

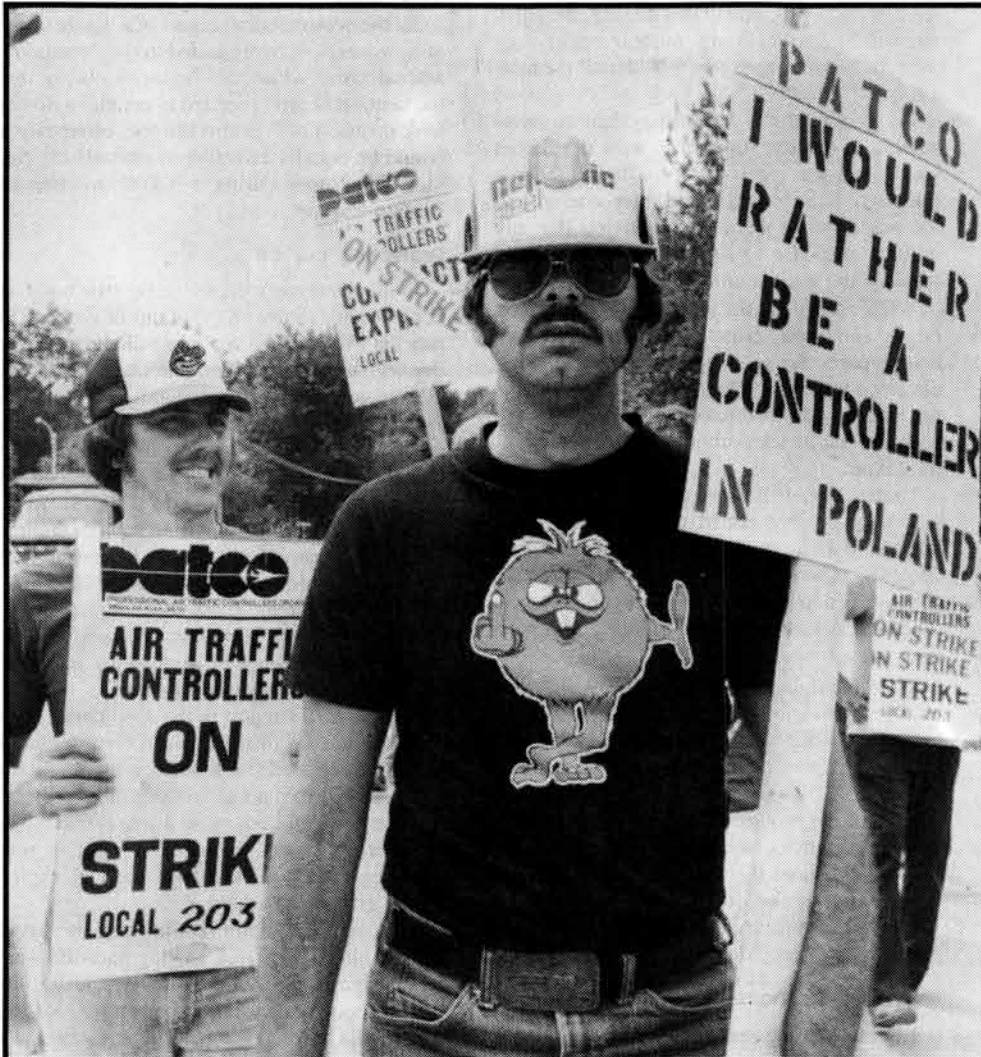
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Picketing air traffic controllers in Ohio.

Lou Howort/Militant

USA

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- **Unions Call March on Washington to Protest Budget Cuts**

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**Tomás Borge's
Speech on
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Nicaraguan Victory**

**Pentagon
Pushes Ahead
With
Neutron Bomb**

Reagan's neutron bomb decision

By Will Reissner

On August 10, U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger publicly acknowledged that the Pentagon is now producing neutron bombs. Neutron bombs—often described as the ultimate capitalist weapon—differ from other nuclear weapons in that they produce far higher levels of deadly short-lived radiation and lower levels of blast and heat, meaning that they kill people while doing minimal damage to surrounding property.

Weinberger was noticeably evasive about when the decision to proceed with the neutron bomb had been reached. But *New York Times* reporter Richard Halloran wrote on August 11 that "other officials, including spokesmen in the White House . . . said that the decision was made last Thursday. . . ."

A quick glance at the calendar explains Weinberger's reluctance to pinpoint the date of the decision to go ahead with the weapons. Thursday, August 6, was the thirty-sixth anniversary of the U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima, the first time nuclear weapons were used in war. To date, the U.S. military, which dropped a second bomb on Nagasaki three days later, remains the only force ever to have used nuclear weapons against people.

About 140,000 people died in Hiroshima and 70,000 in Nagasaki in the immediate aftermath of the U.S. atomic bombings. A recent book, *The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings*, reports that the death toll in those cities rose by another 130,000 in the next five years from the effects of radiation.

Hundreds of thousands of others were severely injured, many permanently, and to this day people are still dying from illnesses or injuries that can be traced to the effects of the atomic blasts.

The initial decision to manufacture neutron bombs was made by President Carter, who argued that their limited blast made them ideal for use in Europe. But the intense opposition of European working people, who recognized that they would be the victims of a "limited atomic war" in Europe, forced Carter to back down.

Instead of moving to full-scale manufacture of the weapons and their storage in Europe, Carter ordered the Pentagon in 1978 to produce all the components of the neutron bomb and to store the parts in the United States, where they could be quickly assembled and deployed in Europe if the need arose.

The Reagan administration's August 6 decision was to begin assembling neutron artillery shells and missile warheads from the parts produced under Carter's orders.

Washington claims that it needs the neutron bomb to offset the Warsaw Pact's numerical superiority in tanks in Europe. Without the

neutron bomb, the Pentagon argues, the forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Western Europe could be overrun by a massive Soviet tank invasion.

But the neutron bomb is only one small part of a massive U.S. nuclear buildup aimed against the Soviet Union. The stated purpose of this buildup is to enable the U.S. military to reestablish, by the end of this decade, the absolute and overwhelming nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union that it held until the mid-1960s.

As long as the U.S. military had an overwhelming nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, life was much easier for the Pentagon's planners. U.S. troops could intervene around the world, while warning the Soviets that any military response to such interventions could result in the nuclear annihilation of the USSR.

While today U.S. nuclear forces remain larger and more effective than their Soviet counterparts, the growth of Soviet nuclear forces since the mid-1960s means the Pentagon is no longer able to threaten the Soviet Union with nuclear attack without risking mutual annihilation.

Under President Carter, an arms buildup was initiated that aimed to reestablish overwhelming U.S. nuclear superiority. On July 25, 1980, Carter signed Presidential Directive No. 59, which ordered the Pentagon to develop plans and strategies for fighting and winning nuclear wars.

The underlying thesis of P.D. 59 was that the Pentagon should fight and win such wars by staging a first strike nuclear attack against the Soviet Union that would wipe out the bulk of the USSR's nuclear forces on the ground, while holding enough U.S. weapons in reserve to be able to incinerate the USSR if it retaliated with any weapons that had escaped destruction in the first strike. (See "Pentagon Pushes Ahead With Nuclear First Strike Plans," *Intercontinental Press*, March 16, 1981.)

First strike weapons

But in order to implement P.D. 59, the Pentagon needed a whole series of new weapons systems accurate enough to knock out small targets like Soviet missile silos and command bunkers. It had already developed two such systems—the Trident I submarine missile and the Minuteman III ground-launched missile. In addition, new underwater detection systems had been invented, enabling the U.S. Navy to pinpoint the location of Soviet nuclear submarines and wipe them out in a preemptive strike.

But to implement its first strike strategy, the Pentagon needs four additional weapons systems: the MX Blockbuster missile, a highly accurate nuclear weapon capable of destroying underground command posts as well as missile silos; the Trident II submarine missile; the

Pershing II missile; and the Cruise missile.

Of these four new weapons systems, the new Trident submarines are already being deployed, and the Pershing II and Cruise missiles are scheduled to be deployed in Western Europe, from which they could hit targets in the Soviet Union in as little as four minutes.

Through its massive nuclear buildup, which is expected to cost at least \$200 billion over the next five years, Washington hopes to return to the "good old days" when it could threaten the Soviet Union with nuclear annihilation and thus gain a free hand for its interventionist policies around the world.

So the neutron bomb is part of a whole series of new weapons being added to the Pentagon's arsenal. And while the Pentagon claims that the neutron bomb is needed to counter a Soviet tank invasion of Western Europe, obviously it would be equally effective in neutralizing Soviet tank forces during a NATO invasion of Eastern Europe.

Protecting 'our' oil

In the Pentagon's view, the neutron bomb is not restricted to use on the plains of Europe. In fact the Middle East is a more likely arena for the neutron bomb, as some Pentagon officials themselves have acknowledged.

Pentagon planners have given considerable thought to how U.S. forces could seize Middle Eastern oil fields in the event of a revolution that topples a regime allied to the U.S., or as part of a U.S.-backed invasion such as the Iraqi attack on Iran. This is one of the reasons that the Carter administration established the Rapid Deployment Force.

But the neutron bomb also plays an important role in the Pentagon's plans for any takeover of Middle Eastern oil fields.

An August 11 report in the *New York Times* on possible uses of the neutron bomb pointed out that the blast from a neutron bomb "is intended to kill soldiers in tanks or other protected areas without destroying as many buildings or other structures, such as oil rigs, in surrounding areas as standard nuclear explosives." [Emphasis added.]

The neutron bomb could also be used against liberation forces waging guerrilla warfare in some future Vietnam. Even if U.S. military forces were unsure of the precise location of guerrilla bases, a few neutron artillery shells lobbed into the general area would wipe out the guerrillas—along with the rest of the population—while allowing U.S. troops to move into the area in a short time.

The neutron bomb is not a weapon of deterrence, built in hopes that it will never be used. Caspar Weinberger himself said that the neutron bomb "is a valuable addition to our forces, which we shall probably want to use."

'Limited' nuclear war in Europe

The Pentagon has been busily drawing up plans for fighting a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. This is part of the administration's plan, in the words of *New York Times* reporter Richard Halloran, "to build a capacity to fight

nuclear wars that range from a limited strike through a protracted conflict to an all-out exchange."

Central to the Pentagon's plans for waging "limited" nuclear war in Europe are two decisions: the NATO agreement to place 572 U.S.-controlled Pershing II and Cruise nuclear missiles in Western Europe; and the decision to proceed with the building of the neutron bomb.

In the Pentagon's view, Washington would have the option of fighting a "limited" nuclear war by launching only its Europe-based nuclear missiles against the Soviet Union and using the neutron bomb against Soviet troops.

According to this game plan, the Soviet Union would in theory also respond in a "limited" way, destroying Europe while refraining from launching any missiles against the United States itself. In turn, the Pentagon would not send any U.S.-based missiles against the Soviet Union.

This macabre scenario of "limited" nuclear war is the subject of intense discussion in NATO planning groups and in the Pentagon. Naturally the prospect of a "limited" nuclear war in which Europe is totally destroyed holds little attraction for working people on that continent. As a result there has been tremendous opposition to both the missile deployment plan and the plans to build the neutron bomb and stockpile it in Europe.

But Reagan and Weinberger stoutly maintain that opposition to these weapons systems is simply the result of Soviet propaganda and disinformation campaigns.

At an August 13 press conference, President Reagan insisted that "we have information that the Soviet Union spent about \$100 million in Western Europe alone a few years ago, when the announcement was first made of the invention of the neutron warhead. And I don't know how much they're spending now, but they're starting the same kind of propaganda drive."

Reagan added that "those who are crying the loudest" are "really carrying the propaganda ball for the Soviet Union" while acting "under the name of pacifism in Western Europe."

Weinberger chimed in that opposition to the neutron weapons in Europe is "largely a tribute to the effectiveness of the Soviet propaganda campaign against this weapon."

In an August 11 article by Weinberger in the *Washington Post*, the defense secretary argued that those who believe the neutron bomb is immoral fall prey to the "abundant misinformation about neutron weapons, some of it innocently based on ignorance of the facts, but most of it deliberately disseminated by a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign based in Moscow."

Europe, Weinberger claims, "has been the center of a Soviet propaganda campaign that began in the last administration and that exploited both European fear and an unfortunate impression of American indecisiveness."

The Reagan administration's decision to move forward with production of the neutron bomb is certain to increase European opposition to NATO plans to install the 572 Pershing

II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe.

In face of tremendous popular opposition to the missiles, the various NATO governments claimed that the decision to install the missiles would be coupled with arms control talks with the Soviet Union that would actually lead to a reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe and render the deployment decision unnecessary.

Since then, however, the Reagan administration's obvious lack of interest in arms control talks has destroyed the credibility of this argument.

In a somber assessment of the impact of Weinberger's neutron bomb announcement,

the *Washington Post* noted in an August 11 editorial that "the president has gotten himself into a whole new predicament by his decision on the neutron bomb. . . . Mr. Reagan has also handed Europe's burgeoning left, not to speak of the Soviet Union, a powerful propaganda club to use against the United States. . . ."

The *Post* concluded that "Already, the critical alliance effort to deploy new missiles . . . was an uphill struggle. Prudence dictated that Mr. Reagan reserve a move on the neutron bomb until he had climbed that hill. Instead, he chose to make it steeper. He may be moving NATO toward a fateful crisis." □

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Reagan declares war on workers

Air controllers vow to resist government union-busting

By Stu Singer

[The following article appeared in a special issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*, dated August 21.]

* * *

OBERLIN, Ohio, August 10—This small town, an hour west of Cleveland, has become one of the centers of confrontation between the labor movement and the U.S. government.

The 500 striking air controllers at the Cleveland Center facility here are part of the national strike by over 12,000 members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO). They are on strike against the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), which is trying to bust their union and impose intolerable working conditions.

The Reagan administration attack on the air controllers is one of the biggest union-busting drives by the federal government in American history.

It is a threat to every union. It is part of the opening salvo by the employers and their government against American workers.

It extends the ruling class drive against workers, which has included drastic budget cuts, a reactionary tax plan, the war drive and attacks on worker protection, civil rights, women's rights, and civil liberties.

The bosses and their government are united in this attack. There are no Democratic or Republican Party politicians who are friends of labor now, when labor is under the gun.

The news media seem to be competing for who can attack the strikers the most.

'Strike, strike!'

The air controllers went on strike Monday, August 3, after 95 percent voted against a contract proposed by Reagan's Secretary of Transportation, Drew Lewis.

The opposition was overwhelming. The contract did not address the issues the controllers consider most important—a shorter work week and the right to earlier retirement. These are safety issues—the concern of everyone who flies.

When they walked off the job, Reagan denounced them. He described as "patriotic," the scabs crossing the picket lines. He gave the workers forty-eight hours to return to work or be fired and "barred for life" from federal jobs.

When the forty-eight-hour deadline came, controllers and their families had gathered together in rallies. Five hundred people were at the one near here at the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 425 union hall across from the large Ford plant in Lorain.



Lou Howort/Militant

Air controllers in Ohio meeting cheer and chant, 'Strike!' as Reagan's deadline passes.

Five minutes before the deadline, Reagan extended it to the next scheduled workshift.

But the extension had no effect.

In Lorain, the room erupted in shouts of "STRIKE! STRIKE! STRIKE!" at 11:00 a.m. The same reactions were reported throughout the country.

