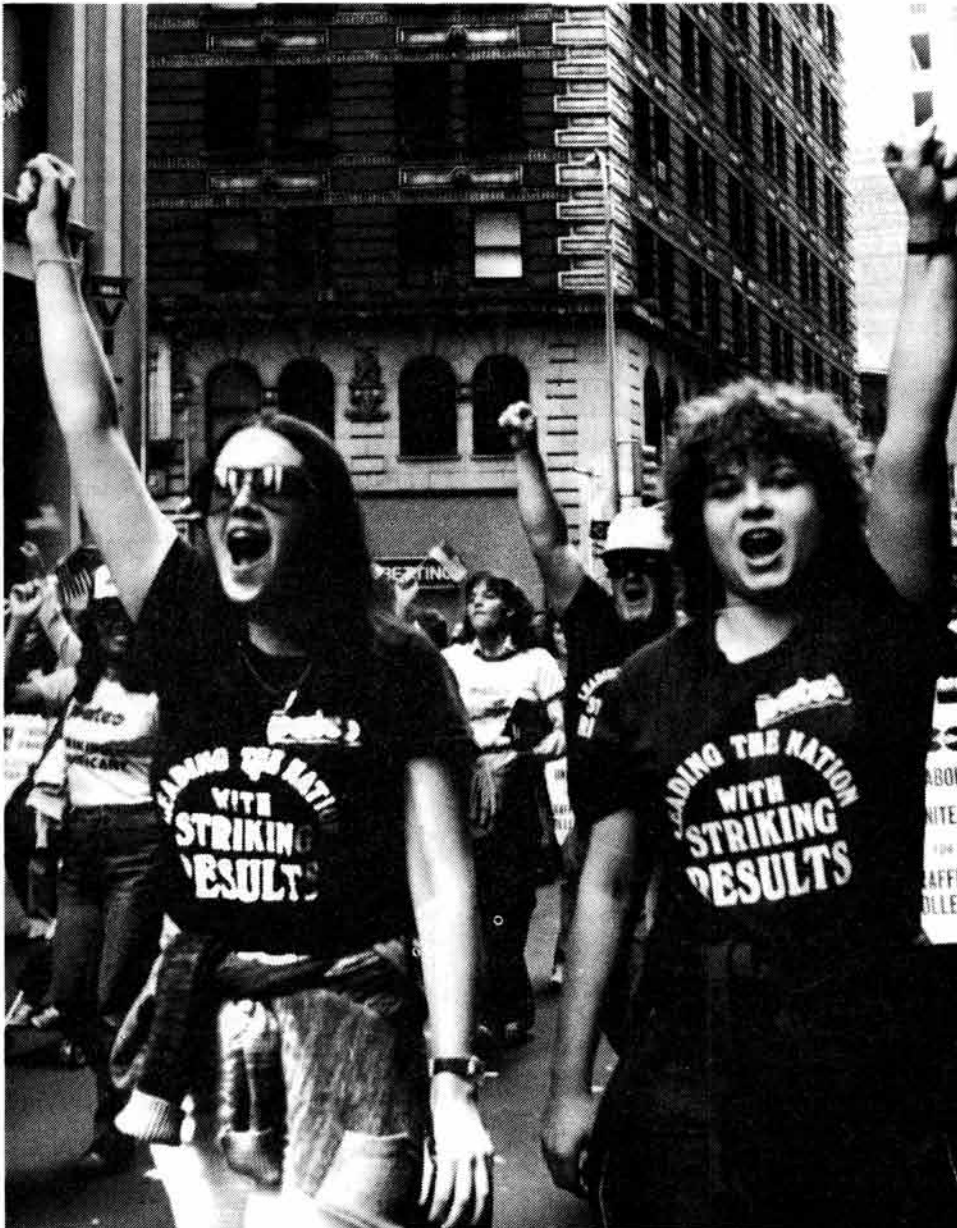

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United States

**Where Air
Controllers
Strike
Stands
Today**

Polish Communist Party Dumps Kania

Washington's shaky Arab allies

By Will Reissner

Hosni Mubarak was sworn in as the new president of Egypt on October 14, replacing the assassinated Anwar el-Sadat.

Mubarak lost no time in launching a major crackdown on opponents of his regime, arresting thousands in the following days. This roundup was an extension of the wave of 1,500 arrests Sadat had ordered shortly before his death.

The arrests were a new indication of the weakness of the Egyptian regime, a regime Washington is counting on to further U.S. interests in the Middle East.

Sadat's death was widely mourned in Washington and other imperialist capitals. The Egyptian dictator had signed a separate treaty with Israel, abandoning the Palestinian people and the other Arab countries in the process. He had welcomed the deposed shah of Iran to Egypt, when no other government was willing to be associated with the ousted butcher.

He had offered the Pentagon the use of Egyptian bases and facilities for the Rapid Deployment Force, to enable U.S. troops to intervene in the Middle East more easily. He had funneled weapons to rightist guerrillas in Afghanistan, and had joined with Washington in trying to overthrow the Libyan government.

Mubarak has pledged to continue these policies. It was revealed in the October 19 *New York Times* that the Egyptian army is being used to funnel U.S. arms to guerrillas fighting the Libyan-backed government in Chad. Egyptian troops have also been sent to the Sudan to protect Gen. Gaafar el-Nimeiry from his own people.

No grief in Egypt

Within Egypt, however, the same positions that won Sadat Washington's praise were seen by the Egyptian people as betrayals of their interests. U.S. correspondents on the scene filed puzzled reports on the "eerie silence" in Cairo on the day of Sadat's burial and the "absence so far of any major public demonstration of grief over Sadat's assassination. . . ."

The most inventive, and unbelievable, explanation was provided by *New York Times* reporter Henry Tanner. He wrote in the October 16 issue that "representatives of the Government party went into neighborhoods and advised the citizens not to display Mr. Sadat's picture or to show feelings for the slain President in any way," supposedly to avoid provoking "the Islamic militants."

The real reason for the opposition to Sadat was revealed by *Washington Post* correspondent David B. Ottaway on October 18. Ottaway sadly noted that at the time of Sadat's death the Egyptian people "were beginning to see their world-famous leader as the cause of their mounting daily problems rather than as the so-

lution to them and to question the price he was paying in Egyptian pride for his peace policy."

The death of Sadat has also focused attention on the weakness of the proimperialist regime in the neighboring Sudan. In the view of the U.S. State Department, "we obviously have a security interest" in the Sudan and in Gaafar el-Nimeiry's survival in power there.

Nimeiry, the Sudan's military dictator, was one of only three Arab leaders to attend Sadat's funeral. He used the occasion to launch a major propaganda blitz aimed at securing U.S. military and economic aid for his tottering regime.

Nimeiry's stories get crossed

While in Cairo, Nimeiry gave a total of twenty-seven interviews to the international press corps, focusing on a supposed Libyan threat to invade the Sudan.

But due to the sheer number of interviews, and the lack of any basis in fact for his claims, Nimeiry found it difficult to keep his story straight. In one interview, Nimeiry charged Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi with financing a plot to overthrow him.

In other interviews, Nimeiry claimed that Libya was planning an imminent military invasion. Nimeiry told the *Wall Street Journal* that Qaddafi's agents were buying up large quantities of food in the Sudan and dumping it in the Nile to create shortages and discontent.

There were times, however, when Nimeiry got carried away and boasted that he in fact was planning to invade Libya. The Sudanese dictator went so far as to tell the Lebanese newspaper *An-Nahar* that he might lead a raid on Tripoli himself.

When the *Washington Post's* Jay Ross went to Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan, to check on the possibility of invasion from Libya, Ross found that diplomats on the scene dismissed Nimeiry's charges without a second thought. According to Ross, "no envoy interviewed believed that a Libyan invasion was likely. 'I think it's garbage,' one said."

Nimeiry's charges of a planned Libyan invasion are pure invention. But his regime is indeed on shaky ground. There have been more than a dozen coup attempts against him since he seized power in 1969.

Wall Street Journal staff reporter David Ignatius, writing from Khartoum, noted that "unfortunately for the U.S., Sudan has severe internal problems that make this country a risky place in which to demonstrate either U.S. reliability or America's ability to help stop the Libyan advance in Africa and the Middle East."

Economy in desperate shape

The report cites observers on the scene: "'politically this regime appears to be nearly exhausted,' argues one Western diplomat. And

even a friendly Egyptian concedes that 'there is a general feeling of unrest' in the country."

According to Ignatius, "Sudan has so many economic, political, and military problems that it's hard to know where to begin. . . ."

The country's economy is in desperate shape, with imports running roughly \$1 billion per year over exports. The Sudan is having great difficulty paying the interest on its \$4 billion foreign debt. Agricultural yields are steadily falling. The per acre production of the all-important cotton crop, for example, has dropped by one-half since 1976.

Nimeiry has responded to the growing opposition to his rule by increasing his repression. Last month, Nimeiry's troops arrested more than 10,000 people. In 1976, an attempt to overthrow the Sudanese dictatorship was put down only after three days of heavy street fighting in which hundreds of people were killed.

Washington's response to the death of Sadat and the problems that clients such as Nimeiry face in holding on to power has been to declare its determination to intervene militarily in the Middle East if necessary to prop up proimperialist regimes, and to step up its shipments of military supplies to its clients there.

The Reagan administration has decided to send \$100 million in military aid to the Sudan. The aid will be accompanied by additional U.S. military advisers, who will supplement those already on the scene in the Sudan.

Washington is also planning to supply U.S. aid "to strengthen internal security" in the Sudan. According to the October 14 *New York Times*, "the Sudan wanted more training for local security officers and better equipment."

U.S. pressure on Libya

Another aspect of Washington's policy has been a sharp escalation of pressures and threats against the government of Libya, which has opposed the Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel and has taken a generally anti-imperialist stance.

Following Sadat's death, the Pentagon sent the aircraft carrier *Nimitz* into the area. Coming after the August 19 U.S. provocation in the Gulf of Sidra, in which carrier-based U.S. warplanes shot down two Libyan jets, the deployment of the *Nimitz* is a direct threat against Libya.

In addition, the Reagan administration has sent two AWACS radar planes, which can be used as airwar command posts, to patrol Libya's border with Egypt.

Former President Richard Nixon, who has recently been rehabilitated by the Reagan administration as a foreign policy point-man, called October 17 for "an international economic quarantine on Libya" after his semi-official tour of Middle Eastern capitals.

An October 9 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* contained an open call for Washington to overthrow Qaddafi. The *Journal* quoted with approval Henry Kissinger's statement that "if Libya had been taken care of two years ago, last year, this year, Sadat would probably be

alive today."

An editorial in the October 12 *Washington Post* called on the Reagan administration "to do whatever it legally can to isolate, weaken, punish and hurt Col. Qaddafi. . . ."

Operation 'Bright Star'

Joint military maneuvers involving the armed forces of the United States, Egypt, the Sudan, Somalia, and Oman — which had been decided upon before Sadat's death — have been expanded in their projected scope and size.

The operation, called "Bright Star," involves seaborne practice invasions of the Middle East by U.S. Marines who are to land in Oman and Somalia, the dropping of U.S. paratroopers into Egypt near the Libyan border, and flights of B-52 bombers from the U.S. to Egyptian bombing ranges near Libya.

But Washington's heavy-handed display of its ability to intervene militarily in the Middle East is causing embarrassment for other participants in Bright Star. The October 16 *New York Times* reported, "Pentagon officials said that in recent days both Oman and the Sudan have indicated that they might decide to withdraw from the joint maneuvers." Both regimes are beginning to worry that too public an association with U.S. threats against Libya could prove unpopular at home.

Washington's attempt to build a proimperialist alliance in the Middle East by stressing the "strategic consensus" among right-wing Arab regimes and Israel is on extremely shaky ground. The overthrow of the shah of Iran by the Iranian masses shows that an alliance with the U.S. rulers and a limitless supply of military hardware is not enough to maintain a proimperialist regime in power against a people's revolution.

Parallels between the overthrow of the shah and the situation in Egypt and Saudi Arabia have begun to appear with increasing frequency in the U.S. press. For example, the October 19 *New York Times* contained a front page story detailing the massive U.S. involvement in Egypt under the headline "Huge U.S. Presence in Cairo Evokes Memories of Teheran."

Israeli aggression

Perhaps the greatest stumbling point in Washington's attempt to coalesce an alliance of reactionary regimes in the Middle East is the Israeli government's occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan, the Golan Heights, and the Gaza Strip, and its determination to crush the struggle of the Palestinian people for their national rights.

Acts of aggression by the Zionist regime continually arouse the outrage and anger of the Arab peoples, making it extremely difficult for even the most reactionary Arab regimes to cooperate with Israel.

Nevertheless, Mubarak apparently hopes to maintain the relationship that Sadat established with Israel. To that end, Mubarak treated Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin as an honored guest at Sadat's funeral. Mubarak also

met with former Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman in Cairo.

Mubarak hopes that his cordial attitude to Israeli officials will convince them to continue with their scheduled withdrawal from the rest of the Sinai Peninsula in April. But the Israeli government continues to show its scorn for the other provisions of the Camp David accords regarding the establishment of Palestinian autonomy in the occupied territories. Sadat had hoped that minor Israeli concessions to the Palestinians would make the Camp David accords more palatable to the rest of the Arab world.

However, on the same day that Mubarak was having his cordial meeting with Weizman, Israel's present defense minister, Ariel Sharon, was presiding over a ceremony on the West Bank where he pledged to establish more Israeli settlements there.

Sharon's remarks were made at a ceremony marking the completion of a pipeline linking fifteen Zionist settlements on the West Bank to Israel's central water supply. Sharon added that "I hope for the sake of us all that over the next seven years we continue with this project."

Showing how little stock he places in the Camp David accords, Sharon maintained that establishing new settlements on the West Bank "will secure more than anything else can, more than any signed agreement can, the future of the Jewish people in the land of Israel."

The new water system will be extended to all eighty-five Israeli settlements on the West Bank. It will have the capacity to supply water to more than 100,000 settlers, although there are only 20,000 Zionist settlers presently on the West Bank. The Begin government talks about increasing that number to 300,000 in the next decade.

It will take more than Mubarak's meetings with Zionist leaders to get the Egyptian workers and peasants to accept this state of affairs.

