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Poland Report on Communist Party Congress

USA Reagan's New Steps Toward Conscription

World Outcry Over Lebanon Bombing Forces Israeli Regime to Back Off

U.S. rulers press toward draft

By Fred Murphy

The Reagan administration took another step on July 20 toward reviving military conscription in the United States.

The Selective Service System, which would administer the draft if it should be resumed, called on the Justice Department to prosecute 134 young men for failing to register.

If brought to trial and convicted, these youth could face jail terms of up to five years and fines of up to \$10,000. Their names are being kept secret by the government.

The 134 who face prosecution are but a tiny fraction of the hundreds of thousands of youth who have failed to sign up since registration was resumed a year ago.

Even the government's own figures show that massive numbers of U.S. young people are resisting registration. Official statistics claim that 97 percent of the first group (those born in 1961) registered, but only 87 percent of the next group signed up. A mere 70 percent of the latest group (those born in 1963) have registered.

A poll of high school seniors taken recently by the National Center for Educational Statistics (a government body) found that 30 percent of those nearing draft age say they would try to avoid conscription if it were resumed. Only 18 percent say they would enter military rather than civilian service if such a choice were offered.

The move to prosecute those who have failed to register is aimed at intimidating young people and at beginning to turn back the growing antidraft sentiment and resistance to other war moves by Washington.

Women and the draft

The legal basis for prosecution was established by a June 25 Supreme Court ruling. The court upheld the constitutionality of the draft-registration law pushed through by the Carter administration in 1980. The law had been challenged in the courts on the ground that it excluded women from registration.

Unfortunately, important sectors of the U.S. women's movement—including the National Organization for Women (NOW)—fell into this trap set by the rulers. Rather than opposing any draft whatsoever, NOW and others argued that defense of women's rights entailed advocating that women be drafted as well as men.

In an article published in the July 31 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly the *Militant*, Margaret Jayko explained the dangerous logic of such an approach:

As many antidraft activists have pointed out, being drafted is not a "right" to be fought for, but a violation of our rights, which should be opposed.

Passing the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution] would not mean women would be drafted.

But reinstatement of the draft would make it harder to defend our living standards and democratic rights, never mind winning new gains like the ERA.

Because if the government is able to bring back conscription, it will mean they have strengthened their hand in the battle to force us to sacrifice our interests for the "national interest."

In his initial move to resume draft registration, Carter had included women. "The rulers' intent," Jayko pointed out, "was to win support for the draft and the military—whose image had been badly tarnished in the eyes of the American people—by giving them a 'progressive' veneer. . . ."

"They also hoped to divide and confuse opponents of the draft and supporters of equal rights by focusing discussion on *who should be drafted* instead of *whether there should be a draft at all*."

'Manpower crisis'

The June 25 ruling by the Supreme Court was a blow to the rights of both men and women: in upholding registration, the court attacked the right of American youth *not* to be drafted, *not* to be forced to fight to defend imperialist interests abroad.

The court decision opened the way for the July 20 decision to prosecute those who have failed to register.

The latter move, news reports pointed out, was "cleared with the White House." It showed that despite his 1980 campaign rhetoric opposing the draft, Reagan is moving further toward reviving it along the course charted by Carter.

In recent months the big capitalist news media and prominent U.S. military figures have been warning of a "manpower crisis" that the Pentagon supposedly faces.

The mammoth boost in military spending Reagan is carrying out will require an increase

of some 250,000 armed forces personnel. Current plans call for luring more young people to enlist through higher military pay, tax exemptions, educational benefits, and appeals to "pride" and "patriotism."

But the deepening social crisis in the United States has been especially reflected in the "all-volunteer" army that has existed since the draft was suspended in 1973. Unable to find jobs elsewhere, a disproportionate share of the most poorly educated youth have found it necessary to enlist for military service. This has been especially true for youth from the Black community and from other oppressed national minorities.

Yet even with the whip of economic necessity, the U.S. rulers are having trouble filling the ranks with cannon fodder.

Writing in the June 16 *Washington Post*, Gen. Maxwell Taylor, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, complained of two "basic defects" in U.S. armed forces personnel:

"1) The low or marginal quality of many recruits and the fact that a disproportionate number of the recruits are poor, uneducated or black, and 2) the failure of volunteering to produce sufficient acceptable recruits to meet the needs of the reserve forces of the regular establishment."

"We have too many vital interests far from home in need of protection to tolerate forces unable to carry out their primary tasks—to deter war or to wage it successfully if deterrence fails," Taylor bluntly warned.

According to the July 9 *Washington Post*, a growing number of U.S. Congressmen are "contending that [the all-volunteer army] costs too much . . . and is providing 9 a.m.-to-5 p.m. soldiers who see the military as just another job, not an obligation."

The "manpower" problem also concerns Washington's allies. The April 25 *London Economist* pointed to "worries about how all-black or nearly all-black units would perform in a controversial war, or against other coloured soldiers. Apart from these purely military concerns, the social and political implications of an all-black army defending a 12%



Reagan's arms buildup would require 250,000 additional troops.

black country are staggering."

It is not only Black youth who might prove unreliable in a "controversial" war—and any war Washington tries to fight is bound to be controversial. The deeper problem facing U.S. rulers was pointed to by ex-Army Chief of Staff Gen. William Westmoreland in the May 26 *Wall Street Journal*.

"Perhaps the most disturbing consequence of turning our back on the draft," Westmoreland wrote, "is that young people's commitment to the country is weakened. An attitude of obliviousness to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship became prevalent in the high schools and on campuses."

Westmoreland claims restoring the draft would help to "bring our youth into a firm allegiance with America," but the truth is that it would only serve to increase the already profound antiwar sentiment that exists among U.S. young people.

Rulers fear protests

Carter found this out when he moved to resume draft registration. The largest student demonstrations since the war in Vietnam broke out on campuses across the country in early 1980. "What's coming to the surface are examples of how strongly the legacy of Vietnam has affected the attitudes and outlooks of students to whom that war was, at best, a half-remembered event," the *Washington Post* said on February 15, 1980, when the initial anti-draft protests were getting under way.

Since then even bigger mobilizations have occurred against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador, including the march of 100,000 in Washington on May 3. Fear of provoking more such protests is the main thing keeping Reagan from restoring the draft right away.

According to the July 21 *New York Times*, "President Reagan believes that resuming the draft to meet manpower problems would lead to public unrest comparable to that in the 60's and 70's."

But if the U.S. rulers are to proceed with their militarization drive and their attempts to crush revolutionary upsurges in Central America and elsewhere, they must move toward reinstating the draft. Reagan is preparing for this, with the prosecutions of nonregistrants, and with the appointment in early July of a "military manpower task force."

Among the proposals this task force will consider is a secret Army memorandum to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. According to the July 9 *Washington Post*, the memo-

randum states "that almost 100,000 more soldiers will be needed to carry out President Reagan's military strategy. . . ." The *Post* said the study expresses "doubts they can be recruited under 'the volunteer concept,' suggesting a draft may be required."

As Reagan pursues his course toward re-

suming the draft, protests are bound to increase. Efforts to defend those being prosecuted for failure to register will also be required. The focus for such protests in the coming months will be the week of local actions called for October 5-11 by the U.S. Committee Against Registration and the Draft. □

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Begin backs down

Halts Lebanon attacks after worldwide outcry

By Fred Murphy

In face of widespread international outrage over the July 17 terror bombing of Beirut and continued Israeli attacks on the civilian population of southern Lebanon, Prime Minister Menachem Begin backed off and agreed to a cease-fire on July 24.

The Israeli regime had failed to achieve its objective of driving Palestinian liberation fighters out of southern Lebanon, or of creating a situation that would enable it to take further steps in its gradual annexation of the area.

Israel's air attack on a densely populated area of Beirut on July 17 left some 300 persons dead and 800 wounded. It evoked unprecedented outrage internationally, even among forces traditionally friendly to the Zionist state.

"In bombing Beirut Mr. Begin has gone indefensibly far, morally and politically," the conservative British magazine the *Economist* said in a July 25 editorial.

Begin had shown his "contempt for the world," the London *Guardian* said July 19, and had embarked on "a disastrous course of confrontation."

The Paris daily *Le Monde* accused Begin in a July 19-20 editorial of a "deliberate act of state terrorism" and denounced his "carnage of innocent Palestinian and Lebanese civilians."

After the heads of state of West Germany, Japan, Britain, Italy, France, Canada, and the United States issued a vague statement from their Ottawa summit conference deploring "violence" in the Mideast, French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson declared that "France would have been happy to have seen more stress placed on the excessive, unprecedented aspects of Israel's massive attack on Lebanon."

Former U.S. national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski said it was "particularly sad that the government of a democratic country would be engaging in acts which in effect are terroristic."

'A madman for an ally'

Alexander Cockburn of the New York City weekly *Village Voice* took note of the relatively mild treatment Begin's raid received in the U.S. press and contrasted it with recent charges by *Newsweek* magazine and others that Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi is the "most dangerous man in the world."

"Why is Q'addafi more dangerous than Begin?" Cockburn asked in a July 22 column. "If Q'addafi had dispatched some planes to the capital city of another country and ordered them to drop bombs on a crowded quarter,

claiming that they were aiming at one or two specific buildings, he would quite rightly be denounced as an insane murderer."

In a July 22 column, William Raspberry of the *Washington Post* pointed out that as a result of the Beirut raid and similar actions, "signs are everywhere that the American people are growing tired of supporting a bully."

"The fact is that America has a madman for an ally," Raspberry wrote. "Giving blank checks to Begin is simply too dangerous a policy to continue."

Even leaders of the main U.S. Zionist organizations were forced to take the highly unusual step of publicly dissociating themselves from Israeli policy. Bertram Gold of the American Jewish Committee (AJC) said he felt "deep anguish over the loss of innocent civilian lives" in the Beirut raid. Rabbi Alexander Schindler of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations added, "We cannot be heartened by the sight of Lebanese women and children killed."

Of greatest concern to U.S. Zionists was the adverse impact Begin's actions were having on public opinion in the United States. "I blame Begin," said Pittsburgh Zionist fundraiser Meyer Berger. "This is the last of a long series of steps which has undermined America's support for Israel."

AJC Washington representative Hyman Bookbinder found the "threat of a rupture" be-

tween Jerusalem and Washington even more horrible to contemplate than the carnage in Beirut. Begin's moves, he said, "seem to be done without really caring what our great big friend in the United States thinks."

Reagan on the spot

The universal outcry over Israeli actions put the Reagan administration in a difficult spot. The very day of the raid on Beirut, Reagan was due to announce the renewed shipment of sophisticated F-16 fighter jets to the Begin regime. (Reagan had suspended the plane shipments after Israel's June 7 destruction of Iraq's nuclear reactor.)

The F-16s were held up once again. Leading figures in the Reagan administration openly criticized the Israeli regime. "Begin, without question, is making it difficult to assist Israel," Deputy Secretary of State William Clark said July 22. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger said the same day that Begin's course "cannot really be described as moderate." He complained that Begin was disrupting efforts to achieve a cease-fire in Lebanon.

The next day Reagan spokesmen backed off from even the mild criticisms expressed by Clark and Weinberger. But word was also leaked of "stern messages" sent to Begin through diplomatic channels.

One top U.S. official quoted in the July 21 *Wall Street Journal* said of Begin: "He has deliberate policy of trying to destroy our posture as friends of both Israel and the Arabs. He is trying to force us to choose."

"Arab states, now more than ever, see Israel, rather than the Soviets, as the major threat," the *Wall Street Journal* said July 22.

Conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak noted in the July 24 *Washington Post* that "the administration's 'strategic consensus' for a U.S.-Arab-Israeli consorti-



Beirut apartment houses destroyed by Israeli raid.

um to defend against Soviet designs is being destroyed by Israel's policy." Evans and Novak quoted a top Reagan aide, "We don't know how to bring Begin to heel, but we're trying to find out."

While international pressure on Begin built up, domestic problems were also having an effect.

Opposition in Israel

"The situation in northern Israel had also generated some domestic political pressure on Mr. Begin to move toward a cease-fire," the *New York Times* said July 25. "Most of the people from the border town of Qiryat Shemona had fled. Factories had closed down and morale was low."

The "development towns" along the northern border of Israel are currently suffering the highest unemployment in the country. Many residents, unwilling to serve as Begin's cannon fodder, are directing their anger and frustration over continually being in the line of fire at the government, rather than at the Palestinian

force in Lebanon.

In a petition circulated by Israeli intellectuals, Begin is accused of having "burdened us with a great moral guilt." The petition notes, "For similar behavior by the Syrians at Zahle, you accused Syria of genocide." (Zahle is a central Lebanese town where pro-Israeli Christian militias and Syrian forces have clashed.)

Palestinians hold their ground

Analyzing the cease-fire agreement in the June 25 *New York Times*, Jerusalem correspondent David Shipler asserted that a third reason for Begin's decision was "a conviction that the two weeks of pounding had considerably hurt the P.L.O." But Beirut correspondent John Kifner offered a different assessment elsewhere in the same issue of the *Times*.

"The heavy Israeli attacks appear to have inflicted little or no military damage on the Palestinian guerrillas. Despite the pounding, the major intersections along the coastal road . . . have remained in almost constant use, with makeshift crossings thrown up by bulldozers.

"The guerrillas say they have good stocks of ammunition and rockets built up over the last year.

"Conversations with guerrillas in the past week indicated that morale was high, largely as a result of the guerrillas' perception that Mr. Begin's tactics were costing him heavily in international support."

Begin's offensive against the Palestinian freedom fighters took a heavy toll in civilian lives in Lebanon, however. From the time the attacks began on July 10 until the July 24 cease-fire, some 450 Arabs lost their lives. In contrast, only six Israelis were killed. (The Palestinians had held their fire for five days before even retaliating.)

"Even in the attacks on Palestinian targets in southern Lebanon, where military objectives are more numerous and civilians fewer, the proportion of civilian to military casualties is seldom less than five or six to one. The proportion of Lebanese to Palestinian casualties is usually around three to one," the London *Economist* reported July 25. □

Imperialist troops in Sinai

Reagan urges Australian participation

By Jamie Doughney

[The following article appeared in the July 8 issue of *Direct Action*, the Australian socialist newsweekly.]

* * *

There is now a powerful momentum building up to secure Australian participation in the proposed US Sinai force.

Despite National Country Party opposition, Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser is sure to argue the case for a commitment to Cabinet upon his return to Australia. [Australia is ruled by a coalition of the Liberal and National Country parties.]

This is the message relayed by Australian journalists travelling with Fraser to cover his meetings with US President Ronald Reagan and other senior US officials.

