was sent to a ranking Army intelligence officer advising that Heisler had agreed to become an informer against the SWP.

And "inform" he did.

The attempt to frame Andrew Pulley was perhaps the most sinister.

Heisler had submitted a report to the FBI on a 1969 Cleveland Conference of the Student Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam.

Pulley was one of the speakers at the conference. At the time, Pulley had won national at-

tention as one of the Fort Jackson Eight, a group the Army attempted to victimize for their active opposition to the Vietnam War.

Lying report

In his informer's report to the FBI, Heisler had written:

"Andrew Pulley spoke first. He stated the antiwar movement should attempt to reach GIs on the basis of a free speech fight and the bring the troops home now demand rather than support the NLF [Vietnamese National Liberation Front] as the SDS proposes. According to Pulley, GIs are *not yet ready* to take up arms against their officers or to overthrow capitalism, *although this is the long-term perspective.*" (Emphasis added.)

Cross-examined by Winter, Heisler said it was unlikely Pulley would have said GIs "are not yet ready" to take up arms, "although this is the long-term perspective."

Apparently forgetting his previously asserted concern for "accuracy," Heisler added, "First, I rarely if ever went over a report after I had prepared it. . . ."

Presiding Judge Thomas Griesa was quite interested in an assertion that an SWP or YSA member favored GIs taking up arms against their officers, now or in the future, and he questioned Heisler closely on this.

He finally asked Heisler: "Do you recall now consciously putting down an incorrect summary of what he [Pulley] said?"

Heisler replied: "No, I don't recall consciously doing that."

This flatly contradicted his earlier answer to Winter's questioning.

Mandel targeted

Heisler was also established to be a liar in the report he submitted to the FBI about Ernest Mandel.

In the fall of 1968, while Mandel was on a lecture tour in this country, Heisler sent a report to the FBI falsely asserting that Mandel had given a report to the Chicago branch of the SWP. (Participation in such a meeting could have been the basis for charging that Mandel had violated the terms of his visa.)

The report went on to offer an even more invidious falsehood. It stated:

"Ernest Mandel's tour is *primarily designed to raise money for the financing of the operations of the Fourth International*. \$250 was received from Student Government at Northern Illinois University . . . and another \$250 was received from Notre Dame University where Mandel spoke." (Emphasis added.)

This lying report could well have been one

of the pretexts for the State Department's later denial of visas to Mandel.

Questioned by Winter, Heisler again had to concede his "accurate" reporting was not all that accurate. His report on Mandel allegedly attending an SWP branch meeting was "contradictory" in that the report gave a list of people who attended and Mandel's name was not among them.

And concerning Mandel's alleged fund raising for the Fourth International, Heisler was compelled to admit he had no other basis for the assertion than his "guess at the time."

Heisler's professed "loyalty" to the SWP fared no better.

In 1970, a gang of right-wing thugs known as the Legion of Justice made several physical attacks on the SWP headquarters. Later it was established that this gang had the complicity of the Chicago Police Department "red squad" and an Army intelligence unit. The FBI denies direct involvement.

'Personal safety'

After the first Legion attack, Heisler testified, he had a meeting with his FBI "handler" and "indicated to him that I was concerned about my own personal safety in the event of any future physical attacks on SWP members."

He added that his "handler" assured him that if the FBI did learn of any slated future attacks by the Legion of Justice. "I would be alerted . . . so I wouldn't be injured. . . ."

Heisler's dirty tricks were not limited to the SWP.

In 1967, Heisler went on a tour of Indiana, Illinois, and St. Louis for the Student Mobilization Committee. The SMC was building at the time for an antiwar demonstration in Washington.

Rat on anyone

Heisler and the person traveling with him compiled a list, some half-dozen pages long, of people to contact for possible support to the action. They included two Episcopal ministers in St. Louis and an Indiana clergyman who headed a group opposed to the war.

Heisler filed the entire list with the FBI.

Just 'quit'

Heisler asserts he quit being an FBI informer in 1971. But it was not until July 1980 when the present trial appeared to be headed for court that, for reasons yet to be established, he wrote a letter to the party revealing he had been an informer. He was promptly expelled.

According to Heisler's story, when he told the FBI in 1971 that he no longer intended to be an informer his handler paid him one visit to find out if he wanted more money. Heisler says he told him no and that was the last he heard from the FBI until he revealed himself.

Such respect by the FBI to an informer's desire to quit seems unusual. In fact the government even continued to shield him. In 1976, Heisler had signed a waiver authorizing the government to turn his complete dossier over

to the SWP in preparation for the current trial. (He was one of thirty-five leading party members for whom the files were requested.)

Judge Griesa wanted to know from the government why it had continued to shield

Heisler's identity after he had signed the waiver. Government attorneys responded with their customary double talk, but failed to explain why they had concealed this information from the court and from the plaintiffs. □

'I don't talk to cops'

NEW YORK—Lawyers for the FBI dropped the name of Bill Massey from their witness list June 19.

Any hope they might have had of using his testimony for their benefit had collapsed.

Now a member of the Workers World Party, Massey was once a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a leader of the Internationalist Tendency, a minority group inside the SWP in the mid-1970s.

During the previous week, Hedda Garza, an ex-SWP member who had also been a leader of the Internationalist Tendency, gave testimony that an FBI attorney admitted had been prepared in collaboration with the government during secret, off-the-record meetings.

By contrast, Bill Massey's rejection of government overtures for off-the-record meetings is an example of how members of the workers movement have traditionally handled such moves by the police.

The trial of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment is now in its third month.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Massey told how the government had attempted to draw him into collaborating against the SWP and YSA, and how he rebuffed them at every turn.

"It began when I got an unusual call on March 31," Massey said. "When the caller identified himself as being from the FBI, I immediately hung up."

The next morning at 6:45 a.m. two FBI agents were at his door with a subpoena. It "commanded" him to turn over to the government "all documents in your possession or control referring or relating to the Socialist Workers Party, the Internationalist Tendency and Fourth International."

It also "commanded" him to "testify on behalf of the United States of America" in the socialist suit.

"My decision was automatic. It flowed from my own outlook and the outlook of my party. We would in no way cooperate with the government. The fact that this is a case against the government brought about a convergence of interests with the plaintiffs, the SWP and YSA."

Massey informed SWP members handling the suit about the subpoena and his attitude toward it.

He then secured an attorney, Jesse Berman. "I explained our position on the case,

which was to cooperate with the plaintiffs."

Berman then contacted Edward Williams, assistant U.S. attorney and head of the legal team defending the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies.

Williams said that Massey would not be called to testify for a few weeks. When Williams inquired about the "documents" the government was asking for, Berman said that his client had instructed him to inform the government that he had no such documents.

Still, in the next weeks Williams continued to press Massey through his attorney to produce the documents, even though he repeatedly insisted that he had none.

The government lawyer then suggested an informal meeting.

"Williams proposed to my attorney that I come down and look over some documents. He said this would give me an opportunity to familiarize myself with those I would be questioned on.

"I immediately rejected this. I don't talk to cops—whether they are cop cops or lawyer cops. I had no desire to talk to the government."

On Monday, June 15, Massey got word from the government that he was to testify the following Friday.

"I got to the courtroom early that morning. As I was sitting there, one of Williams's associates, whom I had never met, pointed me out to him.

"Williams came over and asked if I was Bill Massey.

"I said, 'Yes.'

"He asked if I had received his message. I said I hadn't.

"Williams then said, 'We're dropping you as a witness.' He paused a second, then added, 'Unless you want to be.'

"I said, 'No.'

"'Would you like to meet and talk about it?' he asked.

"'No,' I answered.

"'Well, I'm sorry about the inconvenience,' Williams said.

"Then, as I was leaving the room, he came after me and said, 'Mr. Massey.'

"I turned around.

"'You are entitled to a \$20 witness fee for your trouble, if you like.'

"'No,' I said. 'I don't want anything from you.'"

—Nelson Blackstock

Behind government infighting

Rulers caught between toiling masses and imperialism

By Janice Lynn

What do the recent events in Iran signify?

Has the removal of Abolhassan Bani-Sadr from the presidency and the executions of leftists who had rallied behind him meant the reversal of the revolution?

Has the struggle of the working class and its allies against imperialist oppression and class exploitation been defeated?

The capitalist media has attempted to portray these events as proof that the Iranian masses have gained nothing through their revolution.

The June 18 *Christian Science Monitor* declared that within two months the "process of establishing an Islamic theocracy will have been completed."

The editors of the *New York Times* wrote the same day that this is confirmation "that Iran has not been liberated by the overthrow of the Shah."

On June 21 the *Times* described the Iranian regime as "descending into chaos and becoming even more repressive and intolerant than the one it swept away."

Many of these claims are also echoed by various groups on the left who believe a reactionary "clerical dictatorship" has been established.

Capitalists offer no solutions

The conflict that led to Bani-Sadr's removal was a faction fight between two wings of the capitalist government. None of the fundamental issues of concern to the masses of Iranian workers—the struggle against imperialist threats, the Iraqi invasion, or the economic and social problems—were debated or discussed in this power struggle.

What has become clearer is the inability of the capitalist class and its government—which is desperately trying to rebuild a stable capitalist state—to solve the basic problems of the revolution.

Bani-Sadr's ouster is not comparable to the fall of the government headed by former Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan in November 1979. That fall was based on the anti-imperialist mass mobilizations surrounding the occupation of the U.S. embassy (Spy Den). It was an expression of the masses' opposition to the complicity of capitalist politicians such as Bazargan with U.S. imperialism. And during this process, workers and peasants raised their own demands and the workers' independent organizations were strengthened. There was an expansion of democratic rights such as freedom of the press and assembly.

In contrast, Bani-Sadr's ouster, by a vote in

the parliament, has been accompanied by repressive measures—the banning of newspapers, attacks on leftists, arrests, and executions.

In order to understand what is behind these latest events, it is necessary to step back and take a look at the origins of the dispute between the two wings of the Iranian capitalist government. And especially to look at the role of the working class in the whole dynamic of the Iranian revolution.

Gains of Iranian workers

The overthrow of the shah's hated totalitarian regime in February 1979 came about through the struggles of the masses who mobilized in the millions in united action. In the course of the year-long mobilizations, the working class came forward as the backbone of the broad mass struggle.

Tremendous expectations were created among the workers, the urban poor, the peasant population, the oppressed nationalities, and women. These layers moved ahead to struggle for their demands.

Some very important gains were won. At the same time disappointment arose at the inability of the government to solve the problems in the country.

The most fundamental accomplishments of the revolution have not been reversed either by imperialism or by its counterrevolutionary representatives inside Iran and throughout the region.

First of all, the monarchy was abolished and an anti-imperialist government that refused to take orders from Washington was established. The Iranian people won some important democratic rights that had been completely denied under the shah. Although today many of these rights are under attack, for the most part they have not been reversed.

Factory workers organized their own committees (*shoras*) to fight for their interests. They exercised the right to strike and the right to engage in political activities—all of which had been forbidden under the shah. SAVAK (the shah's secret police) and some of the most hated managers were driven out of the plants.

The workers won some very tangible gains. Wages for most industrial workers were doubled and the workweek was reduced from forty-eight to forty hours per week.

In the countryside, peasants began organizing *shoras* as well and began dividing up the land of the big landowners and foreign corporations.

SAVAK was abolished and thousands of antishah political prisoners were released from

jail.

The revolution also opened the possibility for the oppressed nationalities to organize and launch massive struggles to win their national rights. These struggles are continuing.

For the first time, millions of working-class and peasant women came out of the political isolation of the home to fight for the kinds of economic and social improvements that hold the key for ending women's oppression.