At his swearing-in ceremony as president of Egypt, Mubarak warned that "those who play around with the nation's will and destiny will be brought to severe account." He should ponder those words carefully, for they may well reveal his own fate. □

IN THIS ISSUE

Closing News Date: October 19, 1981

BRAZIL	1036	Workers Party holds national convention — by Marcelo Zugadi
USA	1038	What is needed to win PATCO strike? — by Stu Singer
	1041	Lawsuit challenges Voorhis Act — by Larry Seigle
ISRAEL	1042	Behind Begin's provocations in Lebanon — by Maya Edri and Michel Warshawsky
PUERTO RICO	1045	Workers, students on strike — by Nelson Blackstock
NICARAGUA	1046	How Revolution has changed the lives of women
GRENADA	1050	Interview with Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman
POLAND	1056	Communist Party dumps Kania — by Ernest Harsch
DOCUMENTS	1048	Manifesto of Chinese "socialist democrats"
	1052	Fidel Castro on the need for a new economic order
NEWS ANALYSIS	1034	Washington's shaky Arab allies — by Will Reissner

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National convention of Workers Party

PT sets course for class independence, socialism

By Marcelo Zugadi

SÃO PAULO—The Workers Party (PT) has just taken the final step necessary to guarantee its legalization. In doing so, it has become the sixth party qualified to present candidates in the elections scheduled for 1982 in Brazil.

The PT held its national convention on September 26 and 27 in the National Senate building in Brasília. Actually, the convention was a purely formal one owing to the antidemocratic laws on political parties that the military regime has imposed. Thus the PT found it necessary to carry out beforehand a series of pre-conventions on the local, state, and national level, in which the party itself could determine the norms of delegate selection, discussion, and so on. Later the official conventions were held to give the decisions a legal character.

Nonetheless, two things made the September 26-27 convention a significant political event: the closing speech by Luis Inácio da Silva ("Lula"), and the presence of numerous international delegations.

The stands taken in the speech prepared by a party commission and read by Lula marked a new stage in the short but rich history of the PT. And the presence of foreign delegations reflected the international impact the PT is having.

International guests

Places of honor on the convention platform were given to Deputy José Valentín Antón of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) and Almerino Milani of the Italian Communist Party — both trade unionists and former metalworkers. Other guests at the convention included the ambassadors from Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Libya, Syria, Yugoslavia, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Ivory Coast, Britain, Italy, and Venezuela. The representative sent by the Palestine Liberation Organization received a standing ovation from the convention delegates.

Messages were read from other foreign parties, organizations, and individuals: from the German, Swedish, and Canadian Social Democrats; from the Italian Christian Democrats; from the U.S. Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC); from Italian CP chief Enrico Berlinguer; and from U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy.

The delegates joined in a second standing ovation when the greetings from Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) were read.

The PT pre-convention

Before taking up Lula's speech, let's review briefly the resolutions adopted by the na-

tional pre-convention, which was held in São Paulo on August 8 and 9. The 216 delegates (one for each 1,000 party members) voted on the party's platform, approved an organizational structure, and elected the national leadership.

The most important point of the political resolution adopted was the one that declared that "the PT will present its own candidates at all levels, for all the legislative and executive posts, running under its own banners and preserving its political independence. . . . The debate that precedes the selection of candidates for the PT shall be open to the popular movements, from which the party should receive contributions for elaborating its program of government, electoral tactics, and candidate selection itself. The following suggestions are proposed as the axes of a program of government:

- Democratization of public administration;
- End to the repression and dismantling of the repressive organs;
- The land to those who live and work on it."

That resolution is a good basis for the PT to face the difficult question of electoral alliances.

The MDB experience and political independence

After the 1964 military coup that brought the current regime to power, only one opposition party was allowed to participate in elections. This was the bourgeois Brazilian Democratic Movement, or MDB (now called the MDB Party, or PMDB). During the past decade the entire spectrum of the opposition gathered under the MDB's banners, until in 1978 the MDB actually defeated the government party at the polls. After that experience, the regime began the current process of a "democratic opening."

The MDB experience weighs on the opinions of many working-class leaders, who, while they generally say they favor an independent workers party, nonetheless lean toward the tactic of presenting united candidates with the PMDB in order "not to divide the opposition."

The discussion in the PT has not ended, but the resolution affirming the decision to uphold the principle of political independence will determine the framework of the debate in coming months.

The delegates to the pre-convention also discussed the need for the party to adopt a policy

in the trade unions and arm itself to confront the consequences of the recession and unemployment. It was resolved "to denounce and fight the regime's attempts to establish a 'social pact' whose true objectives would be to demobilize the workers and divert them from their interests and struggles."

Trade union policy

To carry out such a line a basic platform was adopted:

- "1. Trade-union freedom and independence;
- "2. Job stability;
- "3. Decrease the cost of living, freeze rents and house payments;
- "4. Quarterly wage readjustments;
- "5. Forty-hour week with no cut in pay;
- "6. Radical agrarian reform;
- "7. Revoke the current economic policy and the National Security Law;
- "8. For a United Workers Confederation (CUT) built democratically on the basis of the rank and file."

The pre-convention also voted to reaffirm the perspective of a general strike, although owing to the current legal situation that resolution could not be included among the documents presented to the convention itself (see *Intercontinental Press*, September 28, p. 944).

Finally, the pre-convention elected the national leadership of the party. A united slate was presented, put together on the basis of recognizing that various tendencies exist inside in the party. The slate had the following characteristics: Decisive weight was given to the trade unionists (and among these, to representatives of industrial trade unions). The currents that have held that the PT should be a "tactical party" or a front of tendencies were relegated to a small minority. And the most vacillating and conciliatory elements were removed. (That is, those who opposed calling a general strike, upheld the notion of united election slates with the PMDB, and so on.)

Luis Inácio da Silva was reconfirmed as president of the party.

Thus it remained to the national convention to legally ratify what had already been decided by the pre-convention.

For socialism and women's rights

In a concise speech, Lula sketched the brief history of the PT and set the framework for the party's relations with the masses and the oppressed. And, in a move that marks a big step forward for the Brazilian and Latin American workers movement, he defined the PT as so-

cialist but emphasized that this did not mean "socialism" of a Christian Democratic, Social Democratic, or bureaucratic type.

"We are a party of the workers of the city and the countryside," Lula declared, "and it is from this union that the seeds of our existence as a party have sprouted."

"It was once believed," Lula continued, "that only the parties and political groups were capable of centralizing the organization of the popular movement. Today, however, we recognize that the best fruits are those that like our party have their roots deep in the multiple forms of organization that exist in the countryside, the neighborhoods, the shantytowns, the workplaces and centers of learning, in the sectors that have specific interests to defend, such as women and Blacks. Those who think that Brazilian trade-unionism is based in the factories alone are fooling themselves. In the neighborhood, in the place where they live, the workers have more freedom to organize and carry forward their trade-union struggles, with the participation of their wives and husbands, their children, and their neighbors."

A significant part of the speech was devoted to women. After criticizing "the machista culture that we live and breath in," and after reaffirming the right of women to struggle for their own specific demands, Lula pointed out that "that struggle cannot be separated from the overall struggle by all Brazilians for their liberation. The question of feminism is of interest not only to women, nor can it be reduced to the gaining of personal freedoms that many times are mere bourgeois palliatives."

Rights of Blacks and Indians

Taking up the false notion that there is no racism in Brazil, Lula said that "we must support the organization of Blacks for their rights in our society. . . ."

He also defended the right of the Indian peoples to maintain and develop their own languages and cultures, and that of any other sector of society, such as homosexuals, to not be discriminated against and "to organize to defend their space in our society."

Later on Lula took up the lack of democracy that prevents many political organizations of the left, among them the Communist Party, from functioning legally. "We are struggling now and we will go on struggling for the legalization of all of them," Lula said, "so that their practice can be tested by the verdict of the people."

Lula then turned to the concern expressed by some that "we are wearing another shirt beneath the one that is visible" — an allusion to the various political currents inside the PT. "We have never asked nor will we ask for ideological certification from anyone," he said. However, he continued, "what interests us is that one be faithful to the program and norms of the PT. What interests us is that no one try to make our party a maneuvering ground for the proposals of certain compañeros."

After listing all the deviations that the PT is committed to denounce and combat — such as

ultraleftism, and bureaucratism — Lula issued a serious warning to those who are now coming to the PT because it has demonstrated great vitality and mass support: "We are going into the next elections and we will present candidates for all posts, in all regions of the country. But we do not think that elections are the most important and definitive thing for our party."

Relations with the left

At various points in the speech, Lula made reference to the past and present of the Brazilian left. The tone of those allusions provoked discomfort, if not alarm, among the militant vanguard that has committed itself to the building of the PT. Such sentiment was reflected, for example, in an editorial in *Em Tempo*, one of the radical newspapers that has fully identified with the PT.

"In various passages where the left is mentioned," *Em Tempo* said, "the framework is always negative, to say the least, one of general disdain. Obviously, one does not demand that the PT, as a legal and mass party, proclaim uselessly 'long live the revolution!' or utter phrases about Marxism and so on.

"It is a question of the PT recognizing the revolutionary left as one of its various constituent parts and sources. And that as a consequence of this the leadership treat politically and with the respect both the correct notions and the errors of this left, in the past as well as in the present."

At the same time, *Em Tempo* emphasized that such drawbacks of the speech were "of minor importance in comparison with the positive leap forward it represents on the whole."

The church and the PT

That positive leap is, above all, the ideological definition of the PT. In taking up this theme, Lula began with one of the most debated and delicate problems of a country where religion in general and the Catholic Church in particular have immense weight among the masses:

"We are not a confessional party and we don't accept interference by the church in our activities, just as we do not want to interfere in the affairs of the church. Between the church and party there should be clarity about their different functions, although many times we will be, in the oppressed and unjust lives of our people, united by the same desire for liberation. . . ."

"But we will never be a party of believers or of atheists. For us the division is a different one — it is between those who are on the side of liberation and those who are on the side of oppression. The PT can never represent the interests of capital."

Finally, the speech took head on the other question that has given rise to many discussions about the PT's position.

"There are many people who ask themselves," Lula said, "what is the PT's ideology? What does the PT think about the future society? . . . Could the PT be just a new Labor

Party?*" Isn't the PT just a social democratic party interested in seeking palliatives for the inequalities of capitalism? . . . We know that the world is on the way to socialism. The workers who took the historic initiative to propose forming the PT already knew this long before they had the slightest idea of the need for the party. And that is why we know also that it is false to say that the workers, in their spontaneous development, are not capable of passing to the level of party struggle. . . ."

"The workers are the most exploited in today's society. That is why we feel directly and we want with all our power a society that, as our program says, will have to be a society without exploiters or exploited. And what society is that but a socialist society?"

What kind of socialism?

"But that alone is not the problem. It is not enough to say that what we want is socialism. The big question is, 'which socialism?' Are we perhaps obliged to pray the catechism of the first socialist who happens to knock on our door? Are we perhaps obliged to follow one or another model, adapted from this or that country?"

After this statement, and before going further into the definition, Lula pointed out the principle of having relations with the tendencies of the international workers movement: "We want to maintain the best relations of friendship with all the parties in the world that are struggling for democracy and socialism. This has been the criteria that has oriented and will continue to orient our international contacts."

And thus he came to the definition of the kind of socialism that the PT wants: "We know that it is not worthwhile nor is it on our agenda to adopt the idea of socialism merely to seek partial remedies for the social evils caused by capitalism, or to manage the crisis this economic system finds itself in. We also know that it is not worthwhile to adopt as a perspective a bureaucratic socialism that attends more to the new technocratic and privileged castes than to the workers and the people.

"The socialism that we want will be defined by all the people, as the concrete demand of popular struggles, and as the economic and political response to all the concrete aspirations that the PT is able to confront. . . ."

"The socialism that we want will not issue from a decree — neither by ourselves nor by anyone. It will be defined in the course of day-to-day struggles, in the same way that we are building the PT. The socialism that we want will have to be the emancipation of the workers. And the liberation of the workers will be the task of the workers themselves."

September 28, 1981

*The Brazilian Labor Party (PTB) was a bourgeois populist formation set up in the 1940s by dictator Getulio Vargas. President João Goulart, deposed by the 1964 military coup, was a leader of the PTB. —JP

What is needed to win PATCO strike?

Labor bureaucrats stab air controllers in the back

By Stu Singer

[The following article appeared in the October 16 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*. It is slightly abridged.]

* * *

The 12,000 air traffic controllers have been on strike against the federal government for two months. Their strike is the most important labor confrontation in the country. But the battle has been one-sided. The government is winning.

The members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) voted by a 95 percent margin to go on strike after months of trying to negotiate with the government. The government stonewalled, ignoring their proposals.

They went on strike August 3. The government attack on the strike is unprecedented in American history. Within forty-eight hours, Reagan fired all 12,000 strikers. Criminal indictments were brought against local leaders of the union throughout the country. The photograph of Norfolk, Virginia, local President Steven Wallaert being dragged off to jail in handcuffs and leg irons is a graphic portrait of labor relations in America today.

The union, which is affiliated to the AFL-CIO, is being decertified. It is being sued for millions of dollars. The strikers are denied food stamps and, in most states, unemployment benefits. The government is refusing extensions on mortgage payments for the strikers' homes.

For the first time since the 1970 postal strike, military personnel have been ordered in as strikebreakers.

The air controllers are highly skilled workers. They expected that the air traffic system in the United States could not be operated normally without them.

But air traffic is continuing to operate in the midst of this strike.

The work of 17,000 controllers is being done by about 9,300 strikebreakers, including at least 775 military controllers. The government ordered a reduction in commercial flights and private plane operation when the strike began. Commercial flights are 50 to 75 percent of what they used to be. Long delays in schedules are common.

As winter approaches and the weather gets worse, flying will become more dangerous.

But the government and the airline industry put defeating the controllers ahead of safety.

The striking controllers are putting up a her-

oic effort. But this strike needs more support than it is now getting from the rest of the labor movement.

The air controllers were the stars of the September 19 AFL-CIO demonstration in Washington. Workers there bought PATCO hats, T-shirts, buttons, stickers; gave them money; cheered them at every opportunity. Steven Wallaert was the best received, and probably the best speaker, at the rally. The other rally speakers hardly mentioned PATCO. But to the 500,000 demonstrators, their march on Washington was a show of solidarity with PATCO as much as a protest of the other policies of the Reagan administration.

To the marchers on September 19, workers, Blacks, women, old, and young, PATCO was *their* cause.

What is the labor leadership's response?

The AFL-CIO leadership has officially protested the firings. For the first time, they have even brought unfair labor charges against the U.S. government before the International Labor Organization.

The AFL-CIO has set up a special fund to aid the strikers and their families. But it is inadequate. Several international unions have made contributions to the fund in the range of \$100,000. But it would take \$1.2 million a week just to provide \$100 a week strike benef-



Contingent of PATCO strikers on September 19 demonstration.

Osborne Hart/Militant

its to the 12,000 strikers. The fund is not being organized to raise anything like that.

And last, some top union officials are not flying.

The AFL-CIO Executive Board was meeting in Chicago when the strike began. After the meeting Lane Kirkland and the others chartered a bus to drive back to Washington.

The Executive Board discussed and explicitly decided against organizing a boycott of airline travel. They decided against calling on AFL-CIO unions to support the PATCO strike by not crossing PATCO picket lines to go to work.

Since that Executive Board meeting the first week in August, no international union, in or outside the AFL-CIO, has either called for a boycott or organized its members to refuse to cross the picket lines.

