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Angola

Reagan Backs South African Invasion



South African armored car in Angola. Hundreds of Angolans and Namibians killed in largest invasion since 1975-76 war.

**Salvadoran
Junta Suffers
Diplomatic,
Military Blows**

**Grenada
Defies
U.S. Military
Threats**

**Polish Workers
Fight
for Control
of Factories**

Grenada defies U.S. threats

By Jim Percy

ST. GEORGE'S—"There is absolutely no doubt that the revolution today is in danger. There is absolutely no doubt that very careful rehearsals have taken place in the past week by the United States armed forces, rehearsals which undoubtedly represent a trial run for an invasion of our beloved homeland."

With these words Maurice Bishop, the prime minister of Grenada, began to explain the details and surrounding circumstances of a new provocation by the U.S. government against the Grenadian revolution. He was addressing a mass rally of thousands in the market square of St. George's, the capital of Grenada, on Sunday, August 23.

The rally—called initially to celebrate the birthday of Marcus Garvey, a fighter for Black liberation around the world who was born in Jamaica—became a platform for repudiation and defiance of the U.S. threats and a show of strength of the Grenadan revolution.

U.S. preparing invasion

In his speech to the rally, Maurice Bishop outlined the evidence that the U.S. was preparing an invasion of the island. He pointed out that over the past weeks the U.S. had conducted a large-scale military exercise on the island of Vieques, close to Puerto Rico. The exercise involved fourteen warships, 350 paratroopers, bombers, amphibious units, and contingents of marines—a force totaling nearly 10,000 troops.

But there were other factors that pointed to Grenada as the target of what was in effect a dry-run exercise for a real invasion:

- Although based in Washington, troops were flown in via California to give a more equivalent distance from the U.S. to Grenada;
- The island's hilly terrain is similar to Grenada's;
- The part of the overall operation directed against Vieques was called an attack on the fictional country of "Amber and the Amberdines." Amber is a part of Grenada on the south coast of the island close to major security installations. The "Amberdines" obviously refers to the two other small islands, Carriacou and Petit Martinique, that make up the nation of Grenada as a whole.

'A political-military problem'

But the U.S. warlords made it even more explicit. They held a press conference to explain what the operation was all about. Rear Adm. Robert P. McKenzie, in charge of the exercise, boasted that it was designed to demonstrate the armed might of Washington to the people of the Caribbean and in particular to Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua, which he described as "practically one country."

McKenzie gave the following points as the

reasons for taking "Amber":

- The country is influenced by "Country Red," an obvious reference to Cuba;
- This country is unfriendly to the United States and close to important trade and shipping routes;
- This country had not called any elections, and so troops were going in to make sure elections were held;
- American hostages had been seized in "Amber";
- The country was exporting subversion to the rest of the region, in particular to "Azure," where it is alleged 300 to 500 guerrillas are supported by "Amber."

These are the sorts of pretexts Washington would need to mount a real invasion of Grenada. In fact the campaign on some of these points is well under way by both Washington and the capitalist press in the Caribbean.

McKenzie went on to say: "What we have here is a political-military problem. When Carter created the Task Force [the Caribbean Contingency Joint Task Force], he did it for political reasons. Now we see that it fulfills one of the most valid military reasons," which he said was the need "to respond to the activities of Cuba and Castro."

People's Revolutionary Militia

But Prime Minister Maurice Bishop pointed out that the People's Revolutionary Government and the people of Grenada would not be intimidated by these hostile maneuvers.

In fact the government has been swift to respond to this in Grenada. It has put as the number one task of the day efforts to develop the People's Revolutionary Militia (PRM), so that any invasion would not meet just the relatively small Grenadian standing army, but an armed people. Bishop pointed out that in the final analysis, "regardless of how many friends we have outside, we are the ones who have the

primary responsibility of defending what we have fought for and what we have tried to build."

With that consideration in mind, group marches in all areas of Grenada were carried out by the PRM on the day before the mass rally.

Moreover, Maurice Bishop urged all those present at the rally, if not already members, to enroll in the militia and get others to do so as well. He pointed out that the militia also had need of noncombatants who would be vital to establish supply and communications lines as well as medical and service facilities for the militia. There was no one who could not be useful in the militia in one capacity or another.

The week of mobilizations against the imperialist threat will culminate in three days of military maneuvers in Grenada, to practice the defense of the homes and revolutionary achievements of all the working people of Grenada. These maneuvers have been named the "Heros of the Homeland" maneuvers.

On the platform with Maurice Bishop at the mass rally were speakers from political parties in Barbados, Dominica, and Guyana, who brought solidarity messages from their organizations. Philip Agee, a former employee of the CIA, also spoke in solidarity with the Grenada revolution.

Among the messages of solidarity that were received were those from the Canada-Grenada Friendship Society and from the Socialist Workers Party and National Black United Front of the United States. An urgent campaign needs to be mounted in the U.S. and other imperialist countries to condemn and oppose the threatened invasion.

As the people of this tiny country begin to face up to the prospect of fighting off the world's mightiest imperialist army to defend what Maurice Bishop called "a new civilization in the Caribbean," it is all the more imperative that they know that they do not stand alone and that their achievements are becoming known everywhere and will be defended everywhere.

Messages of support should be sent to the People's Revolutionary Government, St. George's, Grenada. □

Salvadoran junta suffers diplomatic, military blows

By Fred Murphy

In a major diplomatic blow to Washington's intervention in El Salvador, the governments of France and Mexico issued a joint declaration on August 28 recognizing the Salvadoran revolutionary organizations as a "representative political force."

The statement, issued in the name of Mexican foreign minister Jorge Castañeda and his French counterpart Claude Cheysson, stated

that the two governments "recognize that the alliance of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front [FMLN] and the Revolutionary Democratic Front [FDR] constitutes a representative political force, ready to assume its obligations and exercise the rights that derive from them."

The immediate effect of this initiative will be to deepen the international isolation of the U.S.-backed military-Christian Democratic

junta and strengthen the efforts of the FMLN and FDR to gain further governmental backing for their cause around the world.

"We hope that the Franco-Mexican statement will act as a sort of protective umbrella beneath which other countries can safely speak out," an FDR leader told a Mexico City news conference on August 30. "That's the importance of getting support from two countries that are so crucial to the United States."

Representatives of the FDR and FMLN immediately announced plans for visits to Ecuador, Peru, Guyana, Brazil, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Algeria, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia to seek further support along the lines of the Franco-Mexican statement.

The diplomatic move by the López Portillo and Mitterrand governments came just as Washington and the Salvadoran rulers were stepping up their propaganda about the so-called free elections the junta is planning for next March. U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Deane Hinton has been claiming that these elections "will indicate very clearly that the vast majority of the people of [El Salvador] are in favor of something different than these five or ten or fifteen thousand misguided individuals that are trying to destroy the country." (*Washington Post*, August 31.)

The Franco-Mexican statement discredits this notion in advance, pointing out that before "authentically free elections" can be held in El Salvador, "a new domestic order" must be established and the armed forces must be "re-structured."

That the elections Washington is pressing for will make no difference in who really holds power in El Salvador is even recognized by the ostensibly ruling Christian Democrats. "It is not possible to control the Army totally," a leader of that party told the *Washington Post* in late August. The official noted that elected regimes elsewhere "have fallen" when they have "touched the privileges of the armed forces. . . . We couldn't push the armed forces too far because they have the arms, after all, and would react."

While the Salvadoran army thus seems to have the Christian Democrats well under control, it has been losing ground against the revolutionary forces. In July and August the FMLN launched widespread attacks against army posts, electrical facilities, and key highways and rail lines.

The FMLN routed the junta's armed forces from the town of Perquín in northeastern Morazan Province on August 10. For the first time in the war, the rebels were able to take over a government military headquarters. They took twenty-four soldiers prisoner and captured arms and ammunition.

The blows struck by the FMLN in what its clandestine Radio Venceremos termed an "overall military campaign" served to confirm the assessment U.S. Ambassador Hinton presented to his superiors in June. According to the August 24 *Christian Science Monitor*, a report by Hinton to the State Department concluded,

"Without greater strength and mobility, the government forces would not be able to go on the offensive. The guerrillas could attack when and where they wanted."

Hinton acknowledged in an August 7 speech in San Salvador that the army had suffered more than 1,300 casualties and some 350 dead during the first six months of 1981.

The military's desperation has caused its atrocities against the civilian population to mount. On July 30 the army kidnapped and slaughtered forty-two members of a local football (soccer) team and their families in the western town of Armenia; some team members had scuffled with soldiers at a roadblock four days earlier.

During a five-day period in mid-August, eighty-three decapitated bodies were found in the vicinity of Santa Ana, a stronghold of the right-wing death squads linked to the military.

As such incidents mount, and as the rebel forces gain further international legitimacy, claims that the FMLN is isolated and "resorting to straight terrorism" (as Alexander Haig said August 28) sound particularly grotesque.

This threadbare theme has run through recent U.S. statements, and has been turning up more and more frequently in the bourgeois press as well.

Occasionally, though, the fact that the Salvadoran people see things differently comes through. "Meanwhile here in Morazan," a dispatch from that province in the August 30 *Washington Post* concluded, "peasants who once ignored the guerrillas, believing they had little chance of success, were impressed even by the action of the January offensive and, according to people who travel frequently in the region, were further inspired by the Perquin operation." □

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South African troops invade

With backing of Reagan administration

By Suzanne Haig

For the last two months, the racist South African regime has been waging a brutal, undeclared war in southern Angola. And it has been doing so with the confidence that it has the backing of the Reagan administration in Washington.

On August 26, South African Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha finally admitted the invasion.

Botha justified this flagrant violation of Angola's national sovereignty by claiming the apartheid regime has the right of "hot pursuit" to enter Angola to hunt down liberation forces of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO.)

For almost two decades, SWAPO has been fighting for the independence of Namibia from South African rule. Angola is one of the strongest supporters of the liberation fighters, allowing SWAPO the use of its territory and providing sanctuary for Namibians fleeing South African terror.

The South African regime is ruling Namibia in defiance of United Nations resolutions calling for a cease-fire and UN supervised elections. Knowing that SWAPO would easily win such an election, the regime in Pretoria is stalling, hoping to militarily crush the freedom fighters, and install a puppet regime, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), which has little following in Namibia.

Worldwide condemnations

World reaction against the South African invasion has been swift.

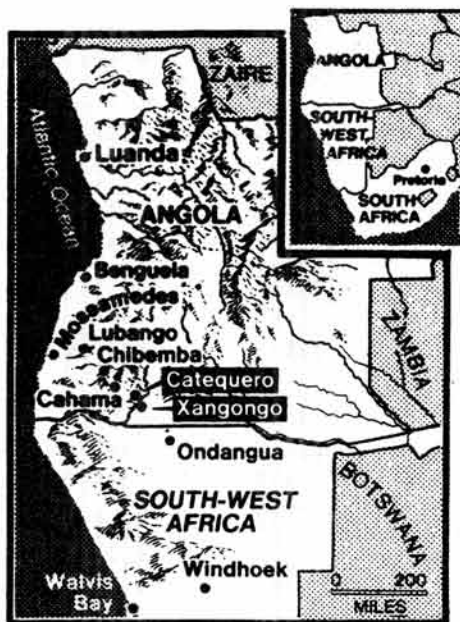
The governments of Britain, France, West Germany, Cuba, the Soviet Union, and many other countries are demanding immediate withdrawal of South African troops. Those in Portugal, Canada, and Yugoslavia have also strongly condemned the attack.

The Organization of African Unity announced August 27 that it would demand economic sanctions against South Africa and its expulsion from the United Nations.

Within South Africa itself, an unprecedented statement, supported by the National Union of South African Students and other organizations representing 30,000 white students, demanded the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. The statement noted that thousands in the concerned groups "are required by law to serve in the South African defense force."

Reagan justifies invasion

Virtually alone, the Reagan administration has defended South Africa.



The State Department said August 26 that while deploring the raid, South Africa's action "must be understood in its full context." It referred to the guerrilla struggle against the South African occupation of Namibia by SWAPO forces based in Angola and "the continued presence of Cuban combat forces in Angola six years after its independence" as justification for the attack.

Cuban troops were originally invited to Angola by the government to help defeat a U.S.-backed South African invasion in 1975-76. The troops have remained in Angola to help defend its independence against similar attacks.

Referring to Washington's position, a South African official remarked, "We are obviously pleased that the United States adopts a more realistic stance than the others. . . ."

Scorched-earth policy

The current South African invasion is the largest since the 1975-76 war.

Peasants are fleeing their homes in southern Angola. Towns and crops are being burned and bombed to the ground, water holes sabotaged, and cattle slaughtered in what can only be called a scorched-earth policy.

Despite stiff resistance from Angolan troops, two South African columns with tanks and armored vehicles have advanced to towns 100 miles within Angola. The towns of Xangongo, Cahama, and Chibemba have been totally destroyed, and others are under fire. Chibemba is 200 miles inside Angola.

South African jets are in control of the air space in southern Angola and are bombing the main roads to the Namibia-Angola border.

Forty-five thousand troops are reported massed in Namibia near the border, while fierce fighting continues in Angola.

The situation is so serious that the Angolan government has announced a general mobilization of its armed forces. If the terror continues, Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos said, he might be forced to call upon the Cuban troops in Angola to join in the fight.

In a statement issued on August 28, the Cuban government declared, "If the South African invading columns reach the lines defended by the Cuban internationalist fighters, our troops—complying with the obligations of solidarity of our country with the sister republic of Angola—will go into action with all the means at their disposal."

Attack on Angolan government

The South African invasion is also aimed at the Angolan government.

The defeat of the South African invasion in 1975-76 and the formation of an independent Angola has been a tremendous inspiration for the African liberation struggle. It bolstered the struggle for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe, the escalation of the Namibian independence struggle, and the massive anti-racist protests in South Africa itself.

The apartheid regime, with Washington's approval and aid, wants to turn back this advancing revolution.

President dos Santos explained that besides wanting to eliminate SWAPO, South Africa aims to "prevent reconstruction of the People's Republic [of Angola]" and to "occupy Angola's urban centers and install UNITA there."

UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) is the pro-South African movement in Angola headed by Jonas Savimbi. With its main bases in South African-controlled Namibia, it is armed, trained and financed by the South Africans. Savimbi, in turn, provides information to Pretoria on SWAPO's activities and whereabouts.

'The fault of the U.S.'

African diplomats told the *Washington Post* August 25 that the invasion "was the fault of the United States" because of the Reagan administration's support to the apartheid regime.

Washington's policy toward southern Africa links the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the inclusion of UNITA leaders in the Angolan government.

Washington is also behind stalling the Namibian elections. An administration policy memorandum, recently made available to the *New York Times*, stated that South Africa and its white allies in Namibia "need 12 to 18 months, they believe, to get into a better position to compete with Swapo." They need "a formula that reduces Swapo's advantages and saves face."