Writing in the July 5 *Sunday Telegraph* journalist Laurie Oakes comments:

Australia key

"By using cajolery rather than arm-twisting, subtlety rather than obvious pressure, President Ronald Reagan has almost certainly succeeded in getting Australian participation in a Sinai peace force."

It is widely accepted that Australia's participation is important in legitimising the US initiative. This is well understood by the leaders of both countries, who share the same objectives in strengthening imperialist military presence around the globe.

For this reason Fraser made an all too obvious attempt to placate possible Cabinet opposition with an announcement that trade rela-

tions with Middle Eastern countries would not be seriously harmed if Australia did participate.

However, the Sinai question was only one element of Fraser's trip.

His meeting with Reagan was equally significant for its symbolic endorsement of the accelerated war drive of successive US administrations.

'Nuclear umbrella'

"It means that the Australian-American alliance has become more important over the past two years," wrote Paul Kelly from Chicago in the July 3 *Sydney Morning Herald*.

"Australia is now an important staging point in America's nuclear strike umbrella into the Indian Ocean and the Middle East through the agreement allowing B-52 bombers to transit through Darwin. It was interesting in the talks with Mr Fraser, the US Defence Secretary, Mr Weinberger, said that the US role in the Indian Ocean was now 'necessary, continuing and permanent.'

"There is no doubt that the Darwin agreement is just the bridgehead.

"Mr Fraser also offered the US home porting facilities for their ships at Cockburn Sound. . . .

"But as the examples of practical military co-operation within the alliance expand and Australia goes further down the road with the United States, then it must expect that bigger demands will be placed upon it. This is what the Sinai is all about."

Expand role

Nevertheless it would be wrong to see Australia simply as a puppet of US foreign policy.

The reactionary interests of both countries' rulers coincide. Fraser needed neither pressure nor cajoling to realise this.

In this context a significant feature of Fraser's trip, which should be noted by the labor movement in Australia, was not only that it cemented the US alliance, but that it aimed at expanding the right-wing role of Australia itself in world politics.

This is more clearly seen in Fraser's hypocritical gestures over "North-South" issues—the relations between the industrially developed and underdeveloped countries.

Without delving deeper into the question, it would appear absurd that Fraser would have the gall to pose as a spokesperson for the world's poor.

And even sympathetic journalists had to admit that his comments on the subject were both crude and ill-informed.

However, his real intention became crystal clear soon enough.

"In their discussion on North-South issues, Mr Fraser stressed to Mr Reagan that situations of hopelessness in developing countries frequently allowed the Soviet Union the chance to exploit tensions and difficulties. In this way

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the North-South struggle was directly related to the East-West struggle," commented Michelle Gratjan in the July 2 *Age*.

... there were also practical considerations. One was that economic take-off in developing countries would help the developed countries economically. . . ."

North-South fraud

Of course, the reference to the Soviet Union exploiting situations is a code name for genuine rebellions in countries like El Salvador against injustice and oppression.

And similarly, "economic take-off" means nothing more than the exploitative investments of the giant industrial corporations of the US and countries like Australia in the poor countries.

France

Mitterrand's nationalization plan

Some unanswered questions

By Pierre Rème

[The following article appeared in the July 10 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), the French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Paris—Several days ago the entire business press was speculating about whether limits might be placed on the nationalization program [proposed by the new Socialist Party government]. These circles hoped that the plans as a whole would be stretched out over five years. President Mitterrand's response was clear: the nationalizations will take place within two years.

Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy confirmed this in his [July 8] speech to parliament. But several areas remain shadowy. These are disquieting for the workers because they could open the way to a whole flock of maneuvers by the employers.

One of the decisions that Mauroy announced regarding the companies targeted for nationalization deserves particular attention. "Government delegates" will now be named for the companies to be nationalized.

These delegates will stay in contact with the managers and investigate measures to be taken. Working in close liaison with an interministerial commission, the delegates will receive suitable directives from the government.

We can view this measure as a response to the pressing demands that the workers organizations in the companies to be nationalized have been putting forward for some days. In fact, a delegation of workers from Logabax who were protesting 424 layoffs was received by the government at the end of the council of

To Fraser and Reagan, this is what "North-South dialogue" is all about.

Moreover, an instructive example of Canberra's attitude was recently given in regard to Malaysia: Simultaneously with cutting economic aid, the decision was taken to bolster Australia's military presence at the Butterworth base.

Fraser is particularly concerned to step up the role of Australian imperialism in this part of the world. He hopes that posing as a representative of the underdeveloped countries will give Australia a greater lever to do this when the Commonwealth Heads of Government meet in Melbourne in September.

It is the obligation of the labor movement now to expose the real motives behind Fraser's current diplomatic offensive. □

ministers meeting the very morning of Mauroy's speech.

But one question is still far from settled: what will be the real powers of these "delegates"? And what will be their instructions? Will they agree to layoffs and the elimination of jobs? Will they allow foreign speculation of the kind recently engaged in by Elf-Aquitaine in the United States or BNP in Spain?

Fair compensation

The second shadowy point concerns the question of compensation. Mauroy said that compensation will be carried out "fairly." But what standard of justice is involved? Why not clearly state, from the beginning, that compensation will be based on the past management methods of the companies slated for nationalization?

Does anyone propose paying anything at all to Marcel Dassault for his armaments plants? Or we could take the case of Thomson, another corporation that has greatly profited from public funds. For years Thomson's bills for materials delivered to the state, especially military materials, have been calculated on the basis of the hours of labor involved multiplied by 123 percent. Does anyone today propose that the state should "repurchase" these companies? Would Mauroy claim that this would be a "fair" expenditure of public funds?

Rather than again thrusting the question of compensation into the discussion, why not start by finding out the reality of who owns stock in France? More than 90 percent of all shares are held by a very small number of capitalists, and less than 10 percent are divided among several million investors. Therefore the workers should be able to express their views

on the question of compensation. While there might be a decision to make an exception for the real small investors, it is quite obvious that there are better uses for the money than to further line the pockets of those who have profited for decades from the rule of the right wing.

What limits on nationalizations?

The list of nationalizations [in Mauroy's speech] closely corresponds to the one François Mitterrand made public during his election campaign. But Mauroy's speech seems to have placed some additional limits on nationalizations.

Regarding the banks, for example, those that are owned or controlled by foreign capital would escape nationalization according to Mauroy. This is not a small point. It involves around 15 percent of the total.

But there is more. The "mutual societies" would not be touched by the nationalization measures. In fact, this would even include *Crédit Agricole*, which is the third largest savings bank in the world.

Crédit Agricole actually owns millions of farmers and not vice versa! Therefore it would be grossly hypocritical to treat it as though it were "mutual property."

In addition, there are even exemptions that are apparently aimed at the Paribas banking group, one of the main financial and industrial powers operating in France. Mauroy seems to have decided to "return" to the private sector the shares that Paribas holds in various enterprises that are not part of the eleven groups slated for nationalization.

This is just bowing to a simple-minded definition of bourgeois law. Today finance capital cannot be separated out from industrial capital. It has reached the point where only the largest companies generate their own capital, the rest being strictly dependent on the banking system. Why limit in advance the takeover of control by the state through returning to the private sector some companies that have been placed under the control of the big investment banks by the functioning of the capitalist system itself?

In the months to come many questions will be at the center of debates. These include what the government's commitment is to preventing owners from harming the companies to be nationalized, whether the government should refuse to spend public funds to "compensate" speculators, and whether it will really decide to make the economy function in a new way. □

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What next after the elections?

LCR urges united action against capitalists

[The following editorial was printed in the July 17, 1981, issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) of France. The LCR is the French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Many things have changed on the political level since [François Mitterrand's election as president] May 10. But the foundations of capitalist society remain in place. The adversary of the workers after May 10 is the same as it was before: the employers, the capitalist class. A working-class united front is needed against them, as it was needed before May 10 to throw out [former president] Giscard.

How do we build it? Around what objectives? Through answering these questions, the LCR will make its contribution to change.

Although no one can today predict the pace and time frame, one thing is certain: the workers will mobilize against the bourgeoisie's resistance. Already the bourgeoisie is transferring its capital abroad, is continuing to lay off, is blocking new hiring, is attempting to escape nationalizations, however limited, is using pressure from "abroad," is threatening to re-ignite the "war over schooling" [i.e., over government intervention in religious schools].

In their struggle the workers will turn to the government, to push it forward. They will help

the government in their own way, and will demand that it support them.

We will do this with the workers, without illusions but also without reservations. We will support any measure that goes in the direction of a break with the bourgeoisie. But we will also express our disagreement with any policy of class collaboration.

* * *

We know that the Socialist Party and Communist Party do not have the political will to really fight the capitalist class. That is why we march separately from them. But our activity aims to have the workers movement strike together, to have the SP and CP in the government play their full part in this battle.

That is also how we acted before May 10, when for long months we fought to get the SP and CP to join forces against Giscard and commit themselves to governing together. To that end we won't be hair-splitters. We will be the ones who want to move forward and propose the means to do so.

Today France is at a turning point. Sooner or later the capitalists will shift from a policy of pressuring the government to one of open resistance and sabotage, and then to the offensive. The employers will square off, ranging their power—the power of private ownership of the means of production—against the government's power.

To defend themselves the workers will inevitably make inroads into capitalist property.

The government will then be faced with a choice. It can either aid the mobilization of the workers or press for conciliation. At times of decision, one pays a heavy price for hesitation, for temporizing, for slowness to act.

* * *

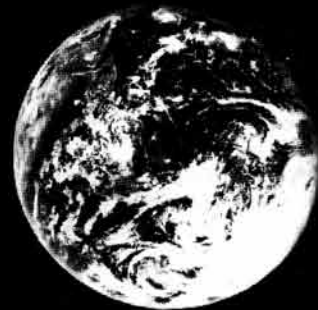
That is why the activity of tens of thousands of militants is so important now: the activity of union members fighting against divisions in the movement and opposing the watering down of demands; the activity of those members of the Communist Party fighting against the party's change from struggle without unity to unity without struggle; the activity of Socialists who are against the party's policy of friendly overtures toward the Radicals [a small capitalist party] and the bosses, and oppose the attempt to breathe new life into the antidemocratic institutions of the Fifth Republic; and finally, the activity of those who were disoriented by some far-left adventures.

If all these people act in a scattered manner, the adversary will be left with a free hand. However, acting in an organized fashion, they would constitute a real driving force.

The LCR's objective is to establish a revolutionary organization that is strong enough to attract the left currents that will develop inside the traditional organizations, in this way laying the groundwork for building a powerful revolutionary party.

Without trying to ignore the considerable political obstacles standing in the way of common activity, the LCR will continue to address itself to *Lutte Ouvrière* [Workers Struggle] and the OCI [Internationalist Communist Organization] in hopes that the main organizations in France that call themselves Trotskyist do not approach the new situation in a scattered manner. □

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Imperialist rulers meet, agree to disagree

By Will Reissner

When the heads of state of the seven most powerful imperialist countries opened their three-day summit meeting near Ottawa, Canada, on July 20, they were deeply divided on economic, trade, and political questions.

The conference, attended by the chief executives of the United States, Britain, Canada, West Germany, France, Italy, and Japan, was marked by what one official described as "sometimes brutal discussions." When it was over on July 22, the participants issued a very general communique that attempted to skirt their differences.

Among these differences were conflicting attitudes toward economic policy, toward trade with the Soviet Union, and toward military spending and arms negotiations.

Despite the summit's lack of progress in coordinating the policies of the major capitalist powers, Washington breathed an almost audible sigh of relief and satisfaction as the conference ended.

In a CBS television special report on the results of the meeting, the assembled correspondents agreed on one major gain from the summit: Ronald Reagan had managed to get through the whole three days without making a fool of himself! CBS trumpeted this rather modest accomplishment as one of the biggest gains to come out of Ottawa and as the beginning of renewed U.S. leadership of the "free world."

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who has talked a lot about the need for strong U.S. leadership of the imperialist powers, described Reagan's performance in Ottawa as "okay."

Real issues discussed

Despite the fact that there was a big element of fake media build-up for the meeting, real issues were discussed.

All the countries represented in Ottawa face severe economic problems, characterized by rising unemployment and high rates of inflation.

West German Chancellor Schmidt and French President François Mitterrand led the opposition to U.S. economic policies. Schmidt and Mitterrand argued that the maintenance of high U.S. interest rates has led to a flow of capital from Europe to the U.S., which is dampening investment at home and hindering economic recovery.

As a result, European governments have been forced to increase their own interest rates to try to stem the flow. But this makes it more expensive to borrow funds, leading to a decline in investment. In fact, Schmidt argued

that the present real interest rate in West Germany—the difference between the interest charged and the rate of inflation—is higher than at any time "since the birth of Christ."

In addition, Schmidt and Mitterrand noted, the high interest levels in the U.S. are strengthening the dollar against other currencies, increasing the prices that other countries must pay for commodities like oil that are priced in dollars.

Mitterrand warned that a continuation of high U.S. interest rates would lead to increased unemployment in Europe. And in a veiled reference to the recent rebellions in numerous British cities, he pointed to the possibility of serious social upheavals. But despite the pressure from Schmidt and Mitterrand, Washington refused to budge one iota from its monetary policy.

At the same time, Reagan was unable to make any progress in pressuring the West European participants to restrict their trade with the Soviet Union. And the section in the official communique on the need for the imperialist countries to boost their arms spending was

counterbalanced by the inclusion of strong calls for arms limitation talks with the USSR.