No help from Winpisinger or Kirkland

According to a *New York Times* interview with International Association of Machinists (IAM) President William Winpisinger, at the August 3 executive council meeting, "There was complaint after complaint about the controllers . . . My idea was to shut the air carriers down."

But he said only the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks and the flight attendants union at TWA backed the proposal.

Winpisinger said the 40,000 IAM members who work for the airlines have not been called out on strike because of the failure to get support from other unions. He pointed out that the IAM does not represent workers at three of the major airlines — Pan American, Delta, and American — and a strike excluding those three would be ineffective.

But the fact remains that the IAM has not thrown its resources into support for the controllers. The *Times* article is the first place the union's members will hear about how their president was about to call them out on strike.

The PATCO strike is becoming less visible. At most airports there are no picket lines anymore, or they are up only at entrances to the control towers.

Many individual workers have shown their contempt for Reagan and solidarity with PATCO by finding other means of transportation. Thousands lost one or two extra days' pay by driving, instead of flying, to the Solidarity Day demonstration.

But the gesture by some top union officials not to fly does not help win the PATCO strike. It only lets the officials off the hook from taking real action.

AFL-CIO President Kirkland denounced those within the labor movement calling for active union backing for the controllers. He branded his critics, "midnight-gin militants."

Kirkland, on the other hand, for all his verbal support to the strike, seems to be heeding the advice of the two-martini-lunch businessmen who advise him to stay out of it.

A *Wall Street Journal* editorial August 6 reminded Kirkland and the "other cool heads at the AFL-CIO" that "if the President backs off"



WINPISINGER

Ernest Harsch/IP

against PATCO, "both respect for the law and his presidency will suffer." The big-business mouthpiece tied attacking PATCO to the government's "commitments to rebuild military strength."

The AFL-CIO Executive Board meeting that took no action to support the controllers' strike did vote in favor of increased military spending.

It is shared thinking like this between labor officials and the bosses that blocks a drive to win the strike.

Choosing sides

Unionized airline workers have the potential power to stop air travel in the U.S. A strike by the controllers alone is not enough to do that. The strike is having an economic impact on the airlines, but it is uneven.

The wealthy industry giants are getting an advantage over weaker competitors. Delta Air Lines (which is nonunion), TWA, and United are benefiting from the strike. They have fewer flights, but a higher percentage of the seats are filled. Braniff, on the other hand, which was already weak, may be pushed out of business. Two small western airlines, Golden Gate and Swift Aire, went bankrupt last month, blaming the strike.

As much as possible, all the airlines are forcing the cost of the strike onto the backs of their workers.

At least 15,000 have been laid off, many of their jobs permanently eliminated. Speedup rules have been pushed through making remaining jobs more dangerous.

The hundreds of thousands of airline and airport workers are represented by dozens of unions. These unions have to choose between defending PATCO or helping the airlines at the expense of their own members. So far the union leaders have taken the company side.

This is true of the right-wing gangsters who run the Teamsters to the supposedly progressive leadership of the Machinists.

PATCO is on strike demanding decent pay hikes to keep up with inflation, a shorter work

week, better working conditions, earlier retirement.

The leaders of all the other unions involved in air travel are pushing Chrysler-type concessions* in wages and working conditions from their members.

Union officials would have a hard time convincing their members to accept a worse contract for themselves while helping PATCO fight for a better one.

Union scabs and givebacks

The Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) has been one of the worst enemies of the controllers' strike. That AFL-CIO union's top leadership has declared flying to be safe. They are covering up the victimization of pilots who question the work of the scab controllers.

ALPA is encouraging laid-off pilots to work as scabs to help the Federal Aviation Administration run the air control system.

This union's strikebreaking has brought no public denunciation from the AFL-CIO.

The pilots union took down their own picket lines against New York Air, which is operating with non-union pilots, to avoid appearing to support the controllers.

Like the other airline unions, the pilots are making contract concessions to help out the companies.

Their new contract with United agrees to changes that are expected to save \$75 million. At Eastern, the pilots agreed to a pay cut.

At Pan American World Airways, all the unions agreed to a 10 percent wage cut and a wage freeze through 1982.

Workers at Republic Air Lines took 15 percent of their August pay in company stock to save the company \$6 million. One of the heads of the pilots union was appointed to help the company slash costs.

Friends of labor?

The Reagan administration's attack against PATCO has bipartisan support. In fact, Reagan's strikebreaking plan was drawn up twenty months before the strike by the Democrats.

The top leaders of the labor movement are pledging to tie the unions even more closely to the Democrats. You cannot actively support PATCO and actively support politicians who are screaming for PATCO's blood.

In New Jersey, for example, the labor movement is pouring money into the campaign of Democratic Congressman James Florio running for Governor. Florio backs Reagan against PATCO.

Archer Cole, vice president of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council, was quoted in the Newark *Star-Ledger* as disagreeing with Florio's backing of Reagan against PATCO:

*In October 1979 the Chrysler automobile company and the United Auto Workers (UAW) negotiated a contract involving across-the-board givebacks on workers' wages, pensions, and working conditions.

Chrysler gained \$1.1 billion from the deal and UAW President Douglas Fraser took a seat on the Chrysler Board of Directors to help the company implement the contract.—IP

"However, that will not determine our support for Florio. . . . Our stand for Florio is based on 100 issues, not on one."

When asked about crossing the PATCO picket lines, union officials say it is an individual decision. They point out that to boycott flying or to stop work by not crossing the picket lines, could be branded illegal under federal antilabor laws.

They are right. The antilabor laws themselves have to be challenged. It will take the full weight of the union movement.

It is contrary to the idea of unionism to make it an individual decision whether to fly or to go to work across a picket line.

Machinists President Winpisinger boasts that he is not flying. He risks nothing. But members of the machinists union who work at the airports risk their jobs. The union itself has to organize to stay off work and fight to protect its members.

Otherwise, Winpisinger might as well tell the members to individually negotiate their own rates of pay. The purpose of unions is to combine the strength of individual workers, not to throw them to the wolves.

The power of the government is not unlimited.

The government has been stopped from strikebreaking before.

Striking coal miners in 1978 tore up Jimmy Carter's Taft-Hartley orders to return to work. That powerful union, with the massive support it had throughout the labor movement, did what was necessary to avoid a defeat.

It will take the whole labor movement, acting like it did for September 19, to win the controllers' strike.

Stakes in the PATCO strike

The bosses in the United States and in other countries have been crowing about the victory they think they are winning against PATCO.

The British big-business publication the *Economist* wrote that Reagan's firing of the controllers should become the model for other countries.

Editorials and opinion pieces throughout the news media here boast that the defeat of PATCO would discourage other public workers from fighting for decent contracts.

Articles point to the large number of people who applied for the controllers' jobs as evidence that high unemployment makes it easy to recruit strikebreakers.

There are predictions that a defeat of PATCO will end the ability of unions to force the recognition of special job-related health risks such as the stress and fatigue that afflict controllers.

The bosses are dreaming of a return to the old capitalist rule that if you want to work, you just have to suffer from whatever the job entails.

The controllers have enjoyed more help from foreign air controllers than from unions here. This is pointed to as evidence of the weakness of the American union movement.

Important union officials are drawing the

same conclusions. Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, heads the largest public employee union. In a *New York Times* interview, after he flew from Chicago to Cape Cod in late August, Wurf attacked PATCO for supporting Reagan against Carter. He said their strike illustrates why "workers in public safety" should give up the right to strike entirely, as he has long advocated.

New York City Transit Workers Union President John Lawe proposed after the PATCO strike began, his union should give up their principle of no contract, no work and submit to binding arbitration for future contracts.

Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser attacked PATCO for not consulting with him be-

'I've had a hell of an education'

[On September 26 Ken Fairbairn, President of PATCO Local 122 in Cleveland, Ohio, spoke at a campaign rally for the Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor and city council in Cleveland — the only candidates in the election to express support for the PATCO strikers. The following are excerpts from Fairbairn's talk at the rally.]

* * *

Nine weeks ago I voted for Reagan. Nine weeks ago I didn't know I was a worker. Nine weeks ago I had never known about trade union solidarity or a labor party.

And I never knew about the Socialist Workers Party. Today, I urge all of you to vote for Lynda Joyce and Amy Belvin.

A lot has happened to me in the last nine weeks. Last Saturday in Washington, it showed me and my members that PATCO is not alone. We're in a labor struggle.

The idea of a labor party never even dawned on me.

But now there's a reason to think about it. It's opened my eyes. A lot of members wonder what's in store for us, even if we do go back, even if we win.

It's working people that are the foundation of this country — people in the factories, people on farms — even people in jobs like I have. We consider ourselves workers. We're members of a labor union, the AFL-CIO, and we're certainly going to stay that way.

To sum up, I've had a hell of an education. I'm convinced that what we do need is a labor party . . . to make sure that the voice and the opinion of working people is heard in the government. The Democrats won't do it. You certainly don't have to mention the Republicans.

I think Lynda Joyce is the viable alternative for working people in this country to be heard."

fore the strike. The Chrysler Board of Directors member would probably have tried to convince them to take a pay cut in order to help the federal budget.

Support PATCO

The opponents of the PATCO strike underestimated both the controllers and the support they have from other American workers.

They are not aware of some of the things the strike has already accomplished.

The response by the news media and the government to this strike has gone a long way toward blowing up the myth about who really supports the workers in Poland.

It's been instructive in showing who runs this country and how far they are willing to go against workers.

The attacks on the strike, coming equally from the Democrats and Republicans, present a powerful argument in favor of the unions organizing their own party, a labor party.

The support by workers for this strike is an inspiring example of labor solidarity. The actions by air controllers in other countries to back the strikers renew a tradition of international solidarity not seen for decades.

Most inspiring is the example of the PATCO strikers themselves. A group of mostly white, male, relatively well-paid workers who mostly voted for Ronald Reagan in November 1980 have moved into the forefront of the labor movement today.

A victory for the controllers requires a massive social protest. Organizing for a victory would have to extend throughout the labor movement. An effort on the scale of September 19 is needed. Mass mobilizations, involvement of all the unions, production of millions of leaflets and posters, commitments of money and organizers.

That's what workers want to do.

September 19 proved it.

More education is needed, explaining the issues in the strike. Rallies and picket lines have to be organized, PATCO speakers invited before union locals and other groups to build support.

Antilabor laws will have to be challenged in the courts and on the picket lines and in the streets.

A gigantic effort like this will shake up relations with the employers. It will threaten the false "friends-of-labor" politicians.

Fighting for PATCO means telling the Democrats, the Republicans, and the bosses to go to hell.

But without that effort, PATCO may be defeated. Their defeat would be a defeat for all workers.

There is no sign that Reagan or the class he represents will have a change of heart and back down.

September 19 was the greatest solidarity effort yet for the PATCO strike. What is required is another effort on that scale aimed at bringing labor's weapons to bear to win.

Winning this strike is the most important challenge before the labor movement now. □

Lawsuit challenges Voorhis Act

Socialists fight government's 'sword of Damocles'

By Larry Seigle

[The following article appeared in the October 23 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is demanding that a federal judge rule the Voorhis Act unconstitutional "on its face." The effect of such a ruling would be to erase this reactionary law from the books.

The legal move is contained in the voluminous brief filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in their suit against the government. The decision to challenge the Voorhis Act means that for the first time since it was enacted in 1940 this law will be put to a constitutional test.

If you are not familiar with the provisions of the Voorhis Act, you aren't alone. It is an obscure law. *In fact, no one has ever been indicted under it.*

Yet the assault on this little-known law is right at the heart of the socialists' historic challenge to the political police.

Here's why.

The Voorhis Act requires certain political organizations to register with the Attorney General. A group must comply if it advocates "the overthrow of the Government of the United States" and is "affiliated directly or indirectly with a foreign government . . . or an international political organization."

Disclose membership lists

What would registration entail? Every six months the organization would have to turn over to the attorney general the names and addresses of every single member or financial contributor. In addition, every publication, every internal document, every leaflet, and every mailing produced by the group or any of its members would have to be turned over.

The attorney general would then, by law, make all of this material public.

The effect of such compelled disclosure on a group that the government, the cops, and the employers consider "subversive" would be devastating.

There has never been a clearer instance of a law whose provisions, by their very nature, violate the First Amendment's guarantee of the freedom of association.

The principle that the Bill of Rights protects the right to privacy of the members of an organization involved in political activity was initially fought for and won by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

In 1958, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that

Earlier this year, in a U.S. federal court in New York City, three months of testimony were heard in a landmark lawsuit. The defendants were the U.S. government and its various political police agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The plaintiffs were the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The two organizations had filed suit in 1973 to put a halt to years of illegal victimization by Washington. Trial testimony confirmed that the socialists had committed no crime but were singled out as targets solely on the basis of their political ideas. They suffered illegal surveillance, disruption, burglaries, infiltration, public slander, and more.

The lawsuit was brought as a means of combating such unconstitutional acts, which are used not only against socialists

but also against the labor movement, the women's liberation movement, civil-rights groups and Black and Hispanic organizations, and others fighting for social progress.

The socialists are seeking \$70 million in damages, a court order banning such practices in the future, and the voiding of several laws that are used to undermine civil liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, part of the U.S. Constitution.

Courtroom testimony ended on June 25. Since then the SWP and YSA have submitted a legal brief summarizing the facts of the case and arguing its merits. A decision on the case is not expected before next year.

For further information on the socialist lawsuit and how it fits into the current political situation in the United States today, see *Intercontinental Press*, July 13, page 732, and August 24, page 830.

the Alabama NAACP didn't have to turn over its membership lists to state officials, who were claiming they needed to investigate charges that the NAACP was doing business illegally in the state. The NAACP successfully argued that disclosure would subject its members to harassment and victimization by the Ku Klux Klan and other reactionary organizations.

More recently, the SWP and the Communist Party have been able to extend this principle to protect the privacy of names of contributors to their election campaigns.

The registration requirements of the Voorhis Act clearly violate these court rulings. But it has never — until now — been tested in court.

Rulers' stake in law

What good is a law that the government doesn't use for prosecuting people?

Plenty.

First, the simple fact that the law is on the books has the intended effect of discouraging individuals and organizations from doing things that they have a perfect right to do under the Constitution. This is especially true with laws like the Voorhis Act, which are so broad and so vague that you can't tell for sure what they outlaw and what they permit.

Second, even though the law hasn't been used, the rulers want it in their arsenal so they can use it in the future.

Third, as long as the law exists, the political police can cite it as justification for the need to

permanently investigate groups who "may" violate it. This is exactly what the FBI uses the Voorhis Act for today.

According to FBI agents who testified at the trial of the case last spring, searching for possible Voorhis Act violations by the SWP was "one of our highest objectives."

In the brief, the socialists point out the absurdity of the claim that the FBI has had to "investigate" the SWP for four decades to find out if the party was violating the Voorhis Act.