The "formula" South Africa has apparently decided upon is search and destroy.

The memo also proposed steps "to lend political support and legitimacy to Savimbi,"

Colombia

'There is definitely a war'

Interview with U.S. journalist tortured by police

[On August 2, Lawrence Johnson, an American free-lance journalist, was detained by the Colombian secret police as he was on his way back to the United States. A contributor to *Mother Jones* magazine and to the Pacific News Service, Johnson had spent three months in Colombia, traveling extensively and interviewing leaders of the principal guerrilla groups, including the April 19 Movement (M-19).

[Johnson was held for more than two weeks by the Colombian secret police, who interrogated and tortured him. After his release on August 19, he returned to the United States.

[The following interview with Johnson was obtained on August 27 by Fernando Torres, a staff writer for the U.S. Spanish-language socialist fortnightly *Perspectiva Mundial*. The interview was conducted in English over the telephone.]

* * *

Question. Could you give us a brief account of the circumstances leading to your arrest by the Colombian authorities?

Answer. I was leaving the country. I'd been scheduled to leave for weeks. I went to the airport, and two agents stopped me just before the plane. They said, "You have to come to the office." It seemed to me that they were waiting there for me, that someone had told them when I would be leaving and what I was carrying, which were photos and tape recordings of some guerrillas.

Q. According to a UPI dispatch datelined Bogatá, Gen. Luis Carlos Camacho Leyva stated that the accusations that you were tortured are nothing but "a fabrication that seeks to give a bad name to our armed forces." Would you like to reply to the general?

A. Yes. I was kind of surprised that the general had come out with any kind of statement.

crudely warning, "If they [the Angolan government] won't play, we have other options."

But their options may be limited.

Millions of people around the world are responding with hatred and disgust to South Africa's terror in Angola and the whitewash given the invasion by Washington.

Nor will the 22 million people of African descent in the United States, along with the millions of other working people, want to line up with Pretoria against the struggle for freedom by the Black majority of southern Africa. □

People who have a little bit more political sense would not have responded. But of course he's not a political person; he's a general.

As far as the truthfulness of what he said, you can ask almost any person in the streets in Bogatá, Colombia, and they will say, "Of course there is torture in Colombia." They would be surprised if someone said there wasn't.

Q. I understand you were in jail for seventeen days. . . .

A. Yes. Seventeen days in jail.

Q. Were you taken to the notorious torture center in Usaquén?

A. I'm not familiar with that name. It's part of the Military Institute Brigade (BIM). And this particular section, which is notorious, is called the Cavalry, Caballería. All you need is to say that name. In fact, when I was transferred and was being processed to leave the country, when I came into the new prison, the prisoners asked me where I had been. Right after I told them I'd been at the Cavalry, everyone was concerned. The other prisoners brought me food, gave me cigarettes. They knew—I did not have to tell them—what I had been through.

Q. Could you tell what happened to you in jail? Were you tortured?

A. Well. Actually it was—as strange as it may sound—light. They were fairly good compared to the way that other people were being treated. I was beaten repeatedly. For the most part in ways that would not show later. I could tell they were trying to be very careful not to do any permanent damage, not to leave marks on my body. I was beaten in the stomach, in the chest, kicked in the legs, the arms. They were especially hard hitting me in the

back. And all this time I had a hood over my head.

The rest was just psychological: They set dates that I would be killed. While I was blindfolded, they put me onto a metal plate, and they would debate how much electricity to give me. But then they actually did not give me any, like they do to most of the prisoners.

Q. What led you to visit Colombia?

A. In the past I've tried to do the kinds of journalism that I've felt aren't being covered by other people. I've gone to the Philippines. And Chile at the time when people were saying, "Chile is recovering, the economy is booming, people are much better off now," which was just the opposite.

And then Colombia. People in the United States, if they think of Colombia at all, they say, "Cocaine, coffee." Or those a little bit knowledgeable about history will say, "That's the country in South America that has such a democratic background, a history of democracy"—which is not the case at all.

Q. According to several reports, the Caquetá region, where I understand you visited, is in a virtual state of war. We are talking about major mobilizations of the armed forces, as well as a greater activity on the part of the guerrillas. Do you have any first hand information of this situation?

A. Yes. In the southern part of Colombia, especially the Caquetá region, there is definitely a war. I do not have figures about the number of people that are being killed. But when I was there, the situation was very dangerous, an El Salvador situation in that region. For the first time in the history of the guerrilla movement—and it goes back a long time in Colombia—the two strongest guerrilla forces have united.

The two forces I'm talking about are the M-19, which currently is the most popular guerrilla force in Colombia, and is very popular with all classes of people. And the other group is the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia [FARC], which is militarily the strongest group. For these two forces to join creates a very serious challenge to the Colombian oligarchy.

Q. Were you able to go and talk to some of the guerrillas?

A. I can't say where I talked with any of the guerrilla forces. But yes, I was able during the three months that I was there to talk to all of the leading guerrilla groups, including the FARC and the M-19 after they had joined forces.

Q. After the mid-March incident, where the M-19's Antonio José de Sucre column was captured on the Ecuadorian frontier, there were declarations from the Colombian chiefs of staff to the effect that all guerrilla activities in the country had been defeated, that it had been a very serious blow. In terms of the mo-

rale of the fighters, their composition, what was your impression?

A. I found that it was just the opposite. A number of the leaders of the M-19 had been captured, but the rank and file seem to be much stronger. They were fighting now to get their leaders amnesty, get the government to pardon all political prisoners. It seemed that they were fighting harder now. They were very determined to carry on their struggle, and their general popularity had only been increased by the fact that these leaders were imprisoned and were getting more publicity than if they were out in the jungle.

Q. We've heard that M-19 leader Jaime Batemán Cayón might be running for president in the May 1982 elections. Do you know anything about that?

A. That was something that was discussed and proposed by the M-19 leadership. I'm not sure how much publicity there was here about the M-19 attacks on the Presidential Palace [July 20]. They fired some 70-mm. mortar

rounds directly on the palace grounds as a warning. The warning was that unless the government comes up with an amnesty plan that will allow the M-19 to become a legal opposition group, and that pardons all political prisoners of all opposition groups, then the elections won't even be held. They will be held under a state of war.

Q. After the attack you mentioned there was a very large wave of arrests, where members of the Communist Party were arrested, along with intellectuals, and so on.

A. Right. For that attack to take place, I think was a clear indication that the M-19 is a very strong organization, and has some capabilities that the Colombian government was not aware of. For them to fire 70-mm. rounds directly into the palace and then get away with it was something that left the military in Colombia in a state of shock. So the response was to go out and arrest opposition figures from all the various parties, even if there was no connection to the guerrilla movement. This is the kind of repression that is happening now, gen-

eral repression against anyone who is opposing the government, whether you are a legal person or illegal.

Q. There have been numerous accusations that the Cubans are behind this whole thing. Such declarations have come from State Department official Thomas Enders, as well as from Colombian President Turbay Ayala. Do you know anything about that?

A. That was one of the things that I, as a journalist, wanted to find out. Are these groups being supplied from countries like Cuba, the Soviet Union, or China, or even Albania? I wanted to find out. And for three months this was something I investigated.

While I was in the jungle I looked for advisers. It is a lie. It's clearly a charge that has been formulated by the generals in Colombia to get aid. And this year, just for the army alone, they will get \$125 million, directly to the army that tortured me. And, of course, that is part of the campaign of Reagan's right-wing government. □

Panama

The death of General Torrijos

A troublesome figure for U.S. imperialism

By Fred Murphy

General Omar Torrijos Herrera, chief of the Panamanian National Guard and the dominant figure in his country's government for the past thirteen years, died in a plane crash on July 31.

Torrijos's small military aircraft went down in a remote area of western Panama. There were no survivors.

An investigation into the crash is under way, headed by Panama's attorney general, Olmedo Miranda. Residents of the village of Coclecito, where Torrijos's plane was to have landed, have said they heard two explosions in the air and a third after the plane hit the ground. According to Miranda, however, the aircraft's fuel tanks had not exploded.

The attorney general's initial report also said that only a few seconds elapsed between the pilot's last communication with the control tower and the crash. The pilot reported no emergency and did not mention that he was experiencing bad weather.

1968 coup

Torrijos came to power following an October 1968 coup by National Guard officers against the elected government of the right-wing Panamanian nationalist leader Arnulfo Arias.

Between 1972 and 1978, Torrijos was the self-proclaimed "Chief of Government and Supreme leader of the Panamanian Revolution."

In 1978 he stepped aside as head of state but remained chief of the National Guard. He continued to exercise considerable power behind his appointee as president, Aristides Royo.

Early on, Torrijos established friendly relations with the Cuban government and Fidel Castro, although these ties were beginning to cool toward the end of his life.

In 1978 and 1979, Torrijos provided important material aid and diplomatic support to the struggle against the Somoza regime in Nicaragua. His government stayed on friendly terms with the Sandinista revolution.

Torrijos had also spoken out against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador, and was among the proponents of a "political solution" to the conflict in that country. This stand did not endear him to the Reagan administration. In February of this year, U.S. Secretary of State Haig sent a diplomatic note to the Panamanian government complaining of its friendly ties to Cuba and charging that Panama was being used by the Cubans to send arms and trained fighters to El Salvador.

President Royo replied that "the only country that has used our territory against our will to interfere in El Salvador is the United States."

General Torrijos was more blunt. According to a published account by his friend Gabriel García Márquez, Torrijos penned a brief note to Haig informing him that his message was

sent to the "wrong address—it should have been sent to Puerto Rico." That was Torrijos's way of telling Haig that Panama would not be treated as a U.S. colony.

Inside Panama, Torrijos tried to maintain an image as a nationalist interested in the welfare of the people. Some progressive social measures were taken, but his rule was also marked by a vast expansion of imperialist banking and commercial penetration of Panama, repression against student protests and left-wing intellectuals, and the imposition of antilabor legislation. Law 95, which curtailed job security and the right to strike, was the target of a two-day general work stoppage by Panamanian trade unions in January 1980.

Canal treaties

While Torrijos was in power, new treaties governing the Panama Canal were negotiated and eventually signed with Washington. During the early phases of the negotiations, Torrijos encouraged some nationalist mobilizations in support of Panama's right to the canal. "I don't want to enter history," the general said at one point. "I want to enter the Canal Zone."

The original 1903 treaties imposed on Panama by U.S. imperialism had ceded control over the canal and the ten-mile-wide Canal Zone "in perpetuity" to the United States.

The new pacts, signed by Torrijos and President Carter in 1977, provide for Panama to

gain full control over the canal and the zone by the year 2000.

But Washington also forced the Torrijos regime to accept a provision guaranteeing the U.S. government a "right to take such steps as it deems necessary . . . including the use of military force," if the canal should be closed for any reason, even after the year 2000.

A leading proponent of that provision, Senator Dennis DeConcini, asserted that it would enable Washington to deal with "labor unrest or strikes, the actions of an unfriendly government, political riots or upheavals."

Reagan vs. Torrijos

Even that blatant violation of Panamanian sovereignty was not enough for such right-wing representatives of U.S. imperialism as Ronald Reagan. "When it comes to the Canal," Reagan declared during his abortive 1976 presidential campaign, "we bought it, we paid for it, it's ours, and we should tell Torrijos and company that we are going to keep it."

In 1980, Reagan was still blasting Carter for supposedly wanting to "give away the Panama Canal." Reagan often described General Torrijos as "a tinhorn dictator."

Once in office, Reagan voiced grudging acceptance of the canal treaties. But a key document on his administration's Latin America policy offers quite a different perspective on Panama and the canal.

In May 1980 a group of Reagan advisers—the self-styled "Committee of Santa Fe"—drew up a paper entitled "A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties." The group included Roger Fontaine, now chief Latin America expert for the National Security Council; and Gen. Gordon Sumner, chairman of the Inter-American Defense Board (IADB) from 1974 to 1978 and now a State Department aide.

The Committee of Santa Fe described the Panamanian government as "the left-wing and brutally aggressive dictatorship of Omar Torrijos." Regarding the canal, the Reagan aides stated the following:

The Panama Canal is of major strategic value to most of the countries of this hemisphere. Its security and availability are a significant concern to the countries of North, Central, and South America. By placing this responsibility on the signatories of the Rio Treaty [The Inter-American Mutual Assistance Treaty, a military pact between the Pentagon and eighteen Latin American regimes], which in turn would designate the IADB as its agent, the problem would be put in proper strategic context and elevated to a position of international visibility which it so richly deserves.

By moving the IADB to the Canal, establishing a security zone under the nineteen flags of the IADB and conducting combined exercises, the free countries of the Americas will put the Soviets and their Communist allies in this hemisphere on notice that we are ready, willing and able to defend our vital interests.

The actual day to day operation and the required maintenance of the Canal could be accomplished by Panamanian and U.S. personnel or by private contract.



GEN. OMAR TORRIJOS

What Reagan's advisers proposed, then, was scrapping the Carter-Torrijos treaties and militarizing the Canal Zone still further—beyond the fourteen U.S. bases and 10,000 American troops already there. Did they view Omar Torrijos and his "left-wing military regime" as an obstacle to such plans?

(In this regard, another section of the document by the Committee of Santa Fe should be cited: "The 'Roldós Doctrine,' named for Ecuador's president, must be condemned. It states that outside powers do not violate the traditional principle of non-intervention if their involvement in a nation's affairs is seen as a defense of human rights." President Jaime Roldós of Ecuador also perished recently in a plane crash, just a little over two months before the demise of General Torrijos.)

Panama after Torrijos

Whatever the true cause of General Torri-

jos's death, his passing does remove from the Central American political scene a figure who was often troublesome to U.S. imperialism.

In recent months, right-wing bourgeois parties more acceptable to Washington than Torrijos's own bourgeois-nationalist Democratic Revolutionary Party have stepped up their activity in Panama. These include the Liberal Party, the Christian Democrats, and the Panameñista Party headed by the eighty-one-year-old ex-president Arnulfo Ariás. (Ariás was described by journalist Penny Lernoux in the August 22-29 *Nation* as "a Nazi sympathizer" and "Reagan's octogenarian man in Panama.")

Elections are to be held in Panama in 1984. Conflict with Washington could come much sooner. President Royo has filed numerous complaints of violations of the canal treaties, and is to address the United Nations General Assembly on the subject in September.

The most serious bone of contention is U.S. Public Law 96-70, which, in the guise of "implementing" the canal treaties, subordinates the Panama Canal Commission to the U.S. government and makes it dependent on the U.S. Congress for funds. The law comes up for review in October; according to the U.S.-appointed commission head Gen. Dennis McAuliffe, "it is highly likely that the changes in the law recommended by the administration in Washington will fall short of Panamanian aspirations."

