

# INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

combined  
with **inprecor**

Vol. 19, No. 41

November 9, 1981

USA \$1.25 UK 50p

## Antimissile Protests in Western Europe Big Blow to NATO Militarization Plans



Bonn antimissile demonstration in April.

### China

**Government Clamps Down—  
Fears Example of Poland**

### USA

**FBI and Police on  
'Antiterrorist' Rampage**

# Haig's big lie against Cuba

By Fred Murphy

A big lie is being concocted to justify Washington's intervention in El Salvador, pressures on Nicaragua, and threats against Cuba.

"Cuban troops said to be in Salvador," a *Christian Science Monitor* headline declared October 22. "Salvadorans say Cubans helped blow up strategic bridge," a dispatch to the *Los Angeles Times* from El Salvador asserted the same day.

Three days earlier, the right-wing columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak declared in the *Washington Post* and other U.S. dailies that "Fidel Castro's gall and self-confidence in transporting a concealed strike force, under the control of Cuba's minister of the interior, for combat in beleaguered El Salvador has shocked the highest officials in the Reagan administration."

Evans and Novak outlined "Castro's scheme" as follows:

"... use the 500- to 600-man special force now in Nicaragua to occupy, without possibility of military resistance, the eastern third of El Salvador, establish a Soviet-backed communist government and use it to rally world support for the so-called Democratic Revolutionary Front."

*Los Angeles Times* correspondent Dial Torgerson embellished the story further, reporting that "San Salvador is rife with rumors of a planned invasion of the southern part of the country from Nicaragua."

And James Nelson Goodsell of the *Christian Science Monitor* even claimed that "Salvadoran officials are aware that [the] eastern third of their nation borders on Nicaragua. . . ." (One glance at a map of Central America could have reassured Goodsell and his worried "Salvadoran officials": the eastern third of El Salvador borders on Honduras, not Nicaragua.)

Goodsell stated that "a Cuban presence" in El Salvador "certainly would increase tensions between Washington and Havana and could lead to the dispatch of US troops to El Salvador."

Evans and Novak cited only "unimpeachable Latin American sources" for their sensational scenario. Torgerson and Goodsell referred only to "reports" and "unconfirmed reports" that Cuban troops had entered El Salvador from Nicaragua.

"The reports disagree as to when the troops are supposed to have arrived," Goodsell said, "some reports say mid-September, others, early October. But all these reports come to the same conclusion: If Cubans are present with the guerrillas, the long Salvadoran civil war has a new dimension."

But if the struggle in El Salvador has taken on a "new dimension" it is not due to some mythical "Cuban intervention" but rather to the total failure of the U.S.-backed junta to score

military gains against the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), and to the mounting international support for the FMLN and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR).

It is no accident that the big lies about Nicaraguan and Cuban intervention in El Salvador began to circulate less than two weeks after Commander Daniel Ortega of the Nicaraguan junta addressed the United Nations on behalf of the FMLN and FDR, or that they coincided with the extension of guerrilla operations to Usulután Province near the demolished Puente de Oro (Golden Bridge).

Ortega's speech hardly received a mention

in the major U.S. dailies, but the "unconfirmed reports" about Cuban troops were widely featured.

Despite categorical denials by the Nicaraguan government and a call by Havana for U.S. Secretary of State Haig to present proof of the charges, the State Department has refused to confirm or deny the "reports" it undoubtedly helped to spread in the first place.

On October 29 Haig resumed his public threats to Cuba. "It is clear that Castro is increasing his interventionist activities in the region," Haig declared, adding that Washington had completed its study of how to "make the risks [of alleged Cuban intervention] seem to be more costly than the advantages."

As the slanders and threats against Nicaragua and Cuba and the Salvadoran rebels mount, their supporters abroad must redouble efforts to get out the truth. □

# Haitian blood on Reagan's hands

By Ernest Harsch

You're not wanted when you're alive. And you're not wanted when you're dead.

That was the Reagan administration's message to the sixty-three Haitian refugees aboard the ill-fated *La Nativité*, a flimsy sailboat that sank in rough seas just fifty yards off the Florida coast early on October 26.

The thirty Haitians who managed to swim to shore were quickly rounded up and taken to the Krome North detention center to await deportation proceedings.

The thirty-three who drowned and whose bodies were washed up on the beach along Hillsboro Mile (a stretch of expensive oceanfront homes, villas, and condominiums where Blacks are not usually seen) received a similar welcome. The U.S. State Department quickly

arranged to have most of the bodies sent back to Haiti.

The tragedy of *La Nativité* has again focused attention on the desperate plight of the thousands of Haitian refugees fleeing the poverty and repression of their homeland and the U.S. government's callous and blatantly racist policies aimed at keeping them out of the United States.

The Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami put the blame for the deaths squarely on the Reagan administration. "What occurred was not merely an act of God," Jean-Juste said at a news conference the following day, "but directly a result of Reagan's policy of interdiction."

That policy, first announced on September 29, empowers the U.S. Coast Guard to inter-



cept Haitian craft on the high seas, board them in search of suspected refugees, and send the refugees directly back to Haiti, where they face possible torture and death at the hands of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of President-for-Life Jean-Claude Duvalier. In fact, the passengers from the first Haitian boat intercepted in this way were returned to Haiti less than a day before the sinking of *La Nativité*.

Together with the U.S. government's efforts to deport those Haitians who actually reach the United States, this policy of interdiction, which Jean-Juste has termed "modern piracy," leaves Haitian refugees no other choice but to try to sneak in any way they can. This often puts them at the mercy of unscrupulous smugglers or drives them to attempt the 600-mile sea voyage in small, unreliable vessels.

It is estimated that some 1,000 Haitians without visas land on U.S. shores each month. But it is not known how many others fail to survive the long and dangerous voyage. According to the October 27 *Miami Herald*, "Hundreds, if not thousands, of Haitians die every year trying to get to the United States."

But to many Haitians, faced with the unbearable conditions in their homeland, the risks are worth taking.

"There's a song going in Haiti: the teeth of the shark are sweeter than Duvalier's hell," said Jean-Juste. "Right now, the word is get out, even at the price of death."

Haiti is the poorest country in the Western hemisphere, and one of the poorest in the world. Unemployment and underemployment is more than 50 percent. More than four out of every five Haitians cannot read or write, and the infant mortality rate is one of the highest in the world. The minimum wage — for those lucky enough to find jobs — is only \$2.20 a day, and many don't even get that.

To keep itself in power, the tyrannical Duvalier dictatorship jails, tortures, and murders those who dissent and fight for change. Duvalier maintains a private murder squad, known as the Tontons Macoutes. Just last November, hundreds of journalists, political activists, fighters for human rights, doctors, teachers, and other critics of the regime were rounded up in a massive wave of arrests.

But what is a hell for the Haitians is a heaven for the U.S. ruling class. Scores of American companies have set up factories in Haiti, secure in the knowledge that they can pay workers starvation wages and that the dictatorship will stamp out any attempts at labor organization. The U.S. government provides Duvalier with large amounts of military aid.

Responsible for the misery that has driven tens of thousands of Haitians out of their country, the U.S. rulers are also intent on denying them any refuge — particularly in the United States.

Between October 1980 and October 1981, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has picked up more than 11,000 Haitians. Of that number, nearly 200 have already been sent back to Haiti, and the rest are either in federal detention camps or awaiting deporta-

tion proceedings.

The INS's general policy is to deny the Haitians' requests for political asylum, claiming that they are "only" seeking to escape economic privation.

The INS also denies that anything will happen to those who are sent back. But as Federal District Judge James L. King stated in a ruling last year, there is evidence that some of those sent back to Haiti "have been beaten, tortured and left to die in Haitian prisons."

Judge King also ruled that the INS attempts "to ship all Haitians back to Haiti violated the Constitution, the immigration statutes, international agreements, I.N.S. regulations and I.N.S. operating procedures."

Because of the numerous legal challenges to the INS's deportation proceedings, the actual process of kicking Haitians out of the United States has been going too slow for the Reagan administration's liking.

That was why Reagan introduced the policy of interdiction, to turn Haitians back before they could reach the United States, obtain legal counsel, and file appeals for asylum.

And in a new move against those already in the United States, Reagan has asked Congress to enact a law providing for special asylum hearing officers, who would come from the INS itself. The Haitians, moreover, would be

denied most of their rights to appeal the decisions of the hearing officers.

In face of these racist attacks on the rights of Haitians, the refugees have been winning growing support from Black and civil rights organizations in the United States.

On November 1, hundreds of persons turned out in Miami for memorial services for the thirty-three Haitians who drowned. Among those who attended were leaders of such Black rights groups as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Together with Jean-Juste of the Haitian Refugee Center, representatives of the SCLC and NAACP have demanded that the Reagan administration stop sending aid to help prop up the Duvalier dictatorship.

On October 26 — the same day as the sinking of *La Nativité* — the NAACP's deputy executive director, the Rev. Charles H. Smith, blasted Reagan's "racist policy" toward Haitians, saying that the NAACP would bring the plight of the Haitians before the United Nations.