At 2:59 p.m., before the next scheduled shift at the Oberlin facility, the pickets began a countdown: ". . . 10 . . . 9 . . . 8 . . . 7 . . . 6 . . . 5 . . . 4 . . . 3 . . . 2 . . . 1 . . . STRIKE! ON STRIKE! WE'RE FIRED!"

Hats were thrown in the air. Workers embraced each other and their families and cheered. They are standing up for what they believe in and are proud of it.

Jailings, fines

The Reagan administration is openly trying to destroy this union. All the strikers have been fired. The union's strike fund has been impounded. At least five union leaders around the country were thrown in jail for disobeying

orders to return to work.

Millions of dollars in fines have been imposed. Fines of \$1,000 are threatened against each striker. The federal government has officially moved to have the union decertified by the National Labor Relations Board as the bargaining agent for air controllers. New controllers are being hired and trained.

The government admits that the FBI is taking pictures and investigating all the strikers.

The strikers are denied food stamps and their insurance protection is being eliminated.

The pretext for firing the strikers is a federal law prohibiting strikes by government workers. Such a law has no business existing. Slavery was abolished almost 120 years ago. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland correctly compared this law to the "yellow dog" contract employers used to make workers sign, where a condition of work was a promise never to join a union.

In an effort to dispense with the air controllers and smash their strike, commercial airlines

have been ordered to reduce their flights by as much as 50 percent. Private and military aircraft flights have been drastically reduced. Small airports have been closed. Some military air controllers have been brought in to work along with the supervisors and strike-breakers.

Flying is now extremely dangerous. Many passengers know it. The airline industry claims about 75 percent of the scheduled flights are operating, but even they admit the planes are almost empty.

The scabs controlling the flights include controllers forced out of retirement and those who were off work for medical reasons like alcoholism and nervous breakdowns. Many are not qualified for work—medically or technically.

During the first week of the strike, at least six near mid-air collisions were reported. The scabs are working under even greater stress than air controllers normally face. They are working much longer hours. Picketers feel an air disaster is virtually inevitable.

The strikers and their supporters are asking how the government can be so ruthless. What price is Reagan willing to pay in other people's lives to break this union?

All labor is target

Reagan's fire is aimed at more than PATCO. The target is the entire labor movement. The threat is serious. Lane Kirkland branded Reagan a "union-buster." Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the largest public employees union, predicted Reagan's attack on PATCO would be used as a model for attacks on all public workers. United Auto Workers local officials speaking at the air controllers' rally in Lorain, warned that a defeat of the air controllers would threaten the UAW national auto contract coming up in 1982.

Ten months ago, PATCO backed Reagan for President because the union was aware of Carter's hostility. Reagan promised to meet their contract demands.

Most of the workers I talked to said they actually voted for Reagan. They all regret it. But they know Carter wouldn't have been better.

They are rethinking many things.

They are very inspired by the international solidarity they get from air controllers in other countries. An announcement at a strike rally that controllers in France are backing them led to a discussion of the meaning of the newly-elected Socialist Party government—a "workingman's government," as one controller put it.

On the picket line in Oberlin, one worker carried an American flag, another a hand-written sign reading: "I'd rather be an air controller in Poland."

Every striker I talked to noted the hypocrisy of the support by the U.S. government and the news media for the Polish workers' fight against their government compared to the way the controllers are being treated here.

The support to the air controllers from labor officials is positive. When AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland traveled by bus from the Chicago Executive Board meeting back to Washington, he and other top officials stopped off in Oberlin to greet the strikers. The air controllers here were very encouraged by this.

More is needed.

It will require united action, not just words, by the labor movement in the U.S. and internationally to push Reagan back.

PATCO has officially called on the rest of the labor movement to respect their picket lines. If this were done by the International Association of Machinists, the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, the pilots, the Teamsters, and others, the airports would be shut down.

Striking controllers hang tough

As the air controllers strike enters its third week, international solidarity is evident. The strongest support has come from Canada, where controllers refused to handle U.S. flights on August 11 and 12, and Portugal, where controllers began a forty-eight-hour protest August 17.

Canadian controllers staff the center in Newfoundland that guides flights over the North Atlantic; Portuguese controllers guide more southern Atlantic air routes from the Azores.

Controllers in Australia, New Zealand, France, Britain, Spain, the Netherlands, Italy, and the Scandinavian countries have all demonstrated support for the strike and some have refused, at least briefly, or slowed down handling U.S. flights.

Picketing controllers have carried Canadian flags and Polish flags in recognition of international solidarity. The example of the strikes of the last year by the Polish Solidarity Union is a big topic of discussion.

On August 13 a meeting of the International Federation of Air Traffic Controllers Associations in Amsterdam demanded immediate negotiations to end the strike in the United States. The organization represents controllers in sixty-one organizations throughout the world.

There is a lot of support for the controllers among workers in the U.S. but it is impossible to know that from following the capitalist news media.

Picket lines set up by the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) have been joined by union members and others throughout the country. In Kansas City, the AFL-CIO organized a rally of 500 August 9 at the prison where four controllers were being held. In Los Angeles, 1,000 demonstrated August 14 responding

The government seems willing to pay the price of having air transport limited and dangerous for as long as it takes to break this strike. The most optimistic government estimate is that it would take two years to train enough new controllers to go back to normal air service.

The strikers say it will take ten years. And by then, the new air controllers will be ready to go on strike themselves.

The stakes in this strike concern all workers. Everyone's neck is in the noose. The air controllers need the active support of every union member and every other working person.

PATCO faces an uphill fight. A defeat will lead to more attempts at striking and union busting.

The call for solidarity has seldom had greater urgency for the labor movement. □

to a call from the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor.

Black civil rights leader Rev. Jesse Jackson marched on the picket line in Chicago and addressed a rally of 600 strikers and their families August 14. His talk to the mostly white crowd met an enthusiastic response, including his attacks on the military budget and call for more Black, Latino and women controllers, "to make your union stronger."

But PATCO's call on the union movement to respect its picket lines has generally been ignored.

The failure of the rest of the union movement to back the strike by not crossing the picket lines seems to encourage the anti-union appetite of the bosses and their news media and government. They point to it continually as a sign that PATCO strikers are isolated.

The spirits of the strikers are still high. They are outraged at Reagan and the news media. There have been few desertions even in the face of the sustained attack from every institution of capitalist society. The union leaders have been in and out of jail, running from one court to another to defend themselves against public and private suits, penalties, court orders, and a government move to decertify them as the bargaining agent for controllers.

Reagan has not budged from his position that the strike is over, all strikers being fired, and that a new air traffic system is being built.

But the strikers remain confident. The number of flights operating now, while far less than usual, is far too large to be handled with 80 percent of the controllers on strike. A disaster seems inevitable.

—Stu Singer

Unions call march on Washington

'Solidarity Day is for everyone'

[The following appeared as an editorial in the August 7 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

An historic march on Washington is gathering momentum in union halls, Black, Latino, and women's organizations, in cities across the country.

The [American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations] AFL-CIO is calling on everyone to converge on the capital September 19 in a massive demonstration for social justice and against the criminal cutbacks by the Reagan administration and Congress.

This march is something new in American politics.

The AFL-CIO, representing 14 million union members, has never organized a massive political demonstration like this before, a protest directed against government policy. More than 100 unions and 200 other organizations have joined in the protest.

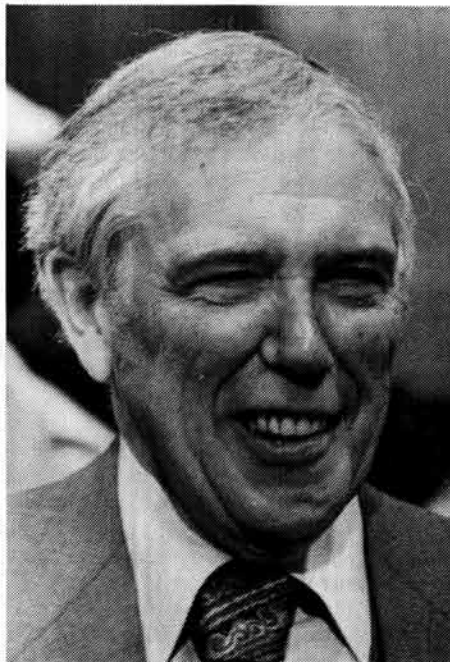
The unions have appealed to the ranks to turn out. "A demonstration of rank-and-file support" for social justice "will be the most effective response to the administration's claim that it speaks for the working people of America," says AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland.

The response has been massive. The AFL-CIO predicts 100,000 people will pour into Washington from Baltimore alone. And clear across the country, in Seattle, the International Association of Machinists has chartered four 747 jets to bring demonstrators to the capital.

The action is called Solidarity Day, and in that spirit the unions have reached out to those who suffer most from the budget cuts. The AFL-CIO-led coalition for September 19 already includes major civil rights and women's rights groups.

A Solidarity Day advisory board has been set up. In addition to the heads of major unions, the board includes leaders of the [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] NAACP, Operation PUSH, Urban League, National Organization for Women, Coalition of Labor Union Women, League of United Latin American Citizens, and U.S. Students Association.

AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer Thomas Donahue reported to the Baltimore Central Labor Council that among the central demands on September 19 will be women's rights, civil rights, jobs, and justice. Groups are expected to bring their own banners. "Solidarity Day is for everyone, not just union members," he told the recent Urban League convention.



Henry Snipper/Militant

DOUGLAS FRASER: 'A time to stand together.'

United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser, addressing the recent NAACP convention, summed up the importance of this united action. "We must mobilize for Solidarity Day on September 19," he said. "We've got to mobilize the greatest demonstration since the March on Washington in 1963.

"This is a time to stand together, a time to fight. And if we do that, We Shall Overcome."

NAACP President Benjamin Hooks pointed to the Black community's stake in this alliance with labor. "The NAACP shares a common humanity with the workers of the AFL-CIO and the basic goals and objectives that will be brought to the fore by this joint demonstration."

To organize a coalition of labor and the organizations of the most oppressed is unprecedented for the AFL-CIO. The federation did not endorse the giant 1963 civil rights march on Washington. It spoke out *against* the massive marches against the war in Vietnam.

But as Lane Kirkland explained, "Changing times call for changing tactics."

Indeed, times have changed for the working people of this country and the world.

Congress has just massively increased the military budget at the same time it approved

Reagan's plans to dismantle social programs that have existed for half a century.

Nothing once considered a right—from Social Security to health care—is safe from the rulers of this country. The elderly can no longer plan to scrape by on measly Social Security checks. The children of this country are having the food taken out of their mouths by food stamp cuts. Unemployed youth are watching job centers close, CETA [Comprehensive Employment and Training Act] programs slashed. They're promised a "job" fighting a war for the Pentagon instead.

Those who do have jobs confront plant shut-downs, wage cuts, speedup and forced overtime. Big business openly declares the "Chrysler solution" is its plan for workers everywhere.

This nightmare is magnified for Blacks, Latinos, and women. Congress is threatening to cancel the Voting Rights Act and has already moved to seriously undermine busing for school desegregation and affirmative action. Thousands of women have been driven to back-alley abortionists by cutbacks in Medicaid. A simple amendment to the Constitution stating that women are equal has not been ratified.

The backdrop to this relentless assault on our social, economic, and democratic rights at home is the growing danger of war abroad. The Pentagon is amassing the largest and most terrifying arsenal of weapons known to humanity. The Justice Department is taking steps to round up young men who won't register for the draft.

The American people rightly fear that another Vietnam is in the making.

Working people are on the defensive in this country today. There is no more talk of "guns and butter." Today, it's "guns and guns."

Democratic and Republican politicians—liberal and conservative alike—openly call for sacrifice from working people and for giveaways to the big corporations.

The government's attitude toward the leadership of the unions and Black, and women's groups is that it can't give them the time of day. (The AFL-CIO didn't even get an invitation to the White House until six months after Reagan took office.)

Millions of working people feel something must be done: their organizations must move into action.

An effective counteroffensive against the bipartisan attacks by the two capitalist parties, Congress, and the courts must include more massive protests like September 19. Sep-

tember 19 is a challenge to the powers that be. It says working people want an alternative to the antilabor, anti-Black, antiwoman Reagan administration.

The employers have their own political parties—the Democrats and Republicans—but we have none.

Think about it. On September 19, thousands upon thousands will march through Washington to say no to cuts in social security, unemployment benefits, health care; to say no to the war budget that takes food out of our children's mouths; to say no to the moves to take away laws protecting the unions, Blacks, women.

This is the opposite of the program the Democrats and Republicans are carrying out. Because we don't have our own political party, we have no independent voice in Washington.

The unions and other organizations that have united to call September 19, and the masses who will march that day, are the forces that can form a new party, a labor party that would speak up for the interests of working

people, Black and white; for the elderly and the young; for unionists and the unemployed.

A labor party would be a party of the majority—the people who keep this country running and should be running the country.

The idea of a labor party has been discussed in the union movement for some time. The idea of independent political action is also being taken up in the Black movement. The National Black Independent Political Party is holding its founding congress in Chicago August 21-23.

Breaking with the Democrats and Republicans is an idea that should be discussed as part of building for September 19 in the various local, regional, and national gatherings of unions and other groups.

These broad coalitions for September 19 need to discuss building the massive solidarity actions desperately needed on many fronts. They're needed to stop Congress from killing the Voting Rights Act. To push through the Equal Rights Amendment. They're needed in

cities and towns across the country whenever bosses try to shut down plants, cops break up picket lines, or residents are threatened with radioactive waste.

September 19 can be the beginning of a real fightback against the Reagan administration. The broad sponsorship achieved so far should be greatly expanded. Antiwar groups and organizations in solidarity with Central America should join in building this action.

The National Black Independent Political Party and National Black United Front should bring their members to Washington.

Farmers organizations, campus groups, senior citizens organizations, and all the groups on the left should be there too.

Since Reagan's election, hundreds of thousands have already taken to the streets, marching for Black rights, against war, against the budget cuts. Now on September 19 these protesters and many thousands more can unite in a giant display of the social and political power of the majority in this country.

All out for September 19! □

United States

Massive support for 'Solidarity Day'

Black and women's groups join protests against Reagan budget

By Vivian Sahner

[The following article appeared in the August 7 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

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There has been a massive response to the AFL-CIO's call for a September 19 "Solidarity Day" in Washington, D.C.

Since the action was announced seven weeks ago, union after union has pledged an all-out effort. So have the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), National Urban League, National Organization for Women (NOW), Coalition of Labor Union Women, Operation PUSH, National Council of Churches, League of United Latin American Citizens, and others.

"It is time to stand up and stop the dismantling of forty years of social progress," declared Lloyd McBride, president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and one of the action's coordinators.

Calling Solidarity Day "an important part of what must be a continuing campaign by labor and our allies," McBride urged all USWA locals to mobilize their members.

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37 in New York City has already announced plans to send 300 buses to the demonstration.

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile

Workers of America has pledged 100 busloads.

The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) has endorsed the action. Sam Church, president of the UMWA, has joined the thirty-three member Solidarity Day advisory committee headed by AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer Thomas Donahue.

Half the members of that body, organized to mobilize participation on September 19, is made up of the heads of the largest AFL-CIO unions. The balance includes figures such as Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP; Coretta King; Rev. Joseph Lowery, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women; Rev. Jesse Jackson, Operation PUSH; and Douglas Tuthill, chair of the U.S. Students Association.