Behind these achievements lay the power and strength of the Iranian working class. There was a marked rise in the level of political consciousness and revolutionary activity among Iran's workers. Their determination to be free of foreign domination and the increasing awareness of the need for working people to run the country, was repeatedly expressed in many of the massive demonstrations the workers participated in.

The mass mobilizations that surrounded the fourteen-month-long occupation of the U.S. embassy marked a deepening of the revolution, leading the working class to begin relying more and more on its own strength and organization.

Counterposed to this powerful working class stood the weak capitalist government trying to establish a stable capitalist state. But to accomplish this, it needs to curb independent action by the workers.

Aim of U.S. imperialism

It is precisely because of what the working class has accomplished and the high level of mobilization that exists that imperialism remains intent on seeing the Iranian government overthrown.

U.S. imperialism seeks to stop the revolutionary process and crush the working class and its organizations. Washington fears that the present Iranian government cannot carry out this task, and sees it as an obstacle to its counterrevolutionary plans throughout the Middle East. This threat from imperialism remains the greatest danger to the revolution.

The September 1980 invasion of Iran by the Iraqi regime—encouraged by imperialism—was a real part of this threat to the gains won by the revolution. Its aim was to reverse and defeat the Iranian revolution. This opened a new stage of the revolution where virtually the entire country mobilized for the war effort.

The capitalist government in Iran is caught between these two powerful forces—the mobilized masses on the one hand and U.S. imperialism on the other, seeking to reverse the revolution.

The Iranian government's defense of capi-

talism and its fear of the masses prevent it from applying the measures necessary to carry through the war to the end or solve the country's economic and social problems. This leads it to take measures to try to demobilize the masses and erode their rights.

Nevertheless, the working class is in a more favorable position to organize itself than under a regime that is an imperialist puppet.

The working class has not been defeated. But until it is powerful enough to replace the capitalist government with a workers and peasants government, the Iranian working class defends this government—and its own position and organizations—against imperialism and imperialist-inspired attacks such as President Carter's abortive raid in April 1980, or the current Iraqi invasion.

Iraqi invasion

It is in this context that the crisis of the Iranian capitalist government takes place.

Over the last nine months, the central concern of the Iranian workers and peasants has been with winning a decisive victory in the war against the Iraqi regime's imperialist-inspired aggression.

Independent initiatives began to be taken in the factories, in the neighborhoods, in the villages, among youth, and among women to mobilize to defeat the Iraqi invasion. Workers formed mobilization committees in the factories to organize volunteer militias to go to the front. There were demands for massive arming of the population. Military training programs were organized.

At the beginning, the working class was willing to make certain sacrifices for the war effort—working overtime, postponing wage demands, and accepting economic austerity measures.

But as the war dragged on, it had the effect of spotlighting the country's economic problems—especially the severe inflation and unemployment.

Shortages of goods became more acute. The housing crisis was intensified as refugees from the war zones streamed into the cities. The hoarding and sabotage of production by the capitalists became more obvious amid the war-ravaged economy.

Workers stepped up their demands for workers control over production and distribution in order to solve these problems and carry through the war effort. In the process the workers organizations came into greater and greater conflict with factory managers.

Spreading discontent

Discontent became more widespread at the government's inability to solve these pressing economic problems as well as its inability to win any decisive victories in the war.

As the brunt of the crisis bore down harder on the working class, struggles around economic issues began to revive.

Work stoppages and numerous struggles took place, especially when the government tried to renege on the payment of the workers'



Intercontinental Press

New Year's bonuses at the end of March. In some factories victories were won and management was forced to pay the bonuses.

In response, the government tried to curb any expression of this discontent, firing many of the most militant workers in the factories and in some cases even putting them in jail. Protests were lodged by the workers against these illegal expulsions and jailings, and the government was forced to release many of the workers.

At the same time, the Iranian government's failure to carry out effective measures in the war was becoming clearer. There was no response to the workers' demands for massive arming of the population, no nationally organized mobilizations on the scale that was needed, no heavy artillery sent to the front, and no coordination of the various units fighting in the war.

The government's refusal to recognize the national rights of the oppressed Kurdish people and its repeated military attacks against Kurdistan was an obstacle to the kind of united mobilization necessary to win the war. It weakened the ability of the Kurdish nationality to participate fully in the fighting against the Iraqi regime.

In factories throughout the country the work of the military mobilization committees was being undermined by management who fired many of the best militants in these committees.

At the war front, the top army officers—many of whom were the same as during the

shah's regime—sabotaged the war effort, putting their hopes instead in various peace initiatives that were being proposed.

Divisions sharpened between the top army brass and the soldiers, and between the army command on the one hand and units of the Pasdaran (Revolutionary Guards) and other volunteer militias on the other hand.

To win a victory in the war entails the massive arming and mobilization of the workers and peasants. Fear of the masses prevents the government from doing this.

To solve the country's economic and social problems entails taking decisive action against the Iranian capitalist and landlord class.

Divisions within government

As the opposition and discontent with the government among the working class deepened, the divisions between the "liberal" wing of the government and the clergy-led Islamic Republican Party (IRP) wing came to a head. Fundamentally, these divisions are over how best to rebuild the capitalist state and contain the independent mobilization and organization of the workers and peasants.

But the power struggle was weakening the government even more in face of the widespread discontent and questioning.

It was in this context that the IRP stepped up its campaign against Bani-Sadr, reflecting the culmination of more than a year of governmental infighting.

On June 21, after ten hours of publicly broadcast debate, the Iranian parliament voted that Bani-Sadr was "politically incompetent." This paved the way for Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to remove him from the presidency, as provided by the constitution. New elections are reported to be scheduled for July 24.

Socialists in Iran report that workers have not participated in any active or organized way in either pro-Bani-Sadr or anti-Bani-Sadr demonstrations, although most did not support Bani-Sadr's removal.

The 10,000 demonstrators outside parliament June 21, calling for Bani-Sadr's ouster and execution—an extremely small number compared to the hundreds of thousands who have participated in sustained anti-imperialist demonstrations—were essentially the base of the Islamic Republican Party. This base is composed primarily of sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and the unemployed, not the working class.

Both factions tried to utilize the masses of workers but have not been successful.

Bani-Sadr attempted to use the issue of democratic rights to rally people to his side and defend himself. But his record speaks for itself.

His appeal on the question of democratic rights in the eyes of the masses tended to be undermined by his opposition to the occupation of the Spy Den, by his calling for the dissolution of factory shoras a year ago, and his support to a number of repressive measures that were not in the interests of the working class—the government's offensive against the



Anti-imperialist protest during occupation of U.S. embassy in Tehran. Imperialism continues to pose main threat to Iranian revolution.

Kurdish people, the attacks on university students and leftists, and his opposition to independent mass mobilizations against imperialism by the various Islamic formations thrown up during the revolution.

Bani-Sadr's role in the war

When Bani-Sadr was first elected nearly a year and a half ago, many workers and peasants had illusions that he would be able to solve some of their problems, especially since his candidacy had been supported by Khomeini. Leading up to the elections, he had come forth with a number of economic proposals. But the country's economic situation has worsened.

Following the Iraqi invasion, Bani-Sadr's support among the working class began to rise somewhat. Because he spent much of his time with the army officers at the front, in the eyes of many people he was identified with the crucial fight against the Iraqi invaders.

Many of the young Islamic militants in the factories and cities who had gone to fight at the front, however, experienced firsthand the traitorous role played by the army officers under Bani-Sadr's command—their refusal to engage in battle or coordinate actions with the Pasdaran, militia units from the factories, and youth brigades.

Bani-Sadr's main base of support came from the middle classes—the bazaar merchants, intellectuals, professionals, students, and layers who were becoming disillusioned with the revolution. This amalgam also included layers of the top army officers and bourgeoisie who sup-

ported Bani-Sadr's goal of reconstructing the shah's army and state. At the same time various leftist groups such as the Mujahedeen looked to Bani-Sadr.

The IRP meanwhile, tended to be more identified in the eyes of the masses with the anti-imperialist struggle. The Islamic religious ideology of the Iranian workers and peasants is the form through which their progressive social aspirations are expressed, especially their hatred for the years of imperialist oppression and exploitation by foreign oppressors.

Muslim mosques served as organizing centers for the mass movement against the shah and continue to play an important role in organizing mobilizations against imperialism and in the fight against the Iraqi invasion.

But workers also ran up against the IRP's opposition to many of their demands. The IRP-led government has tried to cut back the workers' wages, attacked their organizations, arrested some of the workers' leaders, and curtailed their democratic rights.

Thus, among the working class there had begun to be less and less distinction between one or the other faction of the government as regards their main concerns—solutions to the war and the economy.

Role of Khomeini

Of all the figures in the revolution, Khomeini continues to have the most prestige and the greatest support from the Iranian people. This is largely because from the beginning Khomeini stood firm against any compromises with the shah and U.S. imperialism.

Khomeini has maintained his position of balancing between the different factions in the government, sometimes siding with Bani-Sadr against the IRP and other times with the IRP against Bani-Sadr. He reads the anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses, and he bends to it.

Since Khomeini has now taken such a decisive position in the governmental disputes, however, he will now be viewed as more directly responsible for the outcome of the new government's policies.

Although the working class has not been involved in most of the pro- or anti-Bani-Sadr demonstrations, there was one popular outpouring that did involve some segments of the working class. This was an action against a call by the bourgeois National Front for a demonstration June 15 against repression, Islamic laws, and for democracy. The National Front is composed primarily of bourgeois figures around the bazaar and remnants of the bourgeois intelligentsia who had participated in the government of Mohammed Mossadegh from 1951-53. The National Front seeks closer ties with U.S. imperialism and had called for the downfall of the government of Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Rajai.

Khomeini went on radio warning that this was a dangerous counterrevolutionary display. More than 100,000 people poured into the streets in response to Khomeini's call, successfully preventing the National Front demonstration from taking place.

In the midst of repelling the Iraqi invasion and threats from imperialism, the working class viewed the National Front's demonstration as being against the best defense of the revolution.

Attacks on leftists

In the following days, numerous street clashes took place. These were primarily between leftist groups like the Mujahedeen, Fedayeen (minority), Peykar, and small Maoist groups on the one hand, and street gangs, referred to as "hezbollah" (meaning Party of God).

These well-organized gangs, who are mobilized to attack the leftists, are not from the factories, but from the unemployed city youth. These small groups of hoodlums, under cover of anti-imperialist slogans, are used and led by the capitalist forces to go after the left.

While these gangs have no base in the working class, the working class is still not organized enough to counter the actions of these gangs. Meanwhile, they are able to act with almost complete impunity with the government tolerating the service they perform in attacking the left.

According to reports from the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), the HKE headquarters in Tehran was attacked by a gang of "hezbollah." Socialists were beaten up, equipment broken, furniture destroyed, and books, pamphlets, and newspapers torn. Pasdaran who arrived on the scene arrested two of the gang leaders.

In Isfahan, a similar attack occurred. Three

HKE members were stabbed and one—Naser Farzan—was hospitalized with a punctured lung.

The primary target of these street gangs has so far been left-wing groups like the Mujahedeen who view the revolution as having been defeated and who believe that an autocracy or "clerical dictatorship" has been formed that must be overthrown.

The Mujahedeen and groups with similar views have little or no confidence in the Iranian working class and instead join forces with the "secular-liberal" bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois forces around Bani-Sadr. They support this liberal wing of the bourgeois government as a lesser evil to the IRP wing of the government.

On June 18, the Mujahedeen announced it was "launching war" against the Islamic Republic and called on the Iranian people to "resist with all the means at our disposal."

This declaration of armed struggle against the government and the revolution is a suicidal course which completely leaves out any perspective of organizing the working class around its concerns.