The SWP considers itself to be politically part of the Fourth International, although it has not been a section since 1940. At that time the party formally disaffiliated so as not to be forced to turn over its membership lists to the government. The SWP and YSA also maintain extensive contacts with revolutionary organizations in other countries that are not part of the Fourth International.

Sword of Damocles

The brief argues that, "Evidently the defendants prefer the threat of prosecution eternally poised over the SWP's head to actual prosecution under an unconstitutional statute. In the words of [Supreme Court Justice Thurgood] Marshall, 'the value of a sword of Damocles is that it hangs — not that it drops.'"

The government has succeeded for forty years in avoiding a test of the constitutionality of this "sword of Damocles." One of the most significant accomplishments of the SWP suit so far is that this law has now been dragged in-

to the public view and into court. It thus makes possible a fight to have it finally struck down.

The socialists' brief also opens a constitutional challenge to the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The brief points out that there is no credible evidence that the SWP or YSA have ever acted as "foreign agents" and seeks a ruling from the court that this law, along with others cited by the FBI, can not provide a justification for the FBI's campaign of disruption and harassment against the SWP and YSA.

The "foreign agents" act, like the Voorhis Act, is aimed at preventing working-class organizations from participating in international

political campaigns and movements. But, unlike the Voorhis Act, it has been used.

Irish Northern Aid

Last May, a federal judge in New York ruled that a group known as Irish Northern Aid, which send funds and clothing to the families of republican prisoners in Northern Ireland, must register as an agent of the Irish Republican Army. The judge ordered the group to turn over detailed information on where its money comes from and where it goes, and to identify all literature it publishes.

The government will battle hard to defend

its right to use both the Voorhis Act and the Foreign Agents Registration Act as weapons to control political activity.

The Democrats and Republicans intend to expand the right of the political police to spy on and keep track of those who speak out against government policies. And first in their line of fire are those who don't agree that the field of political interests and activities of working people stops at the border.

That is why the battle over the Voorhis Act and the Foreign Agents Registration Act is among the most important of the many that are shaping up in the socialists' lawsuit. □

Israel

Behind Begin's provocations in Lebanon

Ruling class pushes toward war

**By Maya Edri
and Michel Warshawsky**

[The following article appeared in the October 12 issue of the French-language fortnightly *Inprecor*, published in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

TEL AVIV — In recent months there has been a lot of discussion about the Israeli air force: first, following the June 7 bombing of the Iraqi nuclear power station at Tamouz near Baghdad; then with the July 17 bombing of Beirut in which several hundred people were killed. One would almost think that the future of the peoples of the Near East will be played out in the halls of the Israeli air force high command.

Some people thought that the terrible adventure in the skies above Baghdad was simply an election maneuver that was in poor taste. But they soon had to change their opinion. Since the voting in June and the return to power of the Begin government, the military offensive has resumed on a larger scale, and has forced everyone — in Israel, in the Arab countries, and abroad — to take seriously the election slogans of Menachem Begin and his group.

Begin's political aims were clearly defined during his campaign, even though they were expressed in a manner more reminiscent of marketplace shouting than of the hushed atmosphere of the Israeli parliament's Foreign Affairs and Security Committee.

Begin's aims, as revealed in the election campaign, are to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to prevent any build up in the military strength of the Arab states, and to maintain Jewish sovereignty in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Each of these objectives, and all three taken together, requires a policy of permanent aggression that must, in the end, lead to a total

confrontation in the region. But the Israeli government does not fear such an eventuality. In fact it hopes for it with all its heart, for several reasons.

Question of the West Bank posed

First and foremost, the racist leaders of the Zionist state and army have no doubt that they could win a military victory that would change the relationship of forces between Israel and the Arab states.

Six months from now the withdrawal from the Sinai peninsula will be completed, unless of course the Sadat regime falls or the pressures from the Gush Emunim settlers succeed in forcing Begin to stop carrying out the provisions of the peace treaty with Egypt.

At that point the question of the future of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will be posed in all its sharpness. These territories make up the second stage of the Camp David accords.

Begin is not willing to listen to talk about an Israeli withdrawal from these territories, which he views as an integral part of the national patrimony. Dragging out the autonomy talks is only a temporary palliative, which will be completely ineffective once Sadat has recovered all of the Sinai.

The only way to put a stop to the pressures from the Egyptian president and the United States, which Egypt and the Arab regimes see as the guarantor of the Camp David accords, is to radically change the relationship of forces in the Arab East, even if such a policy might push some Arab states into the arms of the Soviet Union. That would not necessarily displease the Zionist leaders, who dream of once again being the *only* serious support for imperialism in the region.

A far-reaching military victory against one or more Arab states would cause a chain reaction. One result would be to significantly re-

duce the centrality of the Palestinian question in the overall strategy of imperialism and its Arab allies.

Pressures from within

To this large point, we must add two lesser factors that increase the chance of war. While they are of secondary importance, they have their own weight in the Begin government's choice of policies.

The first is the growing importance of the officer caste, which has numerous links with the government and the political apparatus of the Zionist state. For the officer caste, war is a necessary objective for their own advancement and the realization of their ambitions.

The second is the hope, shared by a number of politicians in both the Likud and the Labor bloc, that a war might end the serious social crisis, stagnation, and breakdown in national unity that the Jewish state has been going through for several years.

The Begin government's openly warlike orientation was immediately confirmed by the appointment of General Ariel Sharon — former commander of the infamous murder squad called Commando 101 and a fierce supporter of Gush Emunim — to head the Ministry of Defense, and the changes in personnel that Sharon immediately made in the high command.

Sharon replaced a number of "intellectual" officers with some brawlers from the new generation, for whom war is not only a career but an ideal, and who view politics as too subtle and encumbering.

In Lebanon, less than ten days after the July 30 election, the new government put into practice its political and military plans. The Lebanon events unequivocally confirmed, and before the eyes of the whole world, that Begin's hysterical election campaign speeches were



Zionist settlement. Begin aims to hold West Bank and Gaza.

not demagogy but rather expressed the program that Likud wants to carry out as rapidly as possible.

The fourteen day war

The Zionist state's ongoing political and military presence in Lebanon has a two-fold objective: first, to destroy the military and political strength of the Palestinian national liberation movement, which has been located in Lebanon since its September 1970 defeat in Jordan; second, to extend the Zionist state's political and military influence and, in addition, its markets.

This two-fold objective has been pursued through various means: the *de facto* Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon; a political and military alliance with some of the far-right Christian forces; and continuous military intervention in the form of land attacks, aerial and maritime bombardment, and constant overflights of Lebanese territory.

Long before Begin came to power, the Zionist leaders viewed Lebanon as an Israeli and Syrian protectorate, not as an independent state. It is not accidental that Israel supported the Syrian invasion of Lebanon in 1975.

Lebanon is also seen as a propitious area for launching an escalation against Syria when Tel Aviv feels one is necessary, as shown by the Zahle provocation last April [when two Syrian helicopters were shot down by Israeli warplanes].

From the Israeli side, therefore, the July offensive against Lebanon and the Palestinian armed forces was nothing out of the ordinary, except for the savagery of the bombing of Beirut.

But the military response by the Palestinian

national movement, and the combined consequences of that response and the Beirut massacres, have led a number of commentators to describe what in Israel is already called the "Fourteen Day War" as a turning point in the situation in the Near East.

The fact is that in southern Lebanon and northern Galilee a real war took place between the Israeli armed forces and those of the Palestinian national movement. The Palestinians responded to each Israeli bombardment by firing Katyusha rockets and artillery, and their effectiveness was as great as that of the Israelis.

The two Israeli attempts at land invasion were bloody failures, according to the military specialists of the daily *Ha'aretz*, as the Palestinians fought virtually hand-to-hand to drive back the Zionist forces.

For fourteen days, the Israeli army was unable to gain the upper hand, not only in its offensive plans, but even in defense of its own territory.

For the second time in less than six months, the Begin government got bogged down in its own provocations, taking initiatives without calculating their consequences and enormously underestimating the political and military capability of its adversaries to respond.

Begin's threats were shown to be bluster. The Syrian missiles were not withdrawn from Lebanese soil. Not only did Katyusha shells fall on [the Israeli town of] Kiryat Shmona, but the Zionist army was shown to be unable to stop the bombardment, even if only for a time.

. . . and the Israeli rout

"You cannot defeat a guerrilla army through aerial bombardment. It is as ineffective as bombing flies," Eitan Haber was forced to ac-

knowledge in an article in the July 24 *Yediot Aharonot*. In that article Haber drew a balance sheet of the unquestioned military setback in the Fourteen Day War and predicted that Lebanon would become the Vietnam of the Middle East. It was time, he added, for the Israeli leaders to learn from the American experience that bombs are ineffective in resolving political problems.

The Palestinians can rightly congratulate themselves for having inflicted a political as well as military defeat on the Israeli state. First of all, they showed that far from being a small group of terrorists, they were capable of stopping one of the best armies in the world.

Secondly, they showed in real life that a military solution to the Palestinian question was becoming more and more utopian and that in the long run Israel will have no choice but to deal with the Palestinian national movement.

Finally, they forced, for the first time, a cease-fire on the Zionist army. The Israeli army was obliged to deal directly and openly with the PLO, a movement that all the Zionist formations refuse to recognize. The Labor opposition had the pleasure, moreover, of criticizing Begin for having given *de facto* recognition to the PLO and having concluded a cease-fire with it.

But the Israeli rout goes far beyond the limits of the conflict between the Zionist and Palestinian forces in July. Washington was able to use this new situation to reduce the Zionist state's room for the maneuver in Lebanon. Israel will find it difficult to launch an operation aimed at forcing the Syrians to withdraw their missiles from Lebanon.

The bombings and other military provocations by the Christian militia of Col. Haddad had to be significantly reduced, and the United States and the Saudi regime were able to push the Lebanese Christian forces to distance themselves from Israel.

On this question, Yoram Hamizrahi, one of the best specialists on Israeli policy in Lebanon, made a rather pessimistic assessment in the September 9, 1981 issue of the daily *Ha'aretz*. "In recent days," Hamizrahi wrote, "it is hard to shake the impression that certain politicians still do not realize that their friends [Lebanese rightists Pierre] Gemayel and [Camille] Chamoun are quite capable of turning their backs, even though most experts on the Lebanese question are convinced that the erosion in relations [between the Israelis and the Lebanese rightists] is going to deepen. . . . If this is the case, we can state that the era of intensive Israeli intervention in Lebanon is finished, or at least has qualitatively changed, which necessitates a rapid reevaluation of the situation and a new approach. . . . All the reactions to the latest developments lead one to think that Israeli policy in Lebanon has no long-term plan, no precise objective."

Kiryat Shmona voted with its feet

Washington was the main force that forced Israel to stop fighting in southern Lebanon, by preventing the Zionists from carrying out an

escalation that threatened to turn the whole region into a conflagration. But Begin rushed to accept the American ultimatum after having grasped the extent of the war's impact on the Israeli population.

The residents of Kiryat Shmona, a typical immigrant city on the Lebanese border, do not love the Palestinians. They voted for the Likud in their great majority and applauded Begin's bluster. During the campaign Begin had promised that an artillery shell would never again fall on their town, and that Yanosh and Rafoul (affectionate diminutives for the chief of staff on the Northern region and the chief of the Israeli army) were ready to remove the Syrian missiles from Lebanon if Reagan's emissary Philip Habib failed in his mission.

But the shells did fall on Kiryat Shmona and on Nahariya and numerous other Jewish locations in Galilee. And Yanosh and Rafoul were unable to stop the deadly barrages.

The residents of Kiryat Shmona voted for the cease fire with their feet. Out of 15,000 inhabitants, less than 2,000 remained in the bombarded town. In Nahariya the factories had to close down and the hotels remained empty at the height of the tourist season.

Even in the kibbutzim, these elite of Israeli society evacuated their children to the urban centers further south. Each visit by members of the government, and incidentally by the Labour opposition, gave rise to violent demonstrations, with the inhabitants demanding shelter, work, and various subsidies.

During the month of July, things had moved far from the blustering spirit that had marked the election campaign. Although demonstrations against the Israeli aggression in Lebanon remained limited to a small layer of activists, the media was unable to hide the growing opposition to Begin's Lebanon policy, a policy that correctly appeared to have no perspectives.

It is one thing to applaud when the air force destroys the Iraqi atomic power plant, but it is something quite different to accept a war of attrition and to directly pay the price that Begin's war policies demand of the Jewish population.

Masses not ready to sacrifice

The reaction of the Jewish masses to the latest war adventure of the Zionist government radically contradicts the evaluation that the great majority of the left in Israel made of the meaning of the popular vote for Begin. The popular vote for the Likud in no way means that the Israeli masses are now more ready than they were to make the sacrifices that the new government's militarist policy demands. The latest developments tend to show the opposite.

The crisis of confidence of the Israeli masses regarding the policy of permanent aggression — the only consistent policy of the Zionist government — has become an irreversible fact in the Israeli situation, playing a big role in the deep social crisis in the Jewish state.

The Zionist regime's ability to militarily intervene against the Arab world today has been limited at least as much by the impact that the



Begin and Haig

heroic resistance of the Palestinian people has had on the Jewish working masses as by the military relationship of forces between Israel and the Arab world.

The No. 1 objective of the new Israeli government is to prevent at all costs the withdrawal from the Palestinian territories occupied in June 1967. Begin tried to defend that position during his talk with President Reagan. But that is not easy to achieve. Washington wants to stabilize the regimes that are close to it, especially Egypt and Saudi Arabia. To do this it is necessary to defuse the Palestinian bomb and eliminate the aftereffects of the Israeli aggression of June 1967. Israel has to pay the price for the imperialist stabilization of the Arab East, as is very clearly indicated by the Camp David Accords that Israel signed without any intention of fulfilling, at least in regard to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Mercenaries of U.S. imperialism

What alternative can Begin and Sharon present to Washington? A new attack against the Arab regimes that are still linked to the Soviet Union? For the moment that would be counterproductive to the interests of imperialism, which rightly fears a boomerang effect on the Arab masses.

Therefore Begin tried to sell Reagan a new bill of goods, one that was apparently more in line with the policy of the U.S. administration, which wants to place more emphasis on military intervention, whether in Central America or in the Middle East.

Begin therefore proposed "strategic collaboration" between Washington and Tel Aviv. This does not simply involve political-military services rendered to imperialism by the Zionist state. That has already been the very basis of

relations between Israel and imperialism for many years.

What Begin has been trying to get lately is the right to directly serve the U.S. army (arms depots on Israeli territory, bases for the Sixth Fleet and the U.S. air force in Israeli ports and airfields), and to serve as an intervention force far from the borders of the Jewish state (United Arab Emirates, Ethiopia, and Pakistan if that proves necessary) against Soviet threats and other "subversion."