Smith rightly called Reagan's policy "a pure case of cold, calculated discrimination" and "a barbaric assault on human freedom." □

## IN THIS ISSUE

Closing News Date: November 2, 1981

WESTERN EUROPE	1084	Rough going for NATO missile plan —by Will Reissner
FRANCE	1085	Sectarians on sidelines—by Will Reissner
POLAND	1087	Millions of workers strike—by Ernest Harsch
USA	1088	FBI and cops on rampage—by Larry Seigle
	1090	SWP fights threat by immigration cops —by Larry Seigle
NICARAGUA	1091	Outrage over murder of Cubans —by Arnold Weissberg
ANGOLA	1092	Interview with union leader
GERMANY	1093	Growing opposition to austerity and militarization—by Werner Hulsberg
CHINA	1098	Bureaucrats seek to stifle dissent—by Jun Xing
TURKEY	1100	Interview with exiled composer
COLOMBIA	1104	Workers leaders still jailed
STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL	1101	Poland: the workers councils and self-management

Intercontinental Press (ISSN 0162-5594).  
Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York each Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August.

**Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.**

**Editor:** Steve Clark.  
**Contributing Editors:** Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

**Managing Editor:** David Frankel.  
**Editorial Staff:** Sue Hagen, Ernest Harsch, Fred Murphy, Will Reissner.  
**Business Manager:** Sandi Sherman.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands

on the program of the Fourth International.

**To Subscribe:** For one-year subscriptions in the U.S. or Canada send \$35.00 (41.00 Canadian dollars) to Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Write for rates for first class and airmail; or telephone: (212) 929-6933.

For air-speeded subscriptions to Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box K208, Haymarket 2000. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 3774, Auckland.

For airmail subscriptions to Britain, Ireland, and continental Europe send \$50 for one year; \$25 for six months. Write for subscription rates to all other countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.



# Rough going for NATO missile plan

*Antinuclear movement deals blow to militarization drive*

By Will Reissner

Opponents of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's plans for a massive nuclear arms buildup went on the offensive throughout Western Europe in October. The resulting demonstrations dealt a serious blow to Washington's plan to install 572 medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Opposition to the NATO missile plan has been fueled by President Reagan's decision to begin assembling neutron bombs for use in Europe and his recent public confirmation of his belief in the possibility of fighting a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. Some European opponents of NATO's plans have begun to describe this as Reagan's "Euroshima" perspective.

### Huge protests

On October 10, 300,000 people marched against the missile deployment plan in Bonn, West Germany. The demonstration was the biggest progressive action in that country since the German workers movement was crushed by the Nazis in 1933.

Two weeks later, on October 24, there were gigantic demonstrations in London and Rome. The London demonstration of 250,000 people was also one of the largest that city had ever seen.

The Rome demonstration was equally significant. According to the October 27 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, "The breadth of the October 24 demonstration for peace and disarmament, which saw more than 300,000 people march for more than six hours through the center of Rome, is all the more important and surprising since up to now Italy had seemed barely touched by the pacifist movement sweeping through the rest of Europe."

The Rome march was supported by a gamut of organizations, ranging from Christian groups to political parties, to ecological groups and unaffiliated individuals.

The Italian Communist Party (PCI), which had long been reluctant to become involved in the antimissiles campaign for fear of jeopardizing its chances of forming a government coalition with the ruling Christian Democrats, threw its massive weight behind the Rome march.

Italy is scheduled to take 112 U.S. Cruise missiles, to be placed at a site near Comiso, Sicily. Some 10,000 people demonstrated against the decision there on October 10.

### 'Political world was stunned'

On October 25, one of the largest demonstrations in Belgian history took place in Brussels. In the words of *Le Monde* correspondent



Pierre de Vos, "in the midst of the [Belgian] election campaign, the political world suddenly discovered the breadth of the pacifist movement, and was absolutely stunned. . . .

"Although it had appeared to be poorly publicized and badly organized, the pacifist demonstration brought together 200,000 people in the streets of the capital. . . . Thousands of Flemish demonstrators were stranded on the platforms of the train stations of Ghent and Antwerp for lack of enough trains" to transport them all to Brussels.

Some sixty organizations and a number of political parties took part in the action. As Pierre Galand, chairman of the sponsoring National Campaign for Peace and Development, noted, the Brussels demonstration was proportionately the largest in Europe given the fact that Belgium has a population of less than 10 million. He added that after the march, "nothing will ever be the same as before."

There was also a massive antimissiles demonstration in Paris on October 25. Although it was smaller than the other marches that weekend, attracting some 100,000 participants according to *Le Monde*, it was no less significant.

### Action puts Mitterrand on notice

The French movement against NATO's arms buildup has been slow in developing. Among the reasons are the following: the French armed forces are not part of NATO's joint military command, no NATO missiles are sched-

uled to be deployed on French soil, and the recently elected Socialist Party government of President François Mitterrand has been a big booster of Reagan's push to build NATO's military strength. In addition, all the large parties in the country — including the French Communist Party — support the French independent nuclear strike force.

So the success of the October 25 demonstration in Paris, called by the Movement for Peace, brings the French situation more into line with that of the rest of Western Europe. It also puts Mitterrand on notice that there is broad opposition in France to his support for the NATO missile plan as well as his plans to increase French nuclear forces.

The Paris march was strongly supported by the Communist Party and the CP-led General Confederation of Labor (CGT), as well as by a number of Christian groups and the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), the French section of the Fourth International.

On the other hand, Mitterrand's Socialist Party opposed the demonstration, as did the labor federation the SP influences — the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT). Also opposing the action were the United Socialist Party (PSU), and two organizations that call themselves Trotskyist — Lutte Ouvrière and the International Communist Organization-Unified (OCI-U) [see box].

Even before these demonstrations took place, there were a flurry of articles in the U.S. press on the problems facing NATO. The Sep-

tember 25, 1981, *Washington Post* contained a column by Jeffrey Record warning that "NATO is on the verge of disintegrating as a politically cohesive instrument of collective security."

In Record's view, "NATO's impending collapse" is most clearly seen "in the swirling controversy that has engulfed the alliance's program to place in Europe a new generation of theater nuclear missiles," the 572 Pershing II and Cruise missiles decided on in December 1979.

Record argues that "Holland has more or less reneged on its pledge to accept its share of the missiles, and Belgium and Germany have attached a host of political conditions to their final acceptance that will be difficult to satisfy." In fact, these conditions are simply that Reagan act as if he is serious about reaching an arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union.

#### No change in U.S. policy?

White House Deputy Press Secretary Larry Speakes tried to downplay the impact of the demonstrations, claiming in a prepared statement that "while these are obvious expressions of concern by a free people, they do not represent a widespread view of Western European citizens."

Presidential advisor Edwin Meese told the *Washington Post* that "we feel this will not impact on our policies." He insisted that the missiles would be deployed regardless of the protests.

U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger admitted that the demonstrations had to be taken seriously, but claimed "it doesn't change the policies of the government." Weinberger argued that he has the same goal as the demonstrators. But he added that "it's the wrong way to get the result we all want — no war."

Despite the Reagan administration's brave front, it cannot deploy the missiles without the agreement of the European governments involved. And as the October protests showed, these governments are facing tremendous opposition on this issue.

#### Reagan's propaganda dilemma

Washington faces a major stumbling block in its propaganda drive to build support for its own massive arms buildup and to pressure its allies to boost their arms spending. The U.S. rulers must address different audiences at once.

First, they must break down the deep aversion among working people in the United States to military intervention abroad, the so-called Vietnam syndrome. In order to do that, the Reagan administration has unleashed a propaganda campaign blaming "Soviet expansionism" for every revolutionary development anywhere in the world. The Pentagon also claims that the Soviets have been far outspending Washington in arms for decades, and that the U.S. must increase its military strength "to catch up with the Russians."

Washington has to focus on the Soviet

"threat" in its internal propaganda because American working people have absolutely no interest in sending U.S. troops to a place like Saudi Arabia to protect the corrupt and brutal monarchy there, as Reagan has promised to do. The White House therefore feels it has a

better chance of making the threat seem credible if it is portrayed as a Soviet grab for "our oil."

But in Western Europe and Japan, this propaganda campaign gives the impression that the Reagan administration is on a collision

## France: sectarians on sidelines

Of the three main organizations in France that describe themselves as Trotskyist, only the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), the French section of the Fourth International, took part in and helped to build the October 25 antiwar demonstration in Paris.

The other two organizations — Lutte Ouvrière and the Internationalist Communist Organization-Unified (OCI-U) — refused to have anything to do with the action.

*Rouge*, the LCR's weekly newspaper, noted in its October 23 issue, "these organizations gave evidence of a rare political shortsightedness in failing to recognize the anticapitalist, anti-imperialist potential of the antiwar movement. In thirty-five years, there have never been such favorable conditions for building an authentic anticapitalist mass movement for peace and socialism."

Lutte Ouvrière and the OCI-U preferred, however, to stand on the sidelines. Reading their respective newspapers in the month before the October 25 march, one would hardly even know the demonstration was scheduled to take place.

The OCI-U's newspaper, *Informations Ouvrières*, had an article in its October 24 issue. It pointed out that it was somewhat contradictory for the French Communist Party to support the demonstration while also being part of the Mitterrand government, which is increasing French arms spending and France's own nuclear strike force.