The Thatcher-Reagan alliance

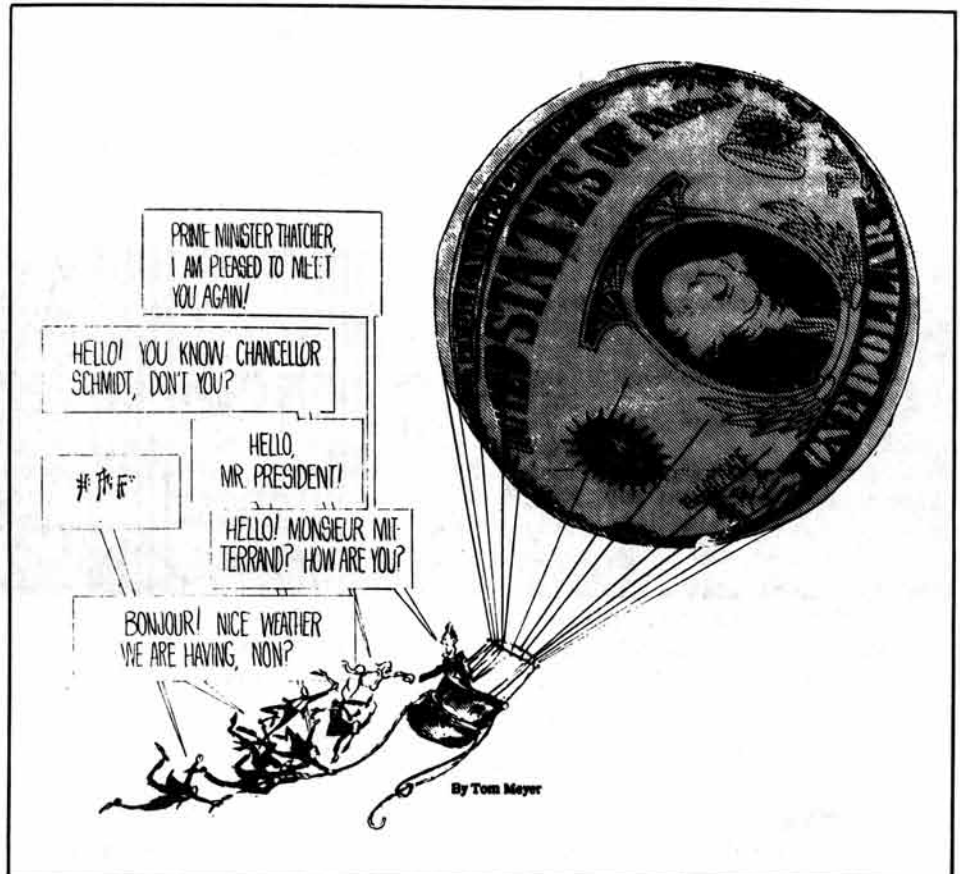
The scope of the economic problems facing the major capitalist powers can best be seen in Britain, where Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party government has been carrying out policies similar to those proposed by Reagan.

Since Thatcher's government took office in May 1979, the number of jobless in Britain has more than doubled, rising from 1.3 million to 2.85 million. In fact, while the summit meeting was in session, the British government issued its latest monthly report on unemployment. The report showed an increase for the fourteenth straight month, with some 11.8 percent of the workforce idled.

The latest report had been expected to show that the number of jobless had risen above 3 million, but a judicious change in reporting methods held the total to 2.85 million. Young people just out of school who cannot find work will not be included in unemployment figures until September.

Despite the rising toll of unemployment in Britain and the recent youth uprisings that have shaken its cities, Reagan saw Thatcher as his most dependable ally at the conference.

Both Thatcher and Reagan are in the vanguard in applying the capitalist solution to the current economic problems—ruthless cuts in social services and major reductions in the liv-



ing standards of working people, in order to improve profit levels and the competitiveness of capitalist enterprises in their countries.

At the conclusion of the summit meeting, *New York Times* reporter Hedrick Smith spoke with Reagan about the conference. According to Smith, Reagan "singled out Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain as one for whom he felt 'great admiration and great respect,' partly because of long acquaintanceship and similarity of outlook, but also because 'there were many times in those meetings when it was Margaret Thatcher who spoke up and put her finger on the thing we were trying to resolve.'"

Reagan advisor Edwin Meese explained, somewhat ungrammatically, that "with the exception of Margaret Thatcher, there's not another economy that's really like ours. There's none of them who really had the same set of principles."

U.S. Treasury Secretary Donald Regan ac-

knowledged that he made little headway in winning support for U.S. monetary policies, with one exception. In the words of *New York Times* economic correspondent Leonard Silk, "Mr. Regan said he had been successful only with Sir Geoffrey Howe, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, but conceded that he might have needed little convincing, given the like approaches of the Reagan and Thatcher Governments."

As the conference ended, the heads of state present went off in their own directions, and not just geographically. The summit registered the fact that under the impact of the worldwide capitalist economic crisis, each of the capitalist governments is pushing policies aimed at protecting the specific interests of its own bourgeoisie. Despite the discussions, and the agreement to meet again next year in France, the summit indicates that we can expect continued inter-imperialist competition and disunity in the coming year. □

El Salvador

'Fighting for the people'

Interview with soldier who joined guerrillas

[The following are excerpts of an interview with Oscar, a nineteen-year-old Salvadoran guerrilla, that appeared in the July 13 edition of the Nicaraguan daily *Barricada*. Oscar had been a soldier in the junta's army; he was captured by the guerrillas in an ambush and decided to join their ranks.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

I went over to the people's army because they are the ones fighting for the people. The regular army used to force us to fight; they would threaten to shoot us if we didn't.

OK, I understood. And I was just waiting for my chance to join up with the guerrillas when they captured me. I turned over two G-3 rifles to the people's struggle.

Lieutenant Anzora, who was commanding our troops, didn't know what to do when we were attacked, and he died without firing a shot. Other soldiers also fell, but one was taken alive and they gave him medical care. Now he's part of the sanitation team here.

Question. And the rest of the soldiers?

Answer. They took off every which way.

Q. How do your new comrades treat you?

A. Very fraternally—good comrades.

Q. And how were you treated in the army?

A. Very differently. There they'd yell at you, hit you. If you didn't line up right or didn't listen right to an order, they'd kick you. Here we're all equal and you're treated like a comrade.

Q. Have you participated in combat against your old comrades in the army?

A. Yes.

Q. Where?

A. In Los Amendros and in harassment actions.

Q. Did you shoot at the soldiers?

A. Sure—I had to because they haven't figured out yet to fight on our side.

Q. Do you think there will be more desertions?

A. There are plenty of soldiers who are organized and just waiting for a chance. Sometimes I heard them talking about it. Some friends I had were telling me that in the next offensive they were going to desert.

Q. They talk about U.S. military advisers with the army. Did you see any?

A. When I was in Sonsonate there weren't any. But they told us that they are concentrated in Opico [San Juan Opico, 43 km northwest of San Salvador].

Q. Do they torture prisoners in the army barracks?

A. Yes, I saw a kid they brought in, and I heard him screaming during the night. The next day they took him out dead.

Q. Are there members of the White Warriors Union or the Death Squadron?

A. At night soldiers go out with hoods on to kill people. Thank God they never tried to get me to do it because I don't know what I would have done.

Q. How does the army operate when it goes into the field against the guerrillas?

A. The times I went out, it was planes first and then a massive artillery attack. We'd advance in groups and dig in every five meters.

Q. What type of armament were you using?

A. 120mm cannon and 81 and 105mm mortars.

Q. And the planes?

A. Sometimes they'd drop 500-pound bombs, sometimes 200, and sometimes white phosphorous.

Q. How did you know it was white phosphorous?

A. Because the officers told us and because we looked where it fell and it had burned everything—it's like lava from the volcanoes.

Q. And what happened with the civilian population?

A. They were killed, of course. They used to tell us to kill all the children and women, that everyone was a guerrilla.

Q. What did you think?

A. A lot of us didn't fire, or just fired in the air because afterwards they would check our rifles to see if they were hot.

Q. You're from a rural area of Sonsonate?

A. Yes.

Q. And in the place where you come from, are some of your friends guerrillas?

A. Yes, I know about thirty. Including two cousins of mine who were killed by the Death Squadron.

Q. Do you think you're going to win?

A. Yes, we're already near the triumph of the revolution.

Q. And what will you do then?

A. I'll go to see my family because they think I'm dead. The army never tells anybody anything. Then, I'll see what will keep me busy. □

Second anniversary of revolution

500,000 in Managua cheer new measures

By Arnold Weissberg
and Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—An estimated half million Nicaraguans shouted their approval of stiff new laws establishing greater government control over the economy at a rally here July 19.

The demonstration marked the second anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, as well as the twentieth of the founding of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The new laws were adopted in response to a series of demonstrations by the trade unions and other mass organizations. They make it easier for the government to intervene to halt "decapitalization" (removal of capital from the country by industrialists and wealthy farmers). The new laws will also make more land available to landless peasants.

Even before dawn on July 19, the huge throng began converging on the July 19 Plaza here in the capital. Some people traveled two days to reach Managua. At 1 a.m., July 19, radio reports from around the country carried the news of departing contingents: 40,000 from the city of Chinandega, for instance. One participant estimated that 700 trucks had come from Matagalpa.

Roads near the plaza were lined with vehicles of every imaginable description and vintage. Anything that could move under its own power had been pressed into service: from jeeps and buses to dump trucks and trucks normally used to haul cotton or cattle.

In the plaza, wind-whipped flags of black and red (the FSLN colors), and blue and white (the national colors) mingled with homemade banners and signs and the blue flags of the new organization of small farmers.

At the back of the plaza hung a banner from the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). It read: "After twenty years of struggle, the working class swears to advance toward socialism."

New laws

Explaining that the leadership of the revolution "could not continue to turn a deaf ear" to the demands of the workers and peasants, Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Junta of National Reconstruction, read off the proposed measures.

He first announced a new law against decapitalization, which enables the government to intervene upon a complaint by the workers, placing the enterprise under government control while the charges that capital is being removed from the country are investigated. In addition, the workers making the charge are to be protected against reprisals. The new law also adds to the list of practices that will be con-

sidered decapitalizing.

Ortega then read a list of fourteen enterprises to be nationalized, expropriated, immediately. All had already been intervened following charges of decapitalization. Cheers greeted each name and were particularly loud for the La Perfecta Dairy, whose workers have been agitating for confiscation for months.

As Ortega reached the end of the list, the crowd began chanting, "La Prensa!" and calling for the confiscation of the right-wing daily that is the mouthpiece of Nicaraguan capitalism. The night before, bonfires around Managua had been fueled by copies of *La Prensa*, with barrio residents contributing the issues they considered most outrageous or dishonest.

Land reform

Ortega also proposed a decree authorizing the confiscation of all properties of Nicaraguans out of the country for six months.

At this, people within the crowd began calling for wealthy industrialist and anti-Sandinista leader Alfonso Robelo to go on a six-month foreign vacation.

"Does this gathering agree with this measure?" Ortega asked.

"Yes!" and "People's power!" came the reply from hundreds of thousands of mouths.

Peasants and agricultural workers have also been vigorously protesting decapitalization in the countryside and demanding confiscation of affected properties.

In response, Ortega read out a proposed new land-reform measure that subjects large landholdings to confiscation if they are left idle or underutilized. The law affects farms of more than 500 manzanas (863 acres) in the Pacific Zone, and double that size in the Atlantic. Land will be turned over to peasants who are landless or without sufficient land to support their families.

Minister of Agricultural Development Jaime Wheelock explained at a July 20 news conference that about one Nicaraguan peasant in four could qualify for land under the new law, and that the government would continue to encourage the formation of peasant cooperatives.

Noting that there had been more than 400 land takeovers in the past few months, Wheelock said the government hoped the new law would lead to greater stability and higher levels of production in the countryside by giving peasants an orderly way to get land.

'People decide the rules'

A series of other revolutionary measures were proposed by Ortega at the July 19 rally and adopted by acclamation:

- Government controls on foreign trade

were strengthened. Products totaling \$40 million a year in sales were added to the list of items that can be exported only by the government.

- The government will completely take over domestic distribution of sugar. Sugar supplies have been subjected to price manipulation and hoarding, thus causing shortages.

- Ownership titles will be granted to tenants in intervened housing projects.

Over the past six weeks, popular demands around the country against decapitalization and against a wave of counterrevolutionary terror have often called for *mano dura*—a "firm hand"—against the counterrevolution, including institution of the death penalty.

Ortega explained that the way to deal with the counterrevolution was not by instituting the death penalty, but by "organizing everyone here, anyone who can fire a rifle, into the Sandinista People's Militias."

Summing up, Ortega said, "From this day on, the FSLN, the government, and all the people of Nicaragua are deciding the rules of the game."

"We are not going to permit them to keep on playing around with our revolution: playing with the blood of our martyrs, playing with the sweat of our workers."

Result of struggles

The other speaker at the rally was Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge, the only surviving founder of the FSLN. When he got up to speak, the crowd began shouting, "Tomás! Tomás!" and thousands of banners waved.

Borge told the crowd that the decrees just announced by Ortega "weren't just pulled out of a magician's hat. They were the result of the struggles of the great masses."

He said the revolutionary measures were "a step forward in the process of transforming society in the way demanded by working people."

Borge lashed out at those who did not want the revolution to go forward.

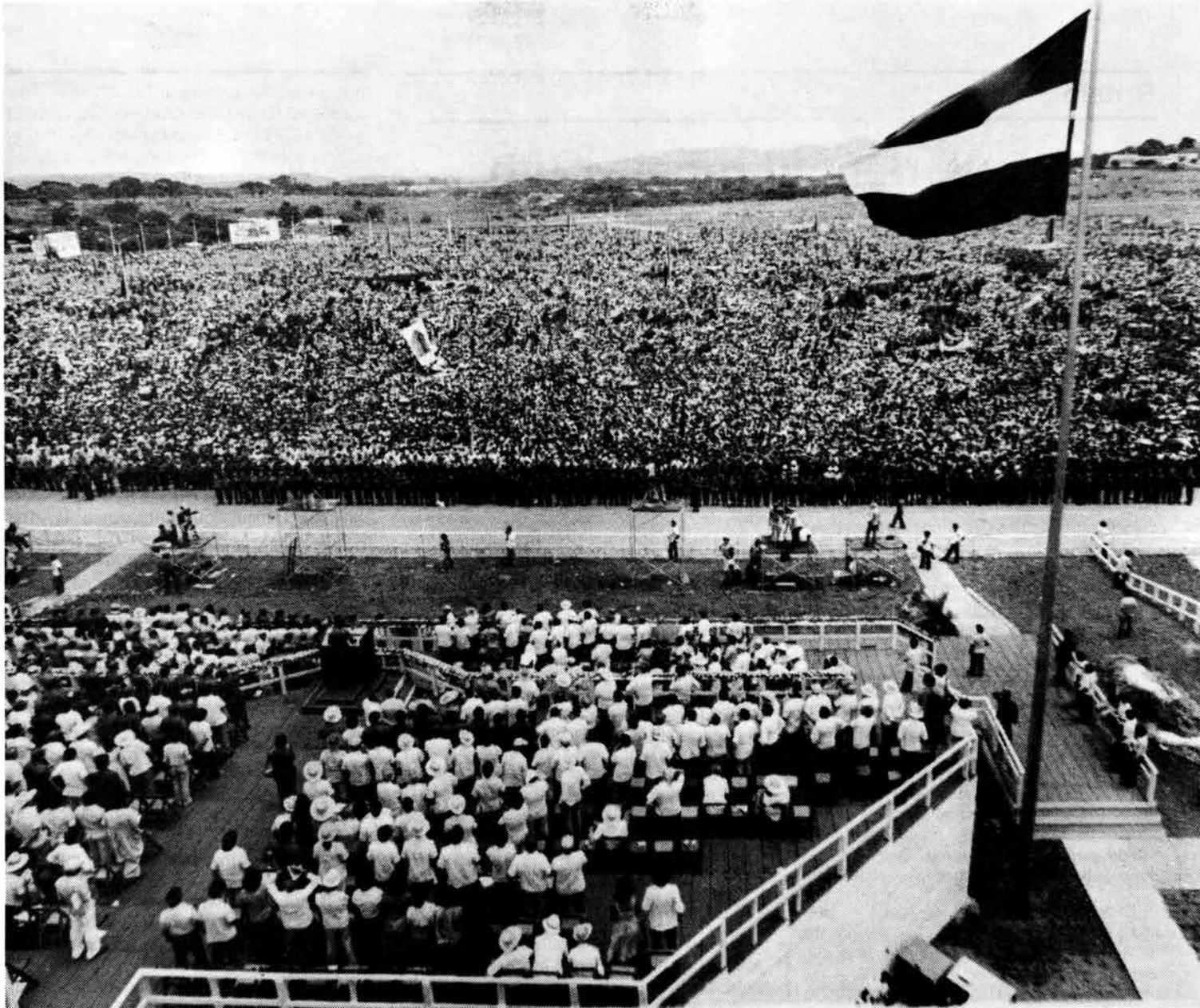
"Who are these people who ship their money out of the country? Who murdered Sandino and then celebrated in an orgy of champagne and blood?"