"We are a strategic investment for the United States, and a central element for the new policy of the Reagan administration" is the substance of what Begin told the new U.S. president. Begin is trying to get Reagan to share the view that, taken as a whole, the Palestinian question and the West Bank are of very little importance compared to these global considerations.

While it is possible that Ronald Reagan and his State Department chief Alexander Haig may try to use the Israeli military and the services of the Zionist state for their plans in Western Asia and the Horn of Africa, it is nonetheless doubtful that in exchange Washington would agree to place all its bets on the State of Israel and turn its back on Saudi Arabia and the other bourgeois Arab regimes.

What is even less sure is that the Israeli masses will be willing to directly play the role of mercenaries for U.S. interests. We already see more and more signs that the Jewish workers of Israel have little enthusiasm for making all the sacrifices that seem directly linked to the Jewish state's security. There is no reason for such sentiments to change when it comes to fighting for the interests of U.S. oil corporations like Exxon in the Persian Gulf.

September 12, 1981

Workers, students on strike

U.S. colony resists Reagan's budget cuts

By Nelson Blackstock

[The following article appeared in the October 23 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly *Militant*.]

* * *

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Reagan's budget cuts have helped set off two struggles now at the center of attention on this Caribbean island.

One is the strike by 6,700 workers at the government-owned electrical utility. Members of the Union of Electrical Industry and Irrigation Workers (UTIER) have been out almost two months. [See *Intercontinental Press*, October 5, page 984.]

The other is the strike by students at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) and the closing of the school by the administration. The students voted to strike on September 2 in response to a 200 percent increase in tuition.

As a U.S. colony, Puerto Rico is directly affected by the decisions made in Washington. Budget cuts that hit hard in the United States are devastating on an island where the official unemployment rate is 21 percent and 60 percent of the population receive food stamps.

Governor Carlos Romero Barceló, who favors Puerto Rico becoming the fifty-first U.S. state, is meeting stiff resistance to his moves to put through Reagan's offensive.

On October 8, more than 4,000 UTIER members and their supporters marched through the streets of San Juan.

Puerto Rican workers have no central labor federation, but UTIER members were joined by compañeros from several other unions. A contingent of striking air traffic controllers, members of PATCO here, came to show solidarity.

City bus drivers may soon be forced to strike for a decent contract, and on this morning they had decorated the sides of their buses with slogans such as, "Romero — enemy of the workers" and "Traacherous dog."

Striking students also turned out to join the march.

The demonstration was a show of strength in response to a new "final offer" by the Autoridad de Energía Eléctrica (AEE), the Puerto Rican power authority. Despite concessions by UTIER officials, the AEE is insisting workers accept either a two-year or four-year contract with a measly raise of \$50 per month the first year and \$55 a month the following year.

The AEE is refusing to sign a three-year contract, since it would expire during an election year and the AEE fears politicians would be under pressure to support the workers' demands.

Meanwhile, UPR students made headway in their fight against tuition hikes when top university administration officials met with General Council of Students President Roberto Alejandro Rivera October 11. The call for a "dialogue" has been a key student demand. Previously, the administration had insisted it would not meet with students until the strike had been called off.

University officials had closed the university following the disruption of a student demonstration on September 29. After gunshots had been fired, the administration insisted that campus cops were unarmed. But *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), produced on its front page a picture of the campus cop pointing a gun.

The administration has refused to investigate the possibility that cops may have fired a shot.

Last week, the administration announced that they had dropped 4,000 students who had boycotted payment of tuition. Officials were originally moving to reopen the campus on October 13, but have been forced to keep postponing the date as a result of student organizing efforts.

The mounting pressure on the administration is reflected by their decision to meet with Alejandro — even though he has been suspended from the university and is free on bail.

Also reflecting pressure on the administration was the decision at a recent meeting of

300, representing forty-nine organizations, to call for a dialogue between the students and the administration. Initiated by the Journalist Association, the meeting elected a seven-member body to observe such talks.

The observers include Pedro Grant, president of the General Workers Union; Luis Camacho, president of the Bar Association; and Rev. Alfredo Santiago, representing the United Evangelical Church. The meeting asked that no state police be allowed on campus. □

'Praxis' professors reinstated in Yugoslavia

In an important gain for the fight for democratic rights in Yugoslavia, seven dissident Marxist professors have been reemployed at the University of Belgrade, reversing an earlier decision by the authorities to fire them.

In 1975, eight professors associated with the philosophical journal *Praxis* were barred from teaching and their journal was banned. One subsequently found work at a sociological institute in Belgrade. In December 1980, the authorities moved to dismiss the seven other professors (who had remained on staff at 60 percent of their pay).

In reemploying the seven, however, the authorities have taken care to try to keep them isolated from the student body as a whole. They now form an autonomous Center for Philosophy and Social Theory, which is involved only in graduate work with young scholars.

Nevertheless, the seven professors called the move "an important step toward normalization" of their status.

In addition, the passport of one of the seven, Mihailo Marković, has been returned, following its revocation in January. All seven are now free to travel and teach abroad.



October 8 demonstration in support of UTIER strikers.

Nelson Blackstock/Militant

'The FSLN opened the door for us'

How revolution has changed the lives of women

[The following interview with Glenda Monterrey, a central leader of the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE), was obtained in Managua on September 22. The interview was conducted in Spanish by Matilde Zimmermann. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. The Nicaraguan revolution is famous for the involvement of women fighters — both in the mountains and in the urban insurrections. How have the lives of Nicaraguan women been changed by the revolution?

Answer. We think that the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) opened the door for us, made it possible for Nicaraguan women to participate, cautiously at first, and then on a massive scale in the years right before the revolution.

We got involved, little by little, especially young women, doing political work in the barrios in the various organizations the FSLN had set up. But I think some of the best work women were able to do was in AMPRONAC, the Association of Women Concerned with National Problems.

It is true that AMPRONAC was not organized around issues pertaining only to women. This was three years ago, and AMPRONAC was organized around the tasks of the moment, which were the practical tasks of the insurrection. These went from learning first aid, in order to take care of our wounded, to taking military training to participate in combat directly.

This happened on a massive scale before the revolution. But today Nicaraguan women have much greater opportunities to get involved.

Why? Before many were afraid to get involved, because of the ferocity of the repression, and also because of the submission and second-class status we had been relegated to.

There have been big changes. We think there are still problems with the degree to which women are incorporated into the work force. This isn't because women don't want to work, or because the government doesn't want us to. The problem is the overall lack of jobs. And it is still sometimes true in our country, that when there are two people for only one job, the job is given to the man.

We still have the situation where women do certain types of work, the types that require less physical strength, and generally earn less than male workers. To a certain extent this is a problem of our industry itself, which is very underdeveloped.

This is beginning to change, because wom-



GLENDIA MONTERREY

Barricada

en are getting more organized and participating in a more active way. Women are more organized now than we were a year ago.

Now women workers are members of unions, and are playing new roles in the union movement. But we still have to work on raising the technical skills, the political level, and the class consciousness of women workers so that they assume their rightful role working within the unions to transform society.

Q. In some of the factories I've visited here, I've noticed that the majority of the workers are women. Most of the women workers I've talked to have several children, many are single mothers, and many started to work when they were hardly more than children themselves. Could you talk about some of the special problems of women industrial workers in Nicaragua?

A. It is our opinion that the women of Nicaragua, besides being doubly exploited, are also doubly heroic. Our women get up in the very early hours, take care of all their children's needs — food, clothing, etc. Then they go to

work, and they come back in the afternoon to yet more housework, including washing and ironing for themselves, their children, and the whole family.

And these compañeras, when they do not also work outside the home, get no recognition for their domestic work.

The fact that they are working hard is not recognized by men, by their families, or even by society. We think that this type of work must gradually be changed into collective work and must be seen as socially valuable by the rest of Nicaraguan society.

Then there are the women who work in the factories or in agriculture. Some people complain that we produce less than male workers. This shows how little they understand the life of a woman, who starts working the minute she gets up, and then comes home from work to the same number of undone jobs. So sometimes in the factory she can't produce as much as a man.

We might be talking about a woman with eight children, or one who has to walk several kilometers to work. These critics don't understand that when a woman is pregnant and works on her feet eight hours a day, she might have to rest sooner than a man.

So, it's true, her productivity might be less. Not always. What happens is that our women want to get ahead so badly, and they want so badly to make enough to feed their children, that they keep up with the pace in the factory. But sometimes at the expense of their health.

Q. Can the unions do something to respond to the particular needs of their female members?

A. Yes, we think they can. It is true that there are many historic problems that just can't be resolved right now, because we don't have the economic resources. But we think that, with a proper understanding of the role women have played and are playing in the revolution, with a clear understanding of women's responsibilities in the home — because the big majority here are single mothers — that yes, the unions can do something.

Maybe higher wages are out of the question right now. But it is sometimes possible to take steps to improve working conditions without big expenditure of money. And if these changes aren't made, it will be difficult for the woman worker to participate the way she should, either in the factory or in the union.

And this is another problem. It often happens that women do their work, are members of the union, but don't participate in a militant way, don't fight to resolve these problems.

And if the women don't do it, the male compañeros won't because to them a woman worker is just another worker.

Q. I guess AMNLAE's biggest campaign this year has been to recruit women to the Sandinista People's Militias (MPS). I remember one conversation that impressed me a lot, with a man who told me proudly that he had five daughters and every one was a militia member. But it is clear that not all fathers — nor all husbands — feel the same way.

What has been the impact of women joining the militias, on their families and on the women themselves?

A. Organizing women into the militia reserve battalions has not yet been what you would call easy. I gave a speech in Jinotega in which I explained how hard it had been — not so much to organize the women as to win acceptance from the husbands, the families, and in some cases from compañeros within the military.

Participation in the militias began on a massive scale in mid-1980. But then it consisted of exercises that were done certain afternoons or a certain day of the week, outside the normal hours of work or school. It was hard work, but women did it, and they found ways to fit it into their schedules.

But the reserve battalions were something else again. They meant going off to the mountains for two or three weeks. They implied a commitment of a different scope — not just in terms of physical training but also of readiness to defend the country at any time, against any type of aggression.

So what happened? There were places where at first people said women were not capable of enduring the physical training. There were others where men refused to let their wives go.

Then there were women who wanted to join the battalions. But who would take care of their children? Then there were those who found someone to watch their children, but then their factory or company said no, this worker is too important, we can't replace her if she goes off for fifteen days or three weeks.

But in practice, we've accomplished great things. For example, we've seen how in León — and this is something we're very proud of — the best battalion in the whole province is the women's battalion.

Women have shown themselves to be capable of being reservists. Capable of the pain — because the physical training is very hard. Capable of the political and military training that's involved. And then capable of returning to their homes or their factories and going on with their work.

There are five women's reserve battalions that have gone out so far, from León, Estelí, Managua, Chinandega, and Carazo. There were also young women who went out in the student reserve battalions. And women who participated in the mixed battalions of men and women reservists.

One thing we have noticed with the wom-

en's battalions is that the participants are not necessarily young, not necessarily students, but rather compañeras from the barrios, housewives, members of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs).

Q. I'd like to ask you about the role of women in the leadership of the revolution. There are of course many well known women leaders in the government and the FSLN. But it seems to me that the process elsewhere is somewhat uneven, as might be expected. I was a little surprised to see that the new executive council of the National Union of Nicaraguan Students (UNEN) is all male, since after all, this is the new generation.

A. Our general approach is that if we have women in certain positions, they are not there because they are women but because they earned the responsibility, just like male compañeros have to.

But what happens in practice? The truth is that in the governing bodies of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) and the Rural Workers Association (ATC) there are almost no women leaders at the national level.

In the youth, there are. I think that half the national leadership of the Sandinista youth are women. And I was surprised too that all those chosen in the latest UNEN election were men. Because our youth has a fighting tradition that goes back many years. And there have always been a lot of women in the ranks of the student movement and before the victory in the Revolutionary Student Front.

What does this mean? Not some big retreat on the part of our youth. But if there has been a decline in the level of participation, then this is something the student comrades should take in hand.

In the CST it is understandable, because we have some catching up to do. We women did not play much of a role in forming or organizing the trade unions. So it wasn't until after the revolution that the real efforts to involve women workers began. And women are responding. But this is not yet reflected much at the national leadership.

So this is why things are uneven. In the Sandinista Defense Committees, on the other hand, there is widespread, and leading participation by women. And the majority of the population is organized into the Sandinista Defense Committees.

We just finished a tour of the northern part of the country. And we found that campesina women identify with AMNLAE. They are AMNLAE. The ATC has reached out to them, and they work in the ATC, but the organization they identify with is AMNLAE.

In Estelí we visited a community where women in AMNLAE are part of a cooperative that the ATC has formed. They are also working with the Sandinista children's association and are going to get a childcare center. They just got a health center. And they have formed cultural groups, that children and young people take part in too. It is a model community.

We do not yet have a concrete plan for our

work with women workers and peasants. But we're studying the situation, making tours to study the special problems of factory and peasant women, listening to their concerns. And perhaps for 1982, or for the national conference of AMNLAE in November, we will be able to begin to lay out the lines of our work with these sectors.

Q. When we first met, in Puerto Cabezas, you were helping lead the work of the FSLN on the Atlantic Coast. You yourself are an example of the kind of role women have played in the Sandinista revolution. Could we conclude with some of your own political history?

A. All right. I've had the good fortune to be involved since 1967. At that time I was organizing youth work for the teachers union. And I had experiences similar to those of many other compañeros organizing in the factories and in various unions.

In about 1977, the FSLN took on the task of trying to bring the masses together, of unifying the various forces on the left. At that time I was involved in founding an organization called the Union Movement of Working People (MSPT). (This was at a time when the FSLN was divided into three tendencies, although there were already attempts under way to unify.)

We formed the MSPT because we wanted to organize workers, and also to help prepare for the general strikes that were coming — first in 1978 and then the final one in June 1979. And we also gave workers military training.

But this movement didn't last long. It had a short but intense life.

The MSPT chose me to take part, as a unionist, in the United People's Movement (MPU). The MPU represented the unity of the different tendencies of the FSLN and the left parties. So I came into the MPU as a delegate of the MSPT, which was an FSLN entity.

There was a division of labor within the MPU, a youth commission, a commission that worked with the Civil Defense Committees (CDCs), and two of us made up the union commission. I was in charge nationally of organizing and coordinating the work committees that existed in all the different factories and workplaces.

By this time, that is, by 1978, the Nicaraguan people had decided to do away with the dictatorship. So when we went to a factory, we did it in the context of extreme repression. Many compañeros were killed in our efforts to organize the MPU. Others were captured in their houses, or when they were at training sessions. But those were the risks.

By 1979 things were very tense. In order to talk to workers, we would go into factories in disguise, they would stop work and we would talk to them, and then get out very fast. And we visited most of the factories and work places in the country.

After the victory, since I had had some experience working with the Civil Defense Committees along with Lea Guido and Moisés Hasán, the leadership in Managua assigned me as

secretary general of the Sandinista Defense Committees nationally. I did that for three months.