Delegates to the seventy-second national convention of the NAACP, held in Denver June 29-July 3, enthusiastically endorsed a Solidarity Day resolution. This is the first time since the 1963 March on Washington that the NAACP has called for a protest in the country's capital.

Benjamin Hooks told the convention that the demonstration is needed to "show the dissatisfaction of workers and minority members alike" with the Reagan administration's budget.

"The NAACP shares a common humanity

with the workers of the AFL-CIO and the basic goals and objectives that will be brought to the fore by this joint demonstration," he said.

The NAACP urged its 2,200 chapters to participate in the "historic demonstration" for "jobs, justice and equity for every American."

On July 7, delegates at the Operation PUSH convention voted to back the action.

"The first thing that Black, Brown, poor, and concerned Americans must do" to fight Reagan's budget slashes, Rev. Jesse Jackson said, "is to get the president's attention with their marching feet."

On July 21 the National Urban League endorsed Solidarity Day.

Another major focus of the September 19 march is support for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). On June 30, AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer Donahue urged ERA supporters at the Washington, D.C., ERA Countdown rally to participate in Solidarity Day.

"We expect to see a solid feminist turnout for 'Solidarity Day'," commented NOW President Eleanor Smeal in the July/August *National NOW Times*. "Those of us who fight for women's equality and those of us in the labor movement have come to understand that we share many of the same goals and fight the same opposition."

Delegates of the 580,000-member American Federation of Teachers pledged their unanimous support at their sixty-fifth convention

in Denver in early July. A table to sign up for the action did a brisk business.

The 1.8 million-member National Education Association (NEA) has also voted to endorse. A resolution of support was passed by the 7,200 delegates to the NEA convention in Minneapolis. The body also called for a nationwide teachers demonstration against the cutbacks.

At the Communications Workers of America convention, union President Glenn Watts blasted the Reagan administration's goal "to run a government of the corporation, by the corporation, and for the corporation."

United Electrical workers (UE) Secretary-treasurer Boris Block has called for the "broadest possible participation."

Fred Kroll, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), sent out a letter to the BRAC membership urging participation.

The International Association of Machinists (IAM) has also put their numbers behind Solidarity Day. "We don't believe these are really budget cuts," one IAM spokesperson explained. "They're a transfer of money from social services to the military services."

In Steelworkers District 31 in the Chicago-Gary area, outgoing director Jim Balanoff and incoming director Jack Parton joined together in vowing to put the district's resources into building a big turnout for Solidarity Day.

In order to maximize the largest trade union participation, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland has called a coordinating meeting of the federation's general board in Chicago on August 6. The general board is made up of the president or chief officer of each of the 102 AFL-CIO unions.

In a number of areas coalitions to build the demonstration have already formed.

The Texas AFL-CIO, the Texas chapter of the NAACP, and the League of United Latin American Citizens are jointly chartering buses to Washington.

In Baltimore every one of the 300 buses from union organized companies is already chartered to go. Union officials predict that 100,000 marchers from that city will join in September 19.

The New York City Central Labor Council is making plans for an August 7 Labor Day Parade to build Solidarity Day.

Thirty state labor officials in Minnesota have chartered buses and two planes. The Minnesota NAACP has organized a bus. The Minnesota El Salvador Solidarity Committee has decided to make September 19 its first priority.

In Indianapolis the Central Labor Council has printed 10,000 leaflets on Solidarity Day. UAW Region 3 has chartered fifteen buses. The Committee for Democracy in Latin America there has endorsed the action. □

gust unless the government rescinded the 20 percent reduction.

One of the most dramatic series of actions occurred in Warsaw. On July 31, 300 workers in hard hats demonstrated in front of the parliament building with signs reading "Bread for our work," and "We want to eat."

Beginning August 3, thousands of people, together with nearly 200 trolleys, buses, taxis, street sweepers, dump trucks, and garbage trucks blocked the center of Warsaw for fifty hours after authorities refused to let the caravan of vehicles with their flashing lights and beeping horns proceed down Jerozolimski Avenue past the Communist Party headquarters.

With a flatbed truck turned into a platform, Solidarity held a rally. People brought flowers and food to the demonstrators. Police did not interfere, for the union had organized its own defense, consisting of a cordon of steelworkers.

The rally ended after a two-hour general strike of half a million, the largest in Warsaw since March. Only health services, food processing, and small shops were exempted.

The continuing power of the union movement and the desire of working people to make the major decisions affecting their lives was summed up by a Solidarity speaker at the rally. "Those who are afraid of their nation," he told the cheering thousands, "should stay locked up and not disturb us any more. Don't disturb a free people deciding their own fate."

And, as if to underscore that statement, a million workers in the southern industrial and mining region of Silesia struck for four hours on August 7. Work was stopped in sixty coal mines, and public transport was brought to a halt in the region's main city, Katowice.

Other actions that week included a one hour strike of 100,000 workers in Czestochowa, and one hour strikes in Piotrkow and Radomsko. Hunger demonstrations of thousands took place in Wroclaw, Kalisz, Krakow, Tarnow, Zakopane, and other cities and towns.

Directly following the mid-July congress of the Polish Communist Party, these protests are a powerful condemnation of the party's failure to come up with meaningful political and economic reforms.

A Solidarity poster now on Warsaw's streets perhaps best captures this critical reaction. It shows a black skull with a crossed knife and fork under it and reads, "The first result of the ninth party congress: a cut in food rations."

In official statements, at rallies, and in negotiations with government officials, Solidarity has put forward its own solution to the economic crisis. Solidarity leaders stressed working people's willingness to sacrifice, but only if they are involved in making the decisions that affect the country's economy.

Solidarity called for local commissions to be set up by the union to oversee production, storage, and food distribution.

The union stated it would accept price in-

Poland

Workers protest food shortages

'A hungry nation can eat its authorities'

By Suzanne Haig

For three weeks, hundreds of thousands of workers throughout Poland have engaged in street demonstrations, strikes, and work stoppages to protest food shortages and the government's inability to end the economy's downward spiral.

The actions have been organized by the independent union, Solidarity.

Such a combination of protest actions against Warsaw's policy is unprecedented in the year-long workers' upsurge in Poland.

With slogans such as "A hungry nation can eat its authorities," "Who wants to starve us?," and "Enough of lying explanations," the Polish people have clearly indicated their anger over having to wait hours in long lines to get into half empty food stores. Rationed items, such as cheese, meat, soap, and detergents, are also scarce.

The protests began after the government's July 23 decision to cut meat rations by 20 percent (from 8 pounds to 6.6 pounds per person per month) and increase prices in the future by 200 to 300 percent.

The first action, "march against hunger,"

occurred in Kutno, seventy-five miles west of Warsaw on July 25.

Crowds on the streets joined in as the marchers shouted, "Come on, join us, don't be afraid."

For four days the population of Lodz, the second largest city in Poland, came out in marches. The actions began with parades of buses and trucks bedecked with signs reading, "Peoples' authority or hunger," "We do not want to be hungry, we want to work," "We line up until our hearts break," and "How do you eat ration coupons? With a knife and fork?"

These protests culminated with a mass march of women and children on July 30. Many of the women, who work in the large textile industry there, sometimes have to wait in line for up to twenty-four hours to buy their food.

A similar march of thousands of women and children occurred in Szczecin July 31.

At the Poznan railroad station, a siren blasted for five minutes of each hour, July 29, to underline the anger of rail workers over the crisis. In Gdansk, Solidarity called on its members to refuse the meat coupons for Au-

creases, but only if they are part of an overall economic reform that guarantees workers' self-management, or "the social supervision of economic reform," as it was described by a meeting of Solidarity's national leadership held in Gdansk, August 10-12.

The demand for genuine workers' self-management, or workers' control, including the power to determine what is produced and how it is used, is a central part of Solidarity's program.

The Gdansk meeting also called on Solidarity members to give up eight Saturdays this

year to increase coal production and agricultural output, in hope of reviving exports. Free Saturdays were won by the union early this year.

In return, the union is demanding that the government end its campaign of criticism of Solidarity and grant the union access to press, radio, and television. If the government refuses, the union has stated that newspaper workers will walk out on August 19 and 20.

The government's resistance to such demands shows that it gives top priority not to reviving the economy, but to preserving the dic-

tatorial power of a minority over the workers.

The August 10-12 meeting also asked Solidarity branches and supporters to hold no further protest actions until the union's first convention, now planned for early October.

The convention approaches at a critical stage. "We are standing at a crossroads for the first time," is the way Solidarity leader Lech Walesa put it at a news conference. "Should we be a typical trade union that puts forward demands or should we, as Poles and as citizens, undertake the attempt to go forward in a major different direction?" □

'Solidarity has changed the country'

Interview with chairman of union news agency

[The following interview is with Arkadiusz Rybicki, the chairman of the Solidarity Press Information Bureau (BIPS), a news service supervised by the National Coordinating Commission of Poland's independent union federation, Solidarity. The interview was obtained on July 6 in Gdansk, Poland, by Ernest Harsch.]

* * *

Question. It has been almost a year since Solidarity was first formed. What do you see as the major accomplishments of Solidarity in that time?

Answer. In the most general way, we can say that Solidarity has changed the picture of this country. This used to be, to a large extent, a country with a totalitarian regime. It has become a country that is on its way to democracy.

It means that the uncountable numbers of regulations and laws, starting from the constitution and ending with the minor regulations at the plant level—which were interpreted against the interests of society, to the disadvantage of the worker in the factory, to the disadvantage of anyone who had to deal with any institution in Poland—are now starting to work for the benefit of the people. Of course, there is still a long way ahead of us for those regulations to be positive.

And there are a number of regulations that have now been eliminated.

Also, as far as the relations between the authorities and the society are concerned, there has been a great change. For example, the press was totally a tool in the hands of the authorities—the party and the government. Now it has changed, and partially represents society.

Q. Could you elaborate on the changes in the factories, both in the relations between the workers and the management and in the way decisions are now made? What plans are there for instituting workers' self-management?

A. There is this first basic fact: In the factories, there is an institution to which the worker can appeal. He is no longer alone against the management. He now has the Solidarity trade union, which can make things easier for the worker.

In the past, a worker could be fired just like that. There were many regulations that could be interpreted in different ways, to the disadvantage of the worker. He could be deprived of part of his salary for some reason. The worker's supervisor was always a party member, and the representative of the union was always a party member as well. So the worker was helpless against all this.

But now Solidarity exists. It makes it impossible for the employer to fire a worker without justification. Solidarity controls the distribution of benefits and allowances. It has a crucial influence on the appointment of supervisors and factory managers.

In the Sejm [parliament], legislation is being considered on workers' self-management in the factories. We are waiting for this legislation to be brought to light. Solidarity has issued its own proposals for workers' self-management, which were worked out by Solidarity representatives from the biggest plants. It is certain that there will be a conflict between the government's draft law on self-management and the proposals of Solidarity.

But this is all happening in a difficult economic situation in Poland now. Very often, in this situation, Solidarity's hands are tied and it cannot do much. We know that we cannot demand the implementation of all demands, because the economic situation makes it difficult to insist on the right to this and that when we know that it cannot be realized.

At the universities there is now general democracy, because the rectors and authorities at the universities are democratically elected. Before they were appointed. This has an enormous impact on the general life at the universities.

Even in secondary schools, the high schools, there is self-management among the

students. This has some impact on the way of teaching and education. The political indoctrination has diminished considerably.

And now there is the interesting affair at the LOT enterprise, where the workers have elected their own candidate for manager of this enterprise, while the authorities want to appoint their own manager.¹

This is a classic example of the conflict between the authorities and self-management. The authorities are very much afraid of self-management. Their explanation is that since the managers of the factories are a simple extension of political authority in this country and because they dismiss and employ workers, they fulfill administrative functions. If the government loses influence on appointing or dismissing people, they say that then the authorities will lose the rest of their power.

Q. You mentioned the conflict with the authorities around the question of workers' self-management. Could you also go into some of the other problems, such as the new draft bill on censorship and on the trade unions?

A. The censorship and trade-union laws were created in parliamentary commissions, with a very scarce participation of Solidarity members. We can say that these draft laws are exclusively government proposals.

Solidarity has a perspective of working out its own proposals, rather than trying to correct those of the government. We want a situation where the Sejm has two draft laws before it,

1. Following the retirement of the former director of the LOT national airlines, the workers of the enterprise chose their own candidate, Bronislaw Klimaszewski, for director. The government initially refused to recognize their choice, and instead appointed a general as the new director. But after the airline workers went on a four-hour warning strike on July 9 and won support from workers around the country, the government agreed on July 23 to accept Klimaszewski as managing director for the airline's economic affairs, while keeping the general as overall director.

one from Solidarity—which we call a social draft law—and one from the government.

In the government's draft law on censorship, it is heading toward censorship of union bulletins. Solidarity says that censorship of the union bulletins would be the beginning of the end of the free trade union, because all the independent publications of the union are one of the most important accomplishments of the union.

There is a proposal by Solidarity's national press spokesperson, Wojciech Onyszkiewicz, who is in charge of negotiations with the government on the mass media, to create a union commission on the publication of union bulletins. This commission would not have the right to censor the union bulletins, but could suggest what could be written and what shouldn't. We do not want the government to be able to use the argument that there is no control over what is written.

But the government would simply like the bulletins to be censored. The union cannot agree to that.

Q. Has there been any noticeable change in the stance of the authorities since the threatening letter to the Polish Communist Party from the Soviet party in June?

A. You can notice an escalation of the propaganda. But it is very difficult to talk about any specific activities.

Of course, Solidarity also reacted against this letter. The letter came as no surprise. There were warnings of this sort from the Soviet Union before. You cannot say that we were frightened or anything.

But at the same time people in the regional boards of Solidarity warned the publishers of the union bulletins to be more careful about any bold anti-Russian statements. Some factories, not paying attention to the political situation, made protests against the intervention of the Soviet Union into Polish affairs. Of course, the activists of Solidarity realized the very delicate situation of Poland in relation to the Soviet Union. This is like a brake on our free activities.

Now, Lech Walesa is an example of a man who realizes very well the fact that a lot of things cannot be done that openly, that we have to limit the demands for political changes in Poland. And this attitude, this realistic attitude, is criticized by a number of union activists. Here's the whole problem. The activists are supposed to be militant. They are right to demand a radical stance, because this is what matches the feelings of the majority of unionists.

At present, there are two ways out. Through confrontation with the government, the authorities, which would practically mean overthrowing the government. And this could have very serious consequences, including a military intervention of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, there's the way of negotiating, talks, compromises, which does not always bring positive results. This is a very dull and



Polish workers protest food shortages. "The people expect quick results and solutions."

difficult way. But we think that it is the necessary way.

We have to say here that the people expect quick results and solutions. But they do not always understand that this cannot be accomplished that easily, that quickly. That's why Walesa's role is very difficult.

Q. Could you explain what forms of struggle Solidarity feels it is possible to employ at this time?

A. That is difficult to define. For each case there has to be a unique solution. Some things are decided at the conference table, in talks with the government. It doesn't mean that pressure is excluded as a form of forcing the government to do something.

Usually it is like this: There is a strike threat. Many factories and branches of industry back up the threat. That triggers a government response, such as the arrival of a government delegation on the spot. And the matter that couldn't even be discussed before then has to be negotiated at the conference table.