"The bourgeoisie!" answered the huge crowd.

"Who made fabulous deals with the tyranny? Who gave contributions under the table to Somoza's election campaigns?"

"The bourgeoisie!"—louder than before.

"Who grabbed up the peasants' land? Who has kept the workers under the yoke of oppression? Who called our wonderful literacy cam-



July 19, 1981, demonstration in Managua.

Barricada

paign 'indoctrination'?"

The crowd shouted back after every question, "The bourgeoisie!"

Against bureaucracy

But the capitalists are not the only ones to blame for Nicaragua's problems, Borge acknowledged. The crowd apparently agreed with him, because they cheered him when he declared "a war to the death against bureaucracy."

"Obviously, there are many bureaucratic problems that can't be solved for objective reasons, because of our lack of resources," he said. "But there are others that aren't being solved for lack of imagination."

He listed some abuses for which there was no excuse: "I even heard of a case of a comrade who went to ask for time off when she was seven months pregnant, and they told her she had to come back with an affidavit swearing she was really pregnant."

"I think it is an unpostponable obligation to confront bureaucratism," Borge went on. "But how do we confront bureaucratism? By joining ourselves with the masses."

One of the reasons so many people turned out July 19 was to show support for their revolution and government in the face of a series of hostile actions on the part of the U.S. government—such as cutting off economic aid and allowing armed Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries to set up training camps in Florida.

Borge got the biggest applause of the day when he said that the revolution had arms to defend itself, and "We don't have to explain to anyone where these arms, these guns, these cannons come from. They are for defending our revolution and our people."

Moral authority

Borge noted the immense moral authority the Nicaraguan revolution has throughout the world, and pointed out that Sandinism and in-

ternationalism were inseparable.

"All the revolutionaries and all the peoples of Latin America especially know that the hearts of our people are with them. . . . This doesn't mean, however, that we export our revolution. It is enough—and we can't do otherwise—that we export an example: the example of courage, generosity, and dedication of our people."

Forty-two governments or sister parties of the FSLN sent representatives to the gathering.

As people poured out of the plaza after the rally, Paulita Gutiérrez, a resident of the barrio of Ciudad Sandino, expressed what seemed to be the sentiment of many.

"These new laws are going to mean big changes that will help the workers and peasants," she said.

Teenager Ricardo Jaimes added that the rally had "taught a lesson to the reactionaries, who still haven't figured out that this revolution is not going to be turned around." □

Socialists defend rebel youth

Urge action by labor movement

[The following editorial appeared in the July 16 issue of the British Trotskyist weekly, *Socialist Challenge*.]

* * *

Driven to despair by the hopelessness of unemployment, harassed by the police, forced to live in the decaying inner cities without hope for the future—Britain's youth have boiled over in anger. The riots in Liverpool, Moss Side, London and Southall have reached the proportions of virtual insurrection against authority—insurrections of whole communities.

These uprisings have been predictably led by the most oppressed and exploited—the black and Asian youth. In Southall, intimidation of the community by National Front thugs resulted in the organised defence of the community by the youth.

Elsewhere, the frustration of the youth and the community have boiled over against the police. The first thing that every socialist and labour movement activist should be saying is that, faced with the misery of Tory Britain, the youth are right to rebel. Every person arrested in the riots should be released, every charge should be dropped. *The labour movement should defend those arrested.* Defence committees should be established in every locality.

To be sure, for revolutionary socialists, riots and violent attacks on the police are not the most effective methods of struggle. Nonetheless the recent riots, like the uprisings in the black ghettos in the United States in the 1960s, are a genuine expression of the misery and rage of the exploited and oppressed.

When they struggle against their tormentors, when they hit back at the police who harass them, and when they take the consumer goods which they are unable to afford, then we stand with them irrespective of our opinion of the tactical advisability of such actions. Nothing has been more sickening than the ritual condemnation of the rioters by Labour Party spokespeople.

Tories—the real criminals

The real criminals in this situation are the Tories. It's their policies which have doubled unemployment in a year, hastening the catastrophic decline of British industry, which have smashed up the social services and driven down living standards—especially those of the unemployed.

These criminals say that the riots are 'nothing to do with unemployment,' talk darkly about 'outside agitators' and make plans to toughen the Public Order Act, introduce a new Riot Act, give the police new weaponry and equipment. Nobody in the labour movement

should be taken in by this Tory nonsense. Our first task is to put the blame for the tragic situation in the cities where it belongs—not on the youth, but on the Tories and their vicious anti-working class policies.

The recent events give added urgency to the task of mobilising to kick out the Tories, to use every opportunity to fight against their policies and prepare the way for a Labour government committed to socialist policies.

Defend the communities—police out

The first task of the TUC [Trades Union Congress] and Labour Party is to provide a focus for the battle against this reactionary government. The miners fight against pit closure, the Civil Servants' strike and the huge demonstrations against unemployment have shown that the power and fighting spirit exists to kick out the Tories.

The TUC must now act against this government of wreckers. We cannot afford to stand by and watch the Tories dismantle our economy and society. We must prepare a general strike to remove the Tories. A one day general strike against the Tories is a first useful step.

The 19 September demonstration against unemployment in Birmingham will be a massive explosion of anger against the government—and can act to channel the frustration of youth against the Tories.

A massive programme of public works, not Murray's pathetic proposal of £500m, must be presented by the unions and the Labour Party to rebuild the inner cities.

The insanity of a system which proposes to spend £6 billion on a missile system, while the cities slide into decay and millions rot on the

dole—must be challenged. The meaning of the fight which *Socialist Challenge* has waged for Jobs not Bombs is now completely clear in all its implications. The Labour Party and the trade unions must reach out to the youth in the inner cities.

The labour movement should join in the task of defending the communities. Our first demand should be for an end to police swamping of the communities and for the right of the community to veto the activities of the police in their areas.

The Asian youth of Southall showed they were perfectly capable of defending their community against the racists' provocation.

The presence of the police in these areas, with their dawn raids against alleged 'looters' and saturation harassment on the streets, is designed only to cow and intimidate the ordinary people of these areas, to force them to lie down and accept their exploitation passively. The police, including the Special Patrol Groups and Tactical Aid groups must get out of the communities.

Community and youth must organise

In the next period, in addition to organising legal defence, the labour movement and the communities should organise for struggle. The police and the Tories have declared war on the communities and youth. There is no possibility that the authorities will allow these events to go by without trying to take revenge.

The communities and the youth should organise assemblies to work out the political tasks ahead. What is needed now is the giving of a *political perspective* to the militants.

This means taking up the methods of mass mobilisation and mass organisation against the racists and police.

The precise form of organisation of the community and the youth will vary from area to area. In Southall, in past years, there have already been assemblies of youth which have debated out the struggle against fascism and state racism.

The most political sections of the communi-



Joanne O'Brien/Socialist Challenge

ties and youth will look for political answers. They have to be organised by the Labour Party and the Labour Party Young Socialists, the only organisations with the mass credibility to do the job.

The struggle in Ireland, the situation in the Labour Party, the actions of thousands in the unions and now the youth rebellion have put the Tories on the run. This is the beginning of the end for the government. But like a wounded animal, its savagery will grow as its death comes closer. It is brutally clear that the way to win socialist policies is to remove this government. There is not a moment to lose.

Get the truth out

In the next few weeks, socialists have to do a tremendous job of explanation inside the labour movement and beyond, to get out the truth on what happened—and combat the flood of press lies.

All *Socialist Challenge* and Revolution Youth supporters should be organising meetings with this aim in mind. In particular *Socialist Challenge* should be used, to sell on council estates and in the localities to hammer home the truth about what happened. If we don't do it, no one else will. □

Britain's royal wedding: celebrating class privilege

By David Frankel

Political prisoners are starving themselves to death in Northern Ireland, victims of the brutal intransigence of Britain's Tory government.

Jobless youth, the victims of racism, police abuse, and economic policies tailored to the interests of the ruling rich, have rebelled in more than thirty British cities.

British workers are being pressed to the wall by double-digit inflation, the highest unemployment level since the depths of the Great Depression in the 1930s, and cutbacks in government spending on social welfare.

What better time for a royal wedding, a gala celebration of class privilege? Could there be a more appropriate moment to dust off the age-old trappings of parasitism and slavery, to revel in the antidemocratic traditions of the British monarchy?

While British workers who produce the country's wealth see their already inadequate wages eaten away by inflation, and while the unemployed are thrown on the dole, Prince Charles scrapes by on \$585,000 a year—plus expenses.

While working class families in Britain's cities live in crumbling slums, many without even adequate plumbing, Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer will spend their wedding night at Broadlands, a sixty-room mansion. It is one of many owned by the royal family.

Every aspect of this repulsive display—from the gleaming state carriages, to the teams of matched horses, to the 652-foot red carpet at St. Paul's Cathedral—is calculated to glorify the worst values and the most backward qualities of a sick society. The royal wedding is a celebration of inequality, privilege, and servility.

In an attempt to demonstrate that they are really democrats at heart, the royal family has invited its servants to the wedding—including seventy from the Queen's estate, Sandringham, fifty from Balmoral in Scotland, and another fifty from Windsor Castle.

However, there are limits. The Archbishop

of Canterbury had suggested that one of the officiating clerics at the wedding be Black, and that a prayer be offered by a woman, but these proposals were rejected. Tradition must be respected, you know.

Meanwhile, Nancy Reagan, representing the U.S. government, is scheduled to have lunch with Princess Margaret and dinner with Princess Alexandra, to go to Buckingham Palace for a state dinner, and to call on the Queen

Mother. She will also have cocktails with Lord Carrington and watch Prince Charles play polo.

However, *U.S. News & World Report* confided in its July 27 issue, "She will greet the Queen not with a curtsy . . . but with a firm American handshake."

Better taste is being shown by tourists. *New York Times* correspondent R. W. Apple Jr. reported from London July 22, "Trips for tourists to the kindergarten where Lady Diana taught and to her former flat have found almost no takers. . . ."

According to a July 15 report by Apple, "The tourist boom that was expected to accompany the wedding has not materialized. Business is actually off from last year."

Since only British music will be played at the wedding, perhaps some lines by the great English poet Shelley could be set to an appropriate tune—the ones that go:

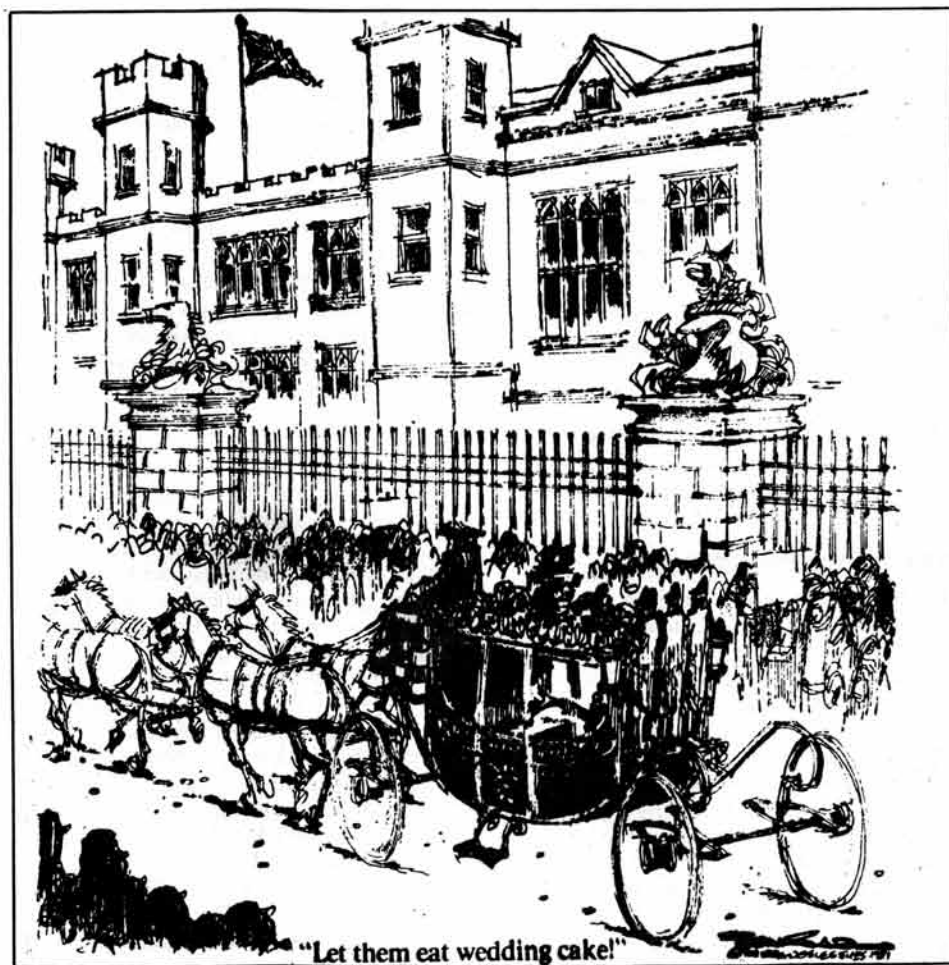
"An old, mad, blind, despised, and dying king,—

Princes, the dregs of their dull race, who flow

Through public scorn,—mud from a muddy spring,—

Rulers who neither see, nor feel, nor know,
But leech-like to their fainting country cling,

Til they drop, blind in blood, without a blow. . . ."



"Let them eat wedding cake!"