If Washington reaffirms the law or amends it to arrogate still more control over the canal, "Panamanians will feel so disappointed, so frustrated, that we are going to go back to the old days," Panamanian canal commission representative Fernando Manfredo told the *Washington Post*. "But, more than going back, I think it will be worse now because Panama has so many expectations."

Manfredo expressed concern that President Royo might not be able "to control the people of Panama the way that Gen. Torrijos did it in the past." □

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Workers fight for control of factories

Self-management movement challenges bureaucratic system

By Ernest Harsch

WARSAW—Just a twenty-minute walk from the Palace of Culture and Science, where the "extraordinary" congress of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) ended on July 20, a different sort of meeting opened later the same day.

In the conference hall on the top floor of 20 Mokotowska Street—the regional headquarters of Poland's independent union, Solidarity—elected delegates from scores of factories in the Warsaw area gathered to discuss ways to organize the growing movement for workers' self-management. Nearly every seat was filled.

Unlike the party congress, where full-time functionaries and bureaucrats comprised a large part of the delegations, this one was composed entirely of workers. The conference it-

This is the second of two companion articles on Poland's current economic and social situation. The first article, published in last week's issue, covered the consequences and underlying causes of the deep economic crisis.

self could not begin until 5:00 p.m., after the delegates had gotten off work.

And although their deliberations were not accorded the pomp and media attention reserved for the party debates, the questions they discussed have far more sweeping implications for the future of Polish society:

How can workers organize to win effective control of their factories? How can bureaucratic mismanagement be eliminated? How can society as a whole become involved in the making of key economic decisions? How can the authorities' resistance to the self-management movement be overcome?

These kinds of questions are being discussed by workers around the country. Increasingly, they are seeing direct and democratic management by the workers themselves as the only viable solution to the country's economic crisis, brought on by decades of bureaucratic mismanagement and authoritarian rule.

More and more, workers are taking the initiative to set up councils to fight for workers' control and to eventually oversee the affairs of their enterprises. The Warsaw conference, in fact, was only one of several similar ones that have taken place in various regions.

As Edward Kucharski, a delegate from the Megadex enterprise in Warsaw, explained to me, the self-management movement has already become one of the most important issues

in Poland. "Self-management," he said, "is the main object of discussion and controversy between Solidarity and the government."

His point was emphasized by Solidarity banners hanging from the front of the conference hall, flanked by posters publicizing a strike that had been called by the workers of LOT, the national airlines, to protest the government's refusal to recognize the decisions of their self-management committee.

One delegate, speaking from the floor of the conference, expressed the anger of many at the government's opposition to real workers' control. "All petitions are useless," he declared. "It is necessary to confront the authorities with some facts."

That was precisely one of the aims of the conference. Most of the discussions revolved around the setting up of an area council to coordinate the efforts of the workers committees that have already been established and to help launch them in enterprises where none have yet been set up.

Out of about 3,000 workplaces in the Warsaw region, 206—including most of the largest factories—have self-management committees. Depending on the enterprise, this could be either a democratically elected Workers Council or a Workers Self-Management Organizing Committee (KZSP), the function of which is to prepare elections by the entire workforce to set up a Workers Council. According to the credentials report, representatives from 122 of these bodies were actually present at the conference.

The rapid proliferation of self-management committees has already outstripped the first interregional coordinating bodies that were set up only a few months ago, including the Siec (network), composed of seventeen of the largest enterprises from around the country. This has caused some organizational problems, which were reflected in one particularly sharp dispute that broke out at the Warsaw conference.

The delegate from the giant Ursus tractor factory just outside Warsaw—which was one of the original enterprises in the Siec—initially opposed the establishment of an area council on the grounds that the involvement of smaller enterprises would diminish the influence of the large factories. "The big plants are the main locomotive of this movement," the Ursus delegate insisted.

But representatives of smaller enterprises got up to explain why they, too, needed to have a voice. "The Siec has given the impulse to the movement," a delegate from the Institute of Nuclear Workers stated, "but there is nobody to represent the small plants. So we need

an area council."

The representative of the large FSO auto factory also got up to back the proposal for establishing the area council. "The Siec as it was originally formed is not enough and needs to be enlarged. We need to have an understanding among all the Workers Councils in the area. And an area council will be a step toward a countrywide understanding."

The chairperson of the conference summed up the sentiments of most of the delegates: "Democracy means that not only does Goliath have a vote, but also David."

The conference finally voted to set up a provisional area council, composed of representatives from twenty-seven enterprises, both large and small. When the Ursus delegation agreed to nominate a representative to the council, the hall burst into applause.

'The factories belong to the people'

Conferences like the one in Warsaw are a direct response by Polish workers to the country's worsening economic situation—food shortages, declining production, deteriorating social services, growing economic insecurity.

Despite promises of economic and social reform, the government and party leadership have taken no major steps to bring about fundamental improvements.

At a meeting of the Siec held at the Wujek coal mine in Katowice in late June, Jozef Kusmerek, the director of the Workers Information Agency and a prominent activist in the movement for self-management, delivered a scathing attack on the government's failure to act (see page 878). "It is obvious to everyone that the authorities are no longer capable of carrying out their obligations," he said.

"We must establish self-management because it is the only way to save ourselves and our workplaces. . . . Self-management is the only real and only effective road to a deep and fundamental reform of the economy. . . ."

Many leaders of Solidarity concur. "We think self-management is one of the basic factors that will allow the introduction of economic reform," Seweryn Jaworski, the vice-chairman of Solidarity in the Mazowsze region (around Warsaw) told *Intercontinental Press* on July 17. "In fact, it is the precondition for economic reform. In our opinion, without broad social initiative and social engagement in the management of the enterprises and the economy there is no possibility of introducing an economic reform that can guarantee that the workers will not suffer."

Self-management, he added, "will guarantee that all spheres of the economy will develop according to the wishes of working peo-

ple.”

In fighting for self-management, workers point out that all they are asking for is their legally recognized right to run their own factories. The party leadership repeatedly claims that the working class rules in Poland. The workers simply want to put that into practice.

“This is not a movement against the government,” a workers’ leader at the LOT airlines emphasized. “It is rather a self-defense movement. We are defending our enterprises. The Polish constitution says that the factories belong to the people.”

A long tradition

The struggle for workers’ self-management is not an entirely new development here. Participants point out that it has deep roots in the history of the Polish workers movement, stretching back to the early 1920s. Since the overthrow of capitalism in Poland following the Second World War, the struggle for workers’ control has faced continual opposition from the privileged bureaucracy that rules the country and that seeks to maintain an absolute monopoly on all decision-making.

In 1945, following the end of the German occupation, workers councils arose in some factories, with nominal authority over their management. However, they were soon eliminated by the Stalinist repression.

In 1956, following the June workers’ uprising in Poznan and the coming to power of Wladislaw Gomulka later that year, elected workers councils again sprang up, this time on a much wider scale. In the Warsaw area, for example, about 80 percent of the factories in the key sectors of industry had functioning workers councils. But as the bureaucracy tightened its hold over Polish society once more, the councils were deprived of any real effectiveness. And by the early 1970s Edward Giersek had done away with even the formal right of workers to elect their own councils, replacing the old bodies with party-controlled Workers Self-Management Conferences (KSRs).

As Kusmierek has pointed out, these earlier attempts to establish workers’ self-management failed because the workers did not have their own independent trade union. Without such a union, the authorities were able to absorb the councils into their bureaucratic system and turn them against the real interests of the workers.

The formation of Solidarity has changed all that. The massive strikes and mobilizations of 1980 gave a new impetus to the idea of workers’ self-management, and the existence of Solidarity made it possible to relaunch the movement on a new basis.

The movement takes off

By the beginning of this year, discussions among worker activists about the need for self-management were becoming more and more common, and the workers in some factories and enterprises took the first steps toward setting up self-management organizing committees. It was the large industrial workplaces that



Ernest Harsch/IP

Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, where workers are playing a leading role in the movement for self-management.

took the lead: the Huta Katowice steelworks in Upper Silesia, the FSO auto plant in Warsaw, the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

The Solidarity local at the Lenin Shipyard took one of the earliest initiatives toward collaboration with other workplaces. It issued an appeal for the formation of a network of Solidarity factory committees to establish and coordinate self-management organizations.

On March 17, the workers of WSK PZL-Rzeszow, a large aircraft factory in southeastern Poland, responded to the proposal, forming the first link in the network, the *Siec*. It soon comprised seventeen of the largest enterprises, including the Warski Shipyard in Szczecin, the Cegielski metalworks in Poznan, the Swidnik helicopter factory near Lublin, the Marchlewski textile mill in Lodz, the Wujek coal mine in Katowice, the Lenin steelworks in Krakow, and the Ursus tractor factory in Warsaw.

The *Siec* drew up a proposal for a draft law on workers’ self-management, suggested

guidelines for the establishment of Workers Councils, discussed the relationship between Solidarity and the Workers Councils, and considered numerous other questions relating to the self-management movement.

These proposals were discussed at a series of meetings of *Siec* representatives held at different workplaces and in meetings of Solidarity factory committees and regional conferences. Altogether, the resolutions and proposals of the *Siec* were directly approved by the 208,000 members of Solidarity employed at the seventeen enterprises.

On July 13, another, even broader, initiative was launched at a conference in Lublin. Representatives of Workers Councils, KZSPs, and Solidarity regional boards and factory committees from enterprises in fourteen different regions set up a new interregional coordinating body, called the Working Group.

One of the resolutions adopted by the conference declared, “Escape from the economic crisis and the introduction of economic reform

is impossible without creating the legal foundations for the functioning of genuine workers' self-management.

"Remembering the negative experiences of the self-management movement of 1956-57, as well as recognizing its strengths, we—as representatives of the united and joint efforts of working people—consider it indispensable to undertake action to move toward agreement and collaboration among workers' self-management bodies on the regional and country-wide levels."

To achieve that, the Working Group agreed to coordinate its efforts with those of the *Siec*, to organize regional self-management conferences, and to circulate documents and resolutions on self-management as widely as possible for discussion.

Workers draft bill

The government's reaction to the burgeoning movement for self-management has been the same as its response to every other initiative of the workers since the strikes of last year: resist the workers' demands as long as possible, try to sidetrack their efforts.

In an attempt to head off and hamper the movement before it gains greater strength, the government has introduced its own bill on "self-management" into the *Sejm* (parliament).

The bill envisages some formal concessions to workers' self-management, but seeks to retain effective government control over key decisions. The workers would be able to choose their own Workers Council, which could then select a representative to participate in certain aspects of the management of the enterprise. But the director would continue to be appointed by the government, and he would have decisive control over the most important management functions.

The workers, however, have their own ideas. Another draft bill on workers' self-management, proposed by the *Siec*, goes into considerable detail on how genuine workers' self-management would function.

According to the draft, the workers on the shopfloor would have the decisive say over all key questions affecting the operations of the enterprise. They would exercise their control through regular assemblies of the entire workforce (or in larger plants of delegates) and through a Workers Council democratically elected by all the workers.

The Workers Council would be the most powerful self-management body. It would have overall responsibility for determining the development and main direction of the enterprise's activities, drawing up a production plan, raising capital, making investment decisions, deciding any changes in the enterprise's structure or production methods, concluding cooperation agreements with other enterprises and the state economic bodies, seeing to the social and cultural needs of the workforce, setting wages, and selecting management personnel.

Specific proposals for how to carry out these

functions would be made by auxiliary bodies or technical experts, but final approval would rest with the Workers Council. The Workers Council itself would be obliged to periodically report back to the workers' assembly and to submit certain major questions to a general referendum of the entire workforce.

The director of the enterprise would still play a key role. But rather than being appointed by the government, he or she would be selected by the Workers Council through an open competition of prospective candidates. The basic role of the director would be to carry out the decisions of the Workers Council, although independent proposals can be presented. The council would also have the power to dismiss the director at any time.

The draft bill includes measures to limit the danger of bureaucratism in the Workers Councils and to safeguard them from falling under the control of the authorities. In addition to being elected by universal, equal, and secret voting, members of a council could hold office for only two consecutive four-year terms. Moreover, no one holding leadership positions in other political or social organizations could stand for election.

Reflecting concern over the present heavy-handed and arbitrary way in which the government and state planning agencies determine the operations of individual enterprises, the draft bill proposes major restrictions on the role of the central authorities. The government would still be able to influence the activities of the enterprise, but not by directive, only through economic inducements and penalties (taxes, tariffs, credit policies). If necessary, it could also intervene in the internal affairs of the enterprise, but only with the approval of the *Sejm*.

'Social ownership'

One of the main aims of self-management, movement activists insist, is to ensure that the factories are truly "socially owned," as the Polish constitution states.

A resolution adopted by the *Siec* at a conference at the *Cegielski* metalworks in Poznan June 1-3 noted that social ownership was not the same thing as "state ownership."

"The main principle of the socialist system is the social ownership of the means of production," it declared. But "social ownership of the means of production loses its real meaning if it is not based on the right of the workers to decide about the property that remains in its care."

The movement for workers' self-management aims not only at giving the workers of a factory control over their particular enterprise, but also seeks to involve society as a whole in the making of overall economic and social decisions.

One of the concepts that has been raised by activists is the establishment of a second chamber of the *Sejm*, a Self-Management Chamber. In an article in the July 5 issue of *Robotnik* (The Worker), an interregional weekly newspaper of *Solidarity*, Jerzy Strze-

lecki argued that the Self-Management Chamber "is the only possible capstone for the self-management movement" and is an "indispensable element of the economic reform."

This chamber, according to Strzelecki, would include representatives of the workers' self-management bodies, trade unions, consumers' federations, scientific and technical associations, environmental protection groups, etc. "The Self-Management Chamber," Strzelecki wrote, "will fulfill the functions of the real owner of the means of production: it will determine the main direction of development of the national economy and of social policy."

Airline workers take on government

Except for the conflict over the government's "self-management" bill, most of the struggles around self-management are today being waged on the plant level.

In most cases, this involves efforts to get rid of unpopular, incompetent, or corrupt directors. Under the pressure of self-management committees, *Solidarity*, or the workers in general, a number have been dismissed and replaced by more acceptable figures.

But because the movement for self-management is just beginning, it has not in general been strong enough to move to the stage of taking over actual management of enterprises. In a few cases, however, (the *Falbet* prefabricated housing plant, the Warsaw Polytechnics chemical factory), Workers Councils have elected their own directors and were successful in getting the authorities to recognize them.

The struggle at LOT, the national airlines, was much more difficult. There, the government tried to dig in its heels and resist the demands of the workers, hoping that a defeat for self-management at LOT would have a dampening effect on the movement as a whole.