Now the same situation has happened in the docks. The dockers have threatened that they will go out on a warning strike.² And if their social demands are not met, they will go on general strike. The government commission arrived in a very short time.

Q. In the draft political resolution of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, there's a suggestion that Soli-

arity could become part of the National Unity Front.³ What does Solidarity think of this proposal?

A. As far as the National Unity Front is concerned, Solidarity is totally opposed to joining it.

There are many ideas and concepts that have been raised by trade-union activists. There is the idea of creating a new National Unity Front, but one in which there would be no room for any of the present parties to take part.

The central question is the Sejm. So far, we don't have any clear concept of how we would take part in the Sejm. Because it involves the question of a totally new form of elections. And in an election of a new kind, the Communist Party might lose. This, in turn, might involve the serious possibility of a Soviet intervention.

At the moment, Solidarity conducts meetings with the local representatives to the Sejm and tries to impress upon them certain solutions that are accepted by the nation. We have gotten some results, but nothing too significant. Because these members of the Sejm were elected according to the old rules for elections, and a majority are from the ruling party.

Again, this is also a problem of tactics: whether to go the whole way, to demand free elections and the change of the establishment, or to wait for the time being and try to influence the members of the Sejm who can be influenced, and in this way, change the Sejm into a more democratic institution. □

2. On July 8 some 20,000 shipyard workers in Gdansk, Gdynia, and Szczecin staged a brief strike to protest the authorities' failure to honor earlier agreements. Later that month, the shipyard workers won improved social security benefits and other concessions from the government.

3. The National Unity Front is the formal governing coalition in the country. It is composed of the PUWP, the United Peasants Party (ZSL), and the Democratic Party (SD). The latter two parties, which are supposed to represent the farmers and small shopkeepers and business people, are little more than fronts for the PUWP.

U.S.-backed forces meet

Try to pull together counterrevolutionary coalition

By Steve Bride

In a series of back-room meetings, Washington has begun pulling together what it hopes will become a united, armed opposition to the present governments of Kampuchea, Laos, and Vietnam.

The private gatherings were held in New York and Washington during a July 13-17 United Nations conference on Kampuchea.

They are seen as a step toward making good on an earlier threat by State Department official John Holdridge in Peking to "find ways to increase the political, economic and, yes, military pressures on Vietnam, working with others. . . ."

At the closed-door sessions, these "others" included:

- Officials of the former Kampuchean government of Pol Pot, which was ousted in 1979 by Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean insurgents;
- Premiers of three previous, U.S.-installed governments in Cambodia and Laos, including Laotian ex-premier Phoumi Nosavan;
- Vang Pao, a general who once led a mercenary army for the CIA in Laos;
- A defector from the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of Vietnam, which tossed out the U.S.-backed regime in Saigon in 1975.

All had come to New York to attend the UN conference, which was billed as an attempt to seek a "political settlement" of the situation in Kampuchea. In fact, it was an attempt to put the seal of approval on Washington's efforts to destabilize the Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea and assure continued UN endorsement of Pol Pot's forces as representative of that country.

It was also a useful pretext for getting the above-named individuals together in the same room.

Otherwise, the five days of the public speeches and debate at the UN were notable only for three things.

First, delegates from the eighty-or-so countries attending agreed on getting the Vietnamese out of Kampuchea, but little else. Most wanted to keep their distance from the former Pol Pot government, which is known to have disposed of roughly 40 percent of the Kampuchean population.

Second, the fact that three principals in the debate—Kampuchea, Vietnam, and the Soviet Union—boycotted the proceedings altogether. This, said the London *Economist*, turned the five-day conference into "the sound . . . of one hand slapping."

Third was the growing convergence between the U.S. and the Peking regime as the two main supporters of the deposed Pol Pot

forces, and of increased sanctions against Vietnam.

Peking's role as another of the "others" with whom the U.S. intends to work was also evident during the private meetings of exiles convened by Washington.

Former PRG minister Truong Nhu Tang, who defected in 1979, told the *Far Eastern Economic Review* that Radio Peking broadcasted appeals by him urging Vietnamese to rise up against their government.

The overthrow of the Hanoi government, Tang said, was a prerequisite to peace and prosperity in the whole of Indochina.

Both Tang and Sisoukna Champassak, an ex-minister in a right-wing Laotian government, said the Chinese regime now operates military training centers along the Laotian and Vietnamese borders for right-wing opponents of those regimes. Thai advisers are also said to be involved in the training.

In addition, they told the *Review*, China was funneling arms through northern Kampuchea to Fulro, a tribal group organized by the French during their occupation of Vietnam and later sustained by Washington.

According to the *Review*, all the exiles interviewed by them believed Washington and Peking "will now join hands, tacitly if not openly . . . to give political and military support to

what amounts to a pan-Indochinese resistance movement."

Assessing the chances of such a movement, however, the *Review* noted that "rightwing resistance has been sputtering in Laos for the past five years without seriously affecting the Pathet Lao regime." Similar efforts in Vietnam and Kampuchea, it added, have not "so far resulted in any great strain on either regime."

Indeed, recent eyewitness reports in the *Washington Post* contain some revealing admissions regarding the situation in Kampuchea.

"The bountiful markets and generally healthy-looking people of Cambodia," said correspondent William Branigin August 11, "testify that the famine that plagued this country in 1979 is now little more than a painful memory."

The severe economic difficulties that remain, Branigin continues, stem in part from "the failure of two United Nations agencies to deliver vital rice seed and fuel on time. . . ." These difficulties, he adds, will be aggravated by the scheduled end of UN emergency relief aid in December.

Perhaps even more surprising (in an article that is generally hostile to the Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea) is Branigin's report in the August 10 *Post* that "Western aid officials agreed, the overriding feeling here toward Vietnam is one of gratitude for ending the horrors of the [Pol Pot-led] Khmer Rouge."

And Branigin himself concludes, ". . . it is apparent after 2½ years of occupation that the Vietnamese did Cambodians a favor by ousting the Khmer Rouge government. . . . During a week-long visit to Cambodia, there was no sign of any great animosity toward the Vietnamese troops in areas under their control." □

When you move, it's nice to have your mail move with you.

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Intercontinental Press
410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Castro charges U.S. with biological war

Outbreak of dengue fever claims 113 lives

By Arnold Weissberg

LAS TUNAS—In his annual July 26 speech, marking the twenty-eighth anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks that launched the Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro accused the U.S. government of waging biological warfare against Cuba.

Castro was referring to the current epidemic of dengue fever. As of July 24, the virus had afflicted nearly 275,000 Cubans and killed 113, including eighty-one children.

The outbreak began in late May in Havana and quickly spread across the island. The epidemic is a new type of dengue which had never appeared before in Cuba.

Castro noted that in the last two years, Cuba had been victim of African swine fever, sugar cane rust, and tobacco blue mold, and that many Cubans believed these plagues had been introduced by the CIA.

A large part of the Cuban leader's speech was devoted to the history of U.S. biological and chemical warfare efforts, as documented in reports from the U.S. Senate and other sources not noted for their identification with the Cuban revolution.

A 1969 report, for example, noted that the government had spent \$175 million on chemical and biological warfare research that year alone.

An earlier Senate report listed some of the biological weapons in the U.S. arsenal. These included bacteria, viruses, fungi, and toxins—agents for causing anthrax, dysentery, cholera, diphtheria, typhus, yellow fever, dengue, and botulism. Also in the arsenal were animal afflictions such as brucellosis, aftosa, porcine cholera, African swine fever; and insects and bacteria for use in attacking plants.

Castro also referred to U.S. press reports describing operations at Fort Detrick, Maryland, the center of U.S. chemical and biological warfare research. The U.S. Department of the Army revealed in 1959 that the Bacteriological Warfare Center carried out experiments in Florida with the *Aedes Aegypti* mosquito, which carries both yellow fever and dengue. The experiment involved releasing a swarm of 600,000 mosquitos and tracking them.

Castro also referred to press reports of plans to launch a yellow fever attack against the Soviet Union in 1956, using *Aedes Aegypti* mosquitos bred at Fort Detrick.

'Operation Mongoose'

CIA-directed operations against Cuba, including the failed 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, are common knowledge worldwide. Castro made special mention in his speech to "Operation Mongoose," a giant undertaking launched

by President John F. Kennedy at the beginning of 1962, the goal of which was the overthrow of Cuba's revolutionary government. Among the tasks approved for Mongoose was the use of chemical warfare to temporarily incapacitate sugar workers during the harvest. Sabotage teams landed in Cuba during 1962 as part of this operation, with the goal of destroying the sugar harvest by fire and the use of chemicals.

"These are not inventions," Castro said, "they are confessions by the United States Senate."

He then described more recent developments:

"In the last few days a counterrevolutionary group infiltrated around Matanzas. They disembarked on July 4. Three were captured around dawn on the fifth, and the rest were captured July 9. Their assignment: to organize an attack on the leaders of the revolution, in this case specifically against me, during the rally here today, working with other groups infiltrated after they were; and, also, sabotage and so on. They confessed everything quickly, like all the mercenaries always do. It was published in our press. The U.S. government hasn't said a word, but we know how the CIA works and how it utilizes these types directly and indirectly. . . .

"You all know how they send men who have been trained and armed in the United States to attack leaders of another government, as they admit. We know about the public press conferences where they announce landings by mercenary commandos to attack leaders of the revolution. But the U.S. government says not a single word, does absolutely nothing, maintaining an ominous silence.

Intensified blockade

"The imperialists aren't only carrying out these activities and tolerating them, but they are also intensifying the economic blockade against our country. In the economic field, their attitude is no less aggressive. The U.S. authorities have used all their influence to block the sale of our nickel to capitalist countries. . . .

"In addition to all these activities, they are organizing military maneuvers aimed at Cuba and they are planning landing exercises at the Yankee naval base at Guantánamo, the part of our territory that is illegally occupied. They openly threaten us with naval blockades and aggressions.

"What is strange, then, about the idea that imperialism would use biological weapons against Cuba? What else can we expect from a government whose policies are characterized

by cynicism, lies, and asolute lack of scruples?

"We share the conviction of our people, and we are deeply suspicious that the plagues that our country has suffered, especially hemorrhagic dengue, could have been introduced into Cuba by the CIA."

Castro demanded that the U.S. government specifically disavow such methods, especially in light of its recent threats against Cuba.

"The new administration in Washington hasn't said a single word about the methods the CIA will use. We call on the government of the United States to define its policy in this sphere, to tell us whether or not the CIA will again be authorized or not, or whether it is already being authorized, to organize attacks on the leaders of the revolution and to utilize plagues against our crops, our animals, and our people. They can't be so cynical or play innocent and keep quiet on a subject so serious and essential."

Castro also nailed the Reagan administration for its cruel and cynical efforts to prevent Cuba from obtaining insecticides needed to fight the deadly plague of dengue fever.

U.S. blocks insecticide sales

"The Yankee blockade interfered with our efforts to get hold of the various products we needed to combat the epidemic. Our first efforts to buy malathion were made in Mexico, with the firm Lucaba, owned by Mexican and U.S. interests. When they found out it was for us, they refused to sell it. Later, learning of the willingness of the Bayer company to sell to us, we entered into negotiations with them to buy twenty tons. Bayer had to get agreement from Lucaba, because the Bayer product had some Lucaba components. Lucaba refused. This was in the most difficult moment, at the beginning, when we didn't have the chemical products we needed to fight the explosive epidemic facing us.

"Following Lucaba's refusal, we asked for help from the Mexican government in purchasing the products on the Mexican market.

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Through these efforts we were able to buy thirty tons of lincathion, Bayer's equivalent of malathion, and it was shipped here by air.

"We had to bring malathion from Europe, by plane, at a cost of \$5,000 per ton for transportation only, three-and-a-half times what the malathion costs.

"We made efforts to get larvicides from the U.S. through the Pan-American Health Office, in agreement with the international norms in cases like this one, and even though the response was not negative, we still have not received a single ton from them."

Cuba had undertaken a vast effort to eradicate dengue already, Castro explained. He described a nearly 43-million peso program aimed at wiping it out, which included a huge mobilization of Cuba's health workers and a nationwide program of spraying and drainage to deny the mosquitos their breeding spots.

'We will eradicate it!'

"We propose, in a word, to eradicate the disease, and, if it's possible, exterminate every single *Aedes Aegypti* mosquito," Castro declared.

"We have confronted swine fever, blue mold, and cane rust, and we have eradicated them! Now we face hemorrhagic dengue, and we will eradicate it!" Castro said to cheers and applause.

In another part of his speech, Castro discussed Cuba's economic situation which has registered dramatic improvement over the past year.

Nationally, he said, productivity for the first six months of 1981 was up 12 percent over the same period of 1980, and average salaries were up 14 percent. Castro laid the productivity increase to "the workers looking for more efficient delivery of goods and services."

Also up sharply were industrial production, food production, and construction, with many areas surpassing their goals. Castro noted that Cuba had 7,000 construction workers in ten countries, building projects worth some 70 million pesos. In these projects, he said, productivity had tripled.

Also singled out for special praise were another 8,000 internationalist workers in thirty-six countries, among them 1,196 doctors and 3,562 educators.

Example of Moncada

The only other speaker at the July 26 rally was Commander of the Revolution Humberto Ortega, Nicaragua's minister of defense. Ortega discussed the influence of the Cuban revolution and the 1953 attack on the Moncada barracks on the Nicaraguans:

"It's no coincidence that the FSLN's red and black flag is the same color as the red and black flag of the July 26 Movement. It's no coincidence because both revolutions struggle for the people who were yesterday's oppressed, and struggle to create a new society, for true justice, for the progress of humanity against reaction. . . .

"We learned from Moncada—we certainly

did. We learned that a ferocious dictator like Batista, a ferocious dictator like Somoza, can't be overthrown at the ballot box. He can only be overthrown by the courageous, decisive act of throwing yourself at these fortresses, even if

you're outgunned. But it is not arms that are decisive—it's the will, the morale, the revolutionary conviction of the men and women who carry the arms. And that is what we saw in the men and women of the Moncada attack." □

July 26 in Las Tunas

LAS TUNAS—Each year, Cuba holds its July 26 celebration in a different city. The city is determined by a national competition in the economic and political tasks of the country.

This year, the celebration took place in the city of Las Tunas, capital of Las Tunas Province. The town has a population of around 50,000, and the province about 400,000.

Las Tunas symbolizes the gains of the Cuban revolution. Before 1959, it was a sleepy market town surrounded by an underdeveloped agricultural region, like much of the rest of the eastern end of the island.

But Las Tunas has been completely transformed. Among its most recent gains is a giant glass factory, capable of turning out 100,000 tons of glass and 300 million bottles a year and employing 1,200 workers. It is the most modern such plant in the Western Hemisphere.

Another important industrial plant turns out big structural metal pieces, such as girders and beams. It is referred to locally as the "factory of factories."

Perhaps the most impressive thing about Las Tunas is the new health complex, which includes the 600-bed Dr. Ernesto Guevara Hospital, an old-age retirement home, a children's hospital, a psychiatric hospital, and a medical sciences polytechnic institute. Under construction is a medical school.

The province as a whole has eight hospitals, seventeen polyclinics, six homes for expectant mothers, six dental clinics, seven rural first aid stations, ninety-seven Red Cross stations, five homes for the elderly, and a home for the handicapped. There are 1,290 hospital beds, 317 doctors, sixty-eight dentists, 265 nurses, and 517 nurses' aides.