Then I was sent to the Coast, where the leadership committee of the FSLN was Rosario Bravo, Commander Manuel Calderón, Dorothea Wilson, and myself.

Working on the Atlantic Coast was a real experience for me, and one from which I learned a lot. It was an area we didn't have any experience in. Our experience consisted of a number of years of working in the unions and in the barrios of Managua.

So there we were, in a place where they spoke another language, where the political

level was very low, where there really was no sense of nationhood. The Coast residents had been taught that they were descendents of the British.

We got there three months after the revolution, and we had terrible problems. The physical, geographical problems were insurmountable. I was in charge of the mining region between Waspán and Puerto Cabezas. And that winter of 1979-80, all the bridges were down. It rained all the time. People could not get to the towns.

A whole series of problems. Sometimes it seemed overwhelming, you suddenly felt helpless, completely impotent in the face of such

problems. The economic solutions almost all require huge expenditures of money. But it is also an area in which the people themselves, through their efforts, have shown that they are capable of rescuing the Atlantic Coast from its present backwardness.

But that is a discussion for another day. And I think some of your readers already know something about the Atlantic Coast, from the very fine interview you did with Manuel Calderón.* □

*See *Intercontinental Press*, June 29, page 684.

DOCUMENTS

Manifesto of Chinese 'socialist democrats'

'Let the bureaucrats tremble before us!'

[The following manifesto of opposition forces in China was reprinted in the September 1981 issue of *October Review*, a Chinese language Trotskyist monthly published in Hong Kong. The translation is by *October Review*.]

* * *

In mainland China today, we "democrats" have surpassed all other parties or groups, apart from the Communist Party of China, in our impact. We have aroused concern from the international community. Who are we? What are our real aims? What is our historical background? What are our distinctive positions?

There is, naturally, much speculation on these questions. Even among ourselves, many comrades do not quite understand the character, tasks, and norms of our activities. Some people who profess their love of democracy to shield their fear of it seize the opportunity to slander, spread rumors, make insinuations, foment discord, and even suppress us by use of the police. They will not be content until we are destroyed. Therefore, an open and explicit document reflecting the nature, positions, aims, and norms of our activities is needed.

The following document was drafted by individual comrades from Changsha for the upcoming National Unofficial Publications Convention. We hope comrades from all over the country will present their ideas or documents.

1. On April 5, 1976, at Tiananmen square in Peking, the capital, the Chinese people defied brutal force and conducted a bloody fight against the Chinese feudal-fascist dictatorship represented by the Gang of Four. This heroic fight, later named the April 5 Movement, has gone down in history.

The April 5 Movement was brutally suppressed. But the movement has not stopped. Many comrades who participated in person in the April 5 Movement later started the Democratic Movement in Peking at the end of 1978. The Democratic Movement spread rapidly to

all major cities across China and still lives today. We comrades who participate in the Democratic Movement are thus called Democrats.

2. The April 5 Movement was entirely spontaneous. It signified a new awakening of the Chinese people from the obscurantism of socialism under the feudal-fascist dictatorship. The April 5 Movement is an epoch-making dawn, generating new thinking, new doctrines, new literature, new strength, new hope, and heralding the democratic era of socialism.

By 1979 the Democratic Movement was a continuation of the April 5 Movement. Like the April 5 Movement, the Democratic Movement is in no way bourgeois. Rather it has a socialist character.

3. The overwhelming majority of the comrades who participate in the Democratic Movement are ordinary young workers, among them members of the party and the youth league; many of those who form the backbone of the movement are children of party members.

Both our historical background and our social composition fully show us to be proletarian and socialist democrats, and not "bourgeois democrats" or "so-called democrats" as some people claim.

4. We believe that the establishment of socialism is merely the beginning of the transformation of people from the servants of society to the masters of society. A long process is still required for the change to be accomplished, for all the people to become masters of society in reality as well as in name.

The entire socialist epoch in history is such a process. Therefore rather than saying that socialism has already turned all the people into the masters of society, we should say that socialism will turn all the people into the masters of society. Basing ourselves on this practical and realistic position, we devote our efforts to establishing a new, more scientific socialist system.

5. According to traditional theories, social-



Wall posters in Peking.

ism means the elimination of class exploitation, class oppression, and class struggle. But sixty years of experience in the practice of socialism has proved such theories false and wrong.

Facts prove that under socialism the bureaucratic class, caste, or elements still exist, as well as the proletariat, which is exploited and oppressed by the bureaucrats. The contradiction between these two is the main feature of socialist class struggle. We think that socialism has not eliminated, but is rather eliminating and will eliminate, all classes.

6. We believe that China is a socialist country. But it is not the kind of socialism described in general theory. It is a special kind of socialism. It is not built on the basis of a fully developed capitalism in which feudalism had been totally eliminated. Therefore socialism in today's China carries within itself not only the features of underdeveloped capitalism, but also heavy traces of feudalism.

7. We believe that socialism inevitably contains within itself certain capitalist elements. According to the general course of history, capitalist elements within socialism will wither away with the transition to communism. But the capitalist elements that must exist within China's socialism are inherently underdeveloped, and therefore they inevitably require expansion and development.

Naturally the development and expansion of capitalist elements within socialism must be limited; restoration of capitalism is not impossible if the limit permitted by socialism is surpassed. We do not give up our vigilance in preventing capitalist restoration. However, the expansion and development of those capitalist elements still lacking in socialism does not mean restoration of capitalism but is rather a special form of consolidating and developing socialism.

8. According to general theories, socialist democracy is the continuation and development of capitalist democracy, including a critique and negation of it. Therefore, socialist countries should be more democratic than capitalist countries.

But, due to several thousand years of the strong hold of feudal dictatorship on China, capitalist democratic republicanism has never been successfully practiced in China, and after socialism was established, the experience of democratic republicanism practiced in developed capitalist countries was never assimilated.

Therefore, pernicious vestiges of feudalism like one-party dictatorship, one-faction autocracy, and one-man despotism prevail like a plague. Several decades of socialist history prove that this is the basic factor behind the slow development of socialist countries, even lagging behind capitalist countries.

The aim of socialist democrats is to take into account the features of China's socialism and critically take this inheritance and develop the most advanced democratic republicanism of modern capitalism, so that China can catch up with and surpass capitalist countries in demo-

cratization, and practice highly democratic socialist republicanism.

9. We firmly advocate the prompt and radical elimination of pernicious vestiges of feudalism in China's state system. The lifelong occupancy of posts by cadres, in particular high-ranking cadres, must be abolished. The hierarchical system of appointment from above and all other unfair cadre systems must be abolished.

A democratic cadre system, including campaigns, general elections, and fixed periods of appointment must be set up. All laws, ordinances, and regulations that prohibit or hinder the people's freedom of speech, publication, and association must be abolished. A healthy system that genuinely safeguards the people's freedom of speech, publication, and association must be set up.

10. The immediate, primary task of the socialist democrats is to probe into, study, and propagate scientific, democratic socialism in theoretical work, and to engage in the movement to liberate thinking. To accomplish this task, the key at present is to fight for the legal right to publish.

11. The activities of the socialist democrats take the form, among other legal activities, of putting out publications. In our relationship with the ruling Chinese Communist Party, we are against all conspiratorial or violent activities.

We believe that we and the Chinese Communist Party are consistent in overall direc-

tion, and that we can perfectly well coexist peacefully. In particular, no matter what attitude the reforming faction in the Chinese Communist Party adopts toward us, we staunchly support them as long as they insist on reforms.

Our group of young people virtually grew up together with the new China. Together with our lovable yet pitiable mother — the Chinese people — we have enjoyed some happiness of the new society and have experienced the catastrophe of the Cultural Revolution. The tragedies of individuals, families, and the state make us feel deeply that there is far too little democracy in China.

The state demands prosperity and the people demand democracy: this is the inevitable trend of world history. Therefore, we have confidence that our cause will succeed! Therefore, we disregard our own safety to fight for democracy for the people!

We are ready to devote ourselves to the dynamic democratic movement, and we are ready to withstand the cruel test of prison bars! We feel immense happiness and pride to be able to contribute to the cause of people's democracy. What we lose is the pain and chains of laboring beasts, and what we gain is the freedom and dignity of man! The shining beacon of democratic socialism has presented itself before the Chinese people. No one can bar the way of its arrival!

Let the bureaucrats tremble before us!

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'We have been able to march forward'

Interview with Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman

[Unison Whiteman, Grenada's minister of foreign affairs, visited Australia in October to attend a conference of Commonwealth heads of government. While there, he spoke October 5 to a crowd of 400 in Melbourne on the aims and achievements of the Grenada revolution. The same day he granted an interview to several journalists, including from the revolutionary socialist weekly *Direct Action*. The following are excerpts from Whiteman's opening statement and from the interview itself.]

* * *

I wish to tell you, as you probably know, we have suffered from hundreds of years of British colonialism, and over twenty years or so we suffered from a fascist-type dictator, by the name of Gairy.

Our party was formed in the early 1970s in response to the very serious socioeconomic and political situation in Grenada. Even as members of Parliament — because about half of the People's Revolutionary Government were members of Parliament at the time of the revolution — we were still subjected to harassment by the vicious and brutal Gairy regime.

Since the triumph of the revolution on March 13, 1979, we have proceeded to put the country on the path of a socialist orientation.

We have made rapid strides forward in the area of health for the people — free health and medical care. In the area of education we have been able to wipe out illiteracy through a special program. For the first time in our history secondary education is now completely free, and there are enough scholarships for the young people who are qualified to go to study overseas.

All in all, both in the area of social and eco-

nomc opportunities, we have been able to march forward. We have laid the basis for the first time in our history to get the economy moving. We have started to build a state sector in hotel construction, in tourism, in banking — we now have a state bank. Therefore we have been able to substantially reduce the unemployment rate even in the short period of two-and-a-half years.

One of the major items of our progress since the revolution is that for the first time we have been able to involve the masses in decision-making. We now have in every area workers' councils, parish councils. For instance, workers in the state enterprises can now share in the profits and can be involved in setting production targets.

We have been building a broad-based democratic system, and the revolution continues to be extremely popular in our country.

At the same time, in spite of the great popularity of our revolution, we continue to be threatened by the greatest power on earth, the United States, particularly the Reagan administration. They have made every effort to bring pressure on the international finance system not to give us loans and grants to pursue our development objectives.

They have attempted to block finances from the European Economic Committee and from the Caribbean Development Bank. A couple days ago we heard they had made their latest attempt, which was to try to stop IFAD [International Fund for Agricultural Development] from giving a loan to Grenada for fisheries development.

But what is most serious is that now that they have failed to strangle our country through economic pressures, we have informa-

tion that they are planning a military aggression against our country. The United States a month ago rehearsed an attack against a mythical island called Amber and the Amberines, and based on a careful analysis of that simulated attack, we are convinced that Amber and the Amberines refers to Grenada and the Grenadines.

Therefore we are on full alert in Grenada. We continue to be vigilant. The mood and morale of the people continues to be high. We are building a militia.

But at the same time we are very disturbed that the U.S. refuses to talk to us. We have sent a number of signals, we have taken a number of initiatives to try to get normal discussions going with the United States so we could sit down and discuss our differences. But they are refusing to reciprocate, they are refusing to talk to us.

Question. I believe there has recently been a draft land reform law promulgated. Could you tell us about this law and its significance?

Answer. As I said before, Grenada has a serious unemployment problem. At the same time, we import substantial quantities of food. This happens in a context in which there is an abundance of idle land. There are people who have substantial land and this land has been idle for years.

Therefore we have come up with an agrarian reform law, whereby all substantial amounts of land that is idle — once it is declared to be suitable for agriculture by the Land Reform Commission — will have to be leased to the government for a period of ten years, during which time it will be made available to the young people to form cooperatives for purposes of food production.

That law is becoming very popular, though naturally the landed bourgeoisie would not be pleased with it. But in terms of the masses, the law is very popular.

Q. I wonder if you could tell us something about the level of organization, in the unions and in the workers' councils?

A. Before the revolution, the workers had very few rights in our country. Workers could not form or join trade unions of their choice, in the sense that quite often workers would be victimized or dismissed for trade-union activity.

Therefore, one of the first things we did was to pass the Trade Union Recognition Act. Once half the people in a workplace decided to form or join a trade union, they must be recog-

Agee defends Grenada

"One cannot be in Grenada for twenty-four hours and remain unaffected by the tremendous enthusiasm that the people feel for their revolution," former CIA agent Phillip Agee told a crowd of 200 in Copenhagen, Denmark, September 25, following a recent trip to Grenada.

Agee explained that Grenada has earned the hatred of the U.S. government because of the revolutionary example it sets for the English-speaking Caribbean and for Blacks in the United States.

Describing the international campaign by Washington to isolate Grenada, he com-

pared it to the U.S. campaign against Cuba just prior to the Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961.

"There are many indications that the U.S. is laying plans for a military attack on Grenada," Agee said.

He called on the Danish movements in solidarity with El Salvador and Nicaragua to begin organizing support and solidarity for the Grenada revolution.

"Grenada's people's revolution needs support from people the world over, especially now with the very real danger of U.S. attack."



UNISON WHITEMAN

Jerry Hunnicutt/Militant

nized, by law: The employer has no choice at all. Since the passage of that law, something like 90 percent of the working class is now organized. This is a dramatic improvement.

In the state enterprises, we have made sure that the workers are involved in the decision-making process. At every state enterprise, the management and the workers must meet regularly, to discuss production targets, to discuss shortcomings, to really be involved and participate in the running of the enterprise. To us this is very important.

In addition to this we have been forming what we call worker's councils — not merely at the workplace, though at the workplace we have them as well — where we bring the workers together as a class so that they can become more class-conscious and express their views to the government. After all, our government is a government of the working people and we wish to ensure that the workers' views are fully represented in the running of the country.

Also, within our party we are making every effort to ensure that more and more workers are being groomed for membership.

Q. Grenada may be the only country in the world with a Ministry of Mass Mobilization. Could you speak about its role?

A. It's a very important ministry to us. Because if you look at how the Westminster system, the bourgeois-democratic system, works, you will see that people are not really involved. They do not really participate in the decision-making of the country. The citizens every five years would be asked to come and make an X for Tweedledum or Tweedledee. That is not really participation.

Therefore, the Ministry of Mass Mobilization is working out ways and means of bring-

ing the people more actively into the process of government — at their workplaces and the places where they live: attending meetings, attending rallies, community building programs. It's a very important ministry for us.

Q. Does this ministry establish a different sort of network for making those decisions?

A. Not really. It basically is a vehicle to bring the people together at the various workplaces and places of living for the purposes of discussion and participation in the affairs of the country. In other words, it supplements and complements the other ministries.

It is also, for instance, very active in the

question of the militia. Our view is that production and defense are the key questions that face us now. And national mobilization will include the question of mobilizing people for the defense of the country.