Unlike in most enterprises that have self-management committees, the workers at LOT did not establish a Workers Council from scratch, but took over the old bureaucratically-controlled Workers Self-Management Conference (KSR) and transformed it into a representative organization.

The KSR at LOT is composed of 188 members, with a nine-member presidium. It represents only workers; administrative personnel are excluded. Every organization in the enterprise can put forward candidates for the KSR, in proportion to its actual strength among the workforce. Since *Solidarity* claims 4,600 members out of a total workforce at LOT of 6,000, it holds a big majority on the council. But two other trade unions, the local party committee, the party youth group, and various technical organizations are also represented.

Earlier this year, the former director of LOT retired. The KSR, rather than allowing the government to simply impose its choice of a new director, decided to organize an open competition at which various candidates could vie for the post.

Five people came forward for the job. They



"We are defending our enterprises. The Polish constitution says that the factories belong to the people."

Ernest Harsch/IP

had to undergo various tests and address meetings of the KSR, at which they were obliged to explain the policies they would follow if elected. Although only the 188 members of the KSR could actually vote, the meetings were open to all LOT employees, any one of whom could ask questions and speak. On May 27 the election was held, and Bronislaw Klimaszewski, at that time deputy manager of LOT's commercial division, was chosen.

"From then on, the problems began," a spokesperson of the KSR explained. The government refused to accept the workers' choice, claiming that since LOT is an airline, it can potentially serve a military function and must remain under direct government control.

Numerous talks were held with officials of the Ministry of Transport, and even with Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski. "We were not fighting for one particular man," the KSR member pointed out. "We were fighting for reform, for self-government."

In face of the government's intransigence, the LOT workers called a four-hour "warning" strike on July 9. The strike was supported by all three unions represented in the KSR, including the small "branch" union, which is dominated by the PUWP.

The strike began precisely at 8:00 a.m. No planes took off or landed. The main international airport south of here was plastered with strike posters listing the workers' demands: for the right to elect their director, the right to determine the economic development of the en-

terprise, and the elimination of "administrative privilege."

Special notices were also addressed to passengers, explaining the issues in the strike in greater detail and appealing for their support. Some passengers gave flowers to the strikers.

Exactly at noon, the workers sang the Polish national anthem. They ended it with a round of applause and went punctually back to work.

"Some people told us not to strike before the party congress," the KSR member explained. "But we went on strike because the 'strongs' in the party have to know that the idea of Solidarity has not been destroyed, that the people are able to fight.

"There is a general anti-Solidarity offensive now, anti everything that has happened since last August. But the people are ready to defend what they have won. That's the most important thing."

Despite the strike, the government still refused to give in. In fact, just four hours after the end of the strike the minister of transport announced that Gen. Jozef Kowalski had been appointed as the new director of LOT.

The KSR promptly issued a communiqué rejecting the appointment, and several days later announced that it would launch another strike on July 24, this time to last for several days.

At the same time, the workers' committee offered a compromise proposal: The government could keep its general as overall director, and he could take care of any military ques-

tions involving LOT. But Klimaszewski would have to be recognized as managing director, in charge of the airline's economic and commercial affairs.

As the strike deadline approached, messages of support from unions and self-management committees around the country began to pour in. "We are with you. You have to resist," many of the telegrams declared. Transport workers discussed going out in a solidarity strike with the LOT workers. Proposals were made for selective walkouts in some of the largest enterprises around the country.

Finally, on July 23, the day before the strike, the government agreed to the LOT workers' compromise proposal. Klimaszewski could manage LOT's economic affairs.

But if the authorities' opposition to self-management in general is any indication, the workers at LOT will still have to fight to make their managing director's authority a reality.

Similarly on the countrywide level, the workers of Poland face a big struggle to win genuine control of their factories.

In his main speech at the opening of the party congress July 14, party chief Stanislaw Kanina attacked Solidarity for supporting the self-management movement, accusing it of "striving for the de facto takeover of economic power."

"We denounce this campaign resolutely," he declared.

It is clear that the bureaucrats who rule Po-

land will seek to defend their economic decision-making powers as fiercely as they can. That is, after all, the source of their material privileges.

But the working people of Poland have little

choice except to move ahead. If the country is to find a way out of its economic crisis, and if bureaucratic mismanagement and social inequality are to become things of the past, then the only solution lies in the workers moving to-

ward real control of their factories—and of the economy as a whole.

As one of the LOT strike posters concluded: "Self-management is the last chance for our economy." □

The movement for self-management

Interview with Henryk Szlajfer

[The following interview is with Henryk Szlajfer, an advisor on self-management to the workers at the FSO automobile factory in Warsaw. He was also a member of a commission that drafted an "immediate program of action" adopted at the July 13 self-management conference in Lublin, which established the Working Group.

[The interview was obtained by Jørgen Colding-Jørgensen in Warsaw on July 22.]

* * *

Question. How have economic decisions been made up to now in Poland, before the present crisis?

Answer. Until the present crisis, the autonomy of the enterprise—that is, in this case, the director of the enterprise—was very limited by orders from the industry associations and Planning Commission (the central planning body), the ministries, and eventually the prime minister or other high officials. It was a totally hierarchical structure.

There was virtually no place for organizing substantial initiatives from the workers or the enterprises.

This is of course a simplification, however.

In reality there was a possibility to create pressure groups and so on. For instance, the machine-building industry would create a pressure group with the aim of obtaining new investments, foreign currency to import technology, etc.

This system of management also included a rigid cooperation system in the economy. Some enterprises were forced to cooperate in so-called industry associations with no regard to whether or not it was profitable or useful.

On the other hand, the totally centralized management (not planning, the two terms management and planning should be clearly distinguished from each other) created a total anarchy in planning.

An indication of this is that in the last half of the 1970s alone, it was possible to spend more than 50 billion zlotys¹ in special investments, solely on the initiative of Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewicz himself. These special investment funds simply destroyed the economic plan.

You can see what this means by looking at the goals set for production and the practical fulfillment of these goals in that period: There is absolutely no correspondence between the

goals set and the production results achieved in any area of production. The plan proved to be only a scrap of paper.

This simply means that at the present conditions in Poland, with the level of technology achieved, where we don't have a simple two-sphere economy² but a complicated network of relations between the different areas of the economy, the rigid system of management is the main cause of practical liquidation of planning.

This system of management is very dangerous for the economy as a whole because it creates a possibility that the interests of the different groups of officials, party apparatchiks [bureaucrats], etc., who control the system, can destroy the whole economy. There are many examples of this. For instance, there is the case of the Ursus tractor factory's enlargement and its Ferguson license.³

Q. What does self-management mean and what responsibilities would it take on?

A. First, to prevent any illusions, let me say that at the present moment we are at a stage where, in the majority of cases, the self-management committees are not able to take over the whole management. We are at the beginning.

In the majority of cases, we have only founding committees for self-management, especially in the big factories where it is difficult and requires time to elect self-management committees. In an office, a shop, or a small factory of, say, 100 to 200 workers, it's not so difficult to elect such a committee. But in the big factories and enterprises with 10,000 to 20,000 workers, it is a much more difficult process.

This is the first limiting factor. We should not expect an immediate economic miracle connected with self-management.

In fact, we want the workers not to move too fast, because if the discussion and action on self-management is not properly prepared, the whole factory could collapse and the movement for self-management could be discredit-

ed.

There are, however, some enterprises where self-management committees are elected and where the workers for some reason know the factory very well and therefore are able to start self-management. But these are only rare cases.

The second limiting factor is at the level of legislation. We must carry out a fight for proper legislation on three points: a bill specifying the rights of the individual enterprises, and a bill on economic reform.

Right now, the government tries to speed up the process of adopting the new laws in parliament—laws that they have defined on these matters.

And in this situation, the activities of the workers will be taken out of the factories and enterprises and concentrated in a fight for proper legislation.

This means that self-management will not start to function properly before the new laws are adopted.

The third limitation is the necessity of and the time needed to prepare what we call "reports on enterprises," that is, each committee for self-management prepares a report on the problems of the enterprise in which it works, either by obtaining the necessary information directly themselves, or by asking the management of the enterprise for the relevant material.

These reports must contain information about employment, technology, inventory in general, and about the problems of the enterprise. Without such documents and statistical information, it's impossible to act and set any goals or make any production plans.

Q. From these limitations, it seems, indirectly, that the goal of self-management is for the workers to make decisions on all economic planning and production . . .

A. Our definition of self-management is that all strategic and tactical discussion and decisions concerning the enterprise should be made at the level of the enterprise by the self-management committees.

This does not mean that the system and concept of macro-planning is going to be liquidated.

What is changed is the following:

First, the method of managing.

Second, the method of determining the central plan. Say, at the level of macroplanning, there will be a process of making some rules and regulations concerning the behavior of the

1. At the official exchange rate, 33 zlotys are equivalent to US\$1.00.

2. The term two-sphere economy refers to a simple model, with one sector producing goods for consumption and the other producing the means of production.

3. For a description of the Ursus tractor expansion project and its disastrous consequences, see "Behind the worsening food shortages," by Ernest Harsch, in *Intercontinental Press*, July 31, p. 848.

enterprise's self-management, for example, how prices of products are calculated.

Further, the credit policy of the country will be decided on the central level and can be used to give preference to certain activities of an enterprise and punish other kinds of activity according to the purpose and goals of the central plan.

Third, self-management does not limit the possibility for the state to set up new enterprises. Of course, the state will have an investment policy, too.

So, the final goal of the movement for self-management is to socialize planning, managing, and the construction of the plan by creating a special chamber of the parliament. You could call this the Socioeconomic Chamber or the Self-Management Chamber.

In any case, this chamber must directly represent the self-management committees in the factories and other institutions and it must have a say—if not the decision-making power—concerning the economic and social matters of the country.

Q. When and where did the movement start and how has it developed? Are there any particularly strong areas?

A. The discussion had already started in August 1980, but there have been a lot of changes in attitudes to self-management.

Actually, in November, it was the government and the party that wanted to start self-management—of course in a limited form—as a

counter proposal to the recognition of Solidarity as a union covering the whole country.

At that time it was not possible—it would have been wrong—to start the self-management movement.

If I am not mistaken, the first big enterprise to start the discussion and preparations for self-management was the Huta Katowice steel mill. But for many weeks, months, they were alone.

Here in Warsaw the discussion probably started first in the FSO auto factory.

In this period up to February 1981, the attitude of the majority of the leaders and activists of Solidarity was that of opposition to the self-management idea.

The situation started to change in late February and the beginning of March. Here in Warsaw there was a lot of discussion about self-management, as well as in Lublin and Gdansk. But this was interrupted by the Bydgoszcz events.⁴ The attitude at the level of the National Coordinating Commission (KKP) of Solidarity was still not in favor of self-management. A majority of the members of the KKP were still either against it or at least gave it no clear support.

As a social movement, self-management ac-

4. On March 19, several Solidarity and farmer activists were brutally beaten by the police at a meeting in Bydgoszcz. This attack, and other provocations from the bureaucracy, were answered by a four-hour warning strike on March 27, as millions of workers around the country walked off their jobs in protest.

tually started in April and is continuing still up to this day.

Q. Have you something to say about the planned national conference on self-management? What are the aims of this conference? Is it to begin in late August or . . .

A. It cannot be said for sure today when and where it will be held. Now there is also a proposal to call a meeting in Warsaw for the committees for self-management from all over the country in the beginning of August. This meeting will have a limited aim. It will be a kind of demonstration of power to exert pressure on the government, so that the government's proposal of bills to the parliament should be substantially changed according to the postulates of the self-management committees.

A real congress that takes decisions on policy is still a matter of the future, one or two months from now. You must have strong regional centers before you can think about building a national congress. This concept was first put forward by the so-called Working Group, which was created in Lublin July 13 and is composed of more than fifty big enterprises from all over the country.

Q. What about the Siec (the Network)?

A. That is another initiative. The Siec was created in late March, the beginning of April, and is composed of seventeen big enterprises. It is an initiative by the factory committees of Solidarity in those enterprises. The aims of this group are more in the area of trade-union policy, although they are also discussing self-management.

The Working Group consists of representatives of self-management committees and as such it concentrates exclusively on self-management. Of course, there are many members and leaders of Solidarity in the Working Group, since 80 or 90 percent of all workers support Solidarity, but the Working Group does not exclude people who are not members of Solidarity, because the self-management committees are representative bodies for all workers in the enterprise, regardless of whether they are party or non-party members, of their trade-union membership, and so on.

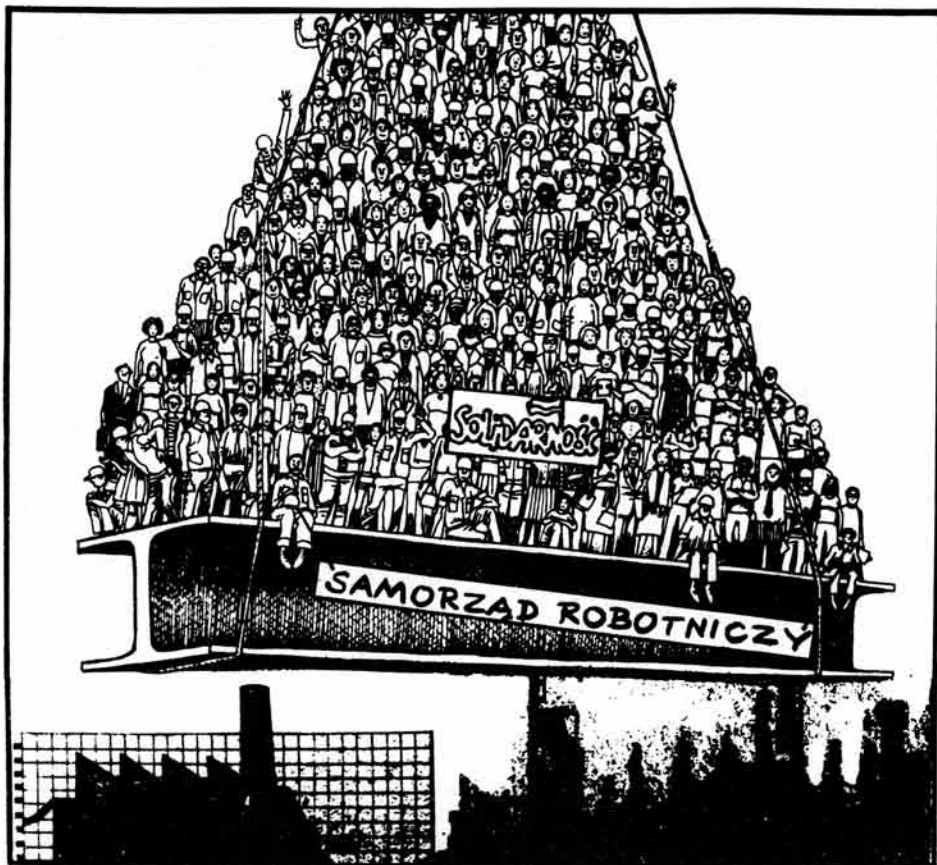
Presently we are making attempts to unify the actions of the Siec and the Working Group regarding self-management.