Before the revolution, the municipality of Las Tunas had a total of 330 hospital beds, of which half were in private clinics, and a grand total of fifty-eight doctors and twenty-two nurses.

Similar strides have been made in education. In 1958, the municipality of Las Tunas had 200 teachers; now the province has 9,872. There are 869 elementary schools, forty-six junior high schools, seven high schools, ten polytechnic institutes, three economics institutes, a teacher training

school, three trade schools, four language schools, and a university branch.

All the medical and educational facilities, of course, are completely free.

The main product of Las Tunas is sugar, and it produces about 9 percent of Cuba's total. One of the country's largest sugar mills is located in the province.

The 1980-81 sugar harvest was extremely successful, surpassing the 1952 harvest—capitalism's best year—by 26.4 percent. Yet manual harvesting was down 55 percent from that year—testimony to Cuba's ability to raise productivity and the technological level of its economy.

The city of Las Tunas itself has been transformed, with the construction of parks, housing, new theaters, roads. A visitor familiar with sleepy, dusty market towns clumped around a plaza can still pick out the old city, but you have to look closely, for the old has been overwhelmed by the new.

Intensely proud of its progress and of the honor of hosting July 26, the people of Las Tunas went all out for the event. The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution—which are organized on a block-by-block basis and have half the province's population as members—led a vast campaign of cleaning and painting, which went on right up to the last minute.

Posters, billboards, Cuban flags, and the red and black flags of the July 26 Movement hung from every house, every store, every building.

The entire city partied the night of July 25, and one block, which had been particularly successful in carrying out its tasks, won the presence of a live band from the Ministry of Culture.

A group of foreign journalists visiting the city were greeted as honored guests and seated at tables in the middle of the street, while food, rum, and beer were pressed on them.

Young people—and some not so young people—danced and danced to the Afro-Cuban rhythms.

Fidel's speech was scheduled to begin at 6 p.m. July 26, but the plaza at the health complex filled up hours before. Precisely at 6 o'clock Fidel appeared, the 100,000 people in the plaza stood and cheered, and July 26 in Las Tunas where, they say, "it is always July 26," began.

—Arnold Weissberg

Socialist lawsuit against the government

'We succeeded beyond our wildest hopes'

By Tom Martin

"We did not go to court to get justice. Our aim was to get out the truth. And we succeeded beyond our wildest hopes."

That is how Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), sums up the trial of the lawsuit brought by the party and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) against the U.S. government and its secret police agencies, which ended in New York City on June 25.

The socialists are demanding \$40 million in damages for illegal activities against them by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and others. They also want a declaration that there is no constitutional basis for investigating them.

I talked to Barnes and Larry Seigle, coordinator of the Political Rights Defense Fund (which handles all aspects of the lawsuit), shortly after the end of the trial. What were the most important issues that had been brought out?

"I think really that we forced out into the open the ultimate power of the executive branch to go after so-called 'subversives' without any control," says Seigle. "It is there for everyone to see now—concretized and documented."

"We also exposed the character and current reality of thought-control legislation like the Smith Act, the Voorhis Act. People thought they had died along with McCarthyism in the 1950s, but our case has shown how they are still used to harass opponents of government policy."

"In the course of twelve weeks we dragged out the whole reality of unfettered governmental power: executive orders, loyalty programs, the lot. And in doing that we also put paid to the myth of the bad FBI, Hoover the maniac, and so on. What was done to us was government policy, approved at the highest levels, and it carried on regardless of whether those in office were Democrats or Republicans."

'If you want protection, join the Mafia'

"Only by having a trial this long," explains Barnes, "were we able to force the judge to deal with the maximum number of constitutional issues."

Among these is the power claimed by the executive to break into premises without a warrant in "national security" cases. As Barnes points out, "What it amounts to is this: if you want protection, then join the Mafia. That way at least they have to get a warrant!"

It is not just the SWP which sees this as an

important test of government powers. Washington shares that view. Seigle notes that when a government expert was due to testify on this subject, it was arranged to publish a finding of the special foreign intelligence court in that morning's *New York Times* so that the expert could refer to it in his testimony!

But if the government had instant access to the media, the trial itself was blacked out almost completely. "It was an astounding thing in modern American history," says Barnes. "We had a big story on public radio the first day—then nothing. The reporter told us they just would not take anything more."

"The heart of their problem is the democratic illusions of American people, which do not exactly accord with the realities of executive power."

The press boycott was truly extraordinary. Twelve weeks of a trial which raises big constitutional issues, showing over and over again how the government tramples all over the democratic rights of American citizens—and all the national papers can manage is a token article when it opens and another when it ends.

Yet as Barnes points out, "it was a good story. That is why our rallies in different parts of the country got such good local coverage—big stories in the local press, radio interviews, and so on. But nationally: nothing."

'People understood the issue'

The response at those rallies also helps to explain why the media tried to shut out news of the trial. Says Seigle:

"When word began to get around the country about how we were forcing out the real issues of power in this society, it was amazing how many people grasped what was involved. It has not been written about, and yet people all over the country understand the issue."

Barnes, who has spoken for the SWP from the platform at a number of these rallies, expands on this aspect:

"We totally underestimated the example we were setting for the rest of the left. I have been amazed at the praise the party has come in for at these rallies. In cities from California to New York, people have said the same thing: we did not understand what you were doing, but now it has all become clear."

One reason for this is that the lawsuit, filed as long ago as 1973, finally came to trial just as the new Reagan administration was trying to beef up FBI and CIA powers through a new witch-hunt against "terrorist" sympathizers.

"The big difference with the 1940s and '50s," says Barnes, "is the resistance to this process. Our trial has coincided with the great-

est onslaught on democratic rights in a quarter of a century. This is at the center of the whole war drive."

"But American workers have been through too much in the last few years. They cannot face another Vietnam, another Watergate, another depression. Yet this is the ruling class package."

"Our case makes all the links. And that is what you feel in the rallies. In San Francisco, for instance, we had representatives of twenty-seven currents and organizations outside the SWP and YSA in attendance. And it was not just a question of solidarity. People came because they wanted to discuss how to fight against the threat of war, how to resist the cutbacks, etc."

"It is something different from anything we have ever been involved in before. There is a feeling of strength at the rallies; people feel comfortable about being there. There is a breadth to it that bursts out into the population at large in a funny way. People bring their friends, stay for a drink afterwards."

"It is not your average radical thing at all—it shows just what the extent of the resistance is. The rallies mostly have non-party chairpeople, non-party fundraisers. People are glad the SWP is there even if they are not about to join it."

Response within working class

Larry Seigle explains that the turn made by the party a few years ago to get a majority of its members into industrial jobs has a lot to do with the support it has been able to win around the lawsuit.

"We would not be anywhere with the case if we had not made such a turn. For instance, our comrades in the mines were able to win a big response from their co-workers during the recent strike—yet it is not part of the tradition of the union to support civil liberties cases. At the New York rally we had a local leader of the rail workers on the platform; but he would never have come across us if we had not been part of the fight in that industry against cutbacks and layoffs."

"Without our turn to industry we would be off in a corner. We would be unable to take up the concrete implications for the labor movement—things like the firing of our comrades at Lockheed simply because they happen to be socialists. Having local union officials speak at our rallies and be identified with the party on this question, having groups of co-workers attend—all this is new."

Adds Barnes: "We have found that co-workers will come to the suit rallies more than

they would to an antiwar action; it is a bigger response than you find around economic issues.

"And what they can see very clearly from the suit is the class questions involved. The fact that the Democrats and Republicans represent the same class interest; the bipartisan character of the whole onslaught from the very first memorandum from Roosevelt to Hoover in 1936. If ever there was a bipartisan onslaught it has been seen in this trial for twelve weeks. It goes so deep it bothers people.

"They are more receptive to arguments that working people need their own party—a labor party. That sort of development fits in anyway with the general pressures they are under, particularly the state of the economy. And of course they can see what is going on in the British Labour Party, and the victory of the Socialist Party in France."

Resistance of American people to war

The international context was an important aspect of the trial. As longtime SWP leader Farrell Dobbs explained in court, you cannot have democratic rights at home while imperialist war is being waged abroad.

The whole suit was evidence of that. Government efforts to burgle SWP and YSA premises, open their mail, tap their phones, bug their meeting rooms, and plant agents in their ranks were massively stepped up with the Trotskyists' support for the Cuban revolution against the imperialist blockade, followed by their leading role in the movement against the Vietnam war.

But today the situation is different. Jack Barnes explains:

"Antiwar sentiment today runs deeper and broader than it did when the Vietnam war began. The impact of Vietnam has brought about a growing moral crisis—a deepgoing sense of horror which you can sense in the support for

the veterans' protests, for instance. Working people feel that it was they as a class who had to fight and suffer in Vietnam—and for what?

"That is why Reagan is so powerless to intervene decisively in El Salvador. What would happen when the first American body was brought back from El Salvador? The whole country would see Vietnam all over again. All the technology in the world can't save El Salvador for U.S. imperialism today. And that has to do with the resistance of the American people.

"This whole international situation really starts people thinking. The opposition in Europe to nuclear weapons is an example. People in Utah, where the MX system is due to be built, understand why people in The Hague don't want missiles stationed there.

"Thatcher and Reagan are seen as part of the same package—sort of a marriage of inconvenience. So people begin to feel an identification with the opposition to Thatcher, what is going on in the Labour Party. Then they see the victory of Mitterrand, what they see as a socialist government. It makes American workers think. Today the kind of socialist propaganda we are putting out goes with the grain in the United States as it never did in the 1950s."

What next?

Now that the trial is over, what happens next? Both sides are now working on written briefs summarizing their arguments in the trial, with the judge's ruling expected late this year or early in 1982. But as always, what goes on in court is only a small part of the process.

"This case did not finish with the trial at all," says Barnes. "The information we forced out is of immense value to the entire labor movement, to the Black movement, to the women's movement. We have to get as much

as possible of that stuff out during the briefing period. Right now we are discussing the best way of publishing the material—in the *Militant*, pamphlets, bulletins.

"The *Militant* is key to all this. After all, it is the paper where people can read every week about these big issues. So for one thing we will be launching a big subscription drive.

"Then there are a whole series of related cases coming up, cases which focus on particular aspects of this struggle for democratic rights. Like the Lockheed case Larry mentioned; and there is now another case in Cincinnati where the firing of two SWP members has been upheld because it is alleged that their presence in the plant would cause unrest! These are cases where the right to hold and express socialist views in the workplace is being challenged.

"Then there are also the current appeals against deportation by Héctor Marroquín [a Mexican] and Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh [an Iranian student]. We contend that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is trying to deport them because of their membership in the SWP and YSA. After all, the shah did not face any such problems!

"Then in the fall, we will be trying to build big rallies to draw the lessons of the case and link up with other cases, such as the jailed trade unionists who were the victims of an FBI frame-up at the NASSCO shipyard in San Diego. We are looking back now on an eight-year period since the suit was filed. So we have an opportunity to retell the whole story of this fight.

"This trial has put us in a great position to drive for a united front in defense of democratic rights, on the war question, against attacks on living conditions. And that is what we intend to do." □

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Tory government in a tailspin

Youth rebellions pose need for Labour alternative

By Brian Grogan

LONDON—During the month of July, Britain's major cities witnessed large scale rebellions against the Tory government of Margaret Thatcher.

The youth, in scenes reminiscent of those in Northern Ireland, have thrown stones and petrol bombs at the police; created temporary "no go" areas and built barricades; and helped themselves to a variety of consumer goods, mainly from the large chain stores. Aside from the General Strike in 1926, these rebellions represent the biggest elemental outburst since the time of the Chartist movement over 100 years ago.

The scale, persistence and generalized character of these rebellions has sent the Tory government into a spin. As the world's television screens have testified, these were not the work of a small group of "agitators," but mass rebellions.

The Tory response has been to contemptuously dismiss the call to reverse their social-expenditure cuts and wildly deflationary economic policies. Instead, they have extended police repression.

In a July 14 statement to the House of Commons on the morrow of the first wave of rebellions, Thatcher snarled at the meek questioning by the Labour Party opposition: "This is no time for detailed analysis—we have a problem. We are not going to be able to deal in practice with the economic and social aspects of it until law is restored and seen to be restored."

Then, to the astonishment of even her own Cabinet colleagues, Thatcher went on television to deny that her policies, particularly the deliberate promotion of mass unemployment, had anything to do with the rebellion.

In line with this preposterous view, Tory ministers have located the essence of the matter in the lack of "parental discipline." In pursuit of reinforcing this discipline, they have sanctioned the use of water cannon, CS tear gas and plastic bullets not used previously outside British-occupied Northern Ireland.

Mass arrests

The police have taken the bit between their teeth. In the week prior to July 13, 2,554 young people were arrested. Each day brings a new crop of arrests either in the course of further outbreaks or as a result of police raids. Home Secretary William Whitelaw has turned over an army camp to house the large numbers which are being given prison sentences.

In a move which illustrates how the Irish war is being used against the working class in Britain, several senior British police officers

have been rushed to Northern Ireland for on-the-spot briefings about the use of repressive street tactics. Meanwhile, in a number of cities, specially trained and equipped police squads have been let loose to terrorize the youth.

In the Toxteth area of Liverpool on July 27, a youth who the police claimed was throwing stones was deliberately knocked down by a police van and killed. In addition, police have used the pretext of what they call "looting" to stage intimidating raids.

On the evening of July 11, several hundred police officers staged a raid in the largely Black neighborhood of Brixton in south London, one of the centers of the rebellions. On the pretext of searching for "petrol bombs," the police virtually destroyed the eleven houses that they broke into. Needless to say no such bombs were found.

John Fraser, the local Labour member of Parliament, described what he saw in a speech to the House of Commons: "I went to five shops and three houses in the Railton Road in Brixton. I was aghast and stupefied by what I saw. . . . When I looked inside the properties, the degree of damage was beyond comprehension. . . . as regards two houses, I could come to no conclusion other than that a large number of policemen had deliberately set out to wreck the houses to make them uninhabitable by taking up floor boards, breaking water pipes, removing gas and electricity meters, hand rails and bannisters, and smashing almost every window."

Not surprisingly, the immediate cause of the rebellions in most places was the history of police repression and its recent intensification. Especially important in these rebellions is the developing unity between Black and white youth.

To be sure, one of the immediate causes of the rebellion in the west London area of Southall was the invasion of the community by several hundred white "skinheads"—supporters of fascist organizations—and the protection they received from the police. But the actual course of the youth rebellion has been to present a different road—one of Black and white unity. Indeed, in many areas, especially the Toxteth area of Liverpool, we have seen the first army of Black and white soldiers with Black generals.

Escalating youth unemployment

The main factor behind the rebellions is, of course, the rapidly escalating social and economic crisis now hitting British society—a crisis which the Tory government has done everything in its power to exacerbate.

The international capitalist recession has gone deeper in Britain than any other advanced capitalist country. [See "The Economic Disaster in Britain," *Intercontinental Press*, June 1, page 590.] There is as yet no sign that the bottom has been reached. Industrial production in June showed a further decline of 0.7%.

Unemployment in July was officially over 2.8 million—some 12% of the total workforce. In the ghettos, the figures are of course much higher. In Toxteth, according to the July 7 London *Guardian*, white unemployment is 43% and Black unemployment is 47%. More than 60% of Black youth there are estimated to be unemployed.