Q. What has been the response to the revolution in other parts of the Caribbean and in the United States and Britain?

A. By a large we have benefited from wide-ranging solidarity from various countries of the world, including the ones you have mentioned, the United States, the other islands of the Caribbean — even the non-English-speaking islands. That has been very useful and helpful in holding back the reactionary governments in the region. There are a number of reactionary governments that would like to take aggressive measures against our revolution at the request of Reagan. But with their masses admiring the Grenadian revolution, it becomes very difficult for them. We really find it a positive force, the solidarity of countries throughout the world.

In fact, when this last threat of aggression was made by Reagan, there were solidarity rallies and statements throughout the world and demonstrations at U.S. embassies. That has really embarrassed the Reagan administration; they were forced to issue a number of statements denying that they planned any aggression against Grenada.

Of course, we know their words are worthless. In the case of Chile, they said they did not plan to make an aggression and in fact they made it. In the case of Arbenz in 1954 in Guatemala, while denying that they were planning an aggression they went ahead and made the aggression. They also did the same to Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. So they have a tradition of telling lies and of course no one will be fooled by that. □

Grenadian leaders speak in New York

In response to the U.S. government's threats against Grenada, several leaders of the revolution in that Caribbean country addressed a rally of 700 held in Brooklyn, New York, October 11.

Speaking to the predominantly Grenadian audience were Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman, United Nations Ambassador Caldwell Taylor, and Liam Jones, a member of the People's Revolutionary Government.

Taylor called on Grenadians living abroad to expose the U.S. government's lies about Grenada "as they surface." He insisted that "not a single rumor can be spread without being answered."

James answered imperialist charges that the Grenadian government was suppressing freedom of the press by closing down the

openly counterrevolutionary *Grenadian Voice* several months ago.

"Thousands of people demonstrated to demand that this publication be closed," James said, "We know what a 'free press' is. A free press gives the broadest views and reflects the interests of the broad masses, of the working people.

"Free expression is tolerated in Grenada, but counterrevolution will be ruthlessly crushed."

Whiteman, among other things, called on the audience to visit Grenada to learn the truth about the revolution and to help spread the truth.

Other speakers included Cheddi Jagan, the leader of the opposition People's Progressive Party in Guyana, and Adeyemi Bandle, a representative of the National Black United Front in the United States.

The crisis of world capitalism—I

Fidel Castro on the need for a new economic order

[The following is the first half of a speech given by Cuban President Fidel Castro on September 15 in Havana to the sixty-eighth conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. The text is taken from the September 27 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*.

[The second half of the speech will appear in the next issue of *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Members of the Presiding Body;
Distinguished Parliamentarians:

We are meeting in times of uncertainty. I am not forgetting the diversity of criteria and ideologies congregated in this hall. But I assume that we share the common concern for the fate of the world, where each of our respective homelands, and the peoples therein, have a sacred place in our hearts. I extend to all of you the warmest welcome to our country.

Some may not like my words; but they are not intended to hurt anyone. I will merely expound my points of view frankly, based on facts I consider objective, and I cannot suppress the views I hold about certain governments and policies. In doing so, I am not criticizing peoples but governments, and those who disagree will have enough opportunity to reply to my words from this very rostrum where they will be heard with the greatest respect. After all, in any conference, those who speak at the

Never before have the poor of the earth been so poor and so exploited . . .

end always have the advantage of making fresh pronouncements, when many no longer remember the words of those who preceded them.

I shall start by dealing with the economic issues in the world.

On innumerable occasions we have insisted that what underlies the issue of peace — a cardinal concern of all peoples of the world — is the economic and social injustice prevailing on our planet. There will be no solution to the tensions, contradictions and political conflicts that threaten and perturb international relations, until a new economic order is established in the world to promote the peoples' all-round development and reduce inequality among nations.

The current world economic situation is characterized by the notorious inequality existing between developed and underdeveloped countries. Hundreds of millions of human beings, in countries comprising more than three-fourths of the world population, live in poverty, go hungry and are the victims of illness and ignorance. As long as this dramatic situation suffered by the great majority of mankind is not solved through the implementation of new world economic relations based on equity and justice, little progress will be made towards effective and lasting peace.

The accelerated deterioration the world economic situation has experienced in recent years and its dramatic repercussion on Third World countries gave rise to the anxious quest for formulas to first stop and then revert a trend, which was leading the great majority of the countries in the world to an unsolvable economic crisis, with the serious and dangerous consequences such a situation would entail for all the world, both socially and politically.

Thus, in 1974, the idea of a program for a New International Economic Order emerged, coupled with capitalism's worst postwar economic crisis during 1974 and 1975, a crisis which — after an ephemeral recovery in 1976 — continued on its course, characterized by unstable and weak processes of recovery, a tendency towards new recessive drops, a sharpening of economic-monetary rivalries, rampant inflation

and growing unemployment. Due to its peculiarities, persistence and seriousness, this crisis reflected the overall crisis of the capitalist system, clearly expressed in its inability to overcome its own imbalances, increased interimperialist contradictions and the collapse of the postwar neocolonial system. It, in turn, gave rise to the capitalist need to increase its share of the profits, which has now become much more difficult than ever before during the postwar period, since, to a great extent, it depended on increased imperialist exploitation of the underdeveloped world.

There is no solution to this dramatic and increasingly serious situation, and no progress whatsoever has been made in the establishment of a New International Economic Order, a matter of life and death for the Third World countries.

The U.S. Government has aggravated the world crisis by raising interest rates to hitherto unknown levels. On the one hand, it raises the cost of money in the Yankee domestic economy, with the purpose of reducing its rate in the belief that it will succeed in limiting and even eliminating inflation. And, on the other hand, it intends to — and has in fact done so — attract from Europe at more lucrative interest rates, not only Eurodollars, irresponsibly thrown onto the European market to finance the Vietnam War, but also monetary resources from the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy and other countries in the European Economic Community, thus further affecting the economies of its own Western allies.

By doing so, it has weakened its competitors, caused the practical devaluation of their currencies, rendered more expensive the U.S. technology they import, as well as the oil from third countries, while lowering the prices U.S. buyers have to pay for European products. The European Economic Community has been forced to take economic emergency measures. President Mitterrand's clear and energetic protest voices a common feeling among member states. Numerous Third World countries have also felt the drain of their convertible foreign currency, attracted by high interest rates of Yankee banks, which in turn raise to untenable limits the amounts to be paid for the servicing of the renewed, growing and monstrous debt of underdeveloped countries.

The economic crisis of capitalism with its endemic panorama of stagnation, inflation, unemployment, squandering and deformation is serious, but even more serious and insufferable is the economic situation of the underdeveloped world, which is partly a magnified version of the capitalist crisis itself.

The developed capitalist countries have transferred to and enlarged in underdeveloped countries the essential elements of their economic crisis. The growing dependence of the so-called Third World countries' economies on industrialized countries greatly exacerbated the negative effects the present terms of trade have on them. Private banking and international financial and monetary institutions play a major role in this accelerated process of deterioration; this, together with a greater opening of those countries to economic, financial and technological penetration by transnationals, has led them to total economic asphyxia and financial paralysis, for which there is no way out. Thus, the relations of trade prices coupled with the freezing or actual depression of the prices of raw materials and products from underdeveloped countries with regard to the increasing prices of manufactured goods and services from industrialized countries, the high interest rates of the increasingly limited foreign financing sources and rampant inflation are some of the main elements of the crisis. All this, compounded by the extraordinary increase in oil prices, the accelerated population growth in these countries, the stagnation or regression of agricultural production, the almost total lack of industrial and technological development, has led the underdeveloped world to an unprecedented degree of indebtedness, impoverish-

ment, dependence and economic asphyxia.

According to the International Payments Bank official data for 1981, the foreign debt of the so-called Third World amounted to over \$500,000 million, with a tendency to increase steadily. The foreign debt of Latin America, for example, that in 1965 amounted to \$10,000 million, soared to \$150,000 million early in 1980.

To have an idea of the overwhelming burden of increased import values, which is mainly determined by inflation in industrialized countries and the rise of oil prices, suffice it to say that, in 1978, the change in prices meant for that same region as a whole an increase in real import values — with respect to 1970 prices — of \$14,442 million for fuels and \$25,304 million for manufactured imports. Likewise, whereas in 1973 the value of net fuel imports accounted for 8.4% of the total imported goods, in 1979 this ratio rose to 23.8%.

The social outcome of these realities is expressed by the enormous magnitude of extreme poverty, lack of culture and unemployment of the great masses on the continent.

In 1970-1980 the overall public debt of underdeveloped countries grew at an average annual rate of about 21%. In 1979, our countries paid \$44,200 million for debt servicing alone. The only thing that currently bears comparison with the amount of that debt is the world's military expenditures, which also amount to the mind-boggling figure of \$500,000 million.

On the other hand, in 1970-78 the process of imperialist penetration through its investments in the Third World amounted to \$42,200 million, which is not enough even for a meager dependent development. During this period, U.S. investments in the underdeveloped world amounted to \$8,701 million. In the same period, the investments of capitalist Europe in Africa amounted to \$8,000 million, total foreign investments in that continent being of over \$11,000 million.

In contrast, the profits obtained by transnationals in underdeveloped countries during that same period amounted to the staggering figure of \$100,218 million, which means that for every new dollar invested in that period, approximately \$2.4 were extracted as repatriated profits. U.S. profits from the above investments amounted to \$39,685 million, representing a \$4.5 income per newly invested dollar.

A simple figure supplied by none other than the World Bank, one of the institutions created by neocolonial metropolises in order to ensure their financial hegemony, eloquently illustrates the situation of inequality we have referred to. According to this source, in 1978 the per capita Gross National Product in a selected group of 18 developed capitalist countries amounted to \$8,070, while 38 of the so-called lowest income countries showed a per capita Gross National Product of \$200, and the so-called middle income group, \$1,250. In other words, in 1978, developed capitalist countries achieved a per capita Gross National Product 6.5 times higher than that of the so-called middle income countries and

Over 1,000 million people — 25% of the planet's population — live in conditions of poverty, overcrowding and danger . . .

40 times higher than that of the poorest underdeveloped countries.

Today, ten years after launching the program for a New International Economic Order, the huge and growing differences between developed and underdeveloped countries, and the extreme poverty of the latter, have reached extreme seriousness. Never before in the history of mankind has the underdeveloped world been subjected to such a degree of exploitation, economic asphyxia and poverty. Never before have the poor of the earth been so poor and so exploited, their growing mass being prevented from even aspiring to a subsistence economy and the most elementary living conditions. We can sum up these dramatic realities as follows: developed countries, with only 25% of the world population, possess 83% of the world's Gross National Product; they consume 75% of the energy and 70% of the grains; they own 92% of the world's industries and 95% of technological resources; and they also use up 89% of world education expenditures.

The present may be tragic, but the future looks even gloomier.



570 million people do not get enough to eat.

The world population already amounts to 4,400 million inhabitants, 75% of which lives in underdeveloped countries.

According to the various forecasts made in recent years by different specialized institutions, by the year 2000 the world population will have reached 6,400 million. This represents an increase of 55% over the last 25 years of this century. Mankind will grow in those 25 years as much as it did in the first 1,950 years of our era.

More than 90% of said growth will take place in the underdeveloped world. This means that in the year 2000, 80% of the world population — some 5,120 million human beings — will live in underdeveloped countries. By then, four out of every five of the planet's inhabitants will live in this world.

Recent studies have estimated that by the year 2000 the per capita Gross National Product will amount to a world average of \$2,311 in 1975 constant values. This means a world increase of 53% in relation to 1975. In developed countries, however, the per capita Gross National Product will rise to almost \$8,500, while in the underdeveloped world it will remain at less than \$590. For every \$1 increase in the per capita Gross National Product of underdeveloped countries, there is a projected \$20 increase for developed countries as a whole. By the year 2000 the average individual income will be over 14 times higher in developed countries. If as point of reference we take per capita Gross National Product of a group of the most powerful capitalist developed countries, the ratio will be almost twentyfold.

That is to say, by the year 2000, the current wide gap between the developed and the underdeveloped world will have doubled. If in 1975 the difference between the per capita Gross National Product of both groups was about \$4,000, by the year 2000 it will amount to approximately \$8,000.

If the existing inequality is already flagrant and could even be termed outrageous, we can imagine the magnitude of the abyss that will separate the richest countries from the poorest 20 years from now.

The food situation in the Third World is already dramatic. In comparison with developed countries, the average inhabitant of an underdeveloped country gets 33% fewer calories in his diet than an inhabitant of a developed country. According to conservative FAO [the UN Food and Agriculture Organization] estimates, nearly 450 million human beings

in the underdeveloped world suffer from a degree of malnutrition that is defined as serious, which means that they are hungry. Several hundred million more are undernourished. The per capita animal protein intake is 6 times higher in developed than in underdeveloped countries; fats, 4.5 times higher; grains, 2.3 times higher; and milk, 6 times higher.

All these indicators and many more that could be mentioned can be translated into one single word: hunger. At present, hunger is the most distressing human drama of the peoples in the underdeveloped world. Millions of lives are lost every year and many millions more see their hopes of fully developing their capabilities shattered by hunger.

Thanks to the concentration of the necessary investments and technology in developed countries, in recent years their crops have yielded twice as much as those in underdeveloped countries, and labor productivity in agriculture was nine times higher. Per capita food supply in developed countries increased 3.2 times more than in underdeveloped countries.

One out of every four inhabitants of the underdeveloped world will go hungry. A number of people equal to the present total population of developed nations . . .

In the next 20 years, vast regions of the underdeveloped world will lack the amount of food necessary for children to achieve normal bodily and mental development and for adults to enjoy full potentiality and good health. The forecast for food consumption in the Central African nations, for instance, is of 20% under the minimum levels proposed by FAO. According to the World Bank, the amount of malnourished people in the underdeveloped nations shall, in that short period of time, reach the dramatic figure of 1,300 million, which almost triples present estimates. One out of every four inhabitants of the underdeveloped world will go hungry. A number of people equal to the present total population of developed nations will not be appropriately fed.

On the other hand, various studies made by FAO and other institutions forecast that in the next two decades the man/land ratio in underdeveloped nations will decrease from 0.9 hectares for the mid-1970s to 0.5 hectares of potentially arable land. If theoretically less than one hectare of land can feed one person in the underdeveloped nations at present, in 20 years' time that very same hectare should feed two people.

Naturally, from the point of view of production, the only way to impede further deterioration of the present unsatisfactory per capita food availability is for food supplies to increase faster than the number of mouths to be fed. An examination of recent trends, however, shows that the growth rate of food production in the underdeveloped world has decreased to a point that hardly surpasses the demographic growth rate. If to this we add the well-known situations related to unequal income distribution in the vast majority of underdeveloped nations, the scope of the problem being faced by the masses of the underdeveloped world's population in terms of hunger and undernourishment in the near future can readily be understood.