At a time when the country is beating back an Iraqi invasion, this declaration of war gives a handle to the government and to counterrevolutionary forces to step up its repression against any opposition. And it plays right into the hands of imperialism and its counterrevolutionary agents who are intent on overthrowing the revolution.

For example, on June 27 an assassination attempt was made on the life of Hojatolislam Ali Khomeini, Tehran's Friday prayer leader. No group immediately claimed responsibility.

[As we go to press, it has been reported that a powerful bomb explosion at the IRP headquarters in Tehran has killed at least sixty-four IRP members, including IRP leader Ayatollah Mohammed Beheshti. Some twenty-three IRP government ministers and members of parliament are among those dead. The explosion occurred as Ayatollah Beheshti was addressing the IRP's weekly meeting.

[Pars news service said the blast was the work of "counterrevolutionaries." Tehran government radio blamed "mercenaries connected to the United States." At least three other bombing attacks have occurred in recent days. Such actions strengthen the hand of imperialism against the Iranian revolution and the gains of the workers and peasants.]

Executions of leftists

On June 20, at least 50,000 members and supporters of the Mujahedeen had attempted to hold an armed demonstration in Tehran and in several other cities across Iran. Severe fighting broke out between Pasdaran and armed youth from the poor neighborhoods and the Mujahedeen demonstrators. There were some thirty deaths on both sides, more than 200 wounded, and hundreds of arrests.

The week following this demonstration there were a series of executions carried out by

the government against leftists belonging to the Mujahedeen, Fedayeen (minority), Peykar, and several small Maoist groups. These executions are an attempt to weaken and demoralize the entire working class and to intimidate anyone from speaking out.

Among those executed was the well-known poet and playwright Saeed Soltanpour. Before the revolution, Soltanpour had been active in the struggle against the shah, having been imprisoned several times in the shah's jails during the 1970s. Soltanpour had recently signed an open letter protesting repression in Iran.

At least twenty-five young men and women who participated in the Mujahedeen's June 20 demonstration in Tehran have been executed. In Urmia, capital of the mainly Kurdish province of West Azerbaijan, eight Kurds were put to death on June 26.

Also included in the executions have been several former SAVAK collaborators, including the head of a SAVAK antiterrorist team.

On June 25, a dangerous editorial appeared in the IRP newspaper *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* condemning leftist groups it claimed were calling for armed struggle against the government. The editorial falsely accused Trotskyist groups of this, as well as of collaborating with imperialism. It specifically singled out Babak Zahraie, leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE).

The Trotskyist organizations in Iran, affiliated with the Fourth International, are answering these slanderous charges, recalling how these types of fabrications were proven to be nothing but lies when fourteen socialists were arrested and imprisoned for many months during 1979 and 1980.

In this type of atmosphere, groups are not free to distribute their newspapers or leaflets. Armed skirmishes continue to take place near Tehran University, although not in the working class neighborhoods.

Following the executions, the Mujahedeen declared that for every member killed it would reserve the right to punish those responsible.

Discussions among workers

According to reports from the Workers Unity Party (HVK), the mood among the working class is generally one of uneasiness and bewilderment at the recent events. There are many discussions and debates taking place.

"The workers are questioning the character and gains of the regime," one HVK leader explained, "and are thinking through for themselves the problems of the revolution and the future of the revolution.

"The factories have turned into places of discussion. People are thinking and changing their minds, especially those workers who had counted on and supported the Islamic current in the government. Workers are becoming more open to working-class solutions."

The removal of Bani-Sadr on the charge of his not prosecuting the war in a revolutionary manner will now place more pressure on the government to do what it had criticized Bani-Sadr for not doing. The IRP has already felt

forced to declare its intention to win a military victory in the war.

From the outset, Khomeini has felt the need to include nonclerical bourgeois figures in the government, balancing one off against the other in his attempts to reconsolidate the capitalist state. First he supported Bazargan, then Bani-Sadr.

But now the IRP and Islamic hierarchy are directly responsible for the government. This means there will be increased pressures on the IRP to solve the problems facing the workers and peasants. In the eyes of the masses, the IRP will now be more on the spot to provide solutions.

What the *New York Times* describes as a "descending into chaos" is actually a new stage in the crisis of the capitalist government faced with a powerful working class that has not been defeated.

Neither the government nor Washington has been able to crush this powerful working class, nor hold in check the anti-imperialist aspirations and struggles among other layers of the Iranian masses. Imperialism has not been able to reverse this revolution and reimpose another regime that is directly under its control.

The working class, whose expectations are still high, will continue to build and strengthen its own organizations in order to press forward for its demands. □

100,000 protest NATO missiles in Germany

More than 100,000 people marched in Hamburg June 20 to protest the presence of nuclear weapons in West Germany. The demonstration, one of the largest antiwar actions in West German history, was organized by a broad spectrum of groups, including the youth organizations of the ruling coalition Social Democratic and Free Democratic parties, and leftist, ecologist, and Protestant groups.

The Protestant churches have taken an increasingly active role in the fight against nuclear weapons and against the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in West Germany. The Hamburg demonstration, in fact, took place during a convention of 120,000 West German Protestants. That gathering was addressed by Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Defense Minister Hans Apel. To an often hostile response, the two attempted to defend the decision to accept U.S. Pershing II and Cruise missiles aimed at the Soviet Union in West Germany.

The opposition to the deployment of the nuclear missiles is growing steadily in West Germany. Significant sections of the Social Democratic Party and Free Democratic Party oppose their leaders' support for the deployment plan. According to the British weekly *Economist*, "Some West German politicians who agree that such weapons are necessary now doubt whether they can be deployed against the will of a large and determined section of the population."

FMLN: 'countryside is ours'

U.S. advisers try Vietnam-style tactics

By Juan Carlos Valerio

[The following article is scheduled to appear in the July 13 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a fortnightly socialist magazine published in New York. The translation from Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

SAN SALVADOR—The Salvadoran armed forces have ended their seventh big counterinsurgency operation of 1981. The operation took place in the mountainous area around the city of San Vicente, sixty kilometers east of San Salvador. Reports on the outcome were contradictory.

Army spokesmen claimed 250 insurgents were killed in what they termed a "large-scale cleanup operation" that began June 3 and lasted twelve days. They said they had destroyed fifteen encampments on the sides of the San Vicente (Chinchontepec) volcano and that the army had left "strategic garrisons" in the area. They also said government troops suffered fourteen dead and thirty-two wounded.

Responding to questions by reporters, the army spokesman said that no dead bodies could be shown because "our Christian soldiers give burial to the guerrillas right where they fall."

Meanwhile, the general command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) said in a statement distributed in San Salvador that the army had "failed totally in its well-publicized campaign around San Vicente volcano."

Stating that the rebels caused more than 100 casualties among the government troops and that the latter made little headway, the FMLN added that "the army is still trying to claim victory, despite its failure to break through our defense lines in the areas where we retreated in order to evacuate the civilian population."

With the San Vicente operation at an end, the troops of the Military-Christian Democratic junta were transferred to the northern provinces of Cabañas and Chalatenango for another attempt at "softening up" the rebels' resistance.

'Rapid deployment' brigade

The government operations are carried out with troops from the much-publicized Atlacatl "rapid deployment" brigade. Trained by U.S. advisers, the brigade is transported by air and equipped with modern M-16 rifles. It is backed up by helicopter gunships, fighter planes, tanks, armored vehicles, and 81-mm and 120-mm artillery.

According to military sources, the government's overall counteroffensive is patterned on

the "large-scale cleanup" tactics used by U.S. troops during the Vietnam War. Such operations have been launched against guerrilla positions in Morazán, La Unión, Guazapa, and San Vicente. Currently they are being applied for a second time in Cabañas and Chalatenango.

The same sources assert that the military objective of these operations is to expel the rebels from zones they control, exhaust them, and annihilate them. The political objective is to destroy the insurgents' organization and concentrate the civilian population in "strategic hamlets." And the economic objective is to prevent the guerrillas' survival by destroying harvests and food supplies.

The creation of "strategic hamlets," according to the military, would "convert the frontless war into a war with a clear front." Such a technique was employed in Vietnam, where the U.S. army set up some 160,000 strategic hamlets encompassing some two-thirds of the population. Censuses were taken and identification cards issued in an attempt to control the population and isolate the guerrillas.

According to local observers, the rebels have the advantage of being totally familiar with the mountainous zones of the Salvadoran countryside. They are avoiding a static, posi-

tional war, keeping always on the move. They attack the army's flanks and rear, mount ambushes, and use Vietnamese-style homemade mines and traps. According to military officers, the latter "are causing serious casualties to the army."

"It will be totally impossible to finish off the guerrillas," a top officer told a group of reporters at the close of the San Vicente operation.

FMLN-controlled areas

FMLN representative Víctor Guerrero says that the FMLN has divided the country into four war fronts, in which fifteen areas are under the political, economic, and military control of the rebels. There are also a number of mobile camps.

The fronts are as follows:

Western Front: Ahuachapán, Santa Ana, and Sonsonate provinces. FMLN-controlled areas—Metapan and El Porvenir near the Guatemalan border.

Central Front: San Salvador, La Libertad, Chalatenango, and Cuscatlán provinces. FMLN-controlled areas—San Fernando and Las Vueltas, including five villages near the Honduran border; Guazapa—Suchitoto and Aguilares—Quezaltepeque near the capital.

Near-central Front: Cabañas, San Vicente, and La Paz provinces. FMLN-controlled areas—Cinquera and Villa Victoria, near the hydroelectric plant that generates half the country's electricity; San Lorenzo—San Sebastián and the San Vicente volcano, including six surrounding villages.

Eastern Front: Usulután, San Miguel, Morazán, and La Unión provinces. FMLN-controlled areas—Perquín, including six vil-

Repression mounts in cities

MANAGUA—Repression against the civilian population by the bloody military-Christian Democratic junta of El Salvador continues unabated. The legal aid office of the Catholic archdiocese of San Salvador announced June 5 that government forces had killed 536 civilians in May and 8,236 in 1981, the majority of them after curfew. It said that 18,800 civilians had been killed by security forces in the previous nineteen months.

In a sharp increase in government bloodletting, 200 bodies—most of them decapitated, mutilated, or completely unrecognizable—were found during the week ending June 9. Among them were six young people, all under twenty years old, grabbed from their homes in the San Salvador suburb of Mejicanos on the night of June 8 and found headless the next day.

Also included in the toll were two leaders of the high school student movement. Their mutilated bodies were discovered June 5 in a village thirty kilometers north-

east of San Salvador. Rogelio Sierra, twenty, and Parsina Teresa Vasquez, seventeen, had been kidnapped on a downtown capital street May 14.

A one-day strike by bus owner-operators paralyzed service in San Salvador June 1, forcing the government to declare a state of emergency. The owners were seeking changes in the government subsidies they receive for diesel fuel. Their organization, the Asociación de Empresas de Autobuses Salvadoreños (AEAS), insisted that only a labor issue was involved. But the government charged they were really revolutionaries.

Nonetheless, the regime gave in to the AEAS demands almost at once. "The failure of the government's economic programs is forcing workers and small and medium entrepreneurs into struggle to defend their interests," the Revolutionary Democratic Front explained in a statement urging support for the strike.

—Arnold Weissberg

lages near the Honduran border; Nuevo Edén, San Agustín, Jucuarán, and the Conchagua volcano near the strategic port of La Unión on the Gulf of Fonseca.

"Besides these zones controlled by our forces, we have mobile camps that do not conform to a fixed structure, owing to the mobile war the FMLN is carrying out," the rebel spokesman said.

While Guerrero declined to say how many fighters the FMLN has on the various fronts, local observers put the total number of guerrillas at between 4,000 and 6,000.