Q. What would be the relation between the self-management committees and the trade unions, in particular Solidarity?

A. In the Siec no serious attempts were made to clarify what kind of decisions were for the trade unions to make and what should be decided by the self-management committees.

There are, of course, many decisions, for instance concerning salaries, wages, social benefits, etc., that should be made jointly by the trade unions and the self-management committees.

In general, as we say, the self-management committee represents "the boss" and the union



"Workers' self-management"

NTO

represents the "wage earner."

The system we will have here in Poland will be much more complicated and much more interesting than, for instance, the one in Yugoslavia, where the unions are very weak in the factories and in the country as a whole.

Q. What is the government's proposal for a self-management bill and what is your response to it?

A. Well, I would rather simply tell you what the workers' demands are. First of all, there are three bills that cannot be separated, the bill on the enterprises, the bill on self-management, and the bill on economic reform. The demands of the workers to these bills are that the self-management must have the right to manage and not just co-manage or participate in the management. This does not mean "mitbestimmung," as they say in Germany, but *management*. Therefore, we are called "anarcho-syndicalists" by the government . . .

Q. Kania also said in his opening speech to the party congress that you are advocating "group-ownership" instead of social ownership of the means of production . . .

A. Yes, but Kania forgot that in 1956 it was clearly stated in the law that the *constitutional right* of workers to participate in the management is realized through the fact that *the workers manage the factory*.

And nobody talked about "anarcho-syndicalism" or "group-ownership" at that time.

The self-management committees must have the right to elect and dismiss directors and high-level administrators and the director should be responsible to the self-management councils.

The self-management committees reject the forced incorporation by the state of enterprises into the industry associations. We want, of course, productive cooperation, but we reject that the state authorities can put, for instance, all auto factories into an industry association by force, even when it is not useful, thus creating a supreme bureaucratic structure over the enterprises. All participation in the associations between enterprises must be voluntary.

Q. Have you drawn any lessons from the workers councils formed in 1956?

A. Only negative lessons, in the sense that the law from 1956 was exclusively concentrated on the level of the enterprise. No serious considerations of associations of self-management councils between the enterprises were undertaken.

Secondly, no strong pressure was exerted to connect the question of self-management with a bill on enterprises and on economic reform.

Therefore, the workers councils were like foreign bodies in the old structure and were gradually undermined.

Q. There has been a warning strike and there is going to be a strike at LOT, the Polish national airlines. What is its significance for

the self-management movement?

A. It is a complicated problem, because it started in LOT and not in an industrial factory.

The LOT story started around the problem of appointing the director, not around self-management in a more general sense. Clearly, support will be given to the LOT workers—protests, warning strikes, and so on.

DOCUMENTS

Self-management: Why now?

[For nearly four decades, Jozef Kusmieriek has built up a reputation in Poland as one of the country's most critically minded journalists and publicists.

[Although not a member of the Communist Party, during the struggle against the German occupation in World War II he belonged to the Fourth Battalion of the Communist Party-dominated People's Army, functioning largely as a propagandist. Following the war, he continued his work as a journalist, specializing in economic questions. Because of his outspokenness, Kusmieriek was often forced to change jobs and had to continually tangle with the censors.

[Kusmieriek has submitted numerous articles and essays to the "underground" Polish press. Since the formation of Solidarity last year, he has become an active supporter of the independent union, frequently contributing to the Solidarity press. He is currently the chairman of the Workers Information Agency.

[Kusmieriek has also been active in the movement for workers' self-management, participating in a number of the conferences that have been held in recent months. The following is a speech he gave at a meeting of the Siec held at the Wujek coal mine in Katowice June 23-25. The text is taken from the July issue of the Warsaw monthly *NTO*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

It is not important whether the current lack of initiative of the authorities is an intentional game or the result of weakness and an absence of ideas.

What is important are the results. And they are tragic.

Our factories, and all the others in the country, are being threatened with a curtailment of production, and even its cessation. In many factories this has already become a continual feature. In a majority it occurs for several days or several months at a time.

It is well-known that if the management carried out its own statutory obligations—even if only at a minimal level, even if just concentrating on the main questions—then things would not have reached such tragic results. The management is covering up a lack of decisions by the higher authorities, a lack of regulation, a lack of competence.

But it must be emphasized that in Warsaw, the decision of the big factories is that LOT should not be the main point of confrontation, but a starting point to raise the question of self-management. It will be a start of this fight for self-management. LOT should be the first warning and not the last word of the movement for self-management. □

It should not take much wisdom to understand that the basis of our existence is in the workplace, in its rhythmical functioning. Not in the unions, not in the ministries for raising the national income, but precisely here, at the workbenches.

The main principle of the laws is that they must not threaten the interests of society. If they do, then those laws are illegal. The lack of decisions by the managements covers up a lack of proper regulation, a lack of sufficient competence. If this results in a drop in production in the factories, if we are thrown out of work and have to pass over to the offensive status of getting unemployment benefits as a result of "legal" forms of activity, then those forms are illegal.

The hot season begins in four months, but our lives are already complicated and threatened. For nine months the nominal government has demonstrated that it is in no position to avoid the most minor problems, that it is in no position to tackle the simplest tasks.

The failure of our negotiations with the Western banks was also rooted in this. Our negotiators were unable to submit reliable reports on the state of our economy. It is incredible, unbelievable, that such a report could not be prepared within two weeks, or even a month. In a centrally planned economy, even one that is at the point of collapse, it must be possible to draw up such a report within a dozen or so hours. Either the government didn't want to draw up such a report, or it couldn't.

To us, by the workbenches, there must be an end to all apprehension and fear of our nominal government. We must look reality in the face and accept it. It is a fact that our level of existence has been lowered to one just above destitution, just above hunger. The truth tells us that if we simply stand by our workbenches, if we just wait, then each of us will suffer personal catastrophe.

The only rescue is self-management of our factories.

Self-management, the administration of the factories by the workers, is not something new in our country. Those who have usurped the right to claim that thanks to them and them alone did we rise up from post-war devastation—they are the only ones who do not want to remember that the initial work of reconstruction was based on various forms of self-

management. Only self-management passed the test in the most difficult moments. And this truth has been reconfirmed many times in our post-war history. We are reminded of 1956, when many factories and even entire regions remained without any nominal authorities, who simply fled.

The establishment of self-management is in harmony with the traditions of the workers movement and with the doctrine of our state, which is based on the social ownership of the means of production.

There are some with short memories, those who today state or may tomorrow state that the creation of self-management is an attempt to overthrow the government. They need reminding: Were there not speeches by Gierek, Jaroszewicz, Babiuch, Pinkowski, and other people who are now out of the government in which one could find sentences about the necessity of strengthening and extending self-management? The fact that those speeches were accompanied by acts that undermined self-management, that expropriated some of its property (such as housing cooperatives), is a separate question.

Self-management always arises to fill a vacuum, where there is no authority or where the authorities act against the interests of society or give up carrying out their duties. We must establish self-management in order to defend our workplaces and, what is more, to defend our constitutional rights and obligations to work.

We are certain—and it is obvious to everyone—that the government is no longer capable of carrying out these duties. It may award pensions to those who deserve them. It may hand out honorable positions. But if our factories come to a standstill, this is simply a ticket to extreme poverty.

We must establish self-management because it is the only rescue for us and for our workplaces. But we do not want self-management at any price. It must not become a cover for lethargic officials, who most often will try to hang on at our expense.

Self-management is the only true and only effective road to a deep and fundamental reform of the economy, a reform that will, once and for all, save us from falling into a crisis,

from threats to our independence, and from always being preoccupied with our hardships.

All former attempts to establish workers' self-management, despite their initial and undeniable successes, ended in defeat. A self-management body that is not supported by an authentic trade union, that is not genuinely representative, will always lose out to the administration. The administration will be able to manipulate it so that it ends up as a force standing against the workers. We are reminded how underhanded and treacherous was the role of the KSZIU in June 1956, and how it was maintained as a so-called self-management body into July and August 1980.

Now, with the support and collaboration of Solidarity—and created at its initiative—self-management has an opportunity to become the genuine management of the factories.

This is not only an opportunity, but an obligation. It is the only way out of this situation. Because without self-management, each of us, together with our families and closest ones, will fall into such hunger and destitution, dependence and servility as we have not known in the entire 1,000 years of our history. □

The unions and the Workers Councils

Solidarity's role in self-managed enterprises

[The Siec, formally known as the Network of Solidarity Factory Organizations of Leading Workplaces, has held a number of conferences since its formation, one of which took place at the large Cegielski metalworks in Poznan June 1-3. The following document, on the relationship between the trade unions and the self-management bodies, was one of several adopted at this conference.

[The text is taken from the July issue of *NTO*, a monthly journal of the Mazowsze regional Solidarity, published in Warsaw. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

1. Why do we need self-management?

In recent months economic catastrophe has been drawing nearer, months in which the authorities have made no economic decisions, or have made decisions that have only worsened the crisis.

Because of the pressure of its members and the stance adopted by the authorities, Solidarity is being forced to take on more and more matters: the defense of the workers, the actual comanagement of enterprises, and it is now already evident that it will also have to take over certain tasks of food distribution. The union is being thrust into the role of a total organization, concerning itself with everything. These tasks are beyond its strength and authority; moreover, they are often not compatible with it.

The union needs a partner with economic authority. Our experience has shown that in the factories such an authority can only be self-management.

Self-management will be the owner of the means of production. This ownership is guaranteed in the draft law on the social enterprise [put out by the Siec]. Self-management will relieve Solidarity of having to take on the burden of economic matters and will allow it to concentrate its strength and resources on protecting the interests of the workers.

It is already evident that the union is not able to secure an improvement in the conditions of life and that only self-management, which can gather the necessary resources, has a chance of doing so.

2. The union as the initiator of self-management

Self-management must be established only on the initiative and with the support of Solidarity, to which a majority of our workforce belongs. All other attempts to set up self-management will either be too weak to forge ahead or will mark an attempt on the part of the authorities to manipulate the workers, manipulation directed against Solidarity.

Therefore, the union must not give up the initiative on self-management. It must consistently realize the original idea put forward by the Siec to quickly bring about a partnership between a strong union and an efficient self-

management.

We add that in our movement there are many people who are, by nature and inclination, self-management activists, people who are active in the union because they have no other outlets, but who in their very soul are interested exclusively in economic matters. They should belong to the nuclei of self-management.

3. The union and self-management

A trade union in a social enterprise naturally fulfills all the traditional tasks of a union, concerning itself with wages, working conditions, and defense of the workers' interests. All decisions of self-management that touch on the union's area of responsibility should be arrived at by way of negotiations between the Workers Council and the [union's] factory committee.

It appears that the most sensible solution is to accept the principle of reaching yearly agreements between the council and the union, agreements to define questions such as the division of profits between wages and investments, the level of wages, efforts to improve working conditions, and social investments.

The adoption of this principle of agreements between the council and the factory committee naturally makes it necessary that the presidium of the factory committee not become part of the Workers Council. Moreover, according to the draft law on the social enterprises, the presidium of the Workers Council is obliged to call

a general meeting of the entire workforce at the request of the trade union. This meeting must play the role of a final arbiter in case of disputes between the council and the union.

According to this conception, nothing will diminish the role of the union within the enterprise.

And as an organization that also functions above the factory level, the trade union will continue to negotiate with the state for a higher minimum wage and for the central regulation of laws on such matters as family allowances, pensions, and job safety and health conditions. It will also struggle for economic and social

policies by the state that will guarantee realization of the principles of full employment and livelihood and support an improvement in the life of working people on a countrywide level.

Since these tasks are more than enough for the union, it should not be afraid of self-management.

DOCUMENTS

'We'll always choose to stand up'

'Granma' interviews Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop

[We are reprinting below major excerpts from an interview with Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada and leader of the New Jewel Movement, which appeared in a special supplement to the July 12 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma* published in Havana. ("Dollars" in this interview refers to U.S. dollars.)]

* * *

Question. The People's Revolutionary Government has always said that its first priority is to improve the lives of the people of Grenada. With this in mind, what would you say have been the Revolution's main achievements during the first two years?

Answer. I think one major achievement has been that we have been able to mobilize our people to participate in helping to rebuild the country. If I were pressed, I would say that is the single most important achievement, because it is not something that comes easily; it is not something that many other countries have been able to do.

The second example I would give, and this is the one that a lot of the ordinary masses in Grenada would give, is the fact that our people feel a new sense of pride, a new sense of dignity, a new sense of belonging, a new sense of patriotism, and I think this is definitely a direct consequence of the Revolution.

In the area of education, we have been able to double the number of scholarships from primary to secondary school; to reduce secondary school fees from 26 dollars in some cases to 4.50 dollars a term; and as of September this year, secondary education will be entirely free. We have been able to build one new secondary school, the Bernadette Bailey Secondary School—only the second government-built school in 350 years. In the case of university scholarships, we have moved from a situation of three scholarships in 1978, the last year of Gairy, to over 220 university scholarships that our people are now able to enjoy abroad. This has meant, in effect, that university education is also free, because we now have more scholarships offered than we have qualified students to take up.

In health, we have moved from 17 doctors, to over 37 doctors, which means of course that we have been able to greatly improve the quantity and quality of health care for our people. We now have seven—as compared to one—dental clinics, which means that people are now able to stay in their own parish to have extractions or fillings. Where once people had to pay every time they went to a hospital or to one of our medical centers or visiting stations, now and since October of 1980, medical attention in all public health institutions is absolutely free of cost.

We have been able to open a new x-ray center and build a new operating theater, a new casualty clinic and a new eye hospital, so that now people no longer have to travel to Barbados or Trinidad for eye operations.

Here, too, the free milk distribution program has been very important, in particular to the mothers of young children of our country.

In terms of the infrastructure, the new international airport project is of course the most important. The building of new feeder roads has also been significant; and more than eight new community centers have gone

up since the Revolution, including those now being completed.

Our housing repair program, aimed at the poorest of the poor—the agricultural workers, the road workers and the banana, nutmeg and cocoa pool workers—has brought substantial relief to those categories of workers who would otherwise never have had the opportunity of having their run-down houses repaired. The workers are required to repay only two-thirds of the loan: no interest is charged; and in fact, they repay only about two dollars per month over ten years. We have also made a start with our low-income housing project, a program we intend to step up over the next few years.