Similarly in the Brixton area of London, where three-quarters of the inhabitants are Black, unemployment has been estimated to be 19%; and over 50% among Black youth. This compares with the average for the whole London area of 7.5% (*London Times* May 14, 1981).

But a catastrophic situation faces all youth. In January of this year, one-third of all those unemployed were below the age of 25, that is, 931,000 jobless young people. The rate of increase has been accelerating. In 1980, youth unemployment increased by 70%, and has gotten worse in the first half of 1981.

Unemployment among those who just left school is reaching catastrophic proportions. Between May and June, the figures leapt from 100,000 to 214,000. Another 70,000 joined them in July. Moreover, this underestimates the situation as many young people have not yet registered for work because of the newly introduced Tory rules which deny school leavers any unemployment benefit till September.

This horrendous unemployment situation combines with the effect of massive spending cuts on housing, community services, and education. Unemployment and social security benefits have also been scaled down and made more difficult to obtain.

Added to this has been the growing intensity of police repression against youth and, in the case of Black people, the additional problem of fascist attacks.

Deepening polarization

Bad social and economic conditions do not always lead to rebellion. Lying behind the extent and scope of the reaction of the youth is their refusal to accept that this has to be their lot. They refuse to accept that the actions of this viciously right-wing government are legitimate.

In this respect the youth stand on the shoulders of their parents, who despite the ferocity of the assault by this Tory government,

have not been defeated. The rebellions have therefore deepened the crisis of the Tory government. The much vaunted intransigence of the "Iron Lady" is being shown up as an inflexible course which threatens political suicide.

Thatcher's monetarism—that is, her policy of using mass unemployment to break the back of the organized workers movement—needed quick results. This was not achieved.

The recession in Britain has been deliberately deepened and prolonged to such an extent that the economic situation is threatening to get out of control and go into a tail spin. For several months, the bosses who share her overall strategy have nonetheless been arguing for Thatcher to modify her rigid monetarist stance—and indeed in several unpublicized ways, she has been trying to comply.

But any across-the-board turn made in a context where this would appear to be in response to the pressure of the working class would represent a defeat not only for Thatcher, but for the whole ruling class drive to shift the burden of the crisis onto the working class.

At the same time, to let things go on as they are means storing up much bigger political problems. The July 25 issue of the *Economist* summed up the matter fairly accurately: "July's unemployment figures failed to reach the 3 million carefully threatened by the unemployment department; but hot riots now matter more than cold statistics. The Chancellor must find some way of reviving the economy without obviously reflation."

The need for such conjuring is pressing. The new wages round is almost upon us, yet the last one has not been settled. Thatcher has shown that in open struggle she has not even been able to clearly defeat the white-collar civil servants. This is aside from her humiliating defeat by the miners in March, after which she so badly needed a victory to restore her battered image. [See "How miners beat back Tory offensive," *IP*, June 29, page 690.]

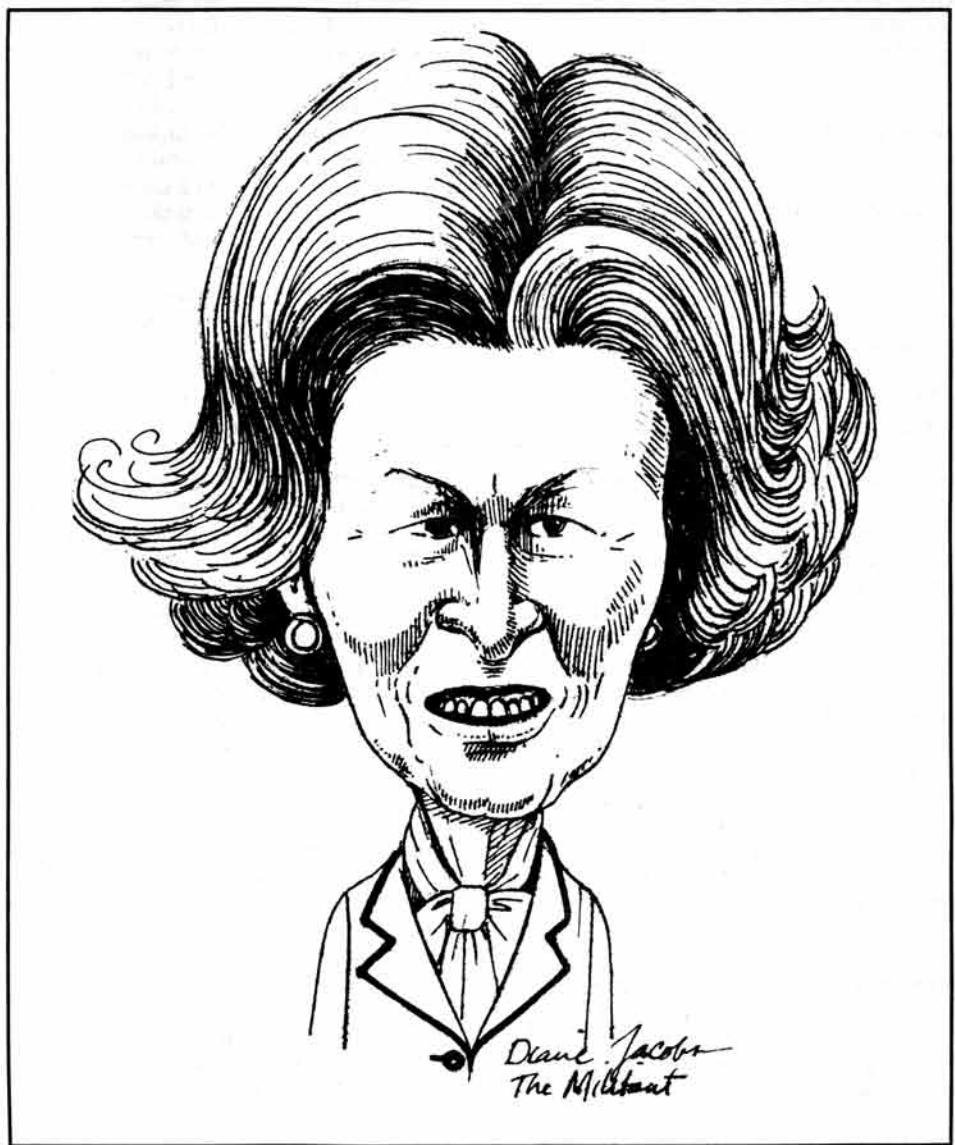
Yet, on the basis of a certain success in the private sector—where the sheer weight of unemployment has kept wage rises down below 10%—Thatcher has projected a maximum 5% figure for the next wages round. This in face of a rate of inflation which has no chance of going below the 11.3% chalked up in July.

What the youth rebellion has shown is that the mood in the working class is changing. One important sign of this is the throwing down of a gauntlet to Thatcher by the miners at their recent national conference. By an overwhelming majority, they demanded a wage increase which amounts to 25%.

This demand was seen as a direct challenge to Thatcher's economic policy.

So, to avoid appearing weak, Thatcher has refused all appeals to put money into the inner city areas. She has relied almost exclusively on repression.

A sign of the regime's intent on this front is the appointment of Environment Minister Michael "Tarzan" Heseltine to head up a government investigation team into the so-called riots. Heseltine has been instrumental in impos-



MARGARET THATCHER

ing cuts in local government finances and imposing vindictive financial punishment on councils which "overspend." His first insulting words on arriving in Liverpool to begin a two-week investigative stay was that he had not come "with a crock of gold."

Electoral disaster for Tories

Such a course is political suicide. In a recent parliamentary by-election in Warrington, a town close to Liverpool, the Tory vote was cut from 29% to 7%. To be sure, the main beneficiary of this Tory loss of votes was the press-created Social Democratic Party (SDP), a right-wing split from the Labour Party.

At the same time, 12% of the Social Democratic votes came from Labour. This reflects the fact that a certain more backward layer of workers would prefer not to have to take sides in the developing polarization in British society. The SDP seems to present a moderate "middle way."

Moreover, the thoroughly timid way in

which Labour responded to the rebellions didn't inspire much confidence. As a result some working people were frightened by the form which the rebellions took.

But the extent of the press attention to the SDP "miracle" should not be allowed to obscure the catastrophe that this election represents for the Tories.

Warrington was just one indication of the hesitancy with which British workers have approached the rebellions. There has been little immediate support from the mass of workers. This is little wonder given the stance of the official leadership of the labor movement.

To be sure, the Labour Party's parliamentary leadership opposed some of the most outrageous proposals of the Tories, such as the sanctioning of the use of water cannon, CS gas, and plastic bullets. But they have generally joined the Tory chorus against the "break-down of law and order" and the need to restore it.

They have generally rejected, therefore, the

call for the labor movement to investigate the role of the police, and the demand for the disbanding of the Special Patrol Groups.

Left-wing leaders of the Labour Party have, however, struck a different note. Tony Benn, in a message sent from his sick bed to a meeting of the left-wing Labour Coordinating Committee on July 18, noted that "rioting was not the road to social progress" but went on to warn of an increasingly authoritarian state whose mailed fist was manifest in a policy of "transforming the police into temporary armies of occupation in the areas where the trouble has occurred."

This general point was echoed by Arthur Scargill, president of the militant Yorkshire miners and favorite for the national union presidency in the upcoming elections. He warned that Britain was "on the verge of a totalitarian society" and explained that the root cause of the rebellions was "the rotten capitalist system" which has to be replaced.

More intransigently yet, Ken Livingstone, left-wing leader of the Greater London Council, fully supported the youth in both Brixton and Southall. He explained they were "fighting for their liberation."

Militants in the various defense committees which are now springing up, as well as in the unions and the Labour Party, have been translating this sentiment into demands for a complete amnesty for all those arrested and for the labor movement to initiate its own enquiry into the behavior of the police.

These demands are likely to get a more and more sympathetic ear inside the working class as the situation unfolds. Initially, opinion polls indicated that a large majority of British workers supported more police action. But as the police go on the rampage like in Brixton and in Toxteth, and as the facts of the extent of police actions during the rebellions comes out, this sentiment is rapidly changing. Now there is very strong support for the dismissal of the police chiefs not only in Liverpool, after the murder of one of the youth, but also of the chief police commissioner himself.

This changing attitude coincides with the generalized appreciation that the root cause of the problem is unemployment and that it is the Tory government that is responsible for that. The potential exists, therefore, for the upsurge of youth to spur the developing confrontation of the working class with the Tory government.

The Irish war comes home

The youth rebellion has also contributed to bringing another issue to the center of British politics. It is quite clear that the youth, without yet consciously identifying with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Irish people as such, have picked up and been inspired by the methods of struggle of Irish youth. This is the first step to actually solidarizing with the Irish struggle.

It is now clear that the determination and mass character of the mobilizations of the oppressed Catholic population in Northern Ireland in the face of Thatcher's murderous poli-

cies towards the hunger strikers, has struck a major body-blow against the traditional Tory/Labour bipartisan policy towards Ireland.

Already Tony Benn has issued a call for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. Although Benn coupled this demand with the idea of replacing them with a United Nations force, his call nonetheless puts the responsibility for the problem of Ireland onto the British government.

More recently still, the Labour Party National Executive Committee (NEC) has adopted a policy which advances the long-term goal of British policy as that of Irish unification. This policy leaves even more to be desired than the position of Tony Benn and it is likely to be challenged strongly from the left at the upcoming Labour Party conference where it will be a central issue of debate. Even as it stands, however, such a call by the Labour Party undercuts the real policy of the ruling class towards Ireland. It will reinforce the sentiment of the 67% of the British people reportedly favoring British withdrawal.

These developments, together with the growing international isolation of Thatcher on her Irish policy, feeds into and exacerbates the general political crisis of the Tory government.

Bring down the Tories!

Socialists have a vital role to play in ensuring that the labor movement reaches out to the youth in revolt. This not only means defending the youth against Tory repression, but also organizing them and fighting for an alternative to what the Tories are proposing.

James Prior, the misnamed Tory Employment Secretary, has been presented by the press as having fought a major battle in the Cabinet to expand the Youth Opportunities Scheme (YOPS), a program for giving a few months work experience and training to young school leavers. His great victory will be worth the magnificent sum of £90 million this year!

This program is merely cosmetic. The Tory's real answer to the situation is to try to use the hiring of youth to drive down the level of wages and weaken the organization of the working class. This nasty scheme has been thought up by Thatcher's "free market" economic adviser Alan Walters. His proposal is to give a £15 subsidy to any employer that hires a young worker so long as it is below the established union rates and below a maximum of £40 per week—about 1/3 of the average wage.

The present alternative proposals of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) to meet the crisis are woefully inadequate. They have fully endorsed the Youth Opportunities Scheme fraud. After the first rebellions, Len Murray, general secretary of the TUC, proposed an immediate cash injection of £500 million.

Of course any cash injection is to be welcomed. But when the "margin of error" built into the budget projections for government borrowing is £3 to £4 billion and when the government has slashed twice that amount off public spending since it came into office, such a proposal pales into insignificance. Only a

massive program of useful public works would even be able to scratch the surface of unemployment.

But this can only be an emergency first step. The movement needs policies that can unite it nationally and to which the next Labour government must be committed to implementing. Such policies are not forthcoming from the official leadership at the present time. On July 4, at the last major Labour Party demonstration, Labour leader Michael Foot advanced a three-point program: to cut workers' taxes, massively increase public expenditure, and step up investment in the nationalized industries.

These measures would be greatly welcomed by working people. But before workers will be prepared to get on board the next Labour government train with any enthusiasm, they need to know where the Labour government is aiming to go. The working class had an experience with the last Labour government which workers plainly do not want to see repeated. So any proposals about what the next Labour government will implement have to be completely severed from talk about a "new social contract" (which is just another formula for austerity). Instead what we need are proposals for taking decisive measures to control the banks and the finance houses and taking over the commanding heights of the economy.

If workers and youth could see this as the goal of the next Labour government, if they were mobilized to get rid of the Tory government now, then the youth would become the shock troops against this rotten system. □

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'We are creating a new society'

Tomás Borge speaks on anniversary of Nicaraguan revolution

[The following speech was given July 19, 1981, by Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge. He was speaking to a crowd of 500,000 in Managua, Nicaragua, celebrating the second anniversary of the Sandinista revolution and the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

[The text appeared in the July 20 issue of the FSLN daily *Barricada*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Compañeros of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front,

Compañeros of the Government of National Reconstruction,

Special guests,

Heroic people of Nicaragua,

There is an immense multitude gathered here today—not to speak of the hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans who couldn't make it to this plaza for lack of transportation.

We should pay warm and heartfelt tribute to the discipline and heroism of our people. Since two o'clock this morning, endless streams of men and women have been pouring towards the 19th of July Plaza along all the highways. [Applause]

We should also take note of the sacrifice and heroism of the 30,000 Nicaraguans, members of the mass organizations and the armed forces, who are standing watch on the four sides of the city. [Applause]

They can't be here for this rally. They can't even watch it on television. But they undoubtedly share the excitement and happiness all of you feel at seeing the hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans who have come here to support the revolution and the measures it has taken. [Applause]

And this immense crowd has also come to pay tribute, not to those of us who survived the struggle and have the good fortune to be able to see the glorious victory, but to those who died, those who shed their blood to make this wonderful anniversary possible.