According to Marcos, chief of the FMLN's Near-central Front, a "war economy is being

established in the areas controlled by the guerrillas, based on agriculture and cattle-raising. In addition, literacy classes are being given and political and military schools and small workshops for fabricating war matériel and medicines have been set up.

Marcos also emphasized: "Any movement by the government troops is watched by the thousand eyes of the people. Surprise ambushes, frontal attacks, traps—all are employed in order to wear down and demoralize the enemy."

Commander Jonas of the FMLN general staff in Morazán asserts that "the army controls the big cities and larger towns, but the countryside is ours." □

Canada

Solidarity with El Salvador

Trade union leader speaks out

[The following interview with Dick Martin, president of the Manitoba Federation of Labor (MFL), appeared in the June 15 issue of the Canadian socialist fortnightly *Socialist Voice*. It was conducted May 27 by *Socialist Voice* correspondents Bob Ages and Jack Wilson.

[The 70,000-member MFL has given strong support to the El Salvador solidarity effort. A May 1 concert sponsored by the MFL raised \$600 for food, shelter, and medicine for the people of El Salvador.]

* * *

Question. How would you describe the situation in El Salvador?

Answer: It's not an unusual case. What is happening in El Salvador is precisely the same thing that happened in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Honduras. An oligarchy has been in control of the country for a long, long time. That oligarchy is supported by multinational food corporations that want to control those countries. . . .

Those countries also have immense natural resources. For example, in Guatemala it is well known that they have some big oil finds [which] are of major importance to countries like the United States. They certainly don't want those mineral deposits and oil wells taken over by public corporations. So they are going to fight to the bitter end.

Q. Recently two unionists from El Salvador visited Winnipeg. What did they tell you about the situation?

A. They talked about the brutality that is taking place in El Salvador, the repression. Against the unions, but also against virtually every group that has any progressive type of attitude at all: cooperatives, trade unions, even small business people. They told us stories of

the atrocities that are taking place, perpetrated by the right-wing military junta and their supporters, the right-wing death squads.

I also question what the American military are doing in El Salvador. What is happening is that the American military—although they don't seem to be taking a direct approach to it at all—are certainly counseling people to take care of all those dissidents that don't agree with the government.

Q. The Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) was involved in the solidarity campaign with Nicaragua, and the MFL has supported the Salvadoran struggle with events like the May Day concert. How else is the labor movement involved in the Central American struggle?

A. I met last week with the American consulate here and told them of the federation of labor's disgust with the American policy in El Salvador. I also told them of our demand to remove all American troops and military aid from El Salvador. I told them the situation should be settled internally and a political settlement should come about there, rather than a military settlement. . . .

Q. What role do you see for Canadian unions in the Salvador solidarity movement?

A. I think the Canadian labor movement can do two things. One is to advocate a political settlement in El Salvador through the political process. I totally support [New Democratic Party leader Ed] Broadbent on his mission to El Salvador to try to bring about a settlement there.

Failing that, I don't see any way possible except a military solution to the whole thing, and I say military in that the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) should be supported in order to overthrow the government. There is

no other way about it.

When I say that, I am saying that the CLC and the MFL should support any way possible to achieve a political solution, meaning democratic elections. But if there is not that, and I mean in the very near future, we should throw our support behind the people who are struggling for democracy and control of their country.

Q. The American government has said it supports the junta in El Salvador to stop the so-called "international Communist conspiracy." How would you answer that?

A. There is no evidence at all that the El Salvadoran revolutionaries are supported by the Cubans or Russians. But I wouldn't be surprised if there was Cuban military equipment and Russian military equipment there, and why not?

They made an appeal to the Western world to support them and the Western world turned them down. They are against a brutal repressive dictatorship, and if I was them I would go to any country in the world that would provide me arms to overthrow that brutal, repressive dictatorship. I support that.

Second, there is no evidence at all it is a Communist conspiracy or any other kind of conspiracy. The people simply want to have a part of the national economy to live in some decency. . . .

Q. The Honorable Secretary of State has stated Canadian policy to be "quiet acquiescence" to the American policy. Would you agree that that is Canadian policy?

A. It's not acquiescence, it's total collaboration as far as I am concerned. Every drop of blood that is dropped by a Salvadoran peasant and guerrilla fighter is a responsibility of Canada's, just as much as it is of the United States and General Haig.

The Americans, in my belief, would have listened to Canada if [Minister of External Affairs Mark] McGuigan had spoken out and said, "Your position is wrong, get out of El Salvador, quit sending military equipment." The Americans would have looked around a little more before they made another move. We are guilty as much as the Americans of what is taking place there today. □

Mass protests in St. Vincent

Thousands of people demonstrated against two new repressive laws that are being proposed on the Caribbean island of St. Vincent.

The laws would effectively ban strikes in such services as health, sanitation, water, electricity, and air traffic control. The laws specify sentences of up to fourteen years imprisonment for violations.

The demonstration was called by the National Committee in Defence of Democracy, which was formed in May with the backing of St. Vincent's seven main trade unions, the left-wing United People's Movement, and other groups.

The trade unions have threatened to call a general strike against the new laws.

Priests told to quit government

Order by bishops arouses widespread anger

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—The Conference of Bishops of the Catholic Church has ordered four priests to give up their posts in the government and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The four are Miguel D'Escoto, foreign minister; Ernesto Cardenal, minister of culture; Edgardo Parrales, minister of social welfare; and Fernando Cardenal, former head of the literacy campaign (for which he has been nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize) and currently a leader in the July 19 Sandinista Youth. All play key roles in the revolution, and their loss would be a sharp blow.

The bishops' declaration, published in the press here June 5, claimed its purpose was to keep the priests from "falling into the temptation of becoming a leader of a temporal power."

Should the priests fail to comply with the order, the bishops said, they will be considered "in open rebellion and formal disobedience to legitimate Church authority, subject to the penalties set down by the Church."

While a ruling on priests serving in the government had been awaited for more than a year, prorevolution Catholics reacted with surprise, shock, and anger at the bishops' order, which contradicted a May 1980 letter that said only that it "would be good" if priests gave up their government posts once the country's emergency situation had passed.

Hundreds of priests and nuns played important roles in the fight against the Somoza tyranny, and on the popular level, the church is viewed as part of the revolution.

"We, the Christians, support the priests who hold posts in the revolutionary government, because this revolution is for the poor and as Christians we can't stand apart from it," commented Thelma Blandón, a member of a neighborhood religious organization.

A statement released by thirty-six members of the Community of Christians in the Revolution declared that "as revolutionary Christians, we were shocked" by the decision, which, it noted, had been issued without prior discussions or consultation.

"This attitude surprises us," the statement continued, "because the work of these brother priests on behalf of the poor has been unparalleled, sometimes even at the risk of their lives."

"The Church stands to lose the most if it keeps these priests from continuing their eminently Christian labors," the statement warned.

Opposition also came from peasant communities. "Our community asks the bishops who made this decision to do two things: first, explain their decision to the people, and se-

cond, we invite them to visit our Christian communities to see the benefits we have gotten thanks to the priests in the government," said José Félix Peña Baldelomar of Rivas province to the FSLN daily *Barricada*.

On June 10, a hundred people demonstrated against the bishops' decision at the office of the papal nuncio (the Vatican's diplomatic representative) here.

Meanwhile, statements of support from other priests and lay Christians have been issued all over the country, and messages have also come from Mexico, France, and Costa Rica.

The priests themselves made their first public response with a poem published in the June 9 *Barricada*. The poem reaffirmed their Christian beliefs and went on, "we believe in the Nicaraguan revolution, made by the people to overthrow the tyranny and to establish justice and love."

Carlos Tünnermann, minister of education and an important lay Christian leader, noted at a "Face the People" program June 12 that the bishops never objected to the presence of priests in the Somoza government. One Somozaist priest, León Pallais, was infamous for his misuse of public funds. There were priests with the ranks of lieutenant, major, and captain in Somoza's National Guard.

The bishops took pains to point out that three popular religious institutions associated with the revolution have no official church

backing. However, the statement made no mention of the right-wing Center of Religious Studies.

The bishop's statement, dated June 1, bore the seal of the Conference but no signatures. The press attempted to contact individual bishops, only to be told they were out of the country or otherwise unavailable for comment. The Bishop of Estelí said he was not consulted and does not agree with the ultimatum.

In a further attack by the church hierarchy on the Sandinista revolution, Sister María del Pilar Castellano was barred June 14 from returning to Nicaragua after a visit to her parents in Spain. Sister Pilar had been the director of the 1,900-student Roberto Clemente school in Ciudad Sandino, a working-class barrio outside Managua that has been a revolutionary stronghold.

Her forced transfer provoked protests from young people, who, as the Managua daily *El Nuevo Diario* reported, fought alongside her against Somoza, and also from older people, who objected to the not-very-Christian attitudes that some sectors of the church have toward priests and nuns who have served the poorest sectors of society.

"I don't know what's happening to the bishops," said housewife Ninfa Castillo. "First they tell the priests who have been working in the government for the people to quit, and now Sister Pilar, who has done so many good things and won the affection of the poor, they won't let her back into the country and won't give any explanation."

"I'd like to know who is behind all these decisions, because in Somoza's time they never did this and now that so many priests and nuns identify with the people, the church itself is trying to stop them." □

Prensa Latina on 'Solidarity' program

In our last two issues, *Intercontinental Press* published the draft program of the independent Polish trade-union movement Solidarity. (See *IP*, June 22, p. 665, and June 29, p. 692.)

When the Solidarity program was first made public, the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina took note of it in an April 15 dispatch from Warsaw. We have translated the following from an article in the April 16 issue of the Havana daily *Granma*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba:

"WARSAW, April 15 (PL)—The parallel union 'Solidarity' has declared that it will refrain from presenting social demands in 1981 if the government complies with three basic points.

"This statement is contained in the union's program, which has been made public in this capital. The newspaper *Trybuna Ludu* published a version of the program today.

"The union puts forward the following as basic points that must be met if it is to refrain from presenting new demands:

• The principles of the government's eco-

nomics policy must be agreed to by the union;

• The government must commit itself to a program of reforms that can guarantee harmonious economic development in the future; and

• The government's economic policy must truly conform to the principle of protecting the average income level of inhabitants, putting priority on groups that receive the social minimum." □

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Interview with Tomás Borge

'We will not take a single step backward'

[The following interview with Tomás Borge, the only surviving founding member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and currently Nicaragua's minister of the interior, appeared in the May 28 and June 4 issues of *Latinamerica Press*, a weekly news bulletin published in English in Lima, Peru.]

* * *

Question. Let's talk about the church, Comandante. In Nicaragua the church and religion are important, especially in politics. How are Church-Revolution relations? Seemingly they have deteriorated greatly in recent months.

Answer. Everyone knows that there are two churches. For example, in Mexico there is the church of Bishop Mendez Arceo and that of others. In Nicaragua, the church of Fernando (Cardenal), Miguel (d'Escoto), Uriel (Molina) and of many wonderful sisters dedicated to the people, is the church of the poor. The other church is tied to the past; it is the church of the rich. This is not something new, because Christ also, when he was 33, I believe, found that there were two churches in the Church that he was building: the church of the temple, where he went with a whip, and his own church, that of the fishermen and humble people. And He, who founded this Church of which we are speaking, fought against the other church, the one of the Pharisees, with a whip in his hand. I think that if he had had a submachine gun he would have used it! The Pharisees sacrificed this man. Now history is repeating itself; although history changes, it also has its constants.

We are willing to fight to the last drop of blood to hold onto the conquests gained since July 19, 1979 . . .