According to *Informations Ouvrières*, "at the same time that the CP is engaged in a campaign 'for disarmament and peace,' it comes out against the reduction of military service to six months. Can one simultaneously denounce militarism and come out in favor of the army controlling the working-class youth for a year? That is the whole question."

Rather than take part in the October 25 demonstration with its own demands, the OCI-U's youth organization sent a letter to the CP's youth group noting this contradiction. The letter asks the CP youth:

Doesn't the struggle you say you are waging against imperialism, against war, make it an obligation to say, with the young people of this country: six months of military service? On the one hand you call for "demonstrating against war," and on the other hand . . . you come out for the maintenance of military service at one

year. You know, and we know, young people want to see military service reduced to six months.

The OCI-U is organizing its own demonstration for November 13, the day the French military budget is voted on in parliament.

The October 24 issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*, the newspaper of the Lutte Ouvrière group, has a full-page article on its back page entitled "The CP and Disarmament: A Hypocritical Campaign!" Noting, correctly, that the CP is in a bind because of its support to the French military budget and the French nuclear force, *Lutte Ouvrière* proceeds to write off the whole demonstration for that reason.

When [the CP] speaks of disarmament and challenges military expenditures, it studiously avoids anything that could challenge the French military budget. When it denounces Reagan, who "justifies his rearmament policy by invoking the arms of the Soviet Union," it carefully omits saying that Mitterrand is, at the same time, saying the same thing as Reagan.

In contrast, the Revolutionary Communist League published a statement from its Political Bureau in the October 23 issue of *Rouge*, calling on its readers to join the LCR contingent on the march. The LCR declaration stated:

On October 25, by demonstrating against NATO, we will be expressing our solidarity with the American youth and workers who are beginning to rise up against Reagan's misdeeds in El Salvador as well as in the U.S. We will be affirming our willingness to do everything we can to see the birth in France as well of a powerful, united mass movement to stay the hands of the murderers, the merchants of nuclear death in the Atlantic Alliance.

The LCR went on to say that "the struggle against U.S. imperialism is joined with the battle we are carrying out against our own bourgeoisie, its high command, and the austerity it wants to impose on us in the name of the war effort."

The statement declared that "we are therefore also demonstrating for the massive reduction of the French military budget, for the abandonment of the seventh nuclear submarine and the [French] neutron bomb."

According to the October 27 *Le Monde*, the LCR contingent was composed of 5,000 people.



course with the Soviet Union, with the collision most likely to take place in Europe itself.

### Objections to Reagan's rhetoric

Former U.S. Vice-president Walter Mondale gave a major foreign policy address on October 20 in which he stated "I am convinced that the alliance is in more trouble today than at any time since the North Atlantic Treaty was signed."

While Mondale was and remains a strong proponent of the NATO arms buildup and missile plan, which was begun under the Carter administration, he warns that Reagan is losing the political battle by not talking enough about peace while building up the U.S. and NATO warmaking capability.

As a result, Mondale warned, "some people in Europe are even muttering that the U.S., not the Soviet Union, is the greater threat." He adds that Reagan's rhetoric makes it seem "that it is we, and not the Soviet Union, which is unwilling to talk."

Although the White House tries to downplay the antimissiles movement, an October 25 editorial in the *New York Times* soberly ran down the problems facing the Reagan administration in Europe:

The British Labor Party demands nuclear disarmament no matter what the superpowers do. West Germany's Socialists are dangerously split by the question, which is stirring the biggest rallies since Hitler. The issue agitates politics from the Arctic to the Aegean; Greek Socialists won office last week after promising to withdraw from NATO and to close American bases.

Watching the glue of NATO melt, the Kremlin turns up the heat. For months, its every utterance has been calculated to play upon the fears, to deny the preponderance of Soviet military power, to portray Americans as madmen wanting to fight to the last European.

The *Times* editorial continues that "the Reagan Administration, congenitally obsessed by Soviet power, has fed the anxieties by playing the heavy, threatening East-West confrontations and de-emphasizing arms control."

But, the *Times* warns Reagan, "Merely harping on Soviet perfidy is the worst possible American response. No European believes the Russians intend to march to the North Sea."

### Opposition to 'American connection'

In an October 26 editorial, the *Washington Post* acknowledged that "the massive demonstrations against nuclear weapons, in four European capitals last weekend. . . showed how far the European anti-nuclear movement has reached beyond its traditional bases in religious pacifism and far-left politics." The *Post* warns that "this autumn's peace marchers are conveying an accurate warning of the costs of any defense policy that cannot hold the support of a broad European consensus."

Walter Laqueur addressed the same topic in an October 25 column in the *New York Times*. Laqueur warned that

The movement toward neutralism and unilateralism in Western Europe is far stronger than similar,



Demonstration also took place in Stockholm on October 24. Sign says, "It's we who die! No nuclear weapons!"

earlier campaigns. The situation differs from country to country but in West Germany, Britain, the Benelux countries, and Scandinavia, a considerable part of the young generation now opposes the "American connection." They believe that in the conflict between the superpowers the United States is more to blame than the Soviet Union; that the conflict has nothing to do with Europe and that Europe should keep out of it. Official spokesmen deny it, yet the noise of the demonstrations is drowning out their words.

A more classically Reaganite response to the demonstrations came in a *Washington Post* column on October 26 by R. Emmett Tyrrell. But he too is afraid of what he sees developing in Europe. Tyrrell describes the opponents of the missile deployment as "half-wit professors" and "whistle brains."

"The asinine situation in Europe today," Tyrrell fumes, "is that this gaggle of romantic simpletons is shaping the debate regarding NATO's strategic stance."

Tyrrell bemoans the fact that "in Holland, West Germany and the United Kingdom, the peace movement is having great success. He argues that the movement is not yet strong in France, but wonders "how long the more romantic members of the governing Socialist Party will remain immune to the pacifist bromides now enchanting so many German Socialists."

### 'Japanese get very nervous'

But the problem is not restricted to Europe, as James Reston wrote from Japan in the October 25 *New York Times*. "It would be hard to overstate," says Reston, "the negative effects here of the President's light-hearted and mindless statements about nuclear war" and the "emphasis by Secretaries [Alexander] Haig and [Caspar] Weinberger on military responses to the world's problems."

Reston notes that "the basic difference" between the views of the U.S. and Japanese governments "is that officials here — and not only officials but leaders of public opinion in the news media and the universities — do not accept the Reagan Administration's estimate of the Soviet menace."

Reston adds that "when United States officials keep emphasizing military solutions to every problem from El Salvador to Saudi Arabia to Pakistan to the Sea of Japan, the Japanese get very nervous."

"And when President Reagan talks off-the-cuff about 'limited nuclear war' they give you a present — a book titled: 'Hiroshima and Nagasaki — The Physical, Medical and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings.'"

### NATO plans public relations push

NATO's Nuclear Planning Group met in late October to reaffirm the decision to deploy the 572 missiles. In the words of NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns of the Netherlands, the gathered defense ministers "support a very strong public relations effort on the part of the various governments" to build support for the missile plan.

The momentum, however, is now clearly with opponents of the missiles. And the anti-missiles movement should continue to grow as it becomes clearer to European working people that these weapons are designed for a first-strike nuclear attack against the Soviet Union and are not, as NATO pretends, a response to previous Soviet missile deployments. □

**Don't you know someone who should be reading *Intercontinental Press*?**

# Millions of workers strike

By Ernest Harsch

For months, the Polish government and party leadership have been trying to reassert their authority over the country, with little result. But in just one hour on October 28, the Solidarity union movement was able to easily demonstrate the extent of its own authority.

From noon until 1:00 p.m., millions of workers in factories, mines, offices, and other workplaces laid down their tools in a massive and disciplined display of strength. It was the largest single protest strike called by the 10-million-member union since March.

The main demands of the strikers were for improvements in the supply of food and other scarce day-to-day necessities and for an end to police harassment of Solidarity activists. The union also pressed its demand for the establishment of a "social council" to supervise the administration of the economy, free from the control of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Communist Party).

The start of the strike was signalled by the wail of thousands of factory sirens. Red-and-white Polish flags flew from factory gates, offices, and hotels. Banners were draped out of windows. Groups of workers guards, wearing red-and-white armbands, stood outside the doors of many buildings. Some groups of workers carried placards demanding greater supplies of food.

## 'All Poland warns'

One poster plastered up all over Warsaw, in the form of a telegram, read: "Hunger stop Repression stop We demand formation of a social economic council We demand a self-managed republic All Poland warns stop."

Although the authorities tried to claim that the strike call was a failure, Solidarity announced that between 90 and 100 percent of its members who were asked to strike did so. (Health services, radio and television, and electric plants were exempted from the strike call, although workers in those sectors displayed their support by wearing red-and-white armbands.)

Party officials were forced to admit that many of their own rank-and-file members joined the strike, in defiance of explicit orders from the party leadership not to do so.

In Gdansk, crowds of workers gathered outside the gates of the Lenin Shipyard, where the union was born following the August 1980 sit-down strike there. They placed flowers at the gates. Throughout the country, buses and streetcars stopped precisely at noon, in the middle of the streets.