We believe we have made progress in agriculture, both in terms of diversifying our produce and also in terms of getting some new markets. Perhaps most critically of all, we have reduced the vast subsidy that used to be paid by the Gairy government to the state farms—from expenditure of well over 750,000 dollars to under 185,000; and by the end of this year, we expect that subsidy to be removed altogether.

In agro-industries, we have opened a coffee-processing plant; an agro-industrial plant (where nectars and juices are being produced); and a fisheries processing plant, where we are now smoking, salting, drying

The Revolution has been able to do in two years what has not been done in the past 400 . . .

and filleting our own fish and producing our own saltfish. If that sounds like a small achievement, the fact is that the Revolution has been able to do in two years what has not been done in the past 400.

There has been significant progress, too, in tourism. A conscious effort is being made to develop our tourist potential more fully. We have embarked for the first time on a planned promotional drive aimed at raising our occupancy level and also at diversifying our tourist market, particularly in Western Europe.

We have characterized our approach to tourism as being the development of a "work tourism." By this, we mean that the tourist sector will be integrated, through vertical and horizontal linkages, with the rest of the economy. Thus, we are planning to have our developing agricultural, agro-industrial and fisheries sectors supply the necessary food and processed items for the tourist industry. This will mean a greater saving on foreign exchange, more jobs for our people, better prices, and a guaranteed market for our farmers and fishermen. Additionally, our local handicrafts and furniture (areas in which much attention is being given this year) will increasingly replace the items traditionally imported from countries like Taiwan and Hong Kong.

By "work tourism" we also mean the development of a more sociologically relevant tourism. We believe this can be achieved through the organization of package tours aimed at people who are interested in experiencing different aspects of our development process. Thus, people involved in education, say, might wish to come to look at our literacy and adult education programs, our national in-service teacher training

program, and our work-study and community school day program. In this way, while vacationing and enjoying all that our country has to offer, they are also able to be involved in something relevant to their own work interests. Similar possibilities exist for other areas, including sporting and cultural activities. A number of such tours have already been organized, some of them through friendship and solidarity committees abroad. We also believe that tourist travel can help in the pursuit of peace, as it gives people the opportunity of seeing how others live. Particularly in our situation where we face such massive, negative imperialist propaganda, giving others the opportunity to come to see our developing process for themselves is one of the best ways to counter the aggressive, isolationist and destabilizing plans of imperialism.

Finally, I should mention on this subject that the state sector in tourism has been developing. The hotels and nightclubs acquired by Gairy as part of his ill-gotten gains are now the property of the people, and we, of course, have plans for further expansion.

I think too that the country has made progress in the area of deepening the individual and collective consciousness of our people, their greater understanding today of what we are trying to do, of what the problems are, of what the potential is.

The Centre for Popular Education, a project which in the first phase had the aim of eliminating illiteracy, has almost completed that first stage with just under 1,000 people learning to read and write. The CPE will now move into its second phase, which will include the teaching of language arts and mathematics.

Finally, I would like to mention the some nine training programs created by the Revolution. For example, in the area of education, we have developed an in-service teacher training program, which will train over 500 teachers in the next three years. Under the old system, about 50 teachers were getting trained every two years, about half of whom would then leave the country. We have had very good results with our in-service training program, and the key to its success has undoubtedly been the highly qualified and committed staff we have been able to recruit for it.

A police training school, fisheries training school, hotel training school, public servants' in-service program and other such programs have also been established. All of these are of fundamental importance since they are aimed at lifting the skills of our people: because, if our people do not receive training, if they are not exposed to new skills, then there is really no way at all in which the economy can be built and the Revolution pushed forward.

Q. How would you characterize the present stage of the Revolution?

A. As the national democratic stage, the anti-imperialist stage of the process we are trying to build. We see this in several ways. Beginning with the economy, we believe that our first task is to lay the basis for moving out of the incredible technological and economic backwardness which we inherited. This means at least four separate things. One is the need to urgently build a strong state sector that for the first time can be used to generate profits which in turn can be used to bring more benefits to the people. As I mentioned, the state sector right now has been developing in agriculture (the various government-owned farms, the agro-industrial plant, the coffee plant); in the fishing and fisheries sector, with the assistance of Cuba; and in tourism.

At the level of the financial institutions, a National Commercial Bank has been established for the first time, and is already the third largest

Our first task is to lay the basis for moving out of incredible technological and economic backwardness . . .

bank in Grenada. A Marketing and National Importing Board, which not only ensures proper handling of exports and the marketing of our products, but also reduces the cost of living through the importation of certain basic essential items, has also been established.

Secondly, we feel that at the same time the state sector is built, we must stimulate the private sector in order to boost production. The state

sector alone cannot develop the economy, given the very low level of technology available, the limited human resources, the lack of capital, the lack of marketing expertise, the lack of promotional capacity. So, we must stimulate the private sector in business generally, but also of course in agriculture, and in particular among the small and medium farmers.

A third factor is to create more state organizations to expand the export possibilities of our country as more crops are produced and more industries developed.

And fourth is the obvious need to disengage as rapidly as we can from imperialism. On the international front, this means that we need to struggle with other countries like our own, countries of the "Third World," for better prices, for the creation of a New International Economic Order. This also means achieving a greater economic control over resources, developing the financial institutions and the financial re-

We must build a new, grass-roots, people-oriented democracy . . .

sources, and achieving tighter fiscal control to lay the basis for monitoring and planning the economy. This process will involve diversifying our trading patterns and developing new trading partners (while not breaking relations with our traditional partners) to bring more benefits to our people, get better prices, and move out of the primitive economy we inherited. This is one reason why we have sought to develop the best possible relations with the socialist world, the socialist-oriented world, and countries which have won their national liberation.

In this attempt to disengage from imperialism, the role of Cuba has been decisive, and the technological transfers that have taken place on a free and disinterested basis have been extremely important. We have received the kind of assistance that enables us to continue to develop our economy on our own—such as the provision of the fishing boats and the assistance with the international airport, the single most important infrastructural project our country has ever undertaken.

The last point I would like to make on the economy is that naturally, we are seeking gradually to build cooperatives in the agricultural sector. That process has started, although it has not gone as quickly as we would have liked. But we certainly believe it is going to be the third key sector of the national economy, along with the state and private sectors.

At the level of the state apparatus, the Gairy army which we inherited was completely disbanded. We are now building a new kind of army altogether, an army based on the people, an army at this point largely made up of the formerly unemployed youth of our country, an army with an entirely new set of values, a new approach to their function. Likewise, a people's militia has been established, which is extremely important. It's come about partly as a result of our recognition that we cannot rely solely on the full-time army in a situation of external invasion, but that we must be able also to count on the people themselves to act as a reserve, or war-time army if you wish, that can be mobilized at a second's notice to defend the country.

The police force inherited from Gairy was not disbanded. But here, we have begun a process of democratization under a new leadership, of reorganization and a new round of training. In this way, we hope to reach the stage where the Grenada Police Service, as it is now called, together with the army and the militia and other elements of the armed forces, will become an entirely new kind of armed force that will understand its role as the defender of the Revolution, as the defender of the rights of the people, no longer used for repressive purposes.

The bureaucracy which we inherited was extremely demoralized and extremely inefficient, and there, a process of reorganization and training has also begun.

The last broad point I want to make on what we mean by the national democratic stage is related to our approach to the question of democracy. We feel we must build a new grass-roots, people's-oriented democracy in our country, from the village level right up to the national level. We see the need to build national organizations of the people, relevant to the people's life and to their real problems, to ensure their

participation on a daily basis in this revolutionary democracy. This, of course, is the stage we are at: the stage of revolutionary democracy.

Another responsibility of the Revolution in this period, given that the legislative and executive functions are right now institutionalized in the People's Revolutionary Government, is to guarantee the widest possible process of consultation with the people on major questions. We have done this, for example, with the Income Tax Law, which came about after some nine months of widespread organized consultation, and with the Maternity Leave Law, that was discussed for some three or four months. And in tourism, one particularly far-reaching proposal made by a largely Canadian firm has been submitted to widespread discussion among the people, to know their views in advance of any decision.

Likewise, the people have been involved in the whole airport question, and in the recent airport struggle we had to fight when the Americans tried to block our funding possibilities from the European Economic Community. Our approach was to update the people fully on exactly what was happening, to give our appreciation of why America was

We have found a tremendous desire on the part of the masses for political education and organization . . .

seeking to block the construction of even one international airport in our country. As a result, not only did thousands come out to a rally to defend the building of the airport, but a National Airport Development Committee has also been set up, representing the people in all their organizations, and ensuring that they continue to play a large part in seeing that the airport gets completed.

We feel, too, that it is very important in this period to guarantee that more social benefits are brought to the people. This accounts for the relatively great strides we have made in the areas of health, education, the creation of more jobs, a better water supply—all these critical areas—because we have made the provision of the basic needs of the people a priority for the use of very scarce natural and national resources.

Q. Could you tell us a bit more about which sectors of the Grenadian population are actively involved in the revolutionary process, and what forms this takes?

A. Most sectors of the population at this point are involved in actively supporting the Revolution. I should tell you first that our present analysis is that 90 percent of the people of Grenada are favorably predisposed to the Revolution. More than that, this same percentage is favorably predisposed to being organized by the Party and by the Revolution. We have found that even those forces that were relatively hostile to the Revolution now give us arguments not opposed to what we are doing in any specific area, but very often centered around the fact that they are not seeing the leadership often enough, that the presence of the Party is not among them enough, that kind of argument. And we have found a tremendous desire on the part of the masses at large for political education and for organization. I think that's an important general background point.

The youth of our country are becoming increasingly active. Apart from the existing organizations, several new ones have sprung up since the Revolution. In fact, many of them arose entirely spontaneously. The leading mass organization for the youth is the National Youth Organisation, which has been going forward despite tremendous objective problems—the continuing unemployment problem, which in turn leads to frustration; the lack of transport; the lack of sufficient cadres of quality to be involved in the work on a day-to-day basis. (You have to understand that most of the youth who formerly led the NYO are now involved in other very critical areas of work: over 200 of them are abroad studying in universities; many of them are in leading positions in the Party, or have very onerous responsibilities in the state or economy.) But certainly, the vanguard organization for youth in our country is the National Youth Organisation.

The women, too, have become increasingly organized, particularly

following the bomb blast in Queen's Park last June 19th, which killed three of the women of our country and injured several more. Today, the National Women's Organisation has become the leading mass organization for the women of Grenada.

This has come about in part because of our conscious attempt to tackle the subjective and objective difficulties which our women have traditionally faced. One of the leading women in our party, in fact, a member of the Central Committee and the president of the National Women's Organisation, has been appointed secretary for Women's Affairs and, as such, heads the Women's Desk in the Ministry of Education and Social Affairs. This has given a great impetus, at the level of the state, to the work among women.

With the ending of sexual exploitation and job discrimination and with the proclamation and substantive implementation of equal pay for equal work in the state sector, the women of our country are now involved in every aspect of life and work in the country. Many have received jobs in areas where women have not traditionally been employed; many are working in our developing cooperative sector; several are in the People's Revolutionary Army; many more are in the militia; several dozens are now pursuing free university courses abroad; hundreds more are being trained as welders, farmers, teachers, artisans, fisherwomen and so forth; and, of course, thousands are involved as students or teachers in the Centre for Popular Education's literacy programs. The Maternity Leave Law 1980 has also given to our women the right both to paid leave during pregnancy and job security. The women of our country now proudly proclaim that they are rapidly becoming "Equal in production and defense."

The National Students Council, which was established since the Revolution, also has made impressive strides in its attempts to democratize the school system and to get its membership involved in study emulation programs, work-study courses and community projects. Likewise, the NJM Young Pioneers, another creation of the Revolution, has done excellent work in helping to organize the children of the nation and in beginning the process of instilling in them the necessary qualities of discipline, self-confidence, creativity, commitment, leadership, patriotism and so forth.

The urban working class has taken great advantage of the trade union recognition law that we passed in the first months of the Revolution, which for the first time gave the workers the right to form and to join the trade unions of their choice. From about 40 percent of the working class unionized, we now have about 85 percent unionized. The agro-proletariat, likewise, has been organized in the Agricultural and General Workers Union, and many of them also work on Sundays in the community work brigades.

The small and medium farmers participate through the various parish councils which meet on average once a month and bring together those

The women of our country are now involved in every aspect of life and work . . .

who are willing to work actively on a regular basis for the Revolution. They also work, of course, in the community work brigades, in the community education councils, and so forth.

The middle strata of our country are also involved in the parish councils, and to a lesser extent in the community work brigades; and many are becoming involved in new organizations like the local Airport Committees. For example, the St. George's Airport Development Committee has done exemplary work over the past two years in helping to raise funds for the international airport project. We certainly expect that the middle strata and the professionals generally will play a leading role in the recently formed National Airport Development Committee.

Our Party, of course, is also making sure that not only our active membership but our broad supporters as well (which make up a substantial section of the population) are involved—through selling the newspaper, organizing fund-raising events, participating in seminars, panel discussions and film shows, Party-led education courses, and other activities aimed at developing greater political consciousness. Party suppor-

ters are also active in the National Community Development Committee, which has the main responsibility for monitoring what benefits are concretely coming to each village in Grenada.

As the PRG, our role in this process comes in the form of supporting those organizations already in existence and encouraging the formation of new ones; by guaranteeing a legal basis for such participation (as with the trade union law or laws promoting women's equality); and by continuing to bring more benefits for all of the poor and working people. Because, in the final analysis, without those benefits, the possibility of such participation will always remain in the realm of theory.

Q. Despite the PRG's widespread support, it has been criticized abroad for maintaining political detainees, curtailing freedom of the press, and not formulating a new Constitution. Would you comment?

A. The question of detainees first of all. Everyone knows, and even reaction and imperialism when they choose to be honest will admit, that a necessary consequence of a revolution is political detainees. The only way to avoid that is if you choose the route of lining them up and shooting them. I think it is significant that everyone who has come to our country has remarked on the great humanity of the Revolution—on, for example, the fact that on the first day of the Revolution, the very same unemployed youth who were daily facing the brutality of the Gairy regime were the comrades who went out and picked out the Mongoose Gang, the secret police, the criminal elements in the army and the police force, and all of them were brought into custody without a single scratch. That is quite amazing when you think about it.

It is important to point out, too, that when you consider of the hundreds of people who were rounded up during the first hours, days and weeks, today there are just 14 of these people in detention. That tells you the approach the Revolution has taken to the question: whenever and wherever possible, once this is consistent with the interests of the Revolution and particularly with national security considerations, people are released. No arbitrariness is allowed or encouraged. People are never picked up merely on hearsay or that kind of thing—but information is double-checked and triple-checked. And thereafter, every attempt is made to monitor the attitude of the detainee while in detention, and to make a careful analysis of whether or not it is safe to release him at that particular time. Again, perhaps I should point out that of Gairy's entire political directorate, ministers and what not, only two of them are

now in detention from March 13th.