Little enthusiasm for party congress

More promises, more threats

By Ernest Harsch

WARSAW—Just outside the Palace of Culture and Science, where the national congress of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Communist Party) opened on July 14, stands a huge red-and-white billboard. "The line of the party—the line of socialist renewal," it proclaims.

But all around the billboard, as at most major intersections in Warsaw, are groups of policemen. They stand or walk around in pairs, heavy rubber truncheons hanging from their belts, carefully eyeing passersby. An occasional military truck, filled with armed soldiers, drives through the streets.

The message to Poland's workers could hardly be clearer. After one year of the deepest social and political crisis in the history of the Polish People's Republic, the authorities still have no perspective of granting the fundamental demands of working people.

They will, of course, make more promises of reform—a "socialist renewal"—as they have been doing ever since the 1980 strikes. And because of the power of the unfolding workers revolution, they will have to make more concessions. But they are still as determined as ever to resist any basic democratic changes in Poland's bureaucratic and totalitarian system of rule, especially those initiatives undertaken by the workers themselves.

"They have no program for the country," a member of the independent union movement, Solidarity, told me on July 20, the day after the congress ended. "The party will remain as isolated from society as ever."

Another Solidarity member dismissed the entire congress discussion as the "barking of dogs."

The character of the party leadership's "socialist renewal" was highlighted by the opening speech to the congress by Stanislaw Kania, the party first secretary.

Workers 'not against socialism'

On the surface, Kania's speech appeared quite contradictory. While he talked about the need for reform, at the same time he adopted a threatening stance toward the 10-million-member Solidarity. This was a reflection of the enormous pressures bearing down on the PUWP leadership—in one direction from the workers themselves, and in the other from Moscow, which has been demanding that the Polish authorities take decisive steps to halt the spreading ferment.

Kania's basic aims are in fact the same as those of Moscow, but he differs with the Kremlin on how to achieve them.

After everything that has happened over the past year, there was no way for Kania to avoid admitting some of the party's "errors"—or at least those of the previous leadership of Edward Gierek. The economic, social, and political crisis in the country, he acknowledged, was "born of general mistakes in the policy of the state's supreme authorities," especially in the area of economic policy.

In that light, Kania went on, the strikes of 1980 were not "a protest against socialism, but against a violation of its principles." The authorities, he said, "stand firmly on the ground of implementation of the August and September [1980 strike] agreements, considering it one of the essential prerequisites for overcoming the crisis."

Kania also recognized the "bitterness" of the party rank-and-file over the "deformations" within the party and the "departure from the Leninist norms of party life." The members, he said, were justified in demanding "accountability" from the leadership, and in pressing for action against officials responsible for Poland's crisis.

In response to such widespread demands—and to the party leadership's need for some scapegoats—Gierek and a number of his cronies were expelled from the party and stripped of many of their special pensions and privileges the next day.

In one of the longer sections of his speech, Kania outlined some of the party leadership's proposals for economic and social reform. Investment outlays would be curbed, he said, so that more funds could be allocated for food, healthcare, and other basic needs. He pledged greater assistance to Poland's private farmers, and promised the "inviolability of the farmers' property."

If implemented, such measures would be important gains for the Polish people. But many Poles, especially members of Solidarity, are skeptical of such promises. They have heard them before. And so far, the Kania leadership has given little indication that this time the reforms will be real, that they will be something more than fine words repeated endlessly over the state-controlled radio and television.

Despite Kania's pledges, most of the points in the 1980 accords have not been fulfilled. "We are still fighting for implementation of last year's agreement," Tomasz Moszczak, a leader of Solidarity at the giant Lenin shipyards in Gdansk, told me a week before the opening of the congress.

Threats against Solidarity

Kania's speech, in fact, contained new

threats against Solidarity.

In a clear attempt to foster divisions within the unions, Kania repeated his earlier condemnations of alleged "counterrevolutionary" forces within Solidarity, particularly those members identified with the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR).

According to Kania, "we see the line of division where the activity of Solidarity as a trade union ends and the activity of reactionary extremist groups begins, the group whose aim is to impart to Solidarity the character of a political party opposed to the socialist state. Such is the aim of the influence exerted on Solidarity cells by the KOR and all other Polish reactionary groups."

Solidarity has consistently rejected such blackmail attempts, recognizing that the authorities' attacks on the KOR are, in fact, aimed at the right of all Solidarity members—and every Polish citizen—to freely express their political views. "The KOR defends Solidarity; Solidarity defends the KOR," proclaimed posters in many Solidarity offices around the country.

Kania also directly criticized Solidarity itself. "The strike weapon is employed too rashly," he declared. "More and more facts bear evidence to the Solidarity trade union usurping for itself the right to make decisions on the state's managerial cadres. Many trade-union publications are aimed against the principles of our system, our alliances, and the party."

The PUWP, he added, would continue supporting the branch trade unions, the small remnants of the bureaucratic and party-controlled union federation that was dissolved shortly after Solidarity's formation.

The party first secretary took a particularly hard line against the growing movement for workers control of the factories, in which members of Solidarity are taking a leading role. "The striving for the de facto takeover of economic power is in evidence," Kania declared. "We denounce this campaign resolutely."

Kania did not limit himself to attacks on Solidarity. He lashed out at all sectors of Polish society that are seeking to bring about democratic change.

Attacks on students and journalists

The independent student movement, which supports Solidarity, was accused of "activity aimed against the principles of our system" and of "leading a part of our young people ideologically and politically astray."

Kania denounced "the tendency by some journalists and editorial offices to drift toward

the extreme, toward negation and distrust of the party and the authorities." The PUWP's control over the press should be strengthened, he insisted.

In a reaction to the demands of the party rank-and-file for greater internal party democracy and the adoption of policies favorable to the workers movement, Kania called for "a struggle against ideological defeatism and submission to rampant spontaneity."

In an effort to give some force to his warnings, Kania reminded his listeners of Moscow's "profound concern" over the course of events in Poland, repeatedly stressing the Polish authorities' close ties to the Kremlin.

Kania even invoked the Soviet leadership's threatening June letter to the PUWP central committee, which included sharp attacks not only on Solidarity, but also on Kania's handling of the situation.

In effect, Kania was appealing to Moscow to ease up on the pressure, pledging that the Polish authorities would themselves keep a rein on the workers movement.

'The bureaucracy still remains'

Much of the deliberations of the congress were taken up with the selection of a new party leadership. Although Kania and several other top leaders were returned to their positions, many were not. An overwhelming majority of the members of the central committee and political bureau are new.

This was a result of the enormous strains on the party, the discrediting of a whole layer of former leaders, and the pressures from the ranks of the party for internal party democracy. Because of the demands of the ranks, the rules for electing congress delegates and party leaders had been altered several months earlier, limiting the leadership's ability to hand-pick who would be chosen.

A big majority of the 1,964 delegates, elected during the preceding regional party congresses, had never attended a national PUWP congress before. Of the 142 previous central committee members, only 43 managed to get elected as delegates and thus have a chance for reelection to the central committee.

Of those forty-three, there were a number of significant casualties. Tadeusz Grabski, who just a month earlier had led a Soviet-backed drive against Kania, failed to retain his seat. Nor did Andrzej Zabinski, another leading hardliner, and Stanislaw Kociolek, known as the "butcher of Gdansk" for his role in the massacre of hundreds of workers during the December 1970 strikes in that port city.

Gen. Mieczyslaw Moczar, a powerful behind-the-scenes figure, was also eliminated, as was Tadeusz Fiszbach, the party first secretary in Gdansk and one of the most vocal party advocates of compromise with Solidarity.

Only four members of the outgoing political bureau survived: Kania, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, and

Stefan Olszowski, who has very close ties with Moscow. The newcomers include Albin Siwak, a notorious opponent of Solidarity, and Zofia Grzyb, a member of Solidarity.

Overall, the composition of the new central committee and political bureau reflects a strengthening of the Kania wing of the party leadership, both against the demands of the Polish workers themselves, and against the Soviet pressures to adopt an even harder line toward Solidarity.

Commenting on the new faces in the party leadership, a Solidarity leader at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan stated a few days after the congress, "Some people are new. But the bureaucracy still remains the same."

Setback to the ranks

One of the main reasons for the congress' failure to adopt a new course was the success of the authorities in containing the demands for democratic change among the party ranks.

With about one million of the party's three million members also belonging to Solidarity, the pressures for change within the party began to surface on a wide scale earlier this year. Rank-and-file activists in various parts of the country—often coming from the large factories—initiated discussions with each other and organized a democratic current known as the "horizontal structures."

This movement made gains in some areas during the regional party congresses. In Poz-



Solidarity rally in Gdansk.

nan, for example, Edward Skrzypczak, a supporter of the horizontal structures and the party secretary at the giant Cegielski metalworks, was elected regional first secretary, although conservative officials were able to gain a majority on the regional party committee. The situation was similar in Gdansk, Wroclaw, Torun, Szczecin, Krakow, and several other parts of the country.

Four draft programs were drawn up by regional party bodies in Poznan, Krakow, Gdansk, and Wroclaw, in opposition to the one proposed by the outgoing central committee. While the central committee program is extremely vague on the kind of economic, social, and political reforms envisaged for the country, the regional ones were more concrete and far-reaching.

The Poznan program, among other things, condemned the party's "non-Marxist course," "Stalinist errors," and "centralist degeneration." It proposed new democratic party structures, the elimination of material privileges for party leaders, and the right of members to freely discuss all questions. Its suggestions for economic and social reforms touched virtually all problems facing Polish society. The program insisted that "democracy is the only form of state in which the socialist system can materialize."

But with the party leadership still in control of the bureaucratic apparatus, it was able to break the momentum of the horizontal structures. An important factor in this was the Kremlin's June letter, which the authorities used to intimidate the rank-and-file activists. In Torun, Zbigniew Iwanow, an early leader of the movement, was forced to withdraw as a candidate for congress delegate. In Warsaw, Katowice, and elsewhere, the conservative forces within the party gained a stronghold.

The rank-and-file movement thus gained very little direct representation at the congress itself.

Some critical voices were heard from the congress floor and a few advocates of collaboration with Solidarity managed to gain election to the central committee. But the plenary discussions were relatively lifeless. The draft political resolutions drawn up by the four regional party congresses did not reach the floor.

A powerful tide

While the authorities have been able—for the time being—to strengthen their hold over the party, they have had much less success in stemming the Polish revolution as a whole.

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Polish workers read 'Solidarity Weekly.'

recent weeks to discuss ways to advance the campaign for the release of all political prisoners. In Lodz, women have announced plans for a march to protest the chaotic food situation, as has the Solidarity branch in Kutno. In Walcz, workers are demanding that a party building be converted into a kindergarten. In some cities, people concerned about pollution and ecological problems are forming environmental groups.

Independent publishers are printing scores of uncensored books, pamphlets, and magazines each month, covering such diverse figures as Jozef Pilsudski and Leon Trotsky, reprinting documents from the Stalinist purge trials of the 1940s and 1950s, and discussing the most immediate problems facing the Polish nation.

Even the democratic activists within the party are continuing to hold discussions, print materials, and organize themselves.

In many large enterprises in Gdansk, Warsaw, Lublin, Lodz, Katowice, and other cities, workers are taking steps to set up democratically-elected workers councils to manage their factories.

On July 20, the day after the conclusion of the party congress, representatives from 122 factories in the Warsaw area met to discuss organizing a regional body of workers self-management organizations. Plans are underway for a national conference on self-management in late August.

Workers struggles

In the Polish national airlines (LOT), workers elected their own director, Bronislaw Klimaszewski. The government initially refused to recognize their choice, and instead appointed Gen. Jozef Kowalski as director, argu-

ing that the airlines had to remain under government control for military reasons. The LOT workers held a four-hour "warning strike" on July 9 and won support from some factories around the country.

Finally, on July 23, the government agreed to a compromise formula proposed by the workers self-management committee: that Kowalski be the overall director, while Klimaszewski become the managing director responsible for the airline's economic affairs.

In a similar manner, the government was compelled on July 22 to grant improved social security benefits and other concessions to the dockworkers in the Baltic Coast shipyards. This followed a brief strike by 20,000 dockers on July 8, and the threat of a major strike by 40,000 dockers that had been scheduled for July 23.

Thus, despite Kania's threats against the Polish workers, the party authorities are still too weak to seriously consider a major offensive against Solidarity.

Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski acknowledged as much during the congress. "I believe that the line of agreement was indispensable and still remains indispensable," he said. "The only alternative would be a massive conflict, a clash between the authorities and the majority of society, a bloodbath, after which we would still confront all the problems facing us, only they would become far more dangerous."

However much the Polish bureaucracy would like to crack down—and may even be driven to attempt it—Solidarity remains a mighty force, with the backing of the vast majority of the Polish people. Kania knows that the outcome of any confrontation could not be assured. □

Demand Dublin back hunger strikers

'Five just and reasonable demands'

By Will Reissner

Pressure is mounting on Irish Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald to publicly commit himself to support the five demands of the republican political prisoners on hunger strike in British-ruled Northern Ireland.

Eight prisoners are fasting in the H-Blocks of the Maze Prison near Belfast to press their demands for the right to wear civilian clothing, to do no assigned prison work, to associate freely among themselves, to receive more mail and visits, and to be granted time off their sentences for good behavior.

British authorities have consistently refused to grant those demands or even negotiate directly with the protesting prisoners unless the hunger strikes end. But the Irish prisoners refuse to halt their protest before their demands are granted, because British prison authorities reneged on a settlement of a previous hunger strike last December.

Since the May 5 death of hunger striker Bobby Sands, who was elected to the British parliament while on his fast, five other prisoners have starved to death in the protests. Each has been replaced by another volunteer, keeping the total number involved in the hunger strike at eight.

Kieran Doherty and Kevin Lynch are now close to death. Doherty is one of two H-Block prisoners elected to the Irish parliament on June 11. Doherty's death, and the rumored subsequent resignation of Paddy Agnew, the other prisoner elected, would force by-elections that could topple the FitzGerald government, which has only a paper-thin margin in parliament.

Pressure on five demands

Doherty's impending death has led to stepped-up demands that Prime Minister FitzGerald clearly state where he stands on the five demands of the prisoners. On July 23, Gerry Adams, the vice-president of Sinn Féin, the political organization that shares the views of the Irish Republican Army, issued a statement in Belfast in which he said:

"We call on Mr. FitzGerald to unambiguously state, for the Irish people, his support or opposition to the prisoners' five just and reasonable demands."

Adams' challenge was prompted by FitzGerald's cancellation of a speech to parliament on the situation in Northern Ireland. The prime minister claimed the speech might upset possible progress toward a settlement of the protest in the prisons of Northern Ireland.