"The whole factory is on strike," Andrzej Jordan, a Solidarity leader at the Kasprzak radio factory in Warsaw, proclaimed. "We have been fighting for this for a long time. We want

to prod the government into action. They talk a lot but do nothing."

In schools, teachers staged symbolic protests by suspending regular classes and explaining to their students the reasons for the strike.

## Walesa proposes 'active' strikes

Lech Walesa, the chairman of Solidarity, visited workers at one plant in Warsaw, the Rosa Luxemburg light bulb factory, named after the Polish revolutionary leader. A majority of its 4,000 workers are women.

Walesa spoke to the strikers about the need to adopt a new form of struggle, called the "active" strike. During such a strike, workers would continue producing, but under the directives of a strike committee, not the management.

"Look, there is a shortage of detergent and panty hose in Poland," Walesa reminded the workers. "Well, then, next time we declare a strike at a detergent or panty hose factory, let's make it an active one. We will work to our own instructions and distribute what we produce ourselves. That way it will go where it is most needed."

Walesa continued, "We must find ways of striking so as to hurt them, not us. Perhaps we could cut off electricity to local party and government offices." The strikers laughed and sang "Sto Lat" ("May He Live a Hundred Years").

When the strike ended at 1:00 p.m. with another blast of factory sirens, Solidarity had reaffirmed before the entire country its continued strength and had dramatically refuted the authorities' claims that it was losing support because of the deteriorating economic situation, which the government has tried to blame on the union.

"The strike was also a kind of warning to the authorities that the alignment of power between the government and Solidarity is still the same," said Piotr Kuczynski, the secretary of the union's Warsaw regional Presidium. "This strike warning only strengthens our position in further negotiations."

Kuczynski also made it clear that it was not Solidarity that sought confrontation, but the government. "We agree that the strike doesn't give anything to our economy, and we would prefer to negotiate," he said.

A day after the strike, Solidarity got important backing for its demand for the establishment of a social council on the economy from the 1.5-million-member union of private farmers, Rural Solidarity. At a news conference in Warsaw, Rural Solidarity representatives said that farmers had lost all confidence in the authorities and were dismayed by government threats of confrontation. They said that it was necessary to set up a social council in which

both Solidarity and Rural Solidarity would be able to control the production and distribution of food.

## Local strikes continue

Despite repeated pleas by the Solidarity leadership for an end to all uncoordinated actions, workers in various parts of the country remained on strike as a result of local grievances. This was a reflection of the growing anger and impatience among workers at the government's continual harassment of the union and its failure to do anything about the severe shortages of food and other basic necessities.

In Zielona Gora Province, in the west, some 150,000 workers remained on strike to back their demands for the dismissal of local officials responsible for the firing of a Solidarity activist at a state farm.

According to union officials, about 120,000 workers in steel mills, sulfur mines, and other plants in Tarnobrzeg, in the south, were also out on strike.

At a coal mine in Sosnowiec, also in the south, miners began a strike October 27 after a homemade poison gas bomb was thrown at miners from a passing car, sending more than fifty of them to the hospital.

In Zyrardow, a textile manufacturing center just west of Warsaw, 12,000 women workers went into the third week of their occupation strike in protest against the shortages of meat and other food supplies. Women in Zyrardow — as in many other cities in Poland — often have to spend five, six, or more hours a day standing in line to buy food, and even then are not sure of being able to get what they are entitled to.

## 'Why won't they talk to us?'

"The Government does not care about us and our work," one striker in Zyrardow told a reporter. "If they did, why wouldn't they come here to talk to us? We are not asking them to arrive with a suitcase full of meat, but why won't they talk to us?"

On top of the authorities' general reluctance to negotiate, they have continued their threats against Solidarity.

On October 28, shortly after the one-hour strike, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the new PUWP first secretary, denounced the union at a meeting of the party's Central Committee. The army newspaper, *Zolnierz Wolnosci*, again raised the specter of a possible Soviet military intervention when it described the strike as "blackmail . . . designed to push Poland into crises reminiscent of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968."

On October 31, the Sejm (parliament) adopted a resolution demanding an end to strikes. A day earlier, Jaruzelski, who had asked the Sejm to pass the resolution, warned that if it went unheeded his government was prepared to seek a law that would actually outlaw strikes.

Such a move could lead to a direct confrontation with Solidarity, which has made it clear that it will resist any attempts to take away the workers' right to strike. □



# FBI and cops on rampage

## Use pretext of 'Weather Underground' holdup

By Larry Seigle

[The following article appeared in the November 6 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and cops across the country have seized on the October 20 armored car robbery and shoot-out in Rockland County, New York, to justify a wave of police raids, arrests, and assaults against Black activists.

At the same time, the robbery and killings are being used as new ammunition for the ideological offensive against the twin targets of "crime" and "terrorism." The real objectives, however, are to strengthen the powers of the cops and the secret police and to smear the workers movement, especially Black and Puerto Rican organizations.

Alleged figures in the Weather Underground were arrested near the scene of the holdup.

To hear the cops tell it, however, the conspiracy goes far beyond the Weather Underground. In the days following the killings, those reported to be linked, in one way or another, to the plot included: the Black Liberation Army, the Black Panther Party, the Republic of New Africa (RNA), the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Puerto Rican FALN, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and the Cuban government.

It is undoubtedly the most far-reaching bank-robbing conspiracy ever concocted by the police imagination. And it is getting bigger still.

"While no evidence has been put forward for some of the purported connections," reported the *New York Times* October 26, "the Federal officials say the groups [linked to the Weather Underground] share common purposes, including what one called 'the creation of a socialist state' and 'an end to the United States Government as we know it.'"

Thus, as far as the police are concerned, everyone who believes in socialism and would rejoice at witnessing the end of the United States government "as we know it" may be linked to the conspiracy. This includes the majority of the people on this planet.

### Sweeping 'investigation'

On October 27, John Martin, the United States Attorney in Manhattan, said a grand jury will be convened to hear evidence gathered in a federal investigation carried out under "racketeering" statutes. Under these laws, people "associated" with those involved in the holdup and killings can be charged with partic-

ipating in a criminal enterprise.

In Washington, the FBI announced there will be a "major coordinated effort" to investigate political groups in the United States and internationally.

FBI men across the country expressed their delight at the smear campaign against radical groups. The former head of the FBI office in San Francisco said he now felt "justified" for what the FBI has done to left-wing groups. "They weren't just a bunch of innocent kids," he said.

Cops everywhere sensed in the days after the Brinks robbery that now might be a good

time to "get" some people they would like to settle scores with. As always, the first victims of the cops have been Black.

• In Mississippi, October 27, more than 150 cops and Air Force SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactics) teams descended on a farmhouse owned by members of the Republic of New Africa. The heavily armed raiders were accompanied by three tanks, two helicopters — and network television crews.

They arrested Cynthia Boston, who was unarmed. Also in the house were twelve Black youths who, claimed the *New York Daily News*, were "being schooled in terror tactics." Cops claimed that Boston, who they identified as the minister of information for the RNA, was connected to the Rockland County robbery.

A decade ago, cops and FBI agents raided a Jackson, Mississippi, house and provoked a gun battle with RNA members. Fortunately, the even more extreme provocation this time failed.

• On Long Island, New York, a SWAT

## 'Terrorism' smear against SWP

Indications mounted this week that the FBI was behind the libelous Associated Press (AP) report linking the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to the Rockland County holdup and shootings.

Late October 21, an AP story on the holdup stated that "FBI spokesman Joe Valiquette said in New York that the Bureau had determined that Miss Clark [one of those arrested] was the same Judith Clark who once was in the Weather Underground and is now a figure in the Socialist Workers Party."

The next morning the story was carried prominently in hundreds of newspapers across the country and broadcast on radio and television. The SWP responded immediately. In a statement released to the press October 22, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes accused the FBI of "a deliberate lie in the charge that Clark is connected to the SWP."

Barnes accused the FBI of a "new Cointelpro-style operation aimed at discrediting the SWP."

SWP branches and election campaign committees across the country protested the smear with news conferences, press releases, and calls to the media.

In New York, the AP was handed a copy of Barnes' statement around 5:00 p.m.

Then things got interesting. Two hours later, an AP official called the SWP to say that "a corrective" was being sent out. The "corrective," timed at 7:19 p.m., stated:

"The Associated Press erroneously reported Wednesday that FBI spokesman Joe Valiquette said Judith Clark is a figure in the Socialist Workers Party. . . .

"The statement about Miss Clark's connection with the party came from New York City Police Commissioner Robert McGuire, who said Wednesday at a news conference that Miss Clark was believed to be a figure in the Socialist Workers Party. But on Thursday, Alice McGillion, a spokeswoman for the police department, said Miss Clark was not a party member."

AP offered the SWP no explanation — other than "somebody made a mistake" — for the quote from the FBI.

When SWP attorneys contacted the New York police to verify the AP "corrective," the cops denied that they ever made the statement about Clark in the first place.

When the SWP then told the AP that the cops disputed the "corrective," AP officials said they were not at liberty to discuss the matter.