Q. Would you give an example?

A. One is that the people are divided throughout the country—the poor on one side and the rich on the other. The universal church attends the poor and the rich. Some take the side of the poor and others the side of the rich. Indeed, we have great sympathy for the church of the poor, though we also respect that of the rich and even dialogue with it, as we do with businessmen and owners of the means of production.

Q. When you speak of the church-of-the-rich are you referring to the hierarchy and the bishops?

A. They are the principal owners of ideological-religious production, of the most costly kind, with a very high price in the market. It is the kind which the rich prefer to consume. We are dialoguing with them and are willing to continue doing so. And we will respect them.

Q. It seems that the church which produces the costly ideological merchandise is moving to the opposition in a bloc. If that should occur and the hierarchy would openly join the opposition inside the country, would it not be a heavy blow to the revolutionary process?

A. I think it would be a very serious blow to the church of the rich people. Revolutions are irreversible historic events; they come to stay. If the church stands against the Revolution, the revolutionaries are there. . . . It will be a matter of swimming against the current. We highly respect religious beliefs and priests. But we do not respect conspirators even if they are religious people. And I tell you that there are some religious here who are conspiring. . . .

Q. Has the government found such evidence?

A. Yes, it has. I am telling you that I am a part of this government. I am the Minister of the Interior. And those of the church of the rich know it, too, because I have told them. Here in this chair I sat a priest down and warned him: "Padre, you are conspiring. I am going to show you some serious evidence. But don't be alarmed. . . ." He left. Incidentally, he is still conspiring.

Q. Has anything happened to him?

A. No, he goes on doing it. We are so strong we can let him go on.

Q. The cutoff of U.S. financial aid is a problem for the Revolution. Washington is justifying its move by alleging that Nicaragua is giving Salvadoran insurgents military backing. What comment does this merit?

A. Actually what worries the United States is our revolutionary process. By its decision, imperialism tries to "punish" our "bad behavior," in other words our Revolution. Thus it is now saying that it will help us again if we behave correctly, that is, according to its criteria. To this we reply that we will not take a single step backward. We Nicaraguans announce to all the people of the world that we shall continue to behave badly in the eyes of imperialism and that we are ready to die to defend our Revolution. We are willing to fight to the last drop of blood to hold on to the conquests gained since July 19, 1979.

Q. You just mentioned "conquests" of the Revolution. Would you say what they are?

A. The principal one is that we are under way. We have also eliminated terror, won independence and national sovereignty and taken some positive cultural steps, as in the case of the literacy crusade. We have achieved a substantial reduction in infant mortality and have put the country's principal means of production at the service of the people's needs. Finally, I would mention the example of unity that we have shown for the Latin American revolutionary movement. But perhaps our most important effort is the bold experiment of creating a new society.

Q. What are the basic features or main aspects of the "bold" Sandinist revolutionary experiment?

A. Our model is framed in a mixed economy, and its synthesis is political pluralism.

One of the most important elements in a revolution is for the people to be masters of their destiny . . .

We have said many times that we are very interested in continuing with the peculiarities of our process, but everything depends on the historic circumstances of each moment. We have always had our feet firmly on the ground, and we do not want to fall into the pattern or the errors of other revolutions. Our model is intimately linked to the needs of production and national reconstruction, because the State does not have managerial talent. We do not deprecate the bourgeoisie's administrative ability nor its ability to make the means of production function.

Q. If I have understood you, Comandante, you do not disdain the contribution of the businessmen. You do not satanize the bourgeoisie when it is willing to cooperate with the revolutionary process.

A. We reached the conclusion that they are necessary so that production will not have a sharp drop. Now it is up to the businessmen to see that the mixed economy—which is basic to political pluralism—does not disappear. We realize that we have to work to maintain a mixed economy, and we have a sincere interest in maintaining it. But if the entrepreneurs decapitalize the companies, if they conspire against the Revolution, they will bring an end to mixed economy and pluralism. Thus the economy depends on the businessmen. Our in-

terest and good will are evident. It now depends on the degree of development of bourgeois culture and whether the entrepreneurs can go beyond the line of political savagery. Many bourgeois sectors still dream of the past and do not accept the fact that now we have power. That obstructs the national dialogue going on between the government and the opposition.

Q. One of the criticisms from the opposition to the FSLN is its implementation of a totalitarian political mode. Do you have this danger in mind? Are the nine comandantes of the FSLN National Directorate thinking of this?

A. Look, personally I can tell you that the responsibility that goes with power is very heavy for a human being. It is too much of a burden. In the National Directorate we take special care not to fall into excesses. We watch each other. When we begin our meetings, the order of the day starts with criticism and self-examination. The Revolution exercises a continuous vigilance over each one of us. Our advantage is collective administration. Whatever one of us does affects all the rest, and firm control helps us avoid vices. The bourgeoisie accuses us of falling into totalitarianism. But it forgets to say that here in Nicaragua we have freedom of the press; that we do not use torture; that there was no *paredon* [wall against which prisoners are executed by firing squads]; and that an opposition exists.

Q. True. But there are instruments like the Sandinist Defense Committees (CDSs) on the barrio level. Aren't CDSs a totalitarian tool? Don't they signify institutionalization of informing?

A. By no means. The CDSs do not officialize accusations and informants. They are not meant for that. They are organizations to take care of the people. Hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans belong. For whom are they going to be looking? For bandits, criminals and counterrevolutionaries. Here a person who is not guilty has nothing to fear from the CDSs. Obviously, criminals, attackers, and counterrevolutionaries do not like the CDSs.

Q. But the line that separates the "delinquent" from the opponent or political dissenter can be very fragile for a person in a power position. What is your opinion?

A. I repeat that the members of the CDSs are not informants. The CDSs bring together hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans, the best—the most honored and most honest—citizens. The people do not accuse themselves. The CDSs are only the eyes and ears of the Revolution.

Q. Washington accused Nicaragua of falling rapidly into a Cuban-Soviet model. What is your reaction to charges that the Sandinist Revolution is beginning to be dependent on Cuba and the USSR?



TOMÁS BORGE

Fred Murphy/IP

A. We do not owe imperialism any explanation. But we will say to Latin Americans that we are not going to become another Cuba. Neither do we want anyone to become another Nicaragua. Every revolution has its own framework and its own style. We feel very close to the Cuban Revolution. We do not deny that nor will we ever deny it because that would be dishonest. However, we are also aware that our Revolution is different from Cuba's in many ways: we have political pluralism and a mixed economy. We have not executed anyone. We also have a collective administration.

Q. Am I to interpret this as a censure of the Cuban Revolution?

A. No. With my comments I am not censuring Cuba; I simply point to differences between the Cuban Revolution and ours. What I mean to show is that each revolution has its own characteristics, its own manner of expression. We coincide with the Cuban Revolution on many points, for example in our anti-imperialist stance. Of course, we also have differences. Without going into detail, in international policy the Nicaraguan Revolution has its own opinion about Afghanistan and Poland. To those who say that our Revolution is a copy of Cuba's we maintain that a revolution that mechanically copies another one is finished as a revolution! We are in a position to assure all people that no one is going to tell Nicaragua what it has to do. And when I say no one, I mean exactly that: no one! Otherwise we would not have had a revolution. . . .

Q. But, Comandante: You said just a short while ago that within two years 100 percent of Nicaraguan revenue will be designated for servicing the foreign debt and buying petroleum. Then, even more than now, foreign financial assistance will be needed. Do you sincerely believe that socialist countries will help Nicaragua to continue upholding political pluralism and a mixed economy? Isn't it utopian to

think that such sources will be interested? Do you truly think that there will be no "pressure" for Nicaragua to follow a specified course?

A. I am entirely certain that we will have help without restriction from socialist countries. Remember that yesterday's history cannot be the same as today's. Conditions in the world have changed. The Yankees invaded the Dominican Republic; now they would think 200 times before doing the same in Nicaragua. The Soviets likewise have had experience in Cuba where the revolution took place under specific circumstances. If the Soviets—and the socialist countries—did not understand that they would be antihistorical. We have the hope, rather the almost absolute certainty, that the Soviets understand perfectly what is going on here and would not think of trying to guide our Revolution. Otherwise, our Revolution would not have any meaning, and we would ask why in the devil we did it. One of the most important elements in a revolution is for the people to be masters of their destiny and act according to their wishes. If someone comes to tell us what we have to do, then the Revolution is over.

Q. Why are you so sure of unconditioned socialist aid, Comandante? On what are you basing its assurance?

A. It is a kind of historic sense of smell.

Q. On that alone! It is a very weak base. Besides, history so far disproves what you have said.

A. But history changes. And if that is not enough, I repeat that we would refuse any conditioned "aid." When I talked to Mexico's President José López Portillo he offered us aid without conditions. I told him that that gesture was what we were most grateful for. Let any one who wants to help us, do it the same way! Otherwise we prefer to die of starvation. With all honesty I can say that so far neither the Soviets nor the Cubans nor the leaders of other socialist countries have set conditions for their solidarity. In this, I might say, they have been more respectful than many others.

Q. A problem that disturbs Latin America is the possibility of armed aggression against Nicaragua. How serious is the danger of attack by the Somoza forces that are outside of Nicaragua, especially in Central America and the United States?

A. They have already attacked us several times. Last year they made dozens of attacks. The latest one was less than a week ago. We are afraid these attacks will be more frequent in the future. But the real danger is not these attacks by ex-guardsmen. More serious is the possibility of their being an element of provocation to create a conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua. Even so it would be difficult to overthrow the Sandinist Revolution. The only way to defeat us militarily would be by an invasion of U.S. troops; though even they would

pay a very high price in lives, political prestige and future perspective. For us belligerency is not the main problem. We are more concerned about the war against backwardness, poverty and underdevelopment. That is what worries us more and we hope that there will not be an outbreak of warfare in the area.

Q. There is still some uncertainty that the assault on Somoza in Paraguay was the work of a "revolutionary commando." Who killed Somoza? Did the FSLN have a part in it?

A. It is absolutely true that it was revolutionaries who executed Somoza. I am not going to say who they were. We did not do it. But we are grateful to the authors of the assassination. Our people exploded in joy the day Somoza died. It has to have been the first case in history or one of the few in which a whole people rejoiced over the death of one person. How could we not be grateful for this act! On the other hand that revolutionary action was a blow for Stroessner's tyranny; he looked ridiculous in his sanctuary, that refuge for criminals

and tyrants.

Q. One last question: What message do you have for the people who struggle for their liberation?

A. The message I send is, Unite! If they unite they will become free. If they don't they will not gain their freedom. We have to change the slogans. Ordinarily the call is "Liberty or death!" and "Fatherland or death!" We should now be saying, "Unity or death!" □

Costa Rica

Changing mood amid capitalist crisis

Rights and living standards of workers under attack

**By Lorraine Thiebaud
and Matilde Zimmermann**

SAN JOSÉ—According to a booklet passed out free to tourists, Costa Rica is "a nation free of prejudices, a democratic nation like no other, where violence is unknown, and law and justice prevail, a bay of tranquility in a world every day more violent."

The Costa Rican government has long boasted of its difference from other Central American regimes, contrasting its democratic form of government to the military juntas and dictatorships of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and until recently Nicaragua.

Costa Ricans have to some extent been spared the desperate poverty of their neighbors. Indices of health and literacy are relatively high for a Latin American country. Life expectancy, for example, is comparable to the United States and Cuba.

Nicaraguan businessmen now often point to Costa Rica as their model and as proof that reform and social progress are possible without revolution.

Entering as we did from Nicaragua, a country devastated by dictatorship and war, Costa Rica does seem quite prosperous. Compared to Managua, the Costa Rican capital of San José is a bustling metropolis, with a busy downtown shopping area and streets full of cars and people.