And what do these two anniversaries mean? In both cases it means the beginning of a new stage. The people who began this struggle never thought about the honors they might receive on a day like today.

They only thought about the urgency of their revolutionary duty. But they would not have been astonished at the idea of this huge rally, because they always had faith in the future, an unshakeable confidence in victory.

In July of 1961, fellow Nicaraguans, a course was begun that broke like a storm in July of 1979. July of 1961 is the first glimmer of

a new idea that was justified and realized in July of 1979.

Both dates fulfill the promise Sandino made when he said "I swear before our homeland and before history that my sword will defend the national honor and that it will mean victory for the oppressed."

In July of 1961, the sword of Sandino was unsheathed, and in July of 1979 the promise about victory for the oppressed was kept.

This sword is still unsheathed for cutting off the heads of the revolution's enemies. [Applause]

Twenty years ago, when a group of people returned to Sandino's road of struggle, they did not foresee the magnitude the revolution would assume. Now the present generations understand what this process means, but it will take future generations to comprehend fully

The people who began this struggle never thought about the honors they might receive on a day like today . . .

the heroism of the founders. Future generations will be the ones to understand the sacrifice, the courage, and the strength of past generations, and of the current generation of Nicaraguans.

When the Sandinista National Liberation Front was founded, the exploiting classes represented by the Somoza dynasty had closed off all possibility of a peaceful struggle. The time had come to take up once again the rifles of Sandino. Some people had already done it: the proud old white-bearded Raudales, Diaz, the journalist Sotelo, a farmer named Carlos Haslam, and many others.

The FSLN was, in the last analysis, the coming together of individual guerrilla fighters of that era. It was a union of different ideological and political ideas. It was a synthesis, as we have said before, of a whole history of heroic struggles, which began in the colonial period and broke like lightning bolts in the new epoch that opened up in 1821, which lying historians falsely call independence.

Don't worry, we are not going to tell the history of Nicaragua here, not even in broad outline. The history of our people, which is often distorted or unknown, is a heroic one. We just want to point out that July 1961 was the beginning of a definitive effort to take on not only the bloody dictatorship but also to break in a million pieces the heavy chains that tied us to

Yankee imperialism. [Applause]

The conditions under which the FSLN was founded were incredibly difficult and painful. They never stopped being difficult and painful. These were hardships and pain that our whole people was going through. What was special about those founders, who were considered mistaken and even crazy at the time, was that they had a sense of history. That they never gave up in the face of hardships and danger. That they started with nothing, with no money, no arms, no experience, no reputation.

What set them apart was that they had boundless faith in the people, that they were aggressive, brave, endlessly patient, and absolutely sure they would win in the end. They were in the first crop, when there were very few people doing the planting. They accepted the risk of death, when there was no possibility of actually seeing the new day in the immediate future.

They made the birth of the vanguard possible, they made the birth of the Sandinista National Liberation Front possible. [Applause]

And obviously when we talk about the FSLN, we are not talking about something that is just a political party. We're not talking simply about an armed organization. We are talking about a historic response. We are talking about the indivisible reality of the FSLN and the Nicaraguan people.

As long as this people is militant and proud, as long as this people is made up of heroic workers, as long as the workers and peasants and all revolutionaries are ready to defend the national sovereignty arms in hand, as long as there are Nicaraguans who love the land where they were born, as long as this people exists, the FSLN will continue to exist. [Applause]

For this reason, all the efforts of those who were born in Nicaragua but now want to go back to the past, of the bootlickers of the Yankees, will fail. They will never be able to separate the people from their vanguard.

For the same reason, when the masses express their desires—and also their dissatisfactions—the FSLN, which is their highest form of organization, makes these desires and dissatisfactions its own, makes them part of its revolutionary action.

That's why we say that the measures Daniel [Ortega] announced today were not pulled out of a magician's hat, but instead were the result of your struggle, the struggle of the great popular masses. [Applause. See *Intercontinental Press*, August 3, page 802.]

The masses put forward their demands. The FSLN processes and synthesizes these demands and returns them in the form of concrete tasks that the masses, using their inexhaustible



Part of rally of 500,000 in Managua, July 19.

Arnold Weissberg/IP

creative capacity, put into practice.

And when we talk about the masses, we are not talking about some vague accumulation of individuals, but rather of a consciously organized population. It is impossible to build up your revolutionary power without both the quantitative and qualitative development of the popular organizations. Unless the working class generates and carries through these changes, the revolution will stagnate and rot. In other words, it will stop being a revolution.

The masses themselves must always—now and in the future—speak up in a loud clear voice on their own behalf. They must develop ways of participating and taking initiatives. The FSLN knows that the Nicaraguan people fortunately are not the mindless herd that the enemies of the revolution have tried to portray them as.

The sons and daughters of this country are not robots, not mannequins. This is a population every day more conscious, more audacious, and more creative. With this heroic population, we will make it to our goal, we will go all the way. With this heroic population that understands the world around it more clearly every day, it will be easier to come up with the right answers to the questions the revolution poses.

If the leaders of this revolution want to resolve the enormous and complicated economic problems that Daniel talked about, the problems of defense, of health, of education, then we will have to turn to the masses, to make ourselves one with the masses. There are no

mathematical formulas or brilliant theories we can use to solve the problems that present themselves as the revolution unfolds. There is only one answer, only one response—the impressive power of the masses, free from bureaucratic shackles, devoting themselves to the daily tasks of rebuilding the country. [Applause]

And the whole world, both our friends and our enemies, knows what this heroic people is capable of. Sandino was the one who showed the way in defending our national honor. And who were Sandino's followers? The same people who made this revolution, who are now making concessions to the classes that were finally thrown out of power in Nicaragua, after ruling for centuries. [Applause]

And these are real concessions besides. For example, the businessmen have been given incentives to produce, and it was correct for this

Unless the working class generates and carries through these changes, the revolution will stagnate and rot . . .

to be done. They were given all kinds of help and access to financial credit, and they will continue to get help in order to produce. But everybody should know that as of July 19, the day of our victory, their access to political

credit is closed off. That road is closed to them, because power is now in the hands of all the descendants of Sandino's rag-tag army, of the barefoot soldiers, of the revolutionaries, of those who hunger and thirst for a justice that has been denied them since the beginning of our history. [Applause]

And we are going to defend this power with the slingshot of David, except that in this slingshot we have, not a pebble, but rifle and cannon rounds. [Applause]

And the brand of these rifles and cannons is not important. Whatever label they have on them, wherever they come from, we don't have to explain to anybody where we got these weapons, these rifles, these cannons. They are to defend our revolution and our people. [Big applause]

And where is this slingshot of David? In other words, who is in control of these rifles, these cannons? The militia members in their numerous battalions, which are sufficient to defend our homeland. They have the same boldness and determination that Sandino did, but their arms are better than those of our legendary guerrilla, our General of Free Men. Now it is the people who have the cannons, it is the people who have the tanks, it is the people now who have the rifles. And anybody who wants to fight against Nicaragua has to fight against this historic people, against this heroic and brave people. [Applause]

We hate war, and our National Directorate has repeated this many times. We haven't organized the defense of our revolution for the

purpose of conquering neighboring territories—or distant ones for that matter. We have done it in order to win peace. Our friends and neighbors can rest assured that this revolution was made in order to defend the land of our birth. [Applause]

You all saw how our soldiers, our police, our militia members, the fighters of the Ministry of the Interior, the students, all went out to pick cotton. And Jaime [Wheelock] tells us that they were the most efficient workers in the cotton harvest. These fighters went out and sweated in the fields. And that's natural, because we are in the sweat business, not the blood business. We would rather spill our

This revolution transcends national boundaries . . .

sweat in the fields and factories than spill our blood in the trenches. But there should not be the slightest doubt that these same men and women who went out to clean up the cotton fields, are equally prepared to clean out the counterrevolutionary rats wherever they show their faces in our country. [Applause]

Our people have an aptitude for peace, but we also have an aptitude for defense. It is very important for the enemies of our revolution to understand this, and if they have forgotten, we'd be glad to remind them about our history. And if any of them think they are up against a weak and divided government, we want to make clear to them that this is the strongest and most united government Nicaragua has ever had. The leadership of this revolution is a strong and united leadership, strong because it is a government of the people, strong because the government has the arms, and strong because of the rightness of its power and the power of its rightness. [Applause]

The whole world has its eyes on Nicaragua. Our friends and our enemies alike are watching us and respect us besides. Nicaragua has already ceased to be an unknown place on the world map. Yesterday, Modesto [Henry Ruiz] told us that when he was in Europe someone was trying to check out where Nicaragua was, and by chance a fly landed on the map, and they said, "that's Nicaragua." But Nicaragua is no longer unknown, now it is part of the wave of revolutions in our era. It is a country with great moral authority, not only in Central America, not only in Latin America, but in the whole world. We are proud to be Nicaraguans. This revolution transcends national boundaries.

Our revolution has always been internationalist, ever since Sandino fought in the Segovias. There were internationalists from all over the world who fought alongside Sandino, men from Venezuela, Mexico, Peru. Another who fought alongside Sandino was the great hero of the Salvadoran people named Farabundo Martí. [Applause]

It is not strange that we are internationalists, because this is something we got from Sandi-

no. All the revolutionaries and all the peoples of Latin America especially know that our people's heart is with them, beats alongside theirs. Our heart goes out to Latin America, and we also know that Latin America's heart goes out to the Nicaraguan revolution. This does not mean that we export our revolution. It is enough—and we couldn't do otherwise—for us to export our example, the example of the courage, sensitivity, and determination of our people.

How could we not be upset about the injustices that are committed in different parts of the world? But we know that it is the people themselves of these countries who must make their revolutions, and we know that by advancing our revolution we are also helping our brothers and sisters in the rest of Latin America. We know what is resting on our revolution—not only the aspirations of our people, but also the hopes of all the dispossessed of Latin America. This carries with it enormous responsibility, because as we have said before and repeat today, our internationalism is primarily expressed in consolidating our own revolution, working selflessly day in and day out and training ourselves militarily to defend our homeland.

And this is a big responsibility, a very big responsibility, because it is extremely hard to transform a society. I'm not going to go over the destruction, the looting of Nicaragua. Our country will demand from us more effort, harder work, more sacrifice in the future. Carrying forward the revolutionary process is harder, much harder, than the war itself. Because it involves a war against the misery of the exploited classes, a war against the misery that the exploiting classes have converted into a fact of life.

So we see that while we're in the process of dealing with one problem, ten new ones come up. Sometimes we lose battles and sometimes we win battles in rebuilding the country. But of course what is important is the direction we are moving in, the meaning of what we are doing, and the things we accomplish. Our errors can be corrected, but what is lasting are the revolutionary transformations.

We are creating a new society in which an individual is not a piece of merchandise, a society in which there are no wolves and lambs, where men do not live off the exploitation of other men. We are struggling to create a society in which the workers are the fundamental power driving things forward, but in which other social sectors also play a role, always insofar as they identify with the interests of the country, with the interests of the great majority.

The measures the Government of National Reconstruction has announced today are a step forward in the process of transformation demanded by the working class. But it is not possible to move forward without cutting into the interests of the selfish classes. So nobody should be surprised that these sectors are attacking the revolution. Even if it is true that not everyone in these classes is trapped in the web

of selfishness or completely possessed by the demon of prejudice, nevertheless it is a fact that a big part of them have no interest whatsoever in changing the rotten structures of the past. For this reason, the revolutionary measures that are being taken provoke fury and insecurity in some sections of the minority class. They say the mixed economy is dead, that there is no more political pluralism. We repeat what our brother Daniel said here today: the revolutionary process is going to continue moving forward. Honest and patriotic employers and businessmen not only have the right to join in the tasks of production, but they will have the support of the revolution in doing so. In the same sense, we can speak of political pluralism, a mixed economy, and national unity—but always within the framework established by the revolution, not against the revolution.

A mixed economy, pluralism, unity, not to wipe out or weaken the revolution but to strengthen it. Not to destabilize, but to stabilize. Not to bad-mouth the revolution and stab it in the back with disgusting lies, as is happening every day, but to criticize with respect for the truth.

This is the sense in which the revolution has put forward the strategy of a mixed economy, so that the gentlemen of the business community can produce, for their own benefit but also to contribute to raising production in the country. But what has happened? We have to repeat what our brother Daniel has said.

There are a few patriotic businessmen who have understood what the new rules of the game are, learned the new laws of political arithmetic, and have adopted an honest and constructive attitude. But there are many others, the unpatriotic businessmen, who have re-

All the revolutionaries and all the peoples of Latin America especially know that our people's heart is with them . . .

fused to pitch in with the tasks of wiping out backwardness and poverty and taking up the challenge our economic difficulties present.

They have had a hundred years of chances, historically speaking. And we have to admit that they have accomplished some things, but always to enrich themselves at the expense of the workers' sweat. Every drop of proletarian sweat, and sometimes every drop of blood, was transformed through the businessmen's famous efficiency into luxurious wealth, all of it destined for their strong boxes.

What have these unpatriotic elements done for Nicaragua? They made it into a rubbish heap, into a lake of blood, into a valley of tears. Because they didn't teach the people to read and write. Because they did nothing for the health of the people. Because they took this country which because of its natural resources

should by right have been a paradise and kept it backward and miserably poor.

Now the top representatives of this unpatriotic bourgeoisie demand that we rebuild immediately what it took them a hundred years to destroy.

Who decapitalized the country? Who assassinated Sanino and celebrated in an orgy of champagne and blood? Who made fabulous deals with the tyranny? Who made contribu-

We are creating a new society in which an individual is not a piece of merchandise, a society where men do not live off the exploitation of other men . . .

tions under the table to Somoza's election campaigns? ["The bourgeoisie," the crowd responds]

Who grabbed up the peasants' land and has kept the workers under the yoke of oppression? ["The bourgeoisie"]

Who called our wonderful literacy campaign indoctrination?

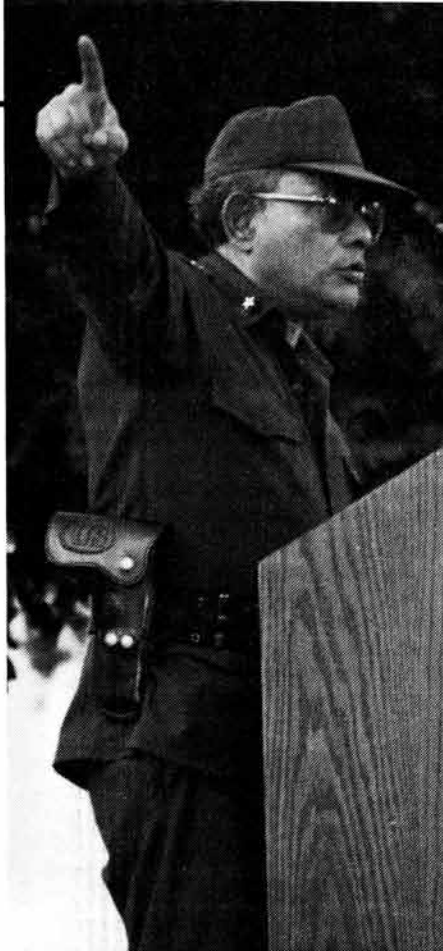
Who chimed in and still chime in with the crude anticommunist campaigns of Somoza, Pinochet, Stroessner, and all the rest of the gorilla animal life of Latin America and the CIA? Who slandered the revolution and who abuses the mass organizations with disgusting epithets? ["The bourgeoisie"]

Who asks for advice and takes orders from the representatives of the empire, of the same empire that tried to enslave our country, sowing death, destruction, and humiliation? ["The bourgeoisie"]

It was not you workers and peasants. You weren't the ones who decapitalized the country. You weren't the ones who went and stood at the door of the American embassy to ask permission for what you were going to do. And if it wasn't you, then who is it, who was it, who has it always been? Who are the traitors, the capitulators, the false prophets? ["The bourgeoisie"]

Sure there are good administrators within the bourgeoisie, there's no doubt about that. Unfortunately—and this happens in every revolution—the big majority of the guerrillas who won the war were of worker and peasant background. They aren't administrators. They don't have masters degrees in economics. Many of them, like Germán Pomares, learned to read in the course of the struggle.