The next day, October 23, Margaret Winter, attorney for the SWP in its suit against the FBI, demanded sworn statements from FBI officials explaining their role, if any, in the matter.

As of October 28, the FBI had not produced the requested affidavits.

"If the FBI circulated this story, either by giving it to the press directly, releasing it to the New York cops, or through some other device, it would be further evidence that they are continuing their efforts to defame and disrupt the SWP," said John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund. "If necessary, we will move in court to reopen the record in the SWP case so that we can pursue this to the end," he added.

— L.S.



team converged without warning on a cleaning company crew, all Black. The cops said they had an anonymous tip that Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) was seen in the cleaning van. Shakur escaped from prison in 1979, after being convicted of killing a New Jersey cop. She is said to be a leader of the Black Liberation Army.

Karen Smith, the young worker who was "identified," resembled Shakur only in being Black and female. Nonetheless, she is now facing charges of resisting arrest. Her father, also a member of the work crew, is also being held by the cops on gambling charges because a numbers slip was allegedly found in his possession.

• In Queens, New York, October 23, cops started chasing a car occupied by two Black men. The car's license, they claimed, had been seen near one of the many apartments cops have raided in recent days. The chase ended when the cops gunned down one of the occupants, Sam Smith.

Naturally, the cops claimed self-defense. Witnesses, however, said Smith was shot as they tried to go over a fence to flee the cops.

The second man in the car, Sekou Odinga (Nathaniel Burns) was arrested and severely beaten by the cops. Odinga said at his arraignment that cops hit him on the head, burned his wrists, put his head in a toilet, and repeatedly pulled the trigger on a gun held to his head.

The police and the press have identified Odinga as a "fugitive Black Panther." What they have neglected to explain is that the charges against him were part of a long since discredited frame-up against twenty-one Black Panthers in 1969.

The twenty-one were accused of bombing four police stations and conspiring to blow up department stores and the Bronx Botanical Gardens. The evidence came from "stool pigeons" of the New York City cops' Red Squad.

The frame-up was one of the most ambitious ever undertaken by the Red Squad. The trial took eight months. But when it was over, it took the jury less than two hours to acquit each of the thirteen defendants who appeared at the trial on every count.

It was a terrible blow to the Red Squad, one the New York cops haven't forgotten.

#### Frame-up of Cuba

For the supposed foreign links, the FBI is pointing at Havana.

Revolutionary Cuba, which is telling the truth to the whole world about the crimes of American imperialism, is a natural and inevitable target for Washington's lies. Kenneth Walton, director of the "Federal-New York City Terrorism Task Force," says the FBI knows that Havana "has been supportive in the past of the Weather Underground."

On nationwide TV, ABC News showed excerpts from a "documentary" film that claims to prove the link between the Cuban intelligence service and the Weatherpeople. The

*Wall Street Journal* relied on the same film to back up its call for a "thorough investigation" into the "deep involvement in American terrorism by Cuban intelligence, the DGI."

As the *Journal* reports, "In particular the documentary features an interview with Larry Grathwohl, a former member of the Weather Underground. He describes how members found one another on occasions when they got cut off from the main body of the group in hiding. . . . They telephoned the Cuban embassy in either Canada or Mexico and identified themselves by a special code name. An intelligence officer with the Cuban embassy would then arrange for them to be put in touch with the members of the Weather Underground they were seeking; these persons were also identified by code names."

What the *Wall Street Journal* and ABC News didn't bother to mention is that Grathwohl, the "former member of the Weather Underground," is an FBI stool pigeon. Working for the FBI, he joined the Weather Underground in December 1969, and remained a member until he was exposed four months later.

Thus, we are asked to believe that the FBI has had this inside dope, including the "codes," for nearly a dozen years but has never been able to capture any leaders of the Weather Underground.

The Weather Underground, a group of mid-

dle-class student radicals, took up terrorism in 1970. Their goal was not socialism, or revolution of any kind. Rather, their perspective was to end such evils as racial oppression and the war in Vietnam through terrorizing the ruling class until it changed its policies. Their idea was to reform society with bombs.

#### Middle-class radicalism

Their actions and ideas were anti-working class in every sense. They opposed Marxism, and rejected every mass movement. They looked upon working people in general with contempt and on the labor movement as the enemy of all they stood for.

In their first "manifesto" from the underground in May, 1970, they explained themselves this way:

" . . . our job is to lead white kids to armed revolution . . . we fight in many ways. Dope is one of our weapons. . . . Guns and grass are united in the youth underground.

"Freaks are revolutionaries and revolutionaries are freaks. If you want to find us, this is where we are . . . where kids are making love, smoking dope and loading guns. . . ."

Unfortunately, the Weather Underground's rejection of the class struggle won't prevent the government and the cops from using the Rockland County killings to try to victimize and smear the workers movement, including, especially, Black and Puerto Rican activists and socialist and communist organizations. □

## Intercontinental Press . . . It's Unique!

No other magazine in the world has the kind of in-depth political reporting and news coverage that IP presents week in and week out.

On-the-scene reports from Nicaragua, El Salvador, Ireland, Iran, Grenada, Cuba, Poland . . .

Interviews with class-struggle fighters and revolutionary leaders such as Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and Irish liberation fighter Bernadette Devlin McAliskey . . .

Translations of key documents from the world revolutionary and workers movements . . .

Analysis and features on the most important world events and the issues facing working people—from the deadly threat of the nuclear arms race, to the liberation struggles in Southern Africa, to the changing consciousness of the U.S. working class . . .

### Intercontinental Press. Subscribe Today.

YES! I want to subscribe. Enclosed is  \$35 for a one-year subscription;  \$17.50 for six-months;  \$8.75 for a three-month introductory subscription.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Postal Zone \_\_\_\_\_

Canadian Rates: Canadian \$41 for one year; \$21 for six months. Send for rates to other countries.

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

# SWP fights threat by immigration cops

*Government says advocates of 'world communism' will be deported*

By Larry Seigle

[The following article appeared in the October 30 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is seeking an emergency court order to stop the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) from ruling the SWP to be a "proscribed" organization. Foreign-born members and supporters of "proscribed" groups are subject to deportation on purely political grounds.

Attorneys for the socialists will ask U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa to immediately issue a preliminary injunction to halt INS plans to add the SWP to its list of forbidden groups.

The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) have already asked Griesa for a permanent ruling that the INS has no authority, under the U.S. Constitution, to declare organizations "proscribed." Griesa has presided over the lawsuit brought by the YSA and SWP against the FBI, CIA, and INS.

The suit, which was filed in 1973, went to trial last spring. The request for a permanent injunction against the INS practice of blacklisting groups is included in the 600-page brief filed by the SWP and YSA last month.

However, the additional demand for a preliminary injunction became necessary because the INS is threatening to "proscribe" the SWP before Griesa reaches his final decision in the suit. If granted, the preliminary injunction would remain in effect until Griesa's ruling on the case as a whole is handed down.

In a letter to SWP attorney Margaret Winter, the INS states that a decision to "proscribe" the SWP might come as early as January. Griesa's decision on the SWP suit is not anticipated before late spring or summer.

## Defending foreign-born

"By moving for a preliminary injunction now," explained Winter, "we are fighting to protect the rights of thousands of foreign-born members and supporters of the SWP and YSA who might be in danger if the INS has a free hand to proceed against the SWP."

The Political Rights Defense Fund is urging that the legal steps to block the INS plans be backed up with local news conferences, picket lines at INS offices, public meetings, and other forms of protest.

The threat to deport members and supporters of the SWP was first raised in the middle of the trial of the SWP suit. On April 24, the INS proclaimed that it had suddenly found that

"good reason exists to believe" that the SWP is guilty of advocating "world communism," which the INS defines to mean support for "Communist totalitarian dictatorship."

The INS announced that it had "begun a review of the nature of the Socialist Workers Party to determine whether its members or affiliates [supporters] are excludable or deportable. . . ."

This threat is aimed at intimidating the SWP and YSA into backing off from their fight to expose antidemocratic government practices. It is also directed at foreign-born workers and students, warning them not to get too near the SWP and YSA.

## Hearing request denied

Following the trial, the SWP wrote to the INS "formally requesting that the INS agree to provide written notification well in advance of the time a decision on whether or not the SWP is a 'proscribed' organization is to be made. We further request that the SWP be afforded a hearing, prior to a decision, where evidence on behalf of the SWP can be presented and contrary evidence, if any, can be confronted."

In a response dated October 1, INS Acting Commissioner Doris Meissner flatly rejected the demand for prior notice and a hearing. She stated that "there is no requirement or provision" for such procedures. Meissner also indicated that the INS ruling should be expected shortly after "the end of this year."

The power of the INS to "proscribe" organizations has never before been subjected to a court challenge. Prior to the SWP suit, no one outside the government even knew that the INS was doing such a thing.

The current immigration law, adopted at the height of the McCarthyite witch-hunt in 1952, explicitly names the Communist Party as "proscribed." However, no other organizations are listed, and no procedure is established for creating a list.

## Blacklists uncovered

One of the most important gains of the long legal battle the SWP and YSA have been waging against the political police has been the uncovering of the immigration cops' secret blacklist.