Deep economic crisis

But the Costa Ricans we met talked about recession, not prosperity. Construction workers, textile workers, union leaders, political activists, squatters without housing—they all described a sharp drop in their standard of living and concern about the future.

Several days after we arrived, thousands of state workers held a symbolic work stoppage to protest high prices. The same day, President Rodrigo Carazo warned the Costa Rican people to expect years of even greater hardship than they were suffering already.

Costa Rica is in a profound economic crisis. Its foreign debt is a staggering \$2.5 billion—more than \$1,000 for each man, woman, and child in the country. This debt is fifteen times what it was a decade ago.

Like most of the underdeveloped world, Costa Rica has been hit hard by the international capitalist crisis of the last few years. Last year 85 percent of the proceeds from sales of coffee, the country's main export, went to pay for oil. In 1981 imported oil will cost as much as the entire coffee income.

The Costa Rican government's only solution is to appeal to the International Monetary Fund. Negotiations are under way for up to \$350 million in loans over the next few years.

But the IMF insists on a good deal of control over an economy before it signs any deals, and it is clear that the terms of the agreement are going to involve sharp new attacks on the standard of living of Costa Rican working people.

IMF austerity demands

The IMF is demanding "wage restraint." There is talk of freezing wages at their current level in some sectors and even lowering certain wages.

The government has ruled that public workers this year cannot receive raises of more than 300 colones (\$16) a month. Even if it had been granted, this raise would not have come close to redeeming purchasing power already lost through inflation.

A few days after we arrived, the health workers and bank workers were denied the raises of 600 colones a month that their unions had already negotiated. They were told that their wages could not exceed those of public workers. The next day the Costa Rican cabinet ordered a 50 percent cut in overtime pay for all public workers.

To be "creditworthy" in the eyes of the IMF, Costa Ricans are supposed to reduce consumption—eat less, buy less—and increase exports.

Price controls that previously existed on some basic articles such as food staples have been lifted. Taxes have been raised, including sales taxes and taxes on land and vehicles.

Costa Rica's first big concession was a 123 percent devaluation of its currency in April. The colón plunged from 8.54 to the dollar to 21.04 to the dollar. The exchange rate varies from day to day. Right now it is about eighteen-to-one.

Devaluation has fueled inflation, which is running about 50 percent this year. Basic foodstuffs shot up almost 30 percent in just the first four months of 1981, one union leader told us. Telephone and electricity rates just went up 25 percent, and further increases are slated.

'A filthy trick'

A young construction worker told us what this means for his family. The price of milk has quadrupled in the past year. Rents have doubled in his area. Two years ago when his first child was born, the hospital fees totalled 150 colones. His wife just had another baby, but this time the hospital cost 800 colones a day.

We talked to two young textile workers outside the factory where they work. One complained that the price of everything was up and that the 10 percent wage increase they had won did not come anywhere near keeping up. The other, who supports three young children by herself, called the small raise a "filthy trick."

The higher prices have taken a huge bite out of every worker's wages. In the headquarters of the National Industrial Workers Federation (FENATI-Federacion Nacional de Trabajadores Industriales), we talked to Ricardo Martínez, secretary general of the metalworkers union. He told us that the average industrial worker makes 1,578 colones (\$88) a month—almost exactly what the government estimates is necessary just to buy food for a family of four.

Some make even less. An eighteen-year-old

worker in a shoe factory told us she makes 310 colones (\$17) a week. Her nineteen-year-old sister, who supports two small children, works in a jelly factory and makes 270 colones, or \$15, a week.

Child labor and unemployment

Low wages and high prices, Martínez told us, have forced children into the workforce to help support their families. He described one foundry where the union discovered three twelve-year-olds and three thirteen-year-olds working.

Earlier this year, the Costa Rican press reported a drop in school enrollment, which Martínez thought was related to the phenomenon of children being forced to work by the economic crisis.

Unemployment has gone up along with prices. The official unemployment rate is 8 percent, almost double what it was only six months ago. Analysts predict this figure could redouble or even triple this year.

Businesses are using the excuse of the economic crises to lay off workers and close less profitable operations. Workers at some factories are only able to work three days a week. At the national convention of the construction workers union, we were told that half of all the construction workers in the country are unemployed.

One of the most unpopular concessions to the IMF is the government's promise to reduce public spending. A series of demonstrations for better bus transportation in early May was the latest evidence that the people of Costa Rica want more public services, not fewer.

Residents of the barrio of San Rafael, outside San José, threw up barricades and refused to let anyone in or out of the neighborhood. Riot police attacked with tear gas, but the militant demonstration continued until the Ministry of Transportation agreed to provide ten new buses.

Crisis in housing

Cuts in public spending have aggravated an already acute housing shortage. While official figures say that 50,000 families lack decent housing, we were told that the real figure is more like 150,000.

Anticipating the IMF agreements, the housing ministry, INVU, had its entire budget eliminated in January, 1981. All plans for new projects were scrapped and by March all government construction came to a halt.

The cost of a modest home has soared in six months from 30,000 colones to 110,000 colones. With no rent control laws, people find themselves paying double what they paid in 1980. Thousands who could not come up with the extra money have been evicted and have nowhere to go.

In their desperation, many people have been easy prey for speculators and phony housing developers. They pay in advance for homes that are promised to several different families or never built at all. Other people have simply invaded lands owned by INVU and thrown up

their own shacks, although the police quickly remove them.

The biggest radio station in San José reminds its listeners every half hour or so that "it is a privilege to be Costa Rican." We talked to one group of Costa Ricans who had little reason to feel privileged—homeless squatters in the yard of Pavas church, just outside of San José.

'I don't think the government cares'

José Manuel Ramírez, secretary general of the Pueblo Nuevo Prohousing Union, explained to us, "After two years of petitioning INVU we discovered that the land they promised us was being subdivided for rich peoples' housing. We felt tricked so we voted to take over the land.

"We were up to our ankles in mud there. We built our own shelters but we had nothing—no water, no electricity, no latrines, no nothing. We stayed there for eight days and then the Rural Assistance Guard came at 3 a.m. on a Saturday morning to kick us out. They threw everything into big trucks and dumped it all here in the middle of Pavas Plaza.

"They threw several people in jail. Most of us had nowhere to go so we asked the priest at the local church to let us camp in the courtyard till INVU does what it has promised."

Several women, anxious to show us the conditions they have been forced to live in for the past month while waiting for a response from INVU, showed us around the camp. In what had previously been a storage shed there were now fifty families. Another eighty families were camped on the porch of the church.

Beds were jammed together, many of them occupied by small sick children. "Once one gets a cold, they all get it," a young and pregnant mother said.

"They all have diarrhea now, but if we call the Red Cross and tell them we are from Pavas, they refuse to help. And if the children are not sick, then they are whining for food all the time and there isn't enough." There are 575 children in the encampment.

We talked to the women washing at one of the two faucets available. "Some of us work in factories but many are just occasional day laborers. I don't think the government cares about people like us anymore."

She looked at the giant milk plant across the plaza. "At least they could give our kids some milk, but they don't do anything for us. They even refused to talk to us anymore. So we all got in buses—kids and all—and demonstrated in front of INVU till they did. I think the only way we can get anything is to keep pressuring."

As we were leaving a young sailor who had lived for several years in El Salvador told us they were currently trying to raise money to send several representatives to talk to the 1,500 squatter families in Puntarenas.

Capitalists call the shots

Although there is a lot of talk about the necessity of belt-tightening in Costa Rica, it is

obvious that some are being asked to sacrifice more than others. While workers and consumers are being hit with heavy new taxes, the big importers and exporters are getting new "incentives."

After the devaluation of the colón April 23, the big corporations demanded that they be allowed to buy U.S. dollars at the old cheap rate of roughly eight-to-one to fulfill their international financial commitments. At the same time, they insisted that the 6 percent export tax be lifted. President Carazo has agreed to both these demands.

The tourist booklets paint a picture of idyllic democracy, but the daily newspapers show that the Chamber of Commerce is actually calling the shots. "The Chamber of Commerce is like a second government," we were told. The organizations of private enterprise have proposed to the IMF that they, and not the government, be given official responsibility for enforcing the terms of the IMF agreement.

Carrying out the draconian measures the IMF has in mind will not be easy. The Costa Rican government signed a "letter of intent" with the IMF last year, but popular opposition made it impossible to carry out the spending cuts agreed to in the letter. The threat of a general strike by public workers in August 1980 blocked the first round of cutbacks.

Workers look for ways to fight back

Ricardo Martínez of the metalworkers union told us that workers are looking for a way to fight back against these attacks on their standard of living. In particular they are joining trade unions at a faster rate than before. Martínez told us that of the 15,000 workers who are members of FENATI, 900 had joined in just the last six months.

A leader of the textile workers union told us the membership is also participating more actively in union affairs than before. Eighty percent of the textile union members are female, and a significant percentage of them are the sole support of their households.

"Both as mothers and as workers they are every day affected more deeply by the crisis," the union leader told us.

The banana workers have the reputation of being the most combative sector of Costa Rican workers, with the longest history of militant union activity. These 16,000 workers waged a successful strike in 1980 that won broad support from other forces.

The employers are trying to weaken the unions in order to be able to enforce their tough new austerity measures. Two leaders of the textile workers union described how management sets up "solidarity associations," to compete with and undermine real trade unions.

The unionists read us a red-baiting letter sent to workers at one plant where the bosses were trying to replace the union with a pro-company association. The managers announced a "plebiscite to see if you workers really want a union dominated by outsiders who are all communists anyway."

Militant unionists are often fired, we were

told, and their names put on a blacklist that circulates among the employers. A young construction worker told us that fired or laid off workers who put up a fight for the unemployment insurance due them are also often blacklisted.

Repression against 'subversives'

One area of public spending that is not being cut is the police. Costa Rican capitalists, frightened by the struggles taking place in Central America, have begun to search for new and tougher ways to stem the tide of revolution.

The government boasts that Costa Rica has had no standing army since 1948 and that the Constitution even prohibits setting up an army. But there is a large Civil Guard, and two secret police agencies with bigger budgets than ever before.

Luís Angel Serrano, secretary general of the Construction Workers Union, told us that police attacks against strikers have been increasing. The week before our visit a campesino had been shot when a group of landless peasants seized a farm in Guanacaste province.

Following a bomb attempt against two U.S. Marines in April, 1981, forces of the judicial branch of the government, the OIJ, searched thousands of homes, factories, and offices, claiming to be looking for arms. They entered without search warrants, detaining several hundred "suspects" and deported a number of foreign residents.

The Democratic Front Against Repression (FDCR) of Guatemala came under special attack. Its office was permanently closed and two of its leaders expelled from the country.

Radio Noticias del Continente, which covered liberation movements throughout Latin America, was occupied by police and closed in February of this year.

The targets of the OIJ have been progressive religious and political organizations, trade unions, and foreigners engaged in solidarity work. For example, at the offices of the Department of Ecumenical Investigations, a radical Christian research group, we were told that the OIJ came to search for "subversives" and arms.