But Adams charged that this rationale was "no more than a cynical attempt to pull the wool over the Irish people's eyes." He added

that "Mr. FitzGerald wants the best of both worlds. On the one hand, he wants to fool the Irish people into believing that he is actively attempting to bring about a resolution of the jail crisis when in fact he is doing nothing. On the other hand, he is reticent to categorically state a position of opposition."

Earlier in the week FitzGerald had turned down a plea to meet with Kieran Doherty in the Maze Prison. Alfie Doherty, the prisoner's father, had conveyed his son's request to meet with the Dublin authorities.

"My son's dying wish as an elected member of the Irish parliament," Alfie Doherty stated, "was that Mr. FitzGerald and Deputy Prime Minister Michael O'Leary visit him." The hunger striker's father termed FitzGerald's refusal "unbelievable."

FitzGerald claimed he refused to meet Doherty so as not to torpedo the British government's decision to send negotiators into the prison to meet with the protesters last week. But that mission came to naught when British authorities refused to accede to the hunger strikers' request that Brendan McFarlane be present at the talks. McFarlane is a leader of the more than 400 republicans held in the H-Blocks.

Dublin protest

The campaign to force FitzGerald to take a stand for the hunger strikers received a boost from the July 25 Dublin march of more than 7,000 H-Block supporters, who turned out in a driving rainstorm. The march had originated in Belfast on July 22.

The Dublin march took place despite a government ban on demonstrations. That ban had been imposed after a July 18 demonstration of more than 17,000 H-Block supporters, who were brutally attacked by Irish police when they tried to march to the British embassy.

The July 25 march and rally was focused against British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for failing to grant the demands of the hunger strike, and against Irish Prime Minister FitzGerald for refusing to speak out on behalf of the hunger strikers.

James Gibney, a member of the Belfast H-Block Committee, said of FitzGerald, "We are not going to let you off the hook. It is your responsibility as much as the British government's for the situation in the North."

"Stand up to the British government," Gibney demanded. "Tell the British government these prisoners are political prisoners." The British authorities claim the H-Block prisoners are criminals.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, still using a cane as a result of wounds suffered in an at-

tempt against her life by a pro-British murder gang on January 16, stressed that the struggle must continue to involve people on both sides of the British-imposed border. "What we need," she told the protesters, "is the unity of the Irish people against the racism of the British government."

In fact, the campaign in support of the H-Block hunger strikers has succeeded in building a mass movement involving people in both the north and south of Ireland for the first time since the current phase of the struggle against British rule in the north began thirteen years ago.

Although FitzGerald has thus far refused to speak out in favor of the five demands, the mounting pressure has led him to send diplomatic representatives to London to ask the British government to make some concessions. FitzGerald knows that unless the hunger strike is settled soon, Doherty's death and Agnew's resignation may cause him to be driven from power less than two months after he formed his government.

'Memories of Easter rising'

The July 27 *New York Times* ran an editorial reflecting its fears that the hunger strike protests may destabilize the Irish republic. Acknowledging the growing pressure on FitzGerald, the *Times* complains that "with each death, the outcry in Dublin increases. The coffins evoke memories of the Easter rising in 1916, when Republican rebels were coldly executed by the British. . . ."

"Caught in this tide is Garret FitzGerald, the new Irish Prime Minister, whose minority government could fall. . . ."

The *Times* editors conclude that it is time for Margaret Thatcher to try a new approach. While sympathizing with her regarding the "complexities" of the situation in the North, the editorial warns that "no Irish leader, however responsible, can argue with a coffin. Britain cannot count on continued restraint in Dublin." □

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Rights of Kurds must be granted

Socialists call for unity against Iraqi invasion

[The following article is excerpted from the April 28 and May 5 issues of *Hemmat*, news-weekly of the Iranian Workers Unity Party (HVK). The HVK is one of three groups in Iran affiliated with the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Why, during the Iraqi-imposed war, when the unity of all forces against Saddam [Iraqi President Saddam Hussein] and his imperialist supporters is more important than ever, must the genocide in Kurdistan continue?

Why must the most combative and self-sacrificing young people of the country be killed and wounded in this war, and Kurdish villages be fired upon? And most basically, why did this war start and why has it not ended?

These are questions that most toilers and anti-imperialist militants have thought about. It is clear that all guns in Kurdistan must be aimed at Saddam. But this important task has not yet been accomplished in the way it could and must be accomplished. So the question remains—why?

Arming the feudalists

During the last two-and-a-half years, Kurdistan has been the scene of constant clashes and fratricidal warfare. The Kurdish people have been subject to national oppression since the founding of the former shah's puppet Pahlavi regime. They have shown militancy and self-sacrifice in the fight against the shah. But they have neither gotten their rights nor their demands since the victory of the February insurrection.

The provisional government [of former Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan] paid no attention to the national rights of this oppressed nationality nor to the demands of the majority of people in this region who are poor peasants.

Jomhuri-e-Eslami [daily newspaper of the governing Islamic Republican Party], which is itself a fierce supporter of capitalist policies in Kurdistan, pointed out some important facts in a series of articles published in January and February 1981.

"Because the provisional government did not think according to the scriptures and did not grapple with events in a revolutionary way," *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* wrote, "it implemented the non-Islamic policy of arming feudalists in West Azerbaijan and depended on unsavory elements."

Thus the Kurdish people, who struggled and gave martyrs for the overthrow of the shah's puppet regime, saw the feudalists in their re-

gion being armed. They were utterly amazed that Mr. Bazargan spearheaded this counter-revolutionary act.

More unfortunate is the fact that the government of Prime Minister [Mohammed Ali] Rajai has also not confronted these policies. The oppression of the Kurdish nationality has not ended.

The policies that have been chosen concerning the oppressed Kurdish nationality have many dimensions. Even *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* believes that not confronting these policies will result in a loss for the revolution. But the many aspects of the clashes in Kurdistan do not stop there.

Who are the armed feudalists?

The January 30, 1981, issue of *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* describes some of the feudalists armed by the government.

According to *Jomhuri-e-Eslami*, one of these feudalists, Jahangir Dari, owns a great deal of property in Iran and Turkey. He "has connections with about 9,000 members of the Dari tribe in Turkey and 3,000 members of the same tribe in Iran. He is considered to be their leader and, when need be, can mobilize them against the Islamic Republic."

Jahangir Dari was in touch with the shah before his death. He also had relations with Shahpur Bakhtiar [the shah's last prime minister] and Saddam Hussein, and was in their pay. An article in the March 2, 1981, daily, *Ummat*, said of Dari that he "helped many SAVAK agents and counterrevolutionary officers escape from the country after the revolution. . . ."

Rashid Bey is one of the other feudalists in the area. He holds the office of government representative in the Targar region. As *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* says, "Rashid Bey kept and keeps his power through collaboration with SAVAK, if in different ways these days. After the revolution, he threw out a number of his peasants and even mutilated some of them."

Ummat, in the article just cited, noted that part of Rashid Bey's work was "accumulating heroin factories, expelling peasants from their houses and fields and making them refugees, and making the people miserable with his government-provided weapons."

Besides these characters, "there are others in the region who are also bolstered by the government. . . . In short, these anti-popular elements are armed by one section of the government while the other part keeps mum about it. The feudalists take advantage of the opportunity presented them by the government to secure their interests, as they had done before

and are continuing to do to this day" (*Jomhuri-e-Eslami*, January 30, 1981).

Participation of counterrevolutionary elements in policing the region

Another individual, described in the third part of the *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* series (February 1, 1981), is Hajj Azim Maboudi, head of the Security Committees of Naqadeh.

Maboudi is one of the capitalists in Naqadeh and the owner of a Universal Tractors franchise. He also sells tools in cities like Naqadeh, Piranshahr, and Ashnavieh. Before the revolution, he was friends with Siyadyan, head of SAVAK in the region. He was seen as having worked closely with the Pahlavi regime. For example, at the time that Farah Pahlavi [the shah's sister] visited Naqadeh in 1968, he was put in charge of receiving her.

Ettelaat [a Tehran daily] wrote of this:

"For the honor that the noble presence of Her Majesty, Farah Shahbanu, the merciful benefactor of the Nation of Iran, has brought to the border city of Naqadeh, a most beautiful and glorious triumphal arch was built by Mr. Azim Maboudi, Universal Tractors sales agent, who sponsored a special parade to mark the event" (August 1968).

After the victory of the revolution, Maboudi and his supporters [who included religious figures loyal to the monarchy, a leader of the shah's Rastakhiz Party, and leading feudalists] were given control of the police of the Naqadeh region and busied themselves with exploiting and oppressing the people.

According to a report in *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* (February 3, 1981), Maboudi's gang, who were supported by Mr. Hassani, the Friday Imam of Urmia [the Friday Imam leads the weekly Friday prayer], set about terrorizing the countryside of Qarna (where about forty-nine men, women, children, and old people were massacred).

A letter in the March 15 *Ummat* noted,

"In the days of the clashes with Iraq on the Tamarchin border, the Piranshahr post was on the point of collapse when it was subject to the most intense attack from two directions. After several days of siege, many members of the komiteh [revolutionary committee] of Mullah Hassani, along with the despised military forces, entered Piranshahr. The general behavior of the military forces was good, but the Mujahedeen (!) of Mullah Hassani [Mujahedeen are those who conduct a jihad] destroyed the people's houses and shops.

"The people of the city were also being bombarded by Iraqi artillery, but they had not forgotten what this komiteh had done in Qarna



Kurdish guerrillas in Sanandaj.

and . . . they fled to the mountains in horror and stayed there in the deadly cold of those parts without shelter or provisions."

Other problems of the people of the area

The above examples clearly show the severe oppression the Kurdish nationality is under. According to *Ummat* (March 19, 1981), many parts of Kurdistan are still under economic blockade:

"For over a month, several Kurdish cities and many Kurdish villages in West Azerbaijan and northern Kurdistan have been under military blockade. During this time, all the areas still not controlled by the army and Revolutionary Guards have been under official limitations of food delivery. . . ."

These important problems have befallen the oppressed people of Kurdistan because of the fratricidal war. In addition to these serious problems, we must add the historical problems of this nationality—the grinding poverty and extraordinary economic, cultural, medical, social, and other deprivations.

The hated Pahlavi regime also obliterated the national language and culture of the Kurds. After the revolution, no basic measures were taken to meet this important demand of this oppressed nationality.

Just the opposite. In the last year, the educational and training offices of most of the areas of Kurdistan were closed.

After the revolution, not only were the demands of the toiling Kurds not answered, but many measures were taken to crush them, which surely did not help to solidify the unity of the anti-imperialist strongholds.

The Kurdish toilers want to struggle against Iraq

The toiling Kurds have shown that in spite of all the blows that they have suffered, they still want to defend the revolution and the Islamic Republic against counterrevolutionary attack from Iraq and imperialism. This is even confirmed by Naser Aristou, the governor of Kurdistan:

"Despite some improprieties and bitter cold," he says, "the fighting spirit of Islam is very high. The support of the people of Marivan for the fighters is totally remarkable. They reserve all their oil and fuel rations for the front" (*Azedagan*, February 8).

To this we must add the struggle of the people of Iraqi Kurdistan against the Saddam regime. The Kurdish nationality in Iraq (which comprises more than four million people) has also been under national oppression for years and years. Their struggle has intensified during the war imposed by Iraq.

In an interview that appeared in the April 7, 1981, issue of *Ettelaat*, leaders of the United Socialist Party of Kurdistan pointed out that: "With the beginning of the war, the Iraqi military forces were more occupied in the southern regions. This provided a better opportunity for our partisan groups in the north to deal mortal blows to the mercenaries of the Saddam regime. If we had more means and military arms at our disposal, we would have been able to bring the Baathist Saddam to his knees."

According to one of these leaders, 40 percent of Iraqi Kurdistan is controlled by them at night. They are supported by the people in the villages and cities of Iraqi Kurdistan and receive most of their food and provisions from them.

"Our party's collaboration is with the Islamic Republic of Iran," the Iraqi Kurdish leader noted, "making a common front with Iran against the reactionary states of the region, like Oman, Qatar, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, King Hussein, King Hassan, and the traitor Sadat. So we expect material and military aid from the Iranian government, and political relations."

He added, "We must point to one problem here, and it is that if the problem of Iranian Kurdistan were to be solved and peaceful policies were used in regard to the problems of Iranian Kurdistan, the results would be better.

"We are certain that the bases in the Islamic Republic of Iran on the border of Iranian Kurdistan would be strengthened. We even say with certainty that, according to precise infor-

mation, Saddam is frantically worried about any peace negotiations to solve the problem of Iranian Kurdistan."

These statements clearly show that the Kurdish nationalist parties in Iraq, i.e., the groups that are struggling along with the fighters of Iran against the counterrevolutionary army of Saddam, also want an end to the fratricidal war in Kurdistan.

A socialist proposal for solving the problem of Kurdistan

The current need of all the toilers of Iran is the same: our revolution is being attacked by the treacherous Saddam regime, and the imperialist countries throughout the world. Every gun throughout the country, especially in Kurdistan, must be aimed at the Saddam regime and its imperialist supporters.

Saddam and his imperialist supporters know that if the problems in Kurdistan were solved and the fratricidal war ended, the revolutionary front would be consolidated and fortified.

The Kurdish toilers have shown that they are aware of the revolution's needs and are ready to confront Saddam's counterrevolutionary invasion.

But at the same time, it is clear that the continuation of this fratricidal war, arming the feudalists, not paying attention to the national rights of the people of this area, and the activity of people like Maboudi and his military gangs are blows to unity in the struggle against the Iraqi invasion.

Such measures only weaken the revolutionary forces against the activities and intrigues of imperialism and its puppets. The basic responsibility lies with the government of Mr. Rajai.

The time has come for basic measures to be taken to eliminate the historical oppression of the people of this region and to let the Kurdish people enjoy the gifts of this revolution. Above all, the fratricidal war in Kurdistan must be ended, the national rights of the Kurdish people granted, and their national demands for self-determination agreed to.

This would be an important step towards consolidating unity in the struggle against the counterrevolutionary Iraqi invasion. Lifting the grip of the feudalists on this region and preventing the counterrevolutionary activities of individuals like Maboudi are examples of what must be done to regain the confidence of this oppressed people.

In addition, it is necessary that the government divide land among the peasants and grant economic, technical, and industrial aid to the toilers of the region. This would pull them out of the clutches of their historical condition of poverty and misery imposed by the Pahlavi regime and imperialism.

Such measures would create the real possibility for forming a united and broad military front against the Iraqi invasion, composed of the Kurdish people, the brothers of the Revolutionary Guards, and the army.

The way to secure final victory against all the military invasions and intrigues of Iraq and imperialism is to implement these measures.