Among the thousands of pages of FBI documents the socialists were able to pry out of the government were references to something called the "Attorney General's Subversive Deportation Program."

On the basis of such discoveries, the socialists were able, in November, 1980, to add the INS as a defendant in their lawsuit. The INS

had not previously been part of the case against the secret police.

Having won this round, the SWP and YSA then forced the government to produce INS documents, revealing for the first time many details of the INS operation as a political police force.

These documents showed, among other things:

- A secret blacklist of "subversive" organizations used to screen out immigrants solely on the basis of their political affiliations.
- An INS "subversive index," listing names of non-citizens and citizens alike.
- Sections of an INS Handbook, currently in use, which suggests that technical pretexts be used to deport "subversives." This Handbook states, "The most important weapons used by this Service in combating the Communist conspiracy are the exclusion and deportation processes."

The American people also learned, for the first time, that the INS investigates groups in the United States, and places ones it doesn't like on the "proscribed" list.

## Secret proceedings

Moreover, according to the INS, it has the right to rule against an organization on the basis of secret proceedings. The victimized groups have no right to refute accusations against them, or to challenge statements from stoolpigeons and other equally untrustworthy sources. No appeal is allowed.

*In fact, the group is never even told it is being proscribed.* Individuals who are deported on the grounds of membership in such a group are never told that they are guilty of belonging to an outlawed group, because the designation itself is kept secret.

There is no way to tell which U.S. organizations, and how many, are "proscribed." What we do know is that the SWP was first placed in this category in 1956.

However, in 1962, a federal appeals court overturned a deportation order against a former SWP member, concluding that the INS had produced "no substantial evidence" against the party.

After that ruling, the INS expended great energy trying to come up with evidence to substantiate its accusations against the SWP. But in 1966 it finally concluded that "evidence is not available" to prove the charges. As a result, the INS had to remove the SWP from the "proscribed" category.

That was how things remained until the INS announced, in the midst of the SWP trial, that it was once again investigating the "nature" of



the party.

In their brief arguing that the FBI, CIA, and INS are guilty of violating the Constitution, the SWP and YSA point out that the immigration law does not give the INS any authority to maintain listings of "proscribed" organizations, and if it did, the law would be unconstitutional.

The brief states that, "only the fig leaf of an internal INS 'operations instruction' covers the

naked assertion of administrative power to stigmatize United States political organizations as 'proscribed' . . . and to do so without notice to the affected organization, without hearing, and without right to appeal."

The socialists argue that any INS listing of organizations as "proscribed" is "constitutionally invalid where the organizations are deprived of a due process hearing to challenge the designation." □

## Nicaragua

# Outrage over murder of Cubans

*'Brothers in victory and death'*

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA — A wave of anger spread over Nicaragua and Cuba following the cold-blooded murders of two Cuban teachers and two Nicaraguan peasants by counterrevolutionary terrorists October 21.

The teachers, Pedro Pablo Rivera, twenty-six, and Bárbaro Rodríguez, twenty-seven, were spending the night at the home of the Castellón family in a remote northern area of Nicaragua. They were among the thousands of Cuban teachers who have volunteered to work in the most isolated rural areas of Nicaragua. Rivera and Rodríguez were working in an area that had never seen a teacher before the revolution.

The Casellón house was attacked before dawn by a gang of seven counterrevolutionaries dressed in the uniforms of the Sandinista People's Militias, of which the two Castellón brothers who were killed were leading members.

The invaders forced the brothers to undress and lie down on the floor, and when they discovered the two Cubans in the house, forced them to do the same.

The band then calmly murdered all four and wounded a third brother.

Local militia units took out after the murderers immediately, and within forty-eight hours two of the counterrevolutionaries were killed. A militia member died in the battle as well.

At a meeting paying homage to the two Cubans the next day, sponsored by the Sandinista mass organizations, Commander of the Revolution Luis Carrión promised "we will look for [the killers] wherever they are and we are going to find them, and they are going to feel the full weight of revolutionary justice."

Hundreds of Nicaraguans filed past the two coffins at the headquarters of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST).

Later the same day, the bodies were sent back to Cuba after a ceremony at the airport. Speaking there, Rafael Córdova Rivas, a member of the Junta of National Reconstruction, said the crime would "strengthen the ties between Nicaragua and Cuba," and that the

Cubans were "brothers in victory and death." He added that "internationalism is one of the strongest forces uniting subjugated peoples."

Accompanying the bodies to Cuba were Córdova Rivas and Commander of the Revolution Henry Ruiz.

In Cuba, thousands of teachers volunteered to take the places of the murdered two. Twenty

thousand people turned out at José Martí International Airport in Havana to salute their martyrs. And thousands more paid homage to them when the coffins were displayed in their hometowns.

Speaking during the national assembly of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution in Havana October 25, Fidel Castro charged the U.S. government with lying about the presence of Cuban troops in Nicaragua and El Salvador in order to cover up monstrous crimes like the murder of the two teachers and two peasants (see box).

At the same gathering, Nicaraguan Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge charged the Nicaraguan right wing with moral responsibility for the crime. "They have been saying for months that the Cubans live in the best houses, that they are using up all our food reserves, that they are teaching exotic doctrines," Borge explained.

"But we want to say again, with respect and profound feeling, that the internationalists from Cuba carry out their missions in the most isolated, wildest, and unhealthiest regions, in the rain. They have gone through incredible difficulties, with their only reward the joy of completing their tasks." □

## Cuba rejects Haig's slanders

The Cuban government has demanded that the U.S. State Department provide proof, "without vacillation or subterfuge," of the charge that 500 to 600 Cuban soldiers were responsible for the destruction of a key highway bridge in El Salvador in mid-October.

The Puente de Oro (Golden Bridge) over the Lempa River was dynamited by a commando unit of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) on October 15. The bridge was the principal means of land transportation between western and eastern El Salvador; its loss was a major military blow to the U.S.-backed junta.

The charge that Cuban troops blew up the bridge first appeared in an October 19 column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in the *Washington Post* and other U.S. dailies. The operation, the right-wing columnists claimed, "betrayed a made-in-Cuba professionalism."

It subsequently became known that Secretary of State Alexander Haig had informed foreign governments that Washington has proof of the alleged Cuban role.

A statement by the Cuban government October 27 called on Haig by name to declare "if it is true or not that the United States possesses proof of this claim. . . ."

"If it is true or not that he communicated this news to other governments and . . . accompanied that lie with his gross and well-known threats.

"Let Haig say on what day, at what hour, in what airplanes those men disembarked, as he claims to know."

On October 29 State Department spokesman Dean Fisher dismissed the Cuban challenge as a "propaganda maneuver." At a Washington news conference the same day, Haig reiterated his general accusations of "Cuban intervention" in Central America and declared that the Reagan administration was studying ways to "make the risks seem to be more costly than the advantages" for Cuba.

Cuba rejected Haig's new threats in a front-page editorial in *Granma* October 30: "Once again Mr. Haig resorts to lies, slander, sinuous statements and vagueness. Once again, as always, he hides the truth and refuses to speak with clarity and precision."



HAIG

## Interview with union leader

*'We support SWAPO now and forever'*

[The following interview with A. Galvão Branco, general secretary of the National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA), was obtained in São Paulo, Brazil, during the National Conference of the Working Class (CONCLAT) in August 1981 (see *Intercontinental Press*, September 28, p. 944). Branco was a guest at the CONCLAT. The interview was obtained by Regis Moraes and Marcelo Zugadi; the translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

\* \* \*

*Question. How is the trade-union movement organized in Angola?*

*Answer.* We have two types of structures in our country. Our unions are organized by economic branch, and at the same time the centralized organs are grouped by territorial unit. We have ten national federations.

I think it is important to note that in Angola unionization is voluntary; even so, in a country with 7 million inhabitants, 90 percent of the workers belong to unions. A good part of that number are in the countryside where the unions have grown on the basis of the new production relations that are taking root. Agricultural cooperatives are combined with big state farms and small family holdings. The small farmers are not included in these rural trade unions; they are organized in other structures. The strongest union is the one of agricultural workers, based principally in the nationalized coffee sector.

The organizational and political principle of our movement is democratic centralism — democratic elections for the leadership, removal of the leaders whenever the workers should lose confidence in them, while preserving a unitary command.

*Q. Do the unions have independence when it comes to raising their demands?*

A. In the first place, we have to see that Angola is going through an acute process of class struggle that has not come to an end. We face a political vacuum, in which the administrative apparatus is to a large degree threatened by a vacillating and bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie. We have before us the challenge of annihilating and neutralizing that bureaucratic spirit.

Now — against whom would the unions raise their demands? I'll give an example: we have labor inspectors and trade-union representatives. They go to an enterprise and discover bad working conditions. What should be

done? Close the enterprise? Or fix things up insofar as possible? Perhaps one has the illusion that socialism can be built on ruins?

*Q. But what are the possibilities for the workers to exercise influence over political power?*

A. Look — the trade-union movement has 20 percent of the country's deputies. In addition, it has the right to present laws directly. We also have a structure in which the working class leads the country through the management councils in the enterprises. The director of the enterprise is named by the state, but the workers council has the right to withdraw its confidence from the manager and demand his replacement. The unions and the councils are thus a real school of government. What is more, in the ministries, local governments, and so on, the unions also have representatives.