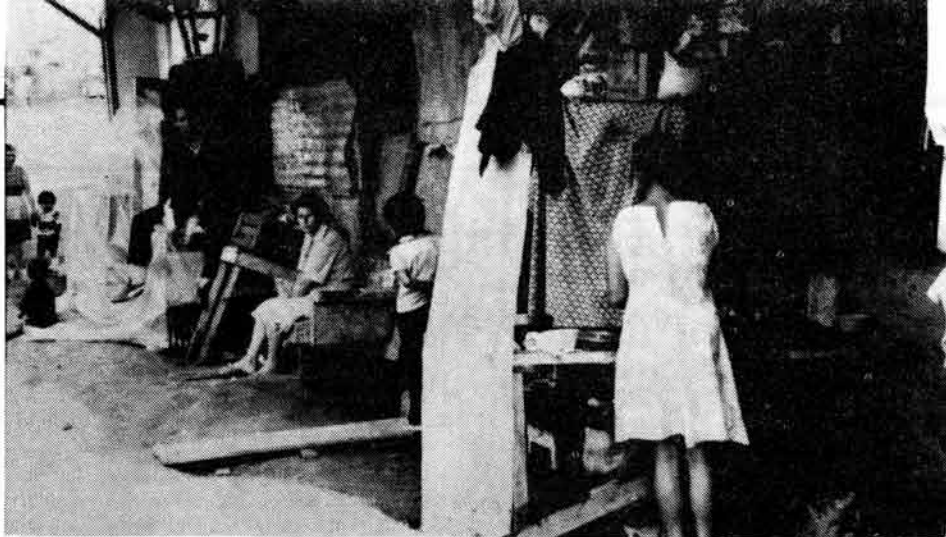
The OIJ made sure the people they questioned knew the police had their names and addresses and were prepared to use them. People who had been visited told us they felt the police were more interested in intimidating them than in finding the supposed bombers.

The capitalists are not relying solely on the police to protect their interests. An ultra-right-wing, rabidly anticommunist, paramilitary organization, the Movement for a Free Costa Rica (MCRL), has made its presence increasingly apparent. It has access to the main daily paper, *La Nación*.

Atmosphere of intimidation

The stepped up repressive activity has had a significant impact. Most people we talked to felt very cautious.

El Salvador solidarity activists told us the



Homeless families at the Pavas church.

Matilde Zimmermann/IP

political climate makes their work much harder than Nicaragua solidarity work was two years ago. One person told us, "They call anyone who supports El Salvador here an 'ultraleftist.' Many foreigners have dropped out recently. When the Guatemalans were deported only a few artists' groups protested, and this has people worried."

The news media gives virtually no coverage of events in neighboring Nicaragua. The recent visit of Commander Edén Pastora was reported for only a few minutes on the news, while anti-Sandinista Nicaraguan industrialist Alfonso Robelo was interviewed for more than an hour on prime time television.

Costa Rica's recent breaking of relations with Cuba was widely interpreted here as a barefaced capitulation to pressure from the U.S. State Department and the IMF. But there were no organized protests against the move.

There are at least seven candidates in the presidential elections scheduled for early 1982, but for the first time people openly talk about the possibility of a right-wing coup. Most people told us that the National Liberation Party (PLN) was a shoo-in for 1982.

Coming to power for the first time in 1948, the PLN was responsible for many of the liberal reforms of the past three decades, such as the nationalization of the banks and the creation of the social security system. While the PLN has formal relations with the Second International, it has always been a bourgeois party with few links to the labor movement.

In early 1981 the PLN officially dissociated itself from the Second International's position of opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The PLN condemns "human rights violations" in Cuba, but supports the junta in El Salvador. Its program for confronting the economic crisis calls for austerity and big cuts in government spending.

Pueblo Unido coalition

In fact, all the candidates except one support the IMF agreements and portray the loans as the only salvation for Costa Rica.

Rodrigo Gutiérrez, the presidential candidate of the coalition Pueblo Unido (People United), has characterized the IMF agreements as "contrary to the people's interests and only

for the benefit of a few landowners and foreign companies."

Pueblo Unido is a coalition of the three largest left parties in Costa Rica: the People's Vanguard Party (PVP); the People's Revolutionary Movement (MRP); and the Costa Rican Socialist Party (PSC).

The PVP is a pro-Moscow Communist Party formed in the 1930s. The MRP and the PSC both grew out of the radicalization of the late 1960s and were inspired by the Cuban Revolution. The MRP has close ties to Nicaragua's Sandinista movement, first developed in 1968-69 when Carlos Fonseca, founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), was in exile in Costa Rica.

The unfolding revolution in Nicaragua continues to be a major political issue here, and not just for organized political groups. During the war against Somoza, there was massive support in Costa Rica for the Sandinist cause. The Carazo government and the capitalist press now claim the FSLN has "betrayed" its supporters by turning "communist," but many people told us there was still widespread support for Nicaragua.

"Every Sunday," the head of the metalworkers union told us, "I do political work in my barrio. I often talk about what happened in Nicaragua and how we need the same type of change. Some people agree that we need to do the same thing here, although others wonder because our situation is different."

At the national conference of the construction workers union we recognized an acquaintance from Nicaragua. Alejandro Solórzano, jailed many times by the Somoza regime for his trade-union activity and currently secretary general of the construction workers' union in Nicaragua, was one of several foreign delegates to the conference.

We told Solórzano we were writing an article on Costa Rica and asked him what he thought of the current situation.

"Well," he smiled broadly, "we used to come to Costa Rica in the years before the insurrection and we envied everything we saw—the freedom and the democracy. Now it's just the opposite. The workers here envy us when we tell them what it is like to have a government that defends *our* interests." □

Rightist forces on the offensive

LCR assesses regime's 'counterreform'

[The following excerpts from the political report approved by a recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), the section of the Fourth International in the Spanish state, were published in the June 10-17 issue of the LCR's weekly newspaper *Combate*. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Since February 23¹ we have been living through a veritable "counterreform." The limited democratic gains that came into being with the June 15, 1977, elections are little by little being emptied of content. The institutions of government are dominated by pressure from the army and by threats of a coup.

The de facto powers that put conditions on the political reform (from which the current regime arose) are now taking a far more active role. Their "strategy of tension" has proceeded from February 23 to the crime of Almería to the attack on the Central Bank in Barcelona.²

The UCD³ government utilizes all this to

1. On February 23, as the Spanish Cortes (parliament) was preparing to vote on the new government of Prime Minister Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, Civil Guard units commanded by Lieut. Col. Antonio Tejero Molina invaded the chambers and took the entire legislative body hostage. The attack was part of a much broader attempt by sectors of the Spanish officer corps to put an end to parliamentary democracy and install a military dictatorship. See *Intercontinental Press*, March 9, p. 224, and March 23, p. 286.

2. Three young workers from the northern city of Santander were arrested, tortured, and murdered by Civil Guardsmen in the southern town of Almería on May 9. Interior Minister Juan José Rosón claimed they were suspected of being Basque terrorists and called the incident a "tragic error."

After a series of protests and contradictory statements by the government, it was made known that three guardsmen would be put on trial for their role in the killings.

On May 23, a group of right-wing terrorists led by a former police informer invaded the Central Bank in Barcelona and took 263 persons hostage. They demanded the release of Lieut. Col. Tejero and others implicated in the February 23 coup attempt. Police stormed the bank, killing one terrorist and arresting nine.

The government first claimed the detainees were "common criminals and anarchists" but later had to admit they were connected to the far right. None of those arrested were members of the Civil Guard, but it is widely believed that at least half the participants escaped.

3. UCD—Democratic Center Union, the ruling bourgeois party.

severely curtail democratic rights, while the parliamentary left remains passive or even offers support.

It might be said that the Spanish state has gone into a fatal decline: even if no military coup takes place, the "counterreform" will still curtail freedoms. Only the workers movement, at the head of a broad, popular mobilization among the nationalities and the regions of the entire state, can reverse the escalating, reactionary course that we are witnessing. There still is time, but only if the fatalism that seems to have cut deeply into the morale of the workers and of democratic public opinion is replaced with a will to organize and fight to put an end to coups.

The putschist Tejero's invasion of the Cortes showed just how much autonomy the armed forces really have with respect to the regime and the bourgeoisie itself. Sectors that favor a coup are deeply entrenched in the armed forces and other parts of the state apparatus. They are working hard to try to create the conditions for another coup. Their *strategy of tension* has already convinced "constitutionalist" sectors of the need for a political retreat. The leaks regarding the report on February 23, the open agitation for a coup, and the May 23 terrorist operation on the eve of Armed Forces Week are all part of this sinister strategy.

Strategy of tension and political counterreform

Of course, the attack on the Central Bank in Barcelona reflected the existence of different wings, each with their own plans for restoring a military dictatorship. Likewise, serious disagreements arose among various protagonists of the February 23 coup.

One sector considered it unnecessary and inopportune, owing to the government's turn to the right and the growing pressure brought to bear in preceding months on the decisions of the "politicians." They were also concerned at the response that might be mounted by the workers and people's movement.

The conflicts that have appeared among the police and the judiciary, the transfers of certain police officers notorious for their dark past at the service of Francoism, the differing opinions in the armed forces about entering NATO, and, now, the possible results of the crime at Almería are all factors showing that there is not unanimity among the various components of the coup plot.

Speculating about whether a coup will take place is a useless exercise. The room for maneuver that the plotters enjoy means a coup could occur at any moment. But the contradic-

tions among them mean that one might not happen at all.

What is important is not making predictions about a coup or paralyzing the workers movement with a speculative debate, but rather preparing to prevent a coup and fighting against the use of such threats to blackmail us into accepting restrictions on civil liberties.

And if at last the coup does come, the best way to fight it will be to have already initiated, from this moment on, the fight against the government's policies—against the sharp right turn of Calvo Sotelo's "first 100 days," and against the systematic covering up of the truth.

The right wing and the UCD government are undoubtedly utilizing the danger of a military coup to accelerate the "counterreform." Brandishing the specter of a return to dictatorship as the "greater evil" enables them to do the following:

- attack democratic rights (militarizing the French border in Euskadi to make it "impermeable"; massive detentions of elected officials and members of Herri Batasuna;⁴ practicing torture; prohibiting rallies and demonstrations; resuming discussion of the death penalty; and threatening to impose a state of emergency);

- make restrictions on civil rights legal (the law "in defense of the Constitution"; the law on states of alarm, exception, and siege; a future reform of the electoral law; and so on);

- impose a veritable "coup" against national autonomy (the law on the use of the flag and the terms "nation" and "nationality"; the law on "harmonization of autonomies"; the offensive against national cultures and languages);

- carry out further attacks on the working class (rising unemployment, greater "flexibility" in allowing layoffs, wages below the cost-of-living index, plans for restructuring industry, partial privatization of social security, accelerating the development of nuclear power); and

- make a hasty entry into NATO.

Coups and terrorism

The attacks on top military officers in early May had an especially negative effect on the overall political situation, owing to their objective effects and the use to which they were put not only by the government and the coup plotters but also by the leaders of the parliamentary left.

It is clear that responsibility for attacks on

4. Herri Batasuna (People United) is a legal political party with close ties to the faction of Euskadi ta Azkatasuna (Basque Nation and Freedom) known as ETA—Military.

civil liberties does not rest with the ETA—the danger of a coup exists because there are plotters and because the government is unwilling to mete out exemplary punishment. Nonetheless, in the current situation armed confrontations with the state apparatus are even more detrimental than in the past.

Such attacks encourage the coup plotters and serve to justify the government's policy of curtailing democratic rights. Above all, they seriously confuse and disorient the workers, who see in them a threat to their freedoms. The attacks divert the workers' attention from their main enemy.

The workers movement has the right and the obligation to sharply criticize the ETA's actions because of their objective effects. But the workers movement must not allow itself to be dragged along behind the campaigns of distortion in which terrorism and coups are lumped together, or into mobilizations that entail supporting the bourgeois state.

The latter inevitably have a "boomerang effect"—as in the "tragic error" (the horrible homicide) at Almería or the ongoing threat to outlaw the second-strongest electoral force in Euskadi [Herri Batasuna].

While Almería and May 23 have once again made it clear just who the "Public Enemy No. 1" of democratic rights is, further attacks (such as the one last week that cost the life of a National Police officer) can only lead to more repression against the workers and people's movement.