Every other detainee in detention at this point—and there are a few dozen more—are there because they are products of direct criminal activity committed since the Revolution. People who were involved in the two major counterrevolutionary plots, for example—those involved in the terrorist activity of 19th June and 17th November last year—people like that. On this, our position is very firm: once there is any threat of that kind to the Revolution, people are going to be detained. But equally, our position is that whenever and wherever possible, they must be brought to trial on specific charges. (We have not created any new or special courts to handle that, though we have created a Terrorism Law that provides special penalties for terrorism.) Likewise, when the circumstances indicate that it would be reasonable to release them, we believe that should be done.

As far as the question of the press is concerned, first of all, the press is not restricted in any way in our country. There were very specific reasons which led to the closure of the *Torchlight* newspaper in 1979. The newspaper was closed at that time because it had begun to incite an important minority section of the population—i.e. the Rastafarian movement—to open counterrevolutionary activity, calling on them to take up arms against the state. Our position is that nobody will be allowed to do that, whether it's a newspaper or whatever else. Once anybody moves to that sort of activity, they are going to be crushed, and that is why there is no *Torchlight*.

However, there is a national newspaper, the *Free West Indian*, which is an objective newspaper, where the views of the masses are printed. In

We now have about 85 percent of the urban working class unionized . . .

fact, their views are now seen much more than in the days when the *Torchlight* was being published. Now it is quite possible to see how the masses feel on any important subject, including when they are criticizing the government on specific issues.

The National Women's Organisation puts out its own newspaper; so does the National Youth Organisation, the Agricultural and General Workers Union, as well as several of the urban trade unions, notably the Bank and General Workers Union. Thus, there is no lack of newspapers in our country. The press is in fact free and allowed to function. Likewise with radio and television—although television we can hardly speak about since it's just beginning to get going again. In the recent dispute we had with the public workers union over the question of increased wages for them, they were allowed not only to print their pamphlets and to freely circulate them among their workers, but also to hold their meetings during working hours on time off given by the government, and to have all their releases read over Radio Free Grenada. That kind of freedom never existed before in our country, and is certainly not obtained in many of those countries that speak of freedom of the press and freedom of the media generally.

In this region, the hypocrisy practiced by newspapers such as the *Trinidad Express*, *Barbados Advocate* and *Jamaica Gleaner* is really quite outstanding. When our releases go to them, they're not printed. Instead, they choose to rely entirely on rumor. Equally, when our newspaper, the *Free West Indian*, is sent to several of these countries, they are hidden away at the airport or burnt. While, on the other hand, their newspapers come to our country every day and freely circulate. *Time* and *Newsweek* which spend much time slandering and criticizing countries like our own also come into Grenada. But when these people speak of freedom of the press, they obviously speak only of the freedom of a very small minority of the population to push their own views under the pretence of being national and responsible. In fact, what is being peddled is always the same minority views and very often of the same individuals. A man like Ken Gordon in Trinidad, for example, owns or has shares in several newspapers in the region and is also one of the leading figures in the Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters Association, is also a leading figure in the Caribbean News Agency. He's tied up in every aspect of the



Sam Manuel/Militant

"We are building a new kind of army, an army based on the people."

media in that region, and that is what they call "freedom."

As far as the Constitution is concerned, we feel that the last Constitution inherited on independence was a farce. Many important rights were left out, such as the right to work. And even when rights were stated, they were stated in a glib form without any remedies provided. For the so-called fundamental rights and freedoms in Chapter I, there are no remedies provided bar the granting of declarations. Well, the masses can't eat declarations.

Likewise, the responsibilities and duties of the population are not clearly stated, are not stated at all.

We believe the new Constitution should entrench the genuine political, social, cultural, spiritual and economic ideals and values of the society; should indicate very clearly what the rights, duties and responsibilities of the population are; should provide remedies when these are breached; and should state concrete ways for the masses to be genuinely involved in a grass-roots democracy that will have relevance to them and will help them to deal with their daily problems. Not a democracy that is centered around a parliament, which nobody goes to listen to, or knows what is doing. We certainly feel that the new popular organizations in our country should specifically be referred to or provided for in the new Constitution.

Therefore, with the new Constitution that we will create in the coming months and years, our approach would be to come up with an appropriate draft, having examined contemporary models around the world; then to submit the draft to a consultative assembly of our people, made up of all their organizations, so they can spend several months discussing it in detail to record their criticisms, their amendments, ideas and suggestions; and then to incorporate the major changes recommended into a new draft which would be approved by the population through a plebiscite or referendum.

Q. Since the Revolution, there has been a marked deterioration in Grenada-U.S. relations. What is the basis for this?

A. I think there are several reasons: the United States has historically and traditionally viewed this region as its backyard. They have always believed that their multinational companies have the right to exploit the resources of this region, indeed of the world, at will and with impunity. They have always felt that they have a right to decide the course of economic development that countries like ours should take. In fact, they have always believed it was their right to ensure our permanent underdevelopment.

Historically, this can be seen at least from the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, which gave to different governments in the United States the right to intervene at will in Latin America. And, as you know, acting under this Doctrine, virtually all countries in this region at one time or another

The new popular organizations should specifically be provided for in the new Constitution . . .

have been invaded. The Mexicans, for example, in the period of the late 1830s and early '40s had most of their national territory stolen from them. The 2.1 million square kilometers taken represents a greater land mass than the total territory of Mexico today.

So, there has been this history of annexation, of invasion, and later still of destabilization and diplomatic pressure which has been used by the Americans over the years. I think, too, that we have to consider the fact that countries like ours—with a particular stance and posture, a non-aligned position in the world, that maintains principled relations with different countries, that maintains excellent relations with countries like Cuba and Nicaragua, that does not see imperialism as invincible, that does not accept that its country is in anybody's backyard, that believes firmly in our right to develop our own process in our own way, free from all forms of outside pressure and interference; that a country like ours that had the honor of having the first revolution in the English-speaking Caribbean—obviously must come in for particular pressure and attack.

The truth is that right from the earliest days of the Revolution, we had

problems with the Americans. Of the major Western powers involved in this region, they were the last to extend recognition to our government, notwithstanding they knew that the Revolution had tremendous, in fact almost total, popular support, that we were in complete control of the country and gave firm undertakings (which have all been respected) to honor our international commitments and to respect the rights and guarantee the safety of all non-Grenadians, and indeed of Grenadians, in our country.

Then, in the first weeks of the Revolution, in return for a promise of 5,000 dollars' "aid" their Ambassador Ortiz tried to dictate to us what our policies must be and in particular was bold enough to warn us against developing "close ties" with Cuba. Naturally, we gave him the answer that we were not for sale and that our internal and international policies were entirely a sovereign matter for us, not subject to any outside negotiation or dictation.

Later on, and still in the first three months, we discovered that the CIA had drawn up a three-pronged "pyramid plan," made up of propa-

A country like ours that had the honor of having the first revolution in the English-speaking Caribbean obviously must come in for particular attack from the United States . . .

ganda destabilization, economic sabotage and destabilization, and terrorist, counterrevolutionary and assassination activities, to roll back the Revolution. And this discovery came after *Newsweek* magazine had informed the world that the National Security Council had considered blockading our country. And I must point out that we have seen all aspects of the CIA pyramid plan attempted—some successfully—over the past two years. In fact, some of the counterrevolutionary elements involved in the October 1979 plot confessed that they had been assured of support from mercenaries who would arrive in ships coming from U.S. territory.

The Americans have also refused to extradite Gairy back to Grenada to face trial on charges of conspiracy to murder and attempted murder, among others, notwithstanding the fact that we have complied with all of their legal formalities. From San Diego and Brooklyn, Gairy is today still using U.S. territory and media and other facilities to try to fulfill his impossible dream of recapturing power in Grenada.

The Americans also refused to accredit our permanent representative to the OAS as ambassador to Washington and instructed their outgoing ambassador to Grenada not to come to St. George's last January when we had invited her in for official talks aimed at restoring dialogue.

Recently too, a poll of travel agents in the Washington/Maryland area and in New York revealed that over 90 percent of the 40-odd agencies approached for travel information to Grenada advised that Grenada was an "unsafe" destination. Most of them said that this totally dishonest advice was given to them by the State Department.

Furthermore, after Hurricane Allen caused severe damage to our banana crop last year, an application for rehabilitation assistance by the Windward Islands Banana Association, comprised of Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Dominica, was only granted on the basis that Grenada was excluded. Since then, we have had several more examples of the USA blocking and trying to block our attempts to receive developmental assistance from different international lending agencies like the IMF and from different countries like the EEC to which we had applied for assistance with our international airport project.

Now, they have stepped up their illegal spy flights over our country, have stepped up in a massive way their negative and lying propaganda and who knows for a fact what other plans are on the drawing board or have just been approved.

It seems there is no limit to the vulgarity and grossness of the mighty USA in their attempts to try to stop the peaceful and progressive development of a small and poor but independent-minded country like Grenada. During the election campaign they said that their plan was to teach



MAURICE BISHOP

Diane Wang/Militant

us a lesson. Our plan is to make sure that our Revolution continues and grows stronger every day.

I think we also have to understand that this period is in many respects the most dangerous period in recent times. The Reagan administration has come up with some new concepts—particularly those of “linkage” and “international terrorism”—that are extremely dangerous. This concept of terrorism seeks in one blow to get round the Carter concept of human rights (it is no longer necessary to condemn those countries that have bad human rights records, like Chile), and to give them free reign to call any countries that are opposed to their way of thinking “terrorists.” In that way, they are seeking to rewrite recent history; turn back progressive developments around the world; and to create an image and a climate of hostility against those countries that have fought for their liberation and have been successful, countries of course like Cuba and Nicaragua, like Mozambique and Angola.

The concept of linkage likewise is very dangerous. What this doctrine says is that if something happens in some part of the world of which they disapprove then they reserve the right to take a similar action in another part of the world, in Latin America, for example. That would mean that if anything took place in Europe that America disapproved of, that would give them the right to invade Cuba or Nicaragua, El Salvador or Grenada.

This American administration wishes to resume the role of policeman of the world on behalf of imperialism and capitalism. They believe they have the right to rule the world, and this does not seem to extend just to dominating and exploiting small, poor countries like our own, or to trying to roll back the progress that has taken place in the socialist world, but also even to dictating to their so-called allies in Europe what they must do. A very good example of that recently was the attempt they made to stop the humanitarian assistance that the EEC countries were trying to send to the war victims of El Salvador. Another example,

which I have already mentioned, is the pressure they brought to bear on these same countries not to give any form of assistance to Grenada for our international airport.

That is the extent to which these people are dreaming—in the White House, in the Pentagon, in the State Department, indeed in the whole military-industrial establishment in America. They would like to redraw the present map of the world. They would like to see an end to the Mozambiques, the Nicaraguas and the Cubas. They have given open and total support to the racist apartheid regime in South Africa. They are against the national liberation struggle and national liberation movement in Namibia. They have agreed once again that the Chilean dictatorship can receive aid from America, invited them to participate in future military maneuvers with the U.S. Armed Forces, while at the same time saying the people of Panama do not have the right to their own Canal, in open contravention of the Carter-Torrijos treaties.

Really, this Reagan administration—its policies, its postures, its clearly warlike intentions on the world stage—represents a tremendous danger to world peace, has created great new tensions regionally and internationally and will certainly cause a major regional or global catastrophe in the future if it does not change its warlike aggressive attitude very soon.

From our perspective in Grenada, we have always expressed our desire and interest in having as good relations as we can with whatever government is in charge in the United States. That still remains our perspective. We recognize that several of our own nationals live in the United States and that several of their nationals live in our country. Therefore, we have absolutely no reason to want bad relations. But we have always said and will continue to say, that these relations must be premised on the normal, well-established principles of relations between two sovereign states—that is to say, legal equality, mutual respect for sovereignty, ideological pluralism and respect for the principle of non-interference in each other's affairs. Now, if these principles can be accepted by the United States, I am certain that a large part of the basis for the problems that now exist between our two countries would immediately and automatically be removed. We will certainly continue working towards achieving that goal.

Q. "Forward ever, backward never!" is the slogan of the Grenada Revolution. What do you see as the main difficulties that have to be overcome in the present period for the revolutionary process to keep on its forward course?

A. I think the major difficulty centers around the economy, and ensuring that we can do something as urgently as possible about transforming the economy we now have, and developing its productive capacities. There are tremendous problems at this point in time—with the lack of human resources, the lack of technology, the lack of capital, of expertise.

At the same time, there is the continuing problem for countries like ours, primary producers, of the very poor price that we get for the agricultural crops we produce. In 1979, we got 21 million dollars from the sale of nutmeg, cocoa and banana; by 1980, for selling just about the same amount, we got 17 million dollars, four million dollars less, largely because the price of cocoa fell in a few months from about 4,400 dollars a ton to about 2,400 dollars a ton. There was very little, of course, that we could have done about that. In the longer run, this is part of our struggle for the achievement of a New International Economic Order, and for diversification of our trading partners and patterns.

There is the problem, too, of the imported inflation that we have to grapple with every year. In a country like ours with such a small, open, dependent economy, naturally that's a major problem. In 1979, we spent something like 43 million dollars to import the manufactured items we need from the imperialist countries; by 1980, we had to spend 50 million to get just about the same amount of goods. That tells you that while the price we get for our goods falls every year, the price we have to pay for what they produce goes up every year. It's a massive problem.

As if this weren't enough, we recently experienced outright economic warfare declared on Grenada by three giant transnational corporations

which attempted to bring the country to a complete halt by cutting off the electricity supply and plunging our people into darkness. Of course, they hoped that the resulting chaos would make Grenadians lose confidence in themselves to push the Revolution forward and lose confidence in their government to solve the burning problems that the country faces.

After more than 20 years of squeezing profits from our people, 20 years of rate increases that even government had no power to control, and 20 years of progressively deteriorating service resulting in massive blackouts during the last few months—the Commonwealth Develop-

Faced with economic aggression, our country took over control of the electricity company . . .

ment Corporation of England suddenly couldn't obtain further fuel credit from ESSO and couldn't obtain further cash credit from their bankers at Barclay's. Then, on the afternoon of May 21st, the government was presented with an ultimatum by these three transnationals: take over the enormous debts run up by CDC, or the country's generators will stop by 8:00 p.m.

What they did not realize was that for weeks we had been completely informed of their unfolding plot to blackmail our country, that we even knew that attempts had been made to keep the spare parts for the generators from leaving the docks. Faced with this classic example of economic aggression, our government took over majority shares in the electricity company, effectively obtaining control of it; appointed two new directors and a new manager; and met with the workers there, who pledged us their vigilance against any further sabotage. But the generators are in a state of total disrepair, and so it will be some time before we can recover from these past 21 years of the exploitation of our people in this essential service, and it will require substantial investment of our economic resources.