Massacres and deportations

Peasants flee brutality of Lucas regime

By S. Rothko

[This article is taken from the July 1981 issue of the *USLA Reporter*, published in New York by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

[The July issue of the *USLA Reporter* also contains articles on the plight of refugees fleeing government brutality in El Salvador and Haiti, and on the attempts by the Reagan administration to bar Salvadoran refugees from the United States. In addition, the magazine reports on recent repressive measures in Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Peru, and in the United States against Puerto Rican activists.

[Copies of the *USLA Reporter* may be ordered for US\$0.75 from USLA, 200 Park Avenue South, Suite 812, New York, N.Y. 10003.]

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They had been walking almost 15 days when they arrived at the Mexican border May 11. Close to 500 men, women and children crossed jungle and mountain, eating only roots, seeds and whatever else they could gather along the way. The weakest of them, as many as 40 people according to one account, died from hunger and thirst during their arduous journey.

The Guatemalan peasants abandoned the villages of Tres Aguadas, El Caoba, El Remate and Paxmacán in the northern province of El Petén after the Guatemalan army bombed, looted and burned their community. According to one of the survivors, over 100 people perished in the attack.

Upon arriving in Arroyo Negro, a settlement of 25 Chol Indian families in the Mexican state of Campeche, the Guatemalans asked community leaders for refuge. They were welcomed with open arms. "Why should we not help them," commented a community leader, "if they are in worse shape than we are."

Unfortunately, the open-hearted solidarity of the Arroyo Negro peasants was not shared by Mexican military and immigration officials. After eight or nine days in Arroyo Negro, three U.S. missionaries who had heard of the Guatemalans' plight informed the Mexican authorities. "We thought they needed help," one of them said.

On May 20, help came in the form of food and medicine sent by the state and federal government. But that same night, according to village residents, the peasants were forced into military transport trucks and deported back to Guatemala. There they are being held in a refugee camp near the Mexican border under the care of the same Guatemalan army that weeks earlier had forced them to flee their homes.

Government-directed kidnappings, torture and murders of individuals, documented in a special report released last February, continue unabated. Since the beginning of this year, however, in addition to such selective repression, the Guatemalan regime has unleashed a wave of indiscriminate killings throughout the countryside.

Unending massacres

Recent massacres have included the killing of 85 people in the villages of Pachay Las Lomas and Sacalá-Las Lomas, near San Martín Jilotepeque, Chimaltenango, in early February; the killing of up to 168 people in Comalapa, Chimaltenango, also in February; the April 19 torture and machete-killing of 24 peasants, including a 5-year-old girl in Chuabajito, also near San Martín Jilotepeque; the massacre of anywhere from 40 to 100 people in the village of Cocob, El Quiché, April 17; and the dawn machine-gunning of several families as they slept in San Mateo Ixtatán, Huehuetenango, May 31, leaving 16 men, 12 women and eight children dead.

Also, in early June the entire cooperative of El Consuelo in the El Petén department was reported to have been abandoned. The 60 families who lived there apparently have either been killed or have fled army attacks.

The massacres are part of the Guatemalan government's so-called counterinsurgency operations. Ostensibly directed at rural-based guerrillas, the main target of their operations appears to be the unarmed civilian population. Unwilling to promote even superficial social reforms and unable to wipe out the increasingly popular guerrilla movement by military means, the government of General Romeo Lucas García hopes to terrorize the population into submission. The most recent massacres have inaugurated what is generally accepted to be the most bloody period of Guatemala's long history under repressive rule.

The exodus of Guatemalan peasants, mostly indigenous peoples, to Mexico is a direct result of the military's counterinsurgency terror. In recent years as many as 60,000 Guatemalans have migrated to southern Mexico annually, providing cheap seasonal labor for Mexican coffee growers. Only this time around they have come with family and whatever belongings they could manage to carry by hand. Many have settled in the isolated mountains of Chiapas, wishing only to farm a little piece of land and be left in peace. Although there are no exact figures on the number of Guatemalan refugees in Mexico, dozens cross the border daily, according to the bishop of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Samuel Ruiz, fleeing army terror at home.

The mass deportation of the 500 Guatemalans to an uncertain fate provoked protests in Mexico from Church and university figures, opposition political parties and organizations of exiles. They asserted that the deportation was a violation of international accords and the Mexican tradition of giving asylum to the persecuted. Although this was the first case to attract international attention, the dramatic exodus and deportation of the 500 Guatemalans was by no means an isolated incident. According to Bishop Ruiz, approximately 1,300 Guatemalan refugees who were living under open skies near the town of Comalapa, Chiapas, were deported to their country of origin last February 10. Mexican immigration officials make frequent sweeps through the countryside searching for undocumented Guatemalans.

An official of Mexico's Interior Ministry told the *Washington Post* recently that his government's policy "is humanitarian rather than legalistic in applying the law." He admitted, nevertheless, that four times as many undocumented foreigners had been deported in the first months of 1981 as in the same period last year.

While Mexican officials claim difficulty differentiating between political and economic refugees, local immigration officers appear to have no trouble at all. A refugee, according to one immigration officer in Chiapas, must first apply for permission to move to Mexico in the Mexican embassy. All those without proper documents are *ilegales*.

"In Chiapas there are no refugees," he said, "only *ilegales*, and our job is to remove from the country all those who don't have their papers in order."

"Do you believe that a Guatemalan peasant can follow such a procedure during a bombing raid?" a reporter from the Mexican daily *Uno más Uno* asked the officer.

"Look, I've been doing this work for 20 years," he replied, "and all I can say is that part of our job is to return all those who are not properly documented back to their lands."

No matter how much Mexican officials may will it to disappear, the problem of Guatemalan refugees is bound to become even greater. As the Reagan administration renews the U.S. military supply relationship with Guatemala's generals and anti-government forces demonstrate increasing popular support and strength, a full-scale war seems inevitable. The Mexican government, critical of U.S. treatment of undocumented Mexicans, is now faced with the reverse situation. They would be better off applying some of their own criticisms to themselves. □

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Nuclear industry's deadly record

Growing awareness of radiation hazard

By Chris Pitts

Japan's nuclear power plants are generating more than just electricity. In the fifteen years since the first commercial reactor opened, mounting evidence of the deleterious effects of the rapidly expanding nuclear program is fueling a militant antinuclear movement.

Among the evidence are massive increases in cancer and leukemia deaths among communities living near some of the plants, the rapidly increasing irradiation of casual workers employed in them, the discovery of mutated plants and fish, and the high number of "accidents" which leak radioactive material into the environment, particularly the coastal waters.

Despite an expensive pronuclear propaganda campaign promoted jointly by government and the industry, massive amounts of money paid out in bribes and compensation payments to buy off antinuclear campaigners, and the use of riot police and private strong-arm squads to break up peaceful protests, the tide of opposition to Japan's nuclear development program continues to grow.

The current situation

Japan presently has twenty-one nuclear reactors in commercial operation. Japan is second only to the United States in the world nuclear energy league. Britain has more reactors, but less generating capacity.

The Japanese government, anxious to reduce the country's dependence on imported fuel, aims to increase the proportion of nuclear-generated energy as rapidly as possible. But technical problems, popular resistance, and spiralling construction costs have forced it to scale down plans for nuclear expansion several times during the past decade.

The government is currently projecting a rate of expansion which will double present generating capacity by 1985, and triple it by 1990. Seven plants are under construction, and approval has already been granted for seven more.

From the start, the nuclear program has been plagued with technical problems. Cracks in steam and coolant pipes, the bending of fuel rods, and leaks of radioactive material have caused long shutdowns. The companies usually claim these are for "routine maintenance."

Some plants have been undergoing "routine maintenance" for almost as long as they have been operating. In 1979, the latest year for which figures are available, the average capacity factor (energy actually generated divided by generating potential) of all Japan's nukes was 49.8 percent.

It is calculated that reactors must operate at

70 percent of capacity to be commercially viable, but few have achieved this figure for more than a few consecutive months.

Death and disease among workers

According to the government's own figures, released in response to questions in the Diet (parliament) in March 1977, seventy-five workers temporarily employed at nuclear power plants had died of "unnatural causes" during the previous ten years.

There were thirty-five deaths from cancer, twenty-three due to high blood pressure, twelve from heart disease, and five from other causes. These figures do not include deaths caused by injuries on the job; there were a further thirty-two deaths in this category over the same period.

Significantly, there were no deaths recorded among full-time employees at the plants; the reason for this lies in the different treatment accorded the two categories of employee.

Throughout Japanese industry, permanent employees with labor contracts are considered valuable due to their training, experience, and the fact that companies are usually obliged to pay large sums in compensation if one of these workers is killed or injured on the job. Therefore, big firms usually adopt the expedient of hiring subcontract and temporary labor for dirty and hazardous work.

The nuclear industry though, faces a unique problem. As the reactors become older, they not only break down more frequently and seriously, they also become more radioactive. So despite the fact that the permitted level of radiation exposure is ten times higher for workers in the nuclear industry than for the general public, each worker receives the permitted dose after shorter and shorter periods inside the reactor. Hence the industry needs to hire constantly increasing numbers of expendable workers.

Up to now, there has been no shortage of casual laborers and out-of-work farmers willing to take the high wages offered for a few hours work. They are often recruited from the poor areas of Japan's towns by local subcontractors who set up specifically to supply nuclear labor.

The recruits are given a minimum of instruction in safety procedures, and most are understandably ignorant of the nature of radioactivity and its potential dangers.

Exposure to radiation

Since work with radioactive materials began, there has been a progressive reduction in the permitted doses as new data about the

dangers of radioactivity became available. These permitted dosages are not a *guarantee* of safety, but a compromise between the pressure to protect workers against the harmful effects of radiation and the industry's need to expose them to it.

In Britain and the U.S., the permitted dose for workers in the nuclear industry has been five rems per year* since 1957 and 1958 respectively. Permitted doses for the general public are much lower; one-tenth that of nuclear workers in Britain and Japan, but one-thousandth in the U.S. since 1974.

The higher figure for nuclear workers is defended on the grounds that they receive regular health checks, continuous monitoring, use protective apparatus, and so on. Unfortunately for Japan's casual workers, permitted a dose of three rems every three months, this is not the case.

The latest figures from Japan's Natural Resources and Energy Agency show that the total received radiation dosage of all nuclear workers in fiscal 1978 (April 1978 to March 1979) increased by 60 percent over the previous fiscal year. The distribution of this radiation exposure is particularly disturbing.

The average subcontract worker received twice the dosage of the average permanent employee. Moreover, subcontract workers bore the brunt of the high exposures—out of a total of 1,292 workers exposed in 1978 to radiation levels of between two and four rems, 1,278 were subcontract workers.

At one reactor, Tokyo Electric's Fukushima No. 1, the company authorized an unprecedented exposure level of one rem per day per worker after the latest of a series of mishaps and breakdowns occurred in January 1980.

'Burned out' workers

Of course, as soon as a worker is "burned out" (i.e., has received his permitted dosage), he is fired. But this in itself is not a guarantee of safety. Apart from the fact that absorbing a three-month dose of radiation in three days is not to be recommended, many workers travel from plant to plant in search of lucrative work, collecting many times their permitted yearly dosage in a few weeks.

In 1979, three books were published about working conditions in the nuclear industry. The author of one of these books, Horie Kunio, describes how many of the workers he met showed symptoms of radiation sickness, such

*A rem (Roentgen equivalent man) is the unit for measuring the effect of ionizing radiation on humans. A millirem is one-thousandth of a rem.

as feeling always fatigued and languid.

There are dozens of testimonies from workers whose health is ruined, like that of a fifty-three-year-old farmer from Fukui Prefecture:

I took on temporary work at the Tsuruga nuclear power plant for the five months from November 1974 to March 1975.

In those days people were grateful for the work and high wages provided by the power company. My daily salary was about 5,000 yen (\$22). Two kinds of uniforms were worn at the Tsuruga plant: red ones and yellow ones. I wore a red uniform, so I guess I was working in contaminated areas. Every day I went down to the working area with a pocket radiation counter, a film badge, and an alarm meter. My job was mainly radiation clean-up.

At the beginning of 1975 I began to have trouble with my stomach and throat, and felt sharp pains in my joints, head and in the small of my back. Then I began to feel listless. Doctors said it was due to old age. I didn't know that the amount of radiation I had been exposed to was three rems until members of the Tsuruga City Council and the Town Assembly came to examine me.

Lately I have to go to the doctor every other day, but I get sicker and sicker. I stay as still as possible at home all day long every day. Sometimes I feel I'd rather die.

A widely-publicized case in Japan is that of Iwasa Kazuyuki. As a pipefitter, he was hired to do some repair work inside the Tsuruga reactor after radioactive iodine had been discovered leaking into the primary coolant.

He was ordered to drill some holes. Feeling tired after a few hours, he knelt down and continued drilling. He claims he was not warned of any particular danger.

The next day, he noticed that his knee was discolored. A week later he felt sluggish and developed a fever. A year later, his health had deteriorated considerably.

Eventually, doctors agreed that his condition had been caused by exposure to radiation. He filed a lawsuit, but the company denies responsibility, pleading that he cannot prove that he received the overdose of radiation at their plant.

Cancer epidemics

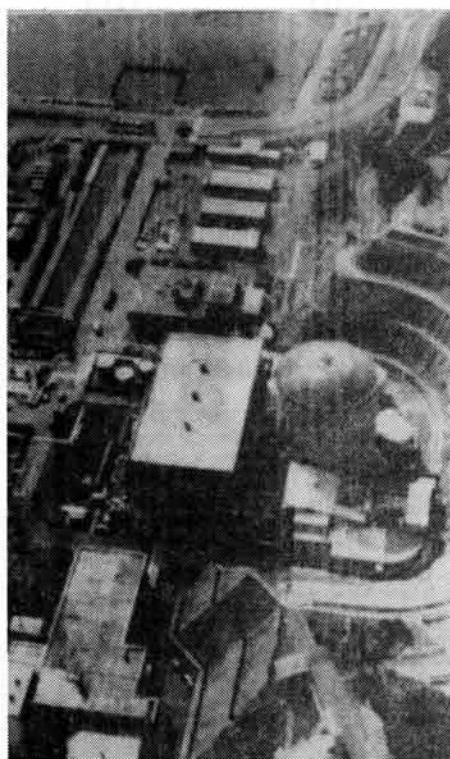
At the same time as the data on deaths of subcontract workers were announced, the Ministry of Health and Welfare also released statistics showing that people living near nuclear power plants were suffering a significantly increased risk of dying from cancer or leukemia.

In Mihama town, Fukui Prefecture, the number of deaths from cancer per thousand in 1974 was 278, almost twice the national average of 141. The leukemia death rate in the same year at Mihama was fifteen, compared with a national average of four.