Another highly significant situation, not only from the economic point of view but also with regards to ecologic balance and the preservation of the environment, relates to deforestation. Some 18-20 million hectares of forests disappear annually, mostly in the tropical regions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Total forest areas in the world, covering a little over 2,500 million hectares in 1978, will be reduced by some 450 million — that is, almost one-fifth — by the year 2000. Now then, almost 100% of that reduction will occur in the underdeveloped nations, which will have lost approximately 40% of their forest surface.

This loss will force the great masses of the underdeveloped nations to pay ever more unbearable prices for firewood and coal—their main cooking and heating means — until the time will come when these basic vital resources will simply be beyond their reach.

Education and culture, like health, are one of man's most basic rights. This is not, however, a right the great masses of the underdeveloped nations enjoy. These realities are determined by a lack of schools and teachers, a shortage of resources and extreme poverty. In the past 15 years, the number of illiterates in the world has steadily increased. Ac-

ording to official UNESCO figures, in 1965 there were 700 million illiterates in the world. In 1975, this figure rose to 800 million and the 1980 estimate was of 820 million, i.e., approximately three out of every ten adults in the world were illiterate. It is estimated that in 1990 this figure will reach 884 million, and mankind will enter the 21st century with some 1,000 million illiterate adults. That is to say, in the most extraordinary period of man's scientific and technological upsurge, the number of illiterates in the underdeveloped world will triple the present population of Latin America and the Caribbean.

These gloomy figures do not include the huge mass of children of the underdeveloped world fully lacking education, nor those who drop out after elementary school.

In half the nations of the earth, 50% of the children never finish elementary school. In 1980, in the world there were some 250 million children between five and 14 who did not get any education. The richest fifth of the world, i.e., 20 nations with 21% of the world population, spends 50 times more on education per inhabitant than the poorest fifth (26 countries with 23% of the population), i.e., a ratio bigger than that of their economic inequalities which is 40 to one.

Instead of spurring on education, developed Western countries have exported sexual exploitation of children to the underdeveloped nations.

At a congress recently held in France, it was reported that sexual exploitation of children — something almost unknown until recently — rose sharply in many Third World countries and that the expansion of tourism experienced by some of those countries was one of its main causes: it was literally stated that it brought about the "industrialization of sex for tourism."

According to a study by the International Labor Office, in Bangkok alone, some 200,000 girls practice prostitution, half of whom are under 20 years of age and had been sold to procurers at the age of 12.

Health in the underdeveloped world also reflects huge differences with regards to industrialized nations. According to World Health Organization data, over 1,000 million people — 25% of the planet's population — live in conditions of poverty, overcrowding and danger. Seventy percent of the children in underdeveloped nations suffer from infectious and parasitic diseases.

Infant mortality in developed countries ranges between 20 and 15 children per 1,000 live births. In the poorest countries, it varies in different regions. In Africa it is 150-200 per 1,000 live births. In Asia it ranges between 100-150. In Latin America it fluctuates between 30-170, except in Cuba which is already below 20. When considering the data of high birth rates in Third World countries, this means that of the more than 122 million children born every year, 10% will die before their first year and another 4% before the age of five. Thus, 18 million children under five die in the world every year, 95% of them in the underdeveloped countries. This figure is almost doubled when referring to children who become partially or totally crippled as a result of various diseases. The death risk before adolescence is of one out of 40 in developed countries, while in African nations it is of one out of every four, and in some countries one out of two.

In developed countries, life expectancy is 72-74 years of age. In underdeveloped countries the average is 50, and in some areas of the world it drops to less than 40.

The number of available doctors varies greatly between groups of countries; whereas in developed countries the average availability is of one doctor per 500-600 inhabitants, in a large group of the lowest-income countries, the figure is of one doctor per more than 60,000 inhabitants. That is, the average availability for the first group of countries is of 20 doctors per 10,000 inhabitants, while in the underdeveloped nations as a whole it is of about one doctor per 10,000 inhabitants.

To sum up, we can say that the present situation of the underdeveloped world is as follows:

Undernourished (below the necessary calory and protein levels, that is, going hungry)	570 million
Illiterate adults	800 million
Totally lacking medical care	1,500 million
Having an annual income under 90 dollars	1,300 million
Life expectancy of under 60	1,700 million

Living in unfit housing	1,030 million
Children not attending schools	250 million
Unemployed	1,103 million

At the United Nations, in the month of October 1979, on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose 6th Summit had just been held in our homeland, Cuba put forth formulas to solve the desperate economic and social situation of Third World countries. We proposed, first of all, an additional fund of no less than 300,000 million dollars (1977 real values), to be invested in the underdeveloped countries and to be made in yearly installments of at least 25,000 million right from the beginning. This should be in the form of donations and long-term, low-interest soft credits.

There we made a ten-point summary of the additional indispensable measures to be taken to start reverting the crisis. Since they are more relevant than ever, I shall repeat them:

"Unequal exchange is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!

"Inflation, which is being exported to us, is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!

"Protectionism is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!

"The disequilibrium that exists concerning the exploitation of sea resources is abusive; and it should be abolished!

"The financial resources received by the developing countries are insufficient; and should be increased!

"Arms expenditures are irrational. They should cease, and the funds thus released should be used to finance development!

"The international monetary system that prevails today is bankrupt; and it should be replaced!

"The debts of the least developed countries and those in disadvantageous position are impossible to bear and have no solution. They should be canceled!

"Indebtedness oppresses the rest of the developed countries and the countries that seek development is growing rather than diminishing; and it should be relieved!

Such are the demands of the underdeveloped countries.

Is this the time for an arms race? Is this the time for producing neutron bombs? Is this the time for warmongering policies? Is this the time for deploying 572 medium-range missiles in Europe, for building MX missile systems which will cost tens of thousands of millions of dollars,

The peoples of Europe go even further than their rulers and reject with increasing strength the deployment of these new nuclear weapons on their soil . . .

new strategic bombers, nuclear aircraft carriers. Trident submarines; for reactivating World War II battleships; for investing \$1,500,000,000,000 in military expenditures over the next five years, thus initiating the greatest arms competition in history, as the United States intends to do? The peoples, especially the hungry peoples of the Third World, the laborers and all the workers of the planet, both manual and intellectual, know that this is a colossal folly they will have to carry on their emaciated backs — a folly which will further aggravate the world economic crisis, unemployment and what has already become a desperate and unbearable situation for thousands of millions of people — only to end in a holocaust.

Moreover, the new U.S. administration has already announced that it will cut its contributions to international credit institutions and promote the suppression of concessionary credits. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the Reagan administration intends to bring its economic philosophy to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. This philosophy implies exerting pressure on developing countries to force them to adopt only those policies aimed at strengthening market economies, that is, the action of private capital and of transnationals. It also intends to have international organizations demand that the governments of countries seeking credits from

them eliminate price subsidies, abolish import restrictions and cut public expenditures.

On the basis of these ideas, what can be expected of U.S. economic cooperation and contribution to a New International Economic Order?

Warmongering policies and cooperation cannot coexist in the world.

These realities must be clearly put forth to Mr. Reagan in the coming Cancun Conference, where, by the way, the almighty and indispensable gentleman has presumptuously forbidden Cuba's voice from being heard by threatening not to attend.

In the aforementioned appearance before the United Nations we sustained that "the sound of weapons, threatening language, and arrogance in the international scene must cease."

Nevertheless, we now witness an altogether different reality. The new U.S. administration has discarded all theories on the need for military balance which served as a basis for the possibility of peaceful coexistence between states with different economic and social systems mankind is at present divided into.

The Government of the United States demands, as a condition for negotiation, that its military supremacy be admitted. It claims this on the basis of an arrogant economic superiority and of an alleged technological advantage. The strategic arms limitation treaties, SALT II, formerly considered satisfactory by U.S. specialists as part of a process geared to the gradual eradication of a nuclear threat through new limitation negotiations, are cast aside by the United States as no longer satisfactory to the military requirements of that country, conceived only in terms of military supremacy.

Thus, the path of negotiations has been interrupted. Since the days prior to the Munich Pact international forums have not rung with such impolitic and threatening words as those U.S. leaders now repeat, not just President Reagan but also his secretary of defense, Mr. Weinberger, and his secretary of state, Mr. Haig. They are playing war and with war.

It seems that the new U.S. administration cannot care less about the opinions of those forming part of the system of military alliances on which U.S. strategy rests. Before deploying the 572 ballistic missiles in Europe that the Pentagon wants to establish in that theater, thus enormously increasing the danger of a nuclear war, which would first and foremost affect Europe, NATO governments demanded that the United States sit at the table of negotiations with the Soviet Union. The peoples of Europe go even further than their rulers and reject with increasing strength the deployment of these new nuclear weapons on their soil. But the United States' disparaging response is far from opening the path to negotiations; instead of a will to negotiate, the Reagan Administration also challenges international consciousness by ordering the production of the neutron bomb.

A more sinister mockery could not be conceived of.

On the other hand, who can forget that the opposition of the United States to the presence of 42 medium-range missiles in Cuba in 1962 gave rise to a crisis which placed the world on the brink of nuclear war? Why not think that the USSR may feel seriously threatened and provoked by the presence of 572 U.S. missiles of this kind so close to its borders?

This attempt at supremacy unrestrained by moral limitations of any kind sets the pace for U.S. international policy throughout the world and shapes its attitude before the most pressing problems of the day.

[To be continued]

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Communist Party dumps Kania

New party chief threatens crackdown

By Ernest Harsch

After only thirteen months in power, Poland's Communist Party chief, Stanislaw Kania, was dumped during a stormy Central Committee meeting October 18. He was replaced by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the prime minister and minister of defense.

This latest leadership reshuffle is yet another indication of the depth of the political crisis facing the privileged bureaucrats who rule Poland, as they cast about for some way to hold back the country's powerful working class. The difficulties they face were underscored just the week before the Central Committee meeting, when Solidarity, the 10-million-member union, warned of a possible nationwide strike against higher food prices and workers in a number of cities struck and occupied their plants.

When Kania came to power in September 1980 following the ouster of the discredited Edward Gierek, he promised to carry through a "socialist renewal" and to follow a course of negotiation with Solidarity. But as the months passed, it became clearer and clearer that this "renewal" was just a stalling tactic, while the government and party leadership carried out provocations against the union and sought to undermine its base of support.

But all these efforts proved fruitless. Solidarity would not let itself be provoked into a premature confrontation. Instead, it further strengthened itself by organizing democratic elections to leadership positions and by holding widespread discussions on a program for overcoming Poland's deep social and economic crisis. This won it growing support from wider layers of the Polish population.

At the same time, Solidarity's example attracted increased interest among workers in other Eastern European countries.

From the point of view of the Polish bureaucrats and their allies in Moscow, Kania's course was clearly not working. The Soviet authorities made little secret of their lack of confidence in Kania.

New threats

Although Jaruzelski has also been associated with the "renewal" policy, he has at the same time attempted to present a harder stance toward Solidarity. In the midst of the union's recent national congress, Jaruzelski ordered stepped-up police and army patrols in major cities, authorized arrests of some union activists, and ordered the censors to crack down on Solidarity's lively factory and regional bulletins.

At the Central Committee meeting itself, a resolution was adopted laying out a tougher line against Solidarity. Its points included:

- A renegotiation of the agreements signed with striking workers last year.
- A "temporary" suspension of the right to strike.
- A resumption of the six-day workweek (Polish workers won their demand for a five-day workweek earlier this year).
- Stricter party control over the news media.
- The expulsion of party members considered too favorable to Solidarity.

The Central Committee also discussed the possibility of authorizing a state of emergency, but decided against that at this time.

Taken together, these threatened moves point toward preparations for a confrontation with Solidarity. The union would certainly resist any attempts to take away the right to strike or to renegotiate last year's agreements to the detriment of the workers.

Expulsions from party

An important part of the authorities' preparations are its attempts to firm up the party ranks. As the Central Committee meeting opened on October 16, the party announced the expulsion of Stefan Bratkowski, the head of the Union of Polish Journalists and a prominent advocate of collaboration with Solidarity. The day before, Bogdan Lis, an organizer of the August 1980 strikes in Gdansk and a national leader of Solidarity, was also expelled. At the same time, fifteen members of the Central Committee who also belonged to Solidarity resigned their membership in the union.

These moves are clearly aimed at intimidating the 1 million party members who have joined Solidarity. But the outcome of this is

Workers group formed in Czechoslovakia

According to the October 3 Paris daily *Le Monde*, a Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of Free Unions was set up in Czechoslovakia in late September. Its aim, according to its founders, is to "defend the real interests and needs of the workers."

In a message to the first congress of Poland's Solidarity, the Czechoslovak committee declared, "We know very well that your movement constitutes the most effective way to struggle against a hardened bureaucratic system, to realize the real demands of the workers and of us all, and also to establish democratic self-management in production and progressively throughout society."

not certain. A recent informal survey organized by the party leadership among the ranks found that the loyalty of these members toward Solidarity is greater than it is toward the party.

A similar survey among the army ranks found more support for the party leadership than had been expected — but not in the eventuality of an all-out confrontation with Solidarity.

These surveys underline the party leadership's continued political weakness. So despite the Central Committee's sharp threats, it has also continued to hold out the prospect of new compromises.

In fact, the same day as Kania's ouster, the government agreed to Solidarity's demand for the establishment of a permanent economic council — with the union's participation — to oversee vital market supplies and other economic matters.

Three days earlier, on October 15, it also agreed to a temporary freeze on food prices. This agreement, which followed six hours of negotiations with Solidarity, was reached under the threat of a nationwide general strike and in the midst of a series of scattered labor actions.

Despite a call by the Solidarity leadership for a halt to all strikes pending the outcome of the talks with the government, some 22,000 workers went on strike October 13 to protest food shortages and higher food prices.

About 10,000 struck in Tomaszow Mazowiecki and Niewiadow in central Poland, and 12,000 women workers occupied their textile mills in Zyrardow, near Warsaw.

But the ferment was not limited to the question of food supplies. In Ostroleka, in the northeast, some 10,000 Solidarity members marched through the streets to protest the police confiscation of local union bulletins.

'A self-governed Poland'

In contrast to the bureaucracy's threats and continual economic mismanagement of the country, Solidarity has offered working people the vision of a new Poland.

At Solidarity's recent national congress, it adopted a program for far-reaching changes in the way the economy is run. In place of the present system of bureaucratic privilege and mismanagement, it called for genuine workers control over the factories and the involvement of society as a whole in the making of overall economic decisions.

Recognizing that economic reform cannot succeed without the simultaneous establishment of workers democracy, Solidarity's program also called for free elections to all levels of government, directly challenging the party's monopoly on political power.

"We want to build a self-governed Poland," Solidarity's program proclaimed.

That is the vision that the immense majority of Poland's working people are for. And whichever bureaucrat holds for formal reins of power, the authorities will not be able to stop the Polish people from trying to transform that vision into a reality. □