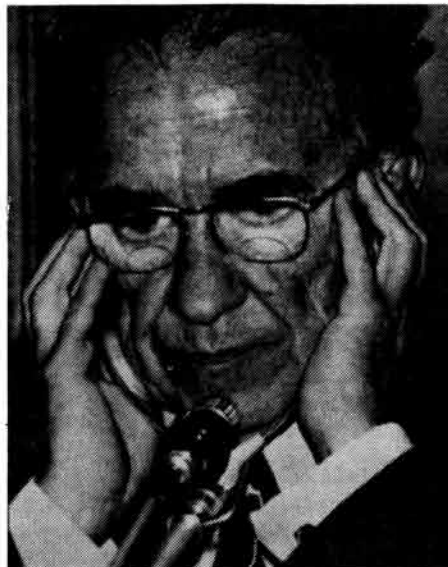
In criticizing the ETA's actions, the workers movement throughout the entire state must grasp without delay the need to unconditionally defend national rights, to solidarize with the Basque people who are victims of repression, and to prevent the outlawing of Herri Batasuna.

For their part, the revolutionary-nationalist currents should understand once and for all that the ETA's methods can only lead to a military coup. They should abandon the notion that nothing has changed since the Francoist dictatorship and reorient their activity toward political struggle. Tomorrow it will be too late to rectify one or another error.

Parties of the left with right-wing policies

The position of the PSOE⁵ leadership can be characterized by what its executive committee member José María Maravall has called a "strategic retreat": full support to the counter-reform project, a call for reinforcing the executive branch, collaboration with the security forces, contributions aimed at "perfecting" the laws on curtailing freedoms, and acquiescence in the brutal reductions in the purchasing power of wages and other measures that will lead to no less brutal levels of working-class unemployment.

5. PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers Party, the Spanish section of the Socialist International and the country's largest workers party.



CP chief Carrillo: unable to offer any alternative to reliance on capitalists.

The PSOE is thus deepening its course as a party of the left with a right-wing policy. The search for an electoral outcome that would allow it to reaffirm its role as an alternative—for which it could count on the Communist Party (PCE) and elements of the social-democratic wing of the UCD—paradoxically runs up against the fear of victory. This leads the PSOE's general secretary to the shameful position that elections should not be held until 1983.

For their part, Santiago Carrillo and the leading apparatus of the PCE lack any alternative policy in the current situation. Their orientation remains one of basing themselves on the inertia of the search for agreement, sticking up for the UCD, and passivity in face of the coup plots. It will be difficult for the PCE's Tenth Congress to resolve the crisis of this party in any way, since the roots of the crisis are to be found precisely in the inability of the Euro-communist line to seriously confront the rightist onslaught of the government, much less the threat of a coup d'état.

There still is time

The workers movement is weak, but it has not been defeated. It still has the capacity for resistance, despite fatalism and fear. The recent events and the suicidal policies of the majority workers leadership can lead to reflection among the ranks. It is not only the rightist government that has lost all credibility in the workers' eyes; the reformist leaders have too, in a certain sense, when it comes to the question of resolving the current crisis and preventing the loss of democratic rights.

At least part of the vanguard of the workers movement understands the need to change the current orientation of the unions and to wage a fight to accomplish this. An opposition is taking shape in the Workers Commissions (COs)⁶ that is not limited to the currents led by the revolutionary left but that encompasses broad sec-

tions of the PSUC⁷ and PCE militants who are discontented with the line of the union and their own party.

Likewise, professional and intellectual layers are beginning to feel the need to organize an active defense of democratic rights—a task irresponsibly abandoned by the parliamentary left. For those sectors, the parliamentary left appears to be a useless source of fear and powerlessness, while the revolutionary left is still too weak in their eyes. Nonetheless, the search for a framework of unity in action—around the defense of democratic rights or opposition to entering NATO—is a positive factor that can help to change the situation.

In Andalusia the fight is on against unemployment. The early mobilizations to demand funding for community employment have led to demands for agrarian reform as the only realistic means of solving the problem. Unity of the left must be put in first place, since only a united struggle by the left parties and the trade unions will make it possible to put an end to the fatalism that is currently undermining the working class and to incorporate broader layers of workers into the struggle.

In addition, it is necessary to head in the correct direction and avoid false solutions. One does not struggle against the right turn of the government by collaborating with it, nor does one fight against coups by reinforcing the repressive apparatus and curtailing civil liberties. One does not advance toward a solution by proposing "governments of cooperation" in which the left would be held hostage to the counterreform.

To move in the right direction it is necessary to have confidence in the forces of the working class and in their ability to combat the rightist offensive and the coup. If those forces are weak, no false solution will strengthen them. The basis for an outcome favorable to the left lies precisely in the accumulation of forces that can reforge workers unity, through mobilizations and initiatives against the reactionaries, the right wing, and their government.

There still is time. The members of the unions, the PSOE, and the PCE must now make a greater effort than ever to bring about a change in course. This calls for unity and organization in defense of democratic rights, in opposing entry into NATO, and in resisting the new offensive by the bosses.

Militants and sympathizers of the LCR and of the revolutionary left; fighters with or without a party who have understood that the present course leads only to a return to the darkest days of Francoism: we are with you now, ready to overcome fatalism, ready for struggle and victory against the counterreform of the right wing and the Tejeros of the day. □

6. The COs are controlled by the Communist Party and make up one of the two largest trade-union federations in Spain.

7. PSUC—United Socialist Party of Catalonia, the semi-autonomous Catalan branch of the Communist Party.

Raids kill sixteen

Somozaist gangs attack across Honduran border

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—A series of terrorist raids by armed counterrevolutionaries has left sixteen Nicaraguans dead in less than two weeks.

The victims include a five-month-old baby girl and her mother and a seventy-five-year-old peasant woman.

The most serious incident came in the early morning hours of June 23, when a gang of thirty Somozaists crossed the Honduran border and killed seven people in the township of Panamá, thirty kilometers from the northern Nicaraguan city of Somoto.

Militia member Santos Polanco Flores, whose companion and baby daughter were killed in the raid, told reporters that he had been on guard duty and was taking a coffee break at his house when the counterrevolutionaries opened fire.

Two other militia members were killed almost at once. Polanco Flores returned the fire. His companion, Carlota Guzmán Sánchez, died while passing ammunition to him.

During a lull in the shooting Polanco Flores managed to get out of the house to seek help, but only found three more bodies. Returning to his own house, he held off the counterrevolutionaries until they left. He killed two of them.

Another attack had come from Honduras the previous day—with an assault on the Nicaraguan border post at Guazapo. One Sandinista was wounded in that attack.

Blaming the victims

Attempting to shift the blame for the incidents onto Nicaragua, the regime of Gen. Policarpo Paz García in Honduras charged that the Sandinista army had attacked Honduras.

No proof of such attacks was forthcoming.

Earlier this year, a similar series of counterrevolutionary raids from Honduras created a tense situation between the two countries. This appeared to have been resolved after a meeting between top Honduran and Nicaraguan officials. But the attacks have now resumed.

Six persons were killed on June 14, seventy kilometers north of Jinotega, when a band of between seventy and eighty counterrevolutionaries ambushed a truck being used as a passenger vehicle. Three passengers ducked under the truck and returned the fire but soon ran out of ammunition. The attackers called on them to surrender.

"Let your mother surrender!" came the reply. (This was the famous and insolent answer shouted out by the martyred Sandinista poet Leonel Rugama in 1970 when his house in Managua was surrounded by hundreds of Somoza's National Guardsmen.)

Seventy-five-year-old peasant woman Jesús Lumbí was shot down in cold blood by the attackers after she begged them to spare her. Among those killed was Juan Ramón Corea Morales, twenty-four, a member of the FSLN since 1972 and a leader of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG).

Protest in Jinotega

Thousands of persons poured into the streets of Jinotega in protest. Thousands again gathered at the town's chapel when the victims were buried.

"We must be hard with these people," said Juan Pablo Corea González, father of the slain farmers' leader. "Hard with the capitalists who are behind them. They are mocking the small and medium farmers."

At a June 15 meeting, Guerrilla Commander Alonso Porras charged that the counterrevolutionary bands were being financed by the big coffee growers in the area around Jinotega, and that they had ties with the big-business organization COSEP and with the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement, one of the capitalist political parties here.

Porras called on the Council of State to enact a law allowing the confiscation of property of those who collaborate with counterrevolutionary terrorists.

Two more militia members died in a June 21 ambush in Piedra Menuda, just twenty-three kilometers from Managua. Two others were wounded.

A truckload of militia members came under fire as they passed the scene of a robbery being carried out by a band of terrorists.

Among the dead was Fernando Pérez, father of six, and the head of the militias in the zone. One of his sons was wounded.

And on June 23 a seventy-five-year-old militia member was killed when two counterrevolutionaries claiming to be police came to his house in the evening and demanded he turn over his shotgun. When he refused and went to look for shells to hold them off, they shot him to death.

The wave of killings has aroused deep anger among Nicaraguans.

Managua's eastern neighborhoods were the scene of protest demonstrations the night of June 24 that lasted into the early hours of the morning. Residents took to the streets, held meetings, lit bonfires, and set off fireworks. In the neighborhood of Bello Horizonte, a post-midnight rally heard Commander Lenín Cerna, chief of State Security, express his satisfaction at the massive repudiation of the counterrevolutionary terrorists.

In a June 23 speech paying homage to the seven dead in the Panamá attack, Commander Humberto Ortega, minister of defense, announced that new laws against counterrevolutionary maneuvers were under consideration.

Ortega said that decapitalization of enterprises should also be viewed as counterrevolutionary action. He declared that the government would have to find the arms necessary for the people to defend the revolution.

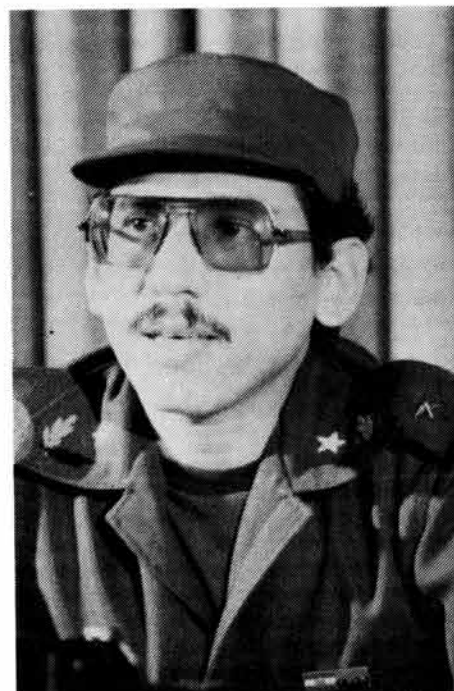
It was no coincidence, Ortega said, that the sixteen dead all came from Nicaragua's working classes, and that there was not a single wealthy grower or capitalist among them.

"The ones who were privileged in the past must learn to live with the people, with the humble, and must keep in mind that the people have hegemony in this process. But these sectors are decapitalizing their enterprises and abusing the democratic liberties conquered by the people. They are making use of their communications media to minimize the aggression by the counterrevolution."

The right wing is on a big campaign here right now to demand "elections." But as Ortega noted, the counterrevolutionaries in Honduras "are not organizing themselves to come here for an electoral process."

The Socialist International's Committee for Defense of the Sandinista Revolution, which has been meeting here, condemned the killings.

Humberto Ortega's characterization of the capitalist daily *La Prensa* hit the mark perfectly. When it reported the killings at Panamá, *La Prensa* printed the story beneath a much bigger feature on an incident at a boxing match in London, where the Nicaraguan expatriate Alexis Arguello was competing for the world middleweight title. □



Fred Murphy/IF

HUMBERTO ORTEGA