There are three reactors at the site on the outskirts of Mihama, which started commercial operation in 1970, 1972, and 1976.

At nearby Takahama, with two reactors less than seven kilometers away, the leukemia death rate doubled in one year, from eighteen in 1974 to thirty-six deaths per thousand (i.e., over eight times the national average!) in 1975.

Unfortunately, more recent figures on the numbers of cancer and leukemia deaths are not available. But if there is any satisfactory explanation of the above statistics other than the efflu-



Radioactive leak at Tsuruga nuclear power plant (above) was covered up.

fects of constant emission of radiation into the environment, neither the government nor the industry has yet produced it.

In addition to evidence of genetic mutation caused by radiation, various groups of scientists in Japan have collected evidence showing that seafood is being contaminated and killed in water near nuclear plants, all of which are sited on the coast.

At Tsuruga, fish are contaminated with cobalt 60; many with stomach tumors have been caught at Fukushima. At Shimane, catches of fish, shellfish, squid and seaweed have all been depleted.

The opposition movement

Although the antinuclear movement in Japan does not yet mobilize tens of thousands as in the U.S. and Europe, the potential certainly exists.

Opinion polls show that a majority of Japanese have at least some reservations about the safety of nuclear power. Most regard it as a necessary evil. The first reaction of residents threatened with a nuke near their town has tended to be "don't build it here, but somewhere else."

Thus the Japanese movement is characterized by strong, militant opposition to specific plants among the local communities, but rather

weak national organization.

Nevertheless, as long ago as 1976, a spokesperson of the Energy Council ruefully admitted that "the siting of nuclear plants is not going at all smoothly due to the opposition from local communities. This is the single, most serious bottleneck in our whole program."

While that bottleneck has continued to narrow, it has been due more to the impact of events, such as the near-catastrophe at Three Mile Island (TMI) in 1979, than to a clear political lead from either of the mass workers parties. The Communist Party opposes nuclear weapons, but is in favor of nuclear power, with "adequate" safety precautions. The Socialist Party does not have a clear stand either for or against, but certain SP members of the Diet are outspoken nuclear opponents, and give a lead to local struggles.

The TMI incident in March 1979 caused a furor, mainly because the crippled reactor is the same design as a majority of Japan's nukes. Even before it was clear exactly what had happened, demonstrators had invaded the offices of the Natural Resources and Energy Agency in Tokyo.

Mounting pressure forced the government to reluctantly halt operation of several of Japan's reactors. TMI gave the nuclear program a blow it has never fully recovered from.

The authorities have been forced to resort to desperate measures to keep their nuclear program moving forward, and a new focus of the antinuclear struggle has become the public hearings which must be held before permission to build a new plant or reactor can be granted. These have been blatantly rigged on most occasions to produce an outcome favorable to the power companies.

In some cases, the hearings have been held in towns up to 100 kilometers from the proposed site to ensure that few of the affected residents can attend. But the case of the 1978 hearing at Kashiwazaki, Niigata Prefecture, takes the prize.

The local authority appealed to residents to submit their opinions on the proposed nuclear plant in writing in advance. Out of about 3,000 replies, they selected only forty-seven people from seventeen families to attend the hearing.

Hundreds of residents turned up on the day to protest this sham, and about 200 entered the gallery of the hall, demanding to be allowed to participate in the hearing.

At this point, dozens of police in full riot gear forcibly expelled all the members of the public, including the hand-picked forty-seven. The doors of the hall were locked, and the "public hearing" went ahead uninterrupted.

Since December 1980, at Kashiwazaki, Shimane, and Hamaoka, protesters have gathered to prevent such undemocratic hearings from being held. Even though these demonstrations were not totally successful, they attracted support from thousands of unionists.

The workers, mostly organized on these occasions by Japan's largest union federation, had responded to appeals for support from local residents.

Cops attack Tamil community

Labor leaders denounce racist repression

Another issue raised by Japan's nuclear program is what to do with the lethal radioactive waste produced by the reactors. The Japanese government's announcement of plans to dump radioactive waste in the Pacific Ocean has brought expressions of opposition from residents of many islands, from Guam to Micronesia.

Last year the Japanese government sent a special mission on a tour of these islands armed with charts, graphs, and survey results, ostensibly to explain their intentions and hear the opinions of the Pacific peoples.

Having heard nothing but objections, the mission returned to Tokyo and issued a statement thanking the Pacific islanders for their cooperation, but announcing that the dumping would go ahead anyway since the Japanese were sure it was safe.

An official of the Science and Technology Agency pointed out to reporters that "international harmony" was important, but in the last analysis it is still "not necessary to get the approval of foreign countries."

Contrast this attitude with the reaction of the Japanese authorities when a Soviet nuclear submarine damaged by fire (although not leaking radiation) was towed briefly through Japanese waters on its way back to Vladivostok last August. That action was denounced in the strongest possible terms as a breach of territorial integrity. It seems that there are different standards, depending on whose integrity is at stake.

Tsuruga accident

The worst accident in the history of Japan's nuclear program, the hushed-up radiation leak at the Tsuruga plant in western Japan, came to light last April.

More than forty tons of highly radioactive coolant had gushed from a storage tank; in the company's panicked attempts to clear up the mess, more than fifty workers received high doses of radiation, and most of the dangerous material was dumped into the public sewer system.

The incident was certainly not unique; two more radiation spills, at Oi nuclear plant and at the Tokai reprocessing facility, have been reported since. The Tsuruga plant itself has reported thirty-one previous accidents, and workers there have recently told of other incidents which the company tried to cover up.

The aspect which particularly appalled many Japanese was that the operators of the Tsuruga plant showed such criminal irresponsibility in trying to keep the latest spill secret, and then trying to downplay it.

For example, the company claimed that none of the workers involved in the clean-up received more than thirteen millirems, but inspectors investigating the contaminated sludge tank room are reported to have absorbed thirty millirems in a few minutes—this almost a month after the spill.

There is already more than enough evidence to indicate that every nuclear facility in Japan should be shut down immediately. □

The regime of President Junius Jayewardene in Sri Lanka has launched a racist attack against the oppressed Tamil minority in the northeastern part of the island.

On June 3 the government declared a state of emergency and a dusk-to-dawn curfew in the town of Jaffna following the killing of a police officer there.

The cops had gone on a rampage against the town's Tamil population beginning on May 31.

According to a statement released July 11 by Sri Lankan trade-union leaders Bala Tampoe and Keerthi Seneviratne, "there is enough testimony available to establish beyond doubt that groups of police personnel, in uniform and in civilian clothes, committed acts of assault, arson and pillage on a terrifying scale" in Jaffna.

"During the curfew, apart from acts of arson, there is also enough testimony to show that several innocent people were shot and killed by armed service personnel."

Several leaders of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), which heads the parliamentary opposition to Jayewardene's government, were arrested in Jaffna on June 3 and held overnight. Those detained included TULF Secretary-General A. Amirthalingam.

During a debate in parliament over the incidents, Minister of Lands Gamini Dissanayake admitted that "some damage had been done by the Police" in Jaffna and that "police officers outside the category of regular officers of the Police [had] run berserk."

According to the trade-union leaders' statement, Dissanayake also "admitted that heads of the police and armed services were in Jaffna on the night of 1st June, when the Public Library in Jaffna, opposite the Jaffna Police Station, and the building of the 'Eelanadu' Press were burned down by the Police, and whole rows of shops looted and burnt in that terror-stricken town."

"In the light of what happened in Jaffna," the union leaders declared, "we have no doubt that the people of Jaffna were subjected to terrorism by sections of the armed forces of the State, with the knowledge of the army and police authorities in Jaffna, as well as the Government ministers who went there."

Tampoe and Seneviratne issued their statement on behalf of the Provisional National Committee for a Mass Workers' Party. Plans for forming such a party were announced on April 20 by the Ceylon Mercantile Union (of which Tampoe is general secretary), the Ceylon Estates Staffs' Union (headed by Seneviratne) and the Ceylon Plantations Services Union.

According to a declaration issued by the three unions on April 20, they "recognised the

fact that the working class lacked a political organisation of its own, and that there was a vital necessity for the working class to form a mass political party, to act, in its interests, on all questions affecting the working people, in accordance with its own democratic decisions."

The July 11 statement by Tampoe and Seneviratne on the repression in Jaffna reiterated the call for a new party of the working class:

"The root of the problem in Jaffna, and the ever-present danger of fresh outbreaks of racist violence, there and elsewhere in this country, lies in racist discrimination against and oppression of Tamils and Tamil-speaking people in the Northern and Eastern provinces, and in the plantation areas, especially. This cannot be eliminated without the establishment of a genuine democracy in this country, with equal rights for all its people. . . ."

"We call upon all those who realise the urgent necessity for the unification of the working class, under its own independent banner, to struggle effectively for the establishment of a genuine democracy in this country, to join with us in the building of a mass workers' party. Such a party is essential, in our view, for effective struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression in this country today, including racial discrimination and oppression. □

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Revolution extends health care

One day at a Managua medical center

By Jim Eitel

[Jim Eitel is an American pediatrician working in Managua.]

* * *

Within a week of arriving in Nicaragua, I was assigned by the Ministry of Health to the Silvia Ferrufino Health Center in Managua. The center's history reveals a great deal about the changes from the time of Somoza to the present revolutionary process.

The center was originally a motel which was a lucrative source of income for the chief of Somoza's security forces, well known for torturing and murdering prisoners. The land was obtained illegally; the construction had been done by prisoners; and furnishings were imported illicitly without paying the normal customs fees. The motel was notorious for prostitution, drug dealing, and gambling.

During the final insurrection of June and July 1979, the motel was occupied by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and people from the surrounding barrio. There were preliminary plans to use it as a prison for the many National Guards who had been captured, but the community insisted that it be converted into a health facility, and began negotiating with the Ministry of Health.

As the national budget was very tight after the triumph, it was agreed that the Ministry of Health would provide the materials for remodeling the motel, while the community would perform the actual labor.

Since there were no funds available to pay people who worked, the Ministry of Social Welfare arranged for supplies of basic foods such as rice, beans, corn, eggs and milk for the volunteers.

By March 1980, the center began service in pediatrics and general medicine, with the support of a small laboratory and pharmacy; 1,900 patients were seen the first month. Within another two months, dental, women's, and mental health services were added. Currently, there are 6,300 visits a month, including up to 200 children daily.

Perhaps the most notable sight upon arriving at the center is the long lines of people waiting for appointments. In Somoza's time, the public health system reached at best 30 percent of the population, and it was estimated in one study that 50 percent of the population had never seen a doctor.

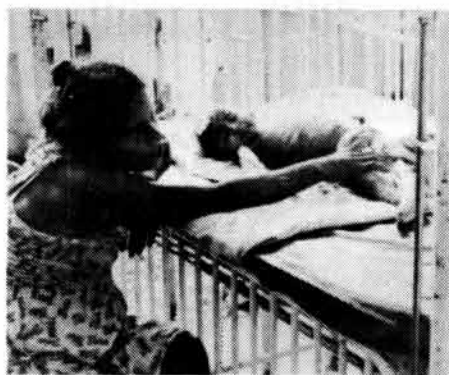
Now, the revolution is attempting to extend coverage to the entire population, and the increase in demand, without a comparable increase in personnel, has caused crowding at most facilities. A recent report cited nearly complete utilization of hospital beds, and at

Managua's maternal-infant hospital, the labor beds are often doubly occupied.

The following account describes the patients I saw on a day early in June, and gives a feeling for the variety of problems Nicaraguan children suffer.

My first visit of the day is a woman I have come to know over several visits. Her two older daughters are finally recovering from whooping cough, an illness virtually eradicated by immunization in the developed nations.

The woman's younger daughter of seven



Health care now reaches 80 percent of people.

months was hospitalized two months ago with seizures and cerebral inflammation, probably a complication of whooping cough. Back at home after a three-week hospitalization, she has regressed to the developmental level of a two-month-old and I fear she may be severely retarded.

Several of the next children have one or more of the following symptoms: "He does not eat anything"; "She has a stomachache every time she eats and her stomach is full of gas"; "He has diarrhea and does not ever want to play." It turns out that 90 percent of the children I test have one or more type of parasite, and around 25 percent have anemia.

Fortunately, the pharmacy is well stocked with antiparasitic drugs. But even more important are the public health measures being carried out to provide increased access to potable water, and improved sewage disposal systems. Both of these will reduce the tremendous problem of water contamination which contributes to the high rate of parasitic and diarrheal diseases.

Another series of children come in with colds, and several children with skin infections. Most of the children have mild protein-calorie malnutrition: that is, they just do not get enough to eat and as a result are small for their age.

Several times I have asked a child on the street who looked to be seven or eight his age, and it turned out to be eleven or twelve. While I have not seen the severest forms of malnutrition such as kwashiorkor or marasmus, I have seen many children 20 percent to 40 percent below the average weight for their age.

My next patient is the most malnourished I have seen: thirteen months old and weighing thirteen pounds. The problem has resulted from several factors: first, he was never breast-fed because his mother, a single woman, had to go to work to support herself and the children.

The baby developed diarrhea, due both to the intolerance of the cow's milk formula he was given, and the contaminated water used to prepare it.

Another factor was that even when the baby was well, his mother often could not afford enough milk. At these times she would dilute the milk with water, at times thickening it with corn starch, to make it last longer.

This baby's malnutrition was so severe that I had to admit him to the hospital. Every week I see several children with lesser degrees of malnutrition, but with the same basic story.

My final patients of the day are two brothers whose mother, like many, is the sole supporter of herself and her five children. Yet unlike some women, who seem overwhelmed and socially isolated, she seems confident and optimistic.

I discover she works for the nationalized textile plant, Texnica, whose many women workers have formed a union since the revolution. "We all help each other, and right now the union is helping me with food and money. We have to be organized, and the revolution is helping us."

By the end of the morning, I have seen forty patients. The working conditions are crowded: I share a room with three other pediatricians, and there are only two examining tables. The noise level from four sets of doctors, mothers and children makes communication and thought difficult.

For the patients, too, there are hardships: many arrive between four and five in the morning to ensure that they will be seen, and thus may be waiting as long as five or six hours.

The provision of health care by the ministry has increased from 30 percent of the population in 1977 to an estimated 80 percent at present. This extension of services, especially in the rural areas, is one of the major achievements of the revolution.

Planning continues for further improvements in the national system. The hospitals damaged during the civil war have been reactivated. Several new hospitals are being built, including the country's first children's hospital, to be completed soon in Managua.

Meanwhile, various public health programs, and the basic restructuring of society with a just distribution of the country's social wealth, are attacking the root causes of ill health in Nicaragua. □