We should note that fortunately a certain number of intellectuals have thrown their lot in with the revolution, and now they are taking on some of the most difficult and complex areas of state administration. But it is still true that our revolution, like other revolutions, has a very big shortage of scientifically trained personnel. Within the bourgeoisie there are peo-



TOMÁS BORGE

Fred Murphy/IP

ple who were trained in famous universities. But the contradiction is that the people who were in the trenches and in the mountains were not the gentlemen with the Harvard educations but the illiterate workers and peasants.

Could we put a competent businessman in charge of a strategic area? Sure we could, why not? But could we ever put in charge of a strategic area a businessman who literally hates the revolution? We'd rather give the job to—as Modesto would say—a country bumpkin, because at least he could learn the job over time and would be inclined to give his energy and his life to the revolution.

In the same sense in which we acknowledge that there are patriotic businessmen, we also recognize the support that technicians have given. Because a lot of them—at least within the context of the small number that exist in Nicaragua—have assumed a patriotic exemplary stance.

Professionals and technicians can play a leading role in the wonderful task of constructing a beautiful future. Technicians should remember that their scientific training isn't worth anything if they lose their humanity and put their skills at the disposal of the enemies of our people.

As we've already said this morning, Nicaragua faces a difficult economic situation. I'm not going to go over again the destruction, the low level of planting in 1979, the brutal decapitalization—all of which has a lot of responsibility for this crisis. Another factor which must

be considered is our objective dependency on our traditional markets. But there's another thing, and we should say it again, and that's the errors we have committed, especially as a result of our inexperience.

It has been said that politics is a distillation of economics. So it is not surprising that a lot of the political and ideological problems we face turn up in the area of production, distribution, and consumption.

In other words, economic policy is basically the problem of power, and in order to take on the enemies of our people in the area of power we have to learn to consciously control the economy. This applies to all of us, the leaders of the revolution and the government, but not just to us. More than anything else it applies to the workers.

We have to grow up. We have to get over the adolescent phase of our revolution, in order to establish control over the anarchic tendencies of the market economy to which we are still tied by a thousand invisible threads.

The mass organizations have to take on the duty of keeping watch over the economy and letting the government know about instances of decapitalization, in accord with the new law against decapitalization that was announced just now.

The information that is gathered must be serious and objective, to avoid any possibility of injustice or subjectivism. But—and I want to emphasize this in the name of the National Directorate—the working class especially must respond with responsibility and with unity to the challenges history has given us. Without responsibility and without working class unity, everything is much more difficult and, we could say, impossible.

Absenteeism on the job and other forms of indiscipline objectively are antirevolutionary attitudes and in practice are decapitalization.

The Agrarian Reform Law must be seen in all its political dimensions. It was a measure of simple justice to turn the land over to the peasants. It is an agrarian reform law that benefits all the workers, not just the peasants, but im-

The mass organizations have to take on the duty of keeping watch over the economy . . .

mediately puts the peasants to work producing on idle lands, and rationalizes agricultural production.

We will eliminate the big landlords with this law, we will give the land to the peasants, we will improve the conditions of the small producer and also give guarantees to the medium producer because they also know how to be patriotic.

They also know they can help contribute to justice in the countryside. The happiness we get from this turning over of the land must be converted into organization, work, production.

Our revolution is carrying out a historic demand of the peasants, as Daniel said, and making a reality the happy dream of Pablo Ubeda, of Rigoberto Cruz, and Germán Pomares who shed their blood on the very same soil that the revolution is today giving to the dispossessed.

With the agrarian reform we feel in our hearts a joy similar to that written about in the Bible where it says "Let the sea and all the inhabitants contained in the world roar. Let the rivers applaud and be joined by the mountains in cries of joy," because the love of justice is not only a revolutionary sentiment, but also a sentiment deeply shared by the Christian people of Nicaragua.

And so we see that in our free Nicaragua there are hundreds of thousands of Christian revolutionaries, men and women who today rejoice over the news of the solution the Catholics have arrived at with the bishops. A solution based on dialogue and respect, that recognizes the principle of the right of revolutionary Catholics to work shoulder to shoulder with their people, in the construction of a new society. It gives us pleasure to see the maturity of the Church's leaders.

We were saying before that the errors will be rectified but that the revolutionary methods will remain. So let us talk a bit more of our errors, but not like in the confessional, where you receive absolution and then go on sinning.

Let us speak frankly before the people, as a healthy self-criticism, to correct errors, to rectify our course.

Something we must criticize, and Daniel has already mentioned this, but we want to talk about it a bit more: bureaucratism. We inherited more than destruction. We also inherited the destroyer, bureaucratism. Public functionaries in the past were educated with the conception that their special jobs were only marginal to political decisions.

But the public functionary is not only a specialist, but today must also make political decisions.

Unfortunately, there are a great many functionaries that don't take the approach of directly resolving problems by working directly with you, with the masses. The state apparatus must be simple, dynamic, efficient.

When we created the nationalized sector of the economy, when we began to make health care, education, and culture available to everyone, that was when the number of public employees began to increase, logically. However, I think that we have gone too far. We have not only increased the functions of public workers, but we have also increased the number, and now the bureaucracy is giving birth to more bureaucracy. And with more and more employees and functionaries the solution gets harder and harder. So begins the red tape. Everyone in a sea of red tape, memoranda, forms. I think that the bureaucracy grew so much that it would have done well to compete in the baseball leagues, because it was throwing us all so many curves, and I think that the bureaucrats would have won the championship

besides.

Sure, many of our problems can't be resolved because of objective problems, for instance the lack of material resources, but there are problems that don't get solved because of a lack of imagination. We have seen some incredible things in this regard.

Like the doctors, who have to register at the university, with the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Health, and I think also with the Public Registry of Persons.

Sometimes it takes three days and even thirty days to get your hands on a public document, thus wasting all that time. I even know of the case of a compañera, who went to ask for a leave of absence when she was seven months pregnant, and they told her to come back with a sworn statement that she was pregnant. The future mother said, look, compañero, I am completely certain that I am not just swollen up, that I don't have dropsy.

I think it is an unpostponable obligation to confront bureaucratism. But how do we do it? By linking ourselves to the masses. The administrative leaders in the government at all levels must go to the heart of the problems,

We inherited more than destruction. We also inherited the destroyer, bureaucratism . . .

where the conflicts are, must get to know the procedures, get out of their offices, and simplify things. And if the leaders do this, so must the workers.

We must also combat another vice we have inherited from the past—converting the easy into the difficult, of course. We are not against administrative controls. We are against uselessness, as we are against insolence and the bad manners with which our citizens are sometimes greeted in public offices when they go for information or service. Yes, in Somoza's time the haughty dominated, the arrogant, but now what we must have is simplicity, courtesy, and Sandinista respect.

On the other hand, I think we have been soft on the functionaries who have abused their trust. We are already planning, as Commander Ortega said here, a law to deal harshly with those who rob the public treasury, above all with those who are corrupt, who have stolen the people's resources.

It is certain that we still don't have sufficient controls. The comptroller general has undertaken major efforts to detect crimes against the public treasury, but it is now time to deal sharply with those criminals, who are the worst criminals, because they are not just robbing their neighbor, they are robbing the entire people.

For sure, the law that Daniel mentioned will have to be a draconian law, that can send criminals to prison for a long time, including up to the maximum. Jail those who rob even if it's

only a pin.

We still have compañeros in the armed forces and in other sectors and other organisms, although fortunately very few, who think that the uniform or the responsibility the revolution has given them puts them in the category of special citizen who can ignore traffic laws, not stand in line at the movies, give or receive recommendations, make scenes in clubs and amusement spots.

These compañeros either will correct their behavior or will forfeit the right to be known as Sandinistas.

We have spoken of austerity, but in many institutions so far it's just rhetoric. There are innumerable abuses, squandering of gasoline, which means squandering our foreign exchange earnings. Of course, for instance, we have the right to have a good time, to have our parties. If we want to have a party we have it, there's no problem, but it must be put on with simplicity and the prudence our poverty demands, the prudence demanded by our current problems and above all our revolutionary qualities.

In our offices we must economize on the use of paper, electricity, economize in every way possible. In every way possible, except work, effort, and sacrifice. Austerity must be for everybody, not just for the workers in the fields and in the cities, upon whom the weight of our economic difficulties has fallen up to now.

War to the death, then, against bureaucracy, free spending, pilferage, corruption, and abuses. Let us put an end to these evils, in order to give land to the peasants, to make the revolution, honor the memory of those who died, to end theft, crime, and corruption. That's what those generous, brave, and humble men we recall with such profound respect today gave their lives for. And how could we fail to recall our heroes? How could we fail to recall them on this glorious occasion? How can we not sense the eternal presence of Santos López, veteran fighter of Sandino's army, who, carrying with him the weight of the years, still had in his eyes the old gleam from the jungles of Segovia?

How could we fail to recall the indefatigable Faustino Ruiz, of whom it was once said that he never said a word that wasn't on the mark like an arrow in the heart? How could we fail to recall Jorge Navarro, who carried a knapsack full of joy, and a handful of grenades? How could we fail to recall Rigoberto Cruz, Pablo Ubeda, first in the hearts of the peasants? Francisco Buitrago, a student who knew many things, but never knew fatigue or dismay? How could we fail to recall, how could we fail to have a deeply felt remembrance of Germán Pomares, that intrepid forger of the dawn? Or José Benito Escobar, that worker whose trades were gunpowder and the people? How could we fail to recall Silvio Mayorga, who created a gentleness that was always at the side of every Sandinista? How could we fail to recall, with our hearts full of Nicaragua, Car-

los Fonseca, the firebrand lighting up the night?

It is right that we remember them. It is right that our people repeat, in the mountains and in the valleys, the names of these heroes. Let the animals in the jungle, the fishes in the rivers, hear them. Let their bombs burst like flowers on the faces of the children, so that their sacrifices may find an echo in the consciousness of the humble, of the exploited, whom they held so dear in their hearts. They and those who followed in their footsteps made possible the return of the flags and the return of hope. They

made possible this revolution of rifles and guitars, of audacious poems, of free peasants, of free workers, of a free people who took into their own hands for all time the reins of their historic destiny.

Honor and glory to these simple sons of our people, covered today with the respected and heroic black and red flag of the FSLN. With the same flag that rescued the blue and white flag of our homeland, which once was sold out by the traitors to their people. The blue and white flag, defended by the black and red, today wave sure of themselves, and with legiti-

mate pride in the middle of this violent rebirth, of anthems shouted in combat, of a generous and heroic people that at last is master of the sun, the rain, and the earth, where the bones of its heroes and dear martyrs are buried.

For those two flags: the flag of our homeland and the black and red flag of the FSLN, let us shout, Nicaraguans, long live the FSLN, long live the immortal pioneers of our revolution, long live the second anniversary of our victory, long live the agrarian reform, long live free Nicaragua.

Patria Libre! □

Iran

Socialists demand halt to executions

Repression by regime weakens anti-imperialist struggle

[The following article appeared in the July 5 issue of *Hemmat*, newsweekly of the Workers Unity Party (HVK). The HVK is one of three organizations in Iran affiliated with the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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In the last few eventful days, dozens of opponents of imperialism have been executed in Tehran and other cities. This has deeply pained the masses of workers and toilers, as many of those executed were militants who struggled for independence and liberty under the repressive Pahlavi regime.

Many were activists in political organizations opposed to the government, such as the Organization of People's Mujahedeen, Peykar, and People's Fedayeen (minority).

Government officials said that their crime was "armed insurrection against the Islamic Republic." But there is no evidence to back up this charge.

On the contrary, every time that specific charges were leveled against the accused, the court's evidence for the accusations was amazingly contradictory. For example, the specific reasons given for the executions were: having political leaflets, participating in demonstrations in support of [former president Abolhasan] Bani-Sadr, and membership in political organizations. "Armed insurrection against the Islamic Republic" was added to spice this up.

Moreover, the trials of these sacrificial lambs were very rushed. The court proceeded so quickly that some of the names of the executed had still not been made known to government officials. Those accused by the court were deprived of the right to counsel, denied the opportunity to defend themselves, and denied the possibility of presenting witnesses. Some of the executed were legal minors and were not included in the adult penal code.

The fact that some of the accused had been in prison during the recent events and were then executed in connection with them is another indication of the oppressive character of these executions. One of the victims was Saeed Soltanpour, a militant poet who actively opposed the Shah's regime and was kept in SAVAK's hellholes and tortured for this reason.

Immediately after the February insurrection, the firing squads were aimed at the hearts of the agents of imperialism—those who for half a century imposed a dynasty of exploitation and oppression on the people and threw workers, peasants, and anti-imperialist youth in prison and tortured and executed them.

But the experiences of the revolution have shown that the death penalty in capitalist society is only a means for the ruling capitalist class to crush the workers and toilers. In the time of [former Prime Minister Mehdi] Bazar-gan's government and ever since, a significant number of anti-imperialist militants have been executed with no adequate evidence being presented.

It is important to oppose this new wave of executions. Repressive measures and the latest wave of executions of political opponents of the current regime give more ammunition to the propaganda mill of imperialism and counterrevolution.

The imperialists and the reactionary Baghdad regime are trying, as never before, to make use of the government's repressive measures to neutralize all the revolution's accomplishments and isolate the revolution on a world scale. Through such propaganda, they are trying to lay the groundwork for their various interventions, such as a direct imperialist military intervention.

Organizations like Amnesty International have protested the wave of executions in Iran. The imperialists try to take advantage of this to

portray themselves as opponents of oppression and supporters of democracy and liberty, and thus gain room to maneuver for their inhuman activities.

The latest executions of anti-imperialist militants are thus in the interests of American imperialism.

Most workers and toilers are opposed to the latest executions. Such measures intensify discontent and disturbances in our society and hurt involvement in the decisive struggle against the Iraqi and imperialist invasion. These measures damage the revolution.

Agents of counterrevolution and those who favor dependence on imperialism take advantage of this discontent and disruption in our society to step up their counterrevolutionary activity. The unprecedented wave of terrorist and treacherous acts during the last week by agents tied to imperialism are an example of this.

In the current unstable situation—when the revolution is in the trenches of a resistance war against the invading Iraqi army and struggling on the internal front against imperialist terrorism—now, more than ever, each and every anti-imperialist militant, all the toilers organizations, and all the workers and peasants shoras [committees], must with one voice call for an immediate end to the executions of anti-imperialist militants.

Then our revolution can involve all the energy of the militant masses in the struggle against the real enemy of the revolution—the imperialists and the Iraqi regime. □

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