Our capital program has also been the target of economic aggression. Just for this year alone, one third of our capital program was in danger of being sabotaged as a result of last-minute moves by the U.S. representative on the IMF Board of Directors to block a major loan from that institution to our country. And, of course, the World Bank has been busy trying to sabotage our efforts to attain financing from the European countries in the April co-financing conference in Brussels.

The second thing I'd like to say on this is related to our general approach to building the country. What we have been doing over these past two years is relying on three main pillars to build the national economy and to keep the Revolution moving forward. These are: one, the need to continue bringing more benefits to the people, through making the economy stronger, through developing as rapidly as we can the productive capacity of our people and productive forces of our country.

Second, to continue to involve our people, to mobilize and to organize them for revolutionary, democratic and grass-roots-oriented participation in the running of the country and the building of the Revolution on a voluntary basis. That has been going quite well in our view.

Third, to develop a capacity to defend the Revolution. It is our firm belief that no revolution has a right to call itself that if it does not have or does not develop a capacity to defend itself. This is why the Gairy army was disbanded and a new army, the People's Revolutionary Army, was created. This is also why we have been building the People's Revolutionary Militia so that the people of our country will themselves be involved in the defense of what they have fought for and what they are trying to build.

We feel that once we can continue to find ways of pushing the economy forward, and thus of mobilizing the necessary resources to ensure more benefits for our people, and to build on these three pillars, then whatever obstacles we face we will be able to overcome. As one of our national slogans proclaims: An organized, conscious, united, productive and vigilant people can never be defeated."

And we should warn those powers intent upon rolling back our process: as long as this government is here and our Party is here and our proud people are here; as long as the Revolution is here, whenever we

have to make a choice between kneeling down and rolling over, or standing up—we'll always choose to stand up.

Q. Thank you, Prime Minister Bishop, for the time you have given to Granma Weekly Review. One last question—how can our readers learn more about Grenada? And how can they actively show their support for the Grenadian people and their Revolution?

A. In terms of learning more about Grenada, it would be important for as many of your readers as possible to get a subscription to our national newspaper, the *Free West Indian*.^{*} At this point, this is a weekly newspaper, but we hope soon it will come out twice a week and thereafter daily. But it does offer at this point one of the best ways of receiving regular information on our country. Those people who live in areas where our radio station, Radio Free Grenada, can be picked up could also tune in on medium- or shortwave.

Thirdly, in several countries around the world, Grenada friendship associations and solidarity committees are being formed. Where such associations exist, people could certainly consider joining them as a means of getting regular information, and also to take advantage of the trips to our country organized by these societies. And that is the fourth point, of course: to come to Grenada. In that way, they would have the opportunity to see what is happening in our country, and to make up their own minds. Certainly, they can be assured at a minimum of a very pleasant and enjoyable holiday, in really ideal conditions—in terms of the beauty and unspoiled naturalness of our country, of our beaches and climate and of the warmth and friendliness of our people. But also, they would be able to see the new kind of society that is emerging, the committed involvement of our people in the Revolution.

As far as concrete support is concerned, one thing we have found particularly effective is when progressive people in any country, through the radio, press, TV or in any other way, set a true perspective on the situation in Grenada, and raise the consciousness of their people on the true reasons behind the attacks by imperialism against our Revolution.

There are many ways in which material support can be expressed. For example, we have received very valuable assistance by way of equipment and materials for the hospitals, community centers, clinics, the Centre for Popular Education program and the land reform program. Quite a number of people have bought airport bonds to lend support to the international airport project, and many of our nationals abroad have also begun banking some of their savings in our local National Commercial Bank. More specific information on all of this can, of course, be

This Reagan administration represents a tremendous danger to world peace . . .

obtained from our embassies or from the friendship societies.

Finally, I would mention that if your readers happen to be living in a country—and I'm thinking of one country in particular—that is especially hostile to Grenada and may well be thinking of sending mercenaries or its own armed forces to invade our country, or if they have reason to believe that such plans are well under way, then actively organizing to show their resentment, their resistance, would be very useful. In fact, that kind of international solidarity has been quite critical to several countries in the past, certainly for Vietnam, where it was one of the decisive factors in ending the war, and also for Nicaragua, and today for El Salvador. We feel the continuation of that kind of opposition by people living in metropolitan centers is of the highest order of importance for the defense of the rights of all progressive countries and peoples engaged in struggles around the world seeking to win their independence or national liberation or to continue to consolidate and build their own internal processes. Certainly such assistance would be one of the most concrete and practical ways in which peace-loving, democratic and progressive people can ensure the forward march of progressive movements around the world. □

^{*} For information concerning subscriptions to the *Free West Indian*, write to West Indian Publishing Company, Hillsborough Street, St. George's, Grenada.—IP

Platform of Salvadoran FDR-FMLN

'Tasks and objectives of the revolution'

[The following document, entitled "Programmatic Platform of the Revolutionary Democratic Government—Tasks and Objectives of the Revolution," is taken from *Boletín Informativo* (Information Bulletin) No. 22, published in Mexico by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador. This issue of the bulletin corresponds to the third week of July 1981. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The tasks and objectives of the revolution in El Salvador are as follows:

1. To overthrow the reactionary military dictatorship of the oligarchy and Yankee imperialism, a dictatorship imposed and maintained for fifty years against the will of the Salvadoran people; to destroy this criminal political-military machine and establish the Revolutionary Democratic Government, based on unity of the democratic and revolutionary forces in the People's Army and the Salvadoran People.

2. To put an end to the overall social, economic, and political power and domination of the great lords of land and capital.

3. To definitively liquidate the military, political, and economic dependence of our country with respect to Yankee imperialism.

4. To assure democratic rights and freedoms to the entire people, especially to the working masses, the ones who have enjoyed such rights least of all.

5. To transfer to the people by means of nationalization or creation of enterprises and associations the fundamental means of production and distribution, now hoarded by the oligarchy and the U.S. monopolies. These include the land held by the big landlords; the enterprises that produce and distribute electricity; the oil-refining industry; industrial, commercial, and service enterprises; foreign trade;

banking; and the big transportation companies. All this will be done without affecting small and medium-sized private businessmen, who will be given encouragement and support in every way in the various branches of the national economy.

6. To raise the material and cultural level of the lives of the people.

7. To create the new Army of our country, one that will arise fundamentally on the basis of the People's Army built in the course of the revolutionary process, in which may be incorporated those healthy, patriotic, and worthy elements who belong to the current army.

8. To press forward popular organization at all levels and in all forms and sectors, in order to guarantee the active, creative, and democratic participation of the people in the revolutionary process and to secure the closest identification between the people and their government.

9. To orient our country's foreign policy and international relations according to the principles of independence and self-determination, solidarity, peaceful coexistence, equal rights, and mutual respect between states.

10. In all of this, to assure our country peace, freedom, popular well-being, and social progress. □

Gambia

Senegalese troops crush rebellion

With help of British military 'experts'

By Nelson Blackstock

[The following article is taken from the September 4 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly *Militant*.]

The West African nation of Gambia is apparently being swallowed up by surrounding Senegal.

The move comes in the wake of a July 30 coup in Gambia that was crushed by the Senegalese army with backing from an "antiterrorist" unit of the British army.

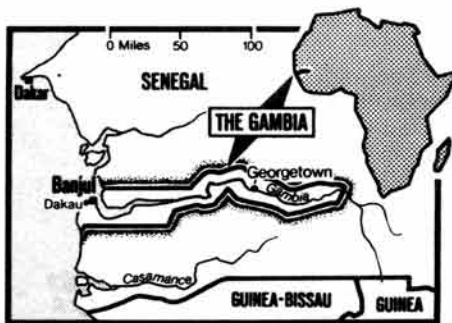
The rebels had announced they were establishing a "dictatorship of the proletariat." They labeled the old government "bourgeois and oligarchic," charging it with "nepotism, injustice, tribalism, and corruption."

At an August 19 news conference, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal and Gambian President Dawda Jawara announced plans to set up "Senegambia." They did not spell out details of the new arrangement, but Jawara said the coup attempt "opened our eyes to the need to go further in joining Senegal."

Jawara had earlier called for "integrated security services" after the coup was put down.

Many of Gambia's 900 member police force had joined the rebels. Gambia does not have an army. Senegalese troops continue to occupy Gambia after brutally suppressing the rebellion, leaving more than 800 dead.

Gambia, with a population of 600,000, is 200 miles long and 18 miles wide. Surrounded on three sides by Senegal, it borders the Atlantic on Africa's westernmost coast.



A former British colony, Gambia gained independence in 1965. Jawara had been the prime minister during the last three years of British rule.

Senegal won its independence from France in 1960. The two had been touted as examples of Western-style democracy.

In the week before the coup, demonstrators had protested food shortages in Banjul, Gambia's capital.

For two years, the country has suffered poor harvests of peanuts, its major cash crop. A drought has cut food production.

The coup was carried out by armed civilians combined with members of the Field Force, a group of about 300 policemen who serve a paramilitary function. It was reportedly greeted with cheers.

The rebels announced they were setting up a National Revolutionary Council, made up of eight civilians and three Field Force members.

Kukli Samba Sanyang, a twenty-six-year-

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old member of the Gambian Socialist Revolutionary Party, led the coup. According to Obi Bini, writing from Ghana in the U.S. weekly *Guardian*, the group is "based on the ideas of the late Kwame Nkrumah, of Ghana."

The party was banned last fall, when Jawara previously called in Senegal army troops. He claimed Libya was trying to destabilize his government. Jawara has alleged outside forces were behind the coup, but he has not produced any evidence.

Rumors were circulated of Soviet involvement when some rebels were seen driving Russian-made Lada cars imported by the local automobile dealer.

When Jawara learned of the coup while in

London, he met with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. She quickly dispatched Special Air Service "anti-terrorist experts," the London *Economist* reported. They helped coordinate the Senegalese intervention from the beginning.

Sanyang and many Field Force members have so far managed to elude the Senegalese troops. They released unharmed several hostages, including one of Jawara's wives.

Jawara returned to Gambia by way of Senegal. Senegalese troops were mounting their invasion even before Jawara's formal request. The pretext was a 1965 "mutual defense" agreement. Many Gambians were surprised to find it being used to defend their ruler against his own population. □

United States

Miners fight union-busting

'Illinois coal is union coal'

[The following article is taken from the September 4 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly *Militant*.]

* * *

"Illinois coal is union coal." This is the motto of District 12 of the United Mine Workers of America. Both Mother Jones, the heroic UMW organizer of the early twentieth century, and longtime UMW President John L. Lewis are buried in southern Illinois. The area is a UMW stronghold.

On Tuesday, August 18, Illinois miners acted to uphold their tradition.

All 14,500 UMW miners stayed off work in a protest of attempts to build nonunion coal mines. More than 2,000 miners went to Galatia in southern Illinois to protest a nonunion mine construction project there by the Kerr-McGee Coal Corporation.

Kerr-McGee is the Oklahoma nuclear company that was involved in the death of union activist Karen Silkwood. The company was described in the *Wall Street Journal* as having a reputation in the industry for "virulent anti-unionism." It operates two nonunion coal mines in Wyoming and intends to keep the UMW out of its mine in Illinois. A Kerr-McGee spokesman said they intended to "stand by our right to hire nonunion workers."

They have been served notice that UMW miners in Illinois intend to stand by their right to keep Illinois coal, UMW coal.

All the coal mines in Illinois are organized by the UMW except one company with about 500 miners who are in the Progressive Mine Workers.

At least four large companies are moving into Illinois intending to build nonunion mines. In addition to Kerr-McGee, they are Shell Oil's Turriss Coal Company; MAPCO; and ARCO Coal, owned by Atlantic-Richfield Oil Company.

These companies are out to get higher profits from the blood of miners than they can get out of UMW mines. After ninety years, the UMW has established a measure of control over safety and working conditions that are the strongest of any union in the United States. To break the union, Kerr-McGee and the others are willing to pay higher wages and put in production bonuses. This means trading safety for speed-up.

Like Vietnam

The scene in Galatia August 18 was festive but serious. A week earlier four UMW construction workers were arrested for picketing the nonunion crews building the Kerr-McGee mine.

After parking in and around town, the miners marched a mile east to the mine site around 10 a.m. More than 100 state troopers were already on the mine property. Two National Guard helicopters buzzed the crowd. In a militant and disciplined way the miners moved to shut down this construction project. The cops responded with an aerial attack. Dozens of tear gas bombs were dropped on the crowd. It reminded many veterans of Vietnam. Fires burned all over. The miners ripped down two and a half miles of chain link fence surrounding the site.

Waves of miners entered the property and a

number of construction vehicles were attacked. Under gas attacks from grenade launchers and the hovering choppers, the miners retreated.

Cops and company officials shot pictures, threatening to arrest miners later. One miner was badly beaten and one was arrested.

At noon, the miners withdrew.

In Galatia, a nonunion construction company office was burned down. It was located next door to the volunteer fire department. Firefighters only hosed down adjacent buildings to keep the fire from spreading. The mayor of Galatia, a small mining town of 800 people, is himself a UMW miner. People from the town had lined the highway and cheered the miners when they marched to the mine site.

The news media has responded as if they owned the mines. They are demanding that "law and order" be enforced against the "uncontrolled mob violence" by the miners. But there are no calls in the news media to stop multibillion dollar oil companies from building mines that will trade lives for extra profits. The 100,000 miners killed in accidents since 1900 are not mentioned.

Profits or public service?

Unemployment in southern Illinois is among the highest in the country. Thousands of miners are idle. Kerr-McGee is trying to play on the high unemployment to win sympathy for its antiunion drive. They denounced the August 18 action as an "irresponsible and illegal action hindering constructive efforts to improve employment opportunities in southern Illinois."

They made no comment on the unemployment of 90 percent of Illinois UMW construction workers.

They are opening these mines for profit. Period. Everyone who lives in a coal mining area knows only too well that mines open when coal is selling, and close when the price goes down or the market contracts. The operators think nothing of signing death warrants for entire counties if they're not happy with the profits. That is why there is so much unemployment in southern Illinois in the first place.

Miners leaving the Galatia demonstration were elated. They had shut down Illinois mining for the day. Kerr-McGee was put temporarily out of commission. The tremendous power of the UMW through united action was demonstrated. Every miner felt it deeply.

"See you next time," was the parting cry.

It is clear that miners are ready to fight this battle and win it.

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* quoted an unnamed UMW District 12 official: "We have to take a stand. This will be a major labor battleground."

Illinois miners will have to return to Galatia. And they'll have to go to Carmi and Elkhart, where the other nonunion mines are being built.

Illinois coal miners are living by their tradition: coal comes up union, or it stays in the ground. □