*Q. But are the unions under the tutelage of the party? The UNTA's newspaper published an article on Soviet trade unions. Is that the model?*

A. No. It is not a question of a model for us. The MPLA [People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola] is a Marxist-Leninist party. But the militants of the party are not elected to posts in the unions because they are party members, but rather because they represent the interests of the workers in the enterprises. Nor do we have comanagement as a model — comanagement with whom?

*Q. And the question of a single federation and trade-union freedom?*

A. Through experience, we do not believe that "free, independent, and autonomous unions" are viable. If a class-based union is not under the influence of proletarian ideas, it is threatened with degeneration. The problem of unity is directly related to the will of the working class to move toward concrete, united action. And a union leader cannot flee from that responsibility — one has no right to take positions without listening to the mass of the workers.

*Q. How does the trade-union movement act in face of the ongoing threat of foreign invasion?*

A. We workers have all kinds of problems. But today the defense of independence is central. South Africa invades from Namibia, talking of its "right to pursue the fighters of SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organisation]." We support SWAPO now and forever.

Namibia, sooner or later, will be free of the multinationals.

*Q. Does the UNITA or the FNLA\* enjoy any support among sectors of the population?*

A. The UNITA today is no more than an occupation force, part of the South African army. What could it do without helicopters, Mirages [jet fighters], and so on? As for the FNLA, it is totally smashed. Neither one has the most minimal support among the population.

*Q. How do Angolan workers view the presence of Cuban troops in their country?*

A. The presence of the Cuban troops is an act of sovereignty by our country. UN Resolution 435 upholds the right to seek aid from another country when one's sovereignty is threatened. But why are the imperialists so concerned with the Cubans, if they have always had military bases throughout the world — in South Korea, for example. Besides that, there aren't just "Cuban troops." There are also doctors, engineers, workers. And the main thing is that they are not mercenaries like the imperialist soldiers. That is hard for the capitalists to understand — the Cubans don't have any privileges in our country. But it is easy for one to understand this if one knows what a proletarian internationalist is. Cuba understands how difficult it is to reconstruct a country on a socialist basis.

*Q. As a leader of the UNTA, what do you think of the events in Poland?*

A. We support the Polish workers and we are certain they will know how to correct the errors that were committed in their country. On the other hand, the cautious position of the Soviet Union is demonstrating a new framework of political maturity.

*Q. And what is the meaning of your presence here at the National Conference of the Working Class in Brazil?*

A. We understand that the struggle of the Brazilian workers is our own, that it is an international one. Even on immediate questions, such as the boycott in the imperialist countries against shipping arms in order to massacre the colonial independence struggles, such an alliance shows its importance. We uphold and will always defend the internationalist principle of a united front of the trade unions throughout the world. □

\*UNITA — National Union for the Total Independence of Angola; FNLA — Angolan National Liberation Front. — IP

You won't miss a single issue if you subscribe.



# Working class seeks an alternative

## *Growing opposition to austerity and militarization*

By Werner Hulsberg

[The following article appeared in the October 26 issue of the French-language fortnightly *Inprecor*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

In recent months the "German model" has been rapidly losing its power of attraction, and the leadership of the West German Social Democratic Party (SPD), which promoted and propagated that slogan, finds itself in a deep crisis.

It has been about a year since the last general elections in October 1980. In that election a coalition of the SPD and the liberal capitalist Free Democratic Party (FDP) beat the main traditional party of the West German bourgeoisie, the Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union (CDU-CSU).

Today, a year later, one question is coming to the fore: how much longer can the governing SPD-FDP coalition hold together, and when will the Free Democrats make an about-face and join with the CDU-CSU, sending the Social Democrats back to the opposition benches in parliament?

The process of rapid erosion of the SPD's position is the result of threefold pressures being exerted on the party's leadership:

- First, on the governmental level, where, because of the deepgoing economic crisis, the representatives of the bourgeois FDP — strongly supported by the right wing of the SPD — are applying an ever harsher austerity policy. For the first time we are seeing massive attacks against the social gains of the working class.

- As a result, and this is the second factor, there has been a decline in support for the SPD's policies among large layers of the wage-earning population, as shown in three municipal elections during the past year where the SPD's results have been catastrophic.

- Finally, in the wake of earlier mobilizations against the building of nuclear power plants, in the last year a much more powerful mass movement has emerged — what has come to be known as the Peace Movement. This movement, which is clearly aimed against NATO's armaments plans for Western Europe, which are supported by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's government, is exerting its influence on the Social Democracy and the unions.

[The October 10 demonstration in Bonn against NATO's nuclear missile plan, in which more than 300,000 people participated, was the largest mobilization of this type ever seen in postwar West Germany.]

The result of this evolution is quite clear: the SPD is in a deep crisis. Everything the party leadership does is sharply contested. The leadership comes up with compromise formulations and other "crisis programs," but these simply delay the crisis for a few weeks. The criticisms of SPD policies have grown to the point where they include the party's members of parliament.

For the first time a "parliamentary left" made up of several dozen members has been set up. On a number of specific questions, these members of parliament have tried to get their own positions passed in opposition to those of Helmut Schmidt.

### SPD in crisis

Entire sections of the SPD are openly opposing the policies of the Schmidt government, especially on the questions of armaments and energy policies. The only way they can preserve the false impression that the party is still unified is through Schmidt's open threats — and, following his example, threats by SPD leaders in the provinces — to resign their governmental responsibilities unless their policies are adopted.

The sole element working in favor of the SPD — and one that is now decisive — is that the majority of the trade-union bureaucracy maintains a blind loyalty to the government, which provides a certain respite for the SPD-FDP coalition.

### 1980 elections

In the October 1980 federal elections, the SPD's share of the vote rose only 0.3 percent (from 42.6 to 42.9 percent of the total) despite the fact that the opposition CDU-CSU was led by the right-winger Franz Josef Strauss. Schmidt himself had described Strauss as his "preferred opponent."

The FDP was the real winner in the elections, rising from 7 percent to 10 percent of the vote. This result gave it the ability to influence the concrete policies of the government much more strongly.

The growth in the vote for the FDP and the stagnation of the SPD's totals were the result of the orientation Schmidt adopted for these elections. Schmidt wanted to prevent at all costs the growth in working-class mobilization against the candidacy of Franz Josef Strauss (a man who had called himself the "German Thatcher"). Schmidt felt that the real danger was that in the event of that kind of polarization, his little bourgeois partner the FDP would be wiped out, as had already happened in the elections for the state parliament in North Rhine-Westphalia in May 1980.

In those elections, which took place after Strauss's candidacy had been announced, the FDP was unable to achieve the 5 percent of the votes that a party needs in West Germany to get representation in state or national parliaments.

The program for the new governmental coalition, which Helmut Schmidt cooked up with the FDP without even consulting the SPD's parliamentary delegation, very clearly bore the FDP's stamp. Even on the question of "codetermination"<sup>1</sup> — which is the war-horse of the Social Democratic union bureaucracy — the government program was oriented toward the wishes of the FDP. The result was that for the first time there was sharp criticism within the party against the Social Democratic members of the government. This criticism increased along with the governing coalition's political activity. Just two months after the elections, the press was writing about nothing but how the chancellor was being tossed about in a storm.

### Nuclear energy program

The first point of friction was the question of continuing the program of building nuclear power plants. At the heart of this question was the plan to build the Brokdorf plant near Hamburg, which became the symbol of resistance to the government's nuclear policy in West Germany.

At the SPD's last congress the year before, a strong minority of the delegates — about 40 percent — were opposed to Schmidt's policy on building Brokdorf.

The SPD in the state of Schleswig-Holstein

1. "Codetermination" was established in the coal and steel industry in the 1950s as a substitute for their nationalization. The unions designate 50 percent of the members of the management council, but in the event of a tie vote, the representatives of the stockholders prevail. A union member is one of the three people on the supervisory board of these companies, responsible for labor relations.

The West German unions have always dreamed of extending this institutionalized class collaboration to all of industry since it provides some material advantages to the employees of the factories concerned.

The conflict mentioned took place when the giant Mannesmann corporation wanted to restructure its business in such a way that the "steel" aspect of its activities would fall below the level needed for codetermination to be applied.

The unions demanded a new law insuring that codetermination would exist in the steelmaking aspects of a corporation, regardless of steelmaking's share in the company's overall activities.

Due to the FDP's pressure, the only decision adopted was a temporary guarantee, leaving the final decision to a later time. The SPD had made the slogan of guaranteeing codetermination in the coal and steel industries one of its main election planks.



West Berlin, September 13: 80,000 turned out to protest visit by U.S. Secretary of State Haig.

had waged a victorious election campaign for the state parliament by opposing the construction of the Brokdorf plant. The Hamburg SPD also changed its position on the question of building nuclear plants, and especially the one at Brokdorf.

Nevertheless, the federal government tried to push through its program of building plants, despite the resistance developing inside the SPD.

More than 100,000 people demonstrated at Brokdorf on February 28, 1981, against these plans, even though the demonstration was outlawed and the most massive police presence ever seen in the history of West Germany was

assembled at the Brokdorf site.

For the first time, entire sections of the SPD took part in the demonstration against Brokdorf. For example, the SPD in Kiel organized a protest gathering against the federal government's nuclear energy program.

To protest Schmidt's policy, Schleswig-Holstein SPD leader Mathiessen refused to run as an SPD candidate in the following state parliament elections.

Three months later, the mayor of Hamburg, Hans-Ulrich Klose, resigned. Although Klose had succeeded in obtaining a majority against Brokdorf in the Hamburg SPD, he failed to

sway Schmidt's friends in the administration of the Hamburg municipal government.

### Arms policy and détente

The second point of friction revolved around the increasingly obvious support that the federal government was giving to the Reagan administration's arms race, as well as the undercover arms trade with the Chilean military junta.

The "parliamentary left," more than twenty members of parliament, refused to vote for the defense budget because their demand that the budget be reduced 1 percent in favor of development aid was voted down. The defense budget only passed with the votes of the opposition.

The culminating point of this discussion was a motion to expel an SPD member of parliament, Karl-Heinz Hansen, for having described Helmut Schmidt's policy regarding the delivery of arms to Chile as a "political obscenity."

A large movement protesting the expulsion threat developed inside the SPD. *Vorwärts*, the central SPD organ, was swamped with messages in solidarity with Hansen. In a paid advertisement in *Vorwärts*, 1,000 SPD staff members stated:

"We don't want to let the SPD's policy of détente disappear just because the United States wants to return to a global confrontation. . . . In any event, we did not carry out and win the fight against Franz Josef Strauss so the Social Democratic federal government would find itself following in the train of Ronald Reagan's policy."

The right wing of the SPD is beginning to lose its composure. In parliament, when the spokespersons of the "parliamentary left" wanted to defend their alternative to Schmidt's defense budget and had used up the five minutes allotted them, they were prevented from speaking by a "united front" of the SPD right and representatives of the CDU-CSU, who howled in unison.

### West Berlin elections

The crisis in the SPD reached its height recently in West Berlin, which was formerly an SPD bastion. (When Willy Brandt was mayor, the SPD had about a 60 percent majority.) On January 15, 1981, SPD mayor Dietrich Stobbe and the rest of his city government had to resign following a corruption scandal. The Berlin FDP had refused to continue backing the SPD mayor.

The SPD-FDP coalition in Berlin was only reestablished when Minister of Justice Hans-Jochen Vogel, considered Helmut Schmidt's "successor" by many in the SPD, was convinced to resign his federal post and come to Berlin to take over as mayor. However, this agreement was sealed only on the condition that new elections be held in three months.

At that time the polls indicated that those intending to vote for the SPD had dropped to 35 percent. The sharpest drop in support for the SPD came among youth and those voting for



the first time, two categories that in the past had always been a traditional reservoir of support for the SPD. Among youth and first voters, as many people planned to vote for the "alternative" and "green" slates as for the SPD.<sup>2</sup>

The municipal elections in Hesse in February, in Lower Saxony in September, and the new elections to the West Berlin municipal parliament on May 10, 1981, confirmed what the polls had indicated. The SPD suffered significant losses.

In West Berlin, the party dropped 4 percent, ending up with 38.3 percent of the total vote. It lost control of the West Berlin city government for the first time in thirty-three years. In Hesse and Lower Saxony, the SPD lost about 8 percent.

In the big cities, where the Social Democratic Party is traditionally strongest, this phenomenon was most clearly seen. In Frankfurt, for example, the SPD vote fell from 39.9 percent to 34 percent. In Hanover the drop was from 54.1 percent to 43.2 percent. Of course these elections are not a good barometer of national results since they are not dominated by the constraint of casting a "useful" vote. And this explains why the voter participation was only about 65 percent, compared to 85 percent in the general elections for the federal parliament.

The Berlin election is, in this respect, an exception because it is the only time when West Berliners can take part in a direct election. Due to the four-power treaty governing the status of the city, Berliners do not take part in elections for the federal parliament.

### SPD losses

But everywhere the situation was the same. The traditional SPD voters in the industrial zones made their feelings known through the simple expedient of abstaining. We already saw this phenomenon of rising abstention in past years in less important elections.

What is new is that the SPD is also suffering massive losses in absolute terms. The biggest losses are among the youth, who constitute the electoral preserve of the "alternatives" and the "greens." These formations have been able to cross the 5 percent threshold in many places and have often even dropped the FDP below the 5 percent mark it needs for representation (as was the case in the municipal elections in

2. It would be too simple to call the "alternative" formations in West Germany "petty-bourgeois," drawing on analogies to the ecologist parties in other countries. All these formations also include left forces. As a whole they have not abandoned Marxism, but start from a belief that a "democratic stage" is needed to break the "grip of the three-party system."

This is clearest in the case of the "alternative slate" in West Berlin. Nearly all the commissions of trade-union youth, nearly all the left organizations, and the great majority of the Falcons (the organizations of socialist youth that are formally independent of the SPD) supported the "alternative slate" there. In an opinion poll, nearly 90 percent of those voting for the "alternative slate" described themselves as "to the left of the SPD."

Frankfurt).

This means the SPD is losing in the "new middle layers" (i.e., the more favored wage workers) and to a growing extent is losing votes to the "greens" and the "alternatives" and also to the bourgeois parties.

This has special significance for the SPD's leadership. In fact, in 1959 with its Bad Godesberg Program, the SPD adopted a course of adaptation to the capitalist system. It did so specifically to be better able to win over these layers.

In overall terms, the elections show a not insignificant change taking place. If we take into account the rise in the impact of the "greens" and the "alternatives," and if we include them in the totals for the left, we find that there has been a slight electoral shift toward the bourgeois camp (CDU-CSU and FDP). But at the same time, within the left there has been a significant shift of votes away from the SPD.

In the final analysis, the crisis that has come to the surface in the SPD simply expresses the debate now going on about what political measures are needed to get the SPD out of a situation that threatens to drop its electoral support below the 40 percent mark.

It should be noted, however, that no one in the SPD debate is challenging the idea of the coalition with the FDP, although that is the decisive question. Whatever differences may exist between the different currents in the SPD, none is fundamentally questioning the need for this coalition or the policy of the federal government. Even the furthest left factions in the SPD bend to the leadership's argument that an SPD-FDP government is a "lesser evil" to a purely bourgeois coalition.

But the refusal to challenge the bloc with a party of the bourgeoisie makes it impossible to eliminate the roots of the crisis.

### The austerity policy, the unions, and the working class

After the negotiations between the SPD and FDP on the 1982 federal budget, there was public discussion about whether this budget marked a "turning point." The FDP claimed it did, while the SPD sharply denied that.

During the 1960s, the SPD had based its participation in government on its willingness to carry out reforms. But by 1973, under Willy Brandt, the willingness to launch new reforms had already been abandoned in practice. When Helmut Schmidt was named to the post of chancellor in 1974, it was cynically rebaptized a "policy of reforms that do not cost anything." These reforms, in most cases, proved to be draconian restrictions on democratic rights, imposed under the pressure of the antiterrorist hysteria.

Toward the end of the 1970s, the SPD and the ruling coalition asserted they wanted to "preserve the gains" rather than carry out new reforms. The avowed aim of the CDU-CSU, symbolized by the candidacy of Franz Josef Strauss for federal chancellor, was to "attack the gains."

During the last election campaign, the FDP

had already broken from the promise to "preserve the gains." Its minister of economic affairs, Count Otto von Lambsdorff, became one of the leaders in the attack against the social gains. He is the one who invented the slogan of "beating back the Japanese threat," meaning work more, reduce paid holidays and sick leave, "solidarity" with the bosses, accept the reduction in jobs caused by the introduction of new technology, and so on.

This offensive by the bourgeoisie made some impact on the West German working class because neither the SPD nor the trade-union bureaucracy was ready or able to counterpose an alternative policy.

### Deteriorating economic situation

All this has taken place against the backdrop of a deteriorating economic situation. The factors that had made it possible for the West German economy to develop more favorably than the economies of its neighbors are beginning to run out. West German capitalism cannot maintain its strong position in the world market without a massive attack against the standard of living of the working class and a thoroughgoing restructuring of its industry through the massive introduction of new technology. The balance of payments deficit in the last two years was an early warning bell.

This year the West German economy has been hit by general recession. Unemployment has increased by one-third over the preceding year. The unemployment rate reached a national average of 5 percent, but there are cities and regions — especially the industrial Ruhr valley — where it fluctuates between 8 and 11 percent. Even the official circles speak of 1.5 million jobless by the end of the year.

The inflation rate, which had for a long time been held to quite a low level (for some periods it was below 5 percent), has again risen and now stands near 7 percent. The "social funds" (retirement, health-care, and unemployment insurance) are showing large deficits and need major state subsidies.

Helmut Schmidt's inaugural address after the elections already sketched out a turn toward an austerity policy. The FDP was fully able to impose its point of view in the negotiations around reestablishing the coalition. This was especially true in the increase in indirect taxes and payments into the Social Security system.

### Unions under pressure

There have been attempts to force the unions to accept a policy of "wage wisdom." The coalition also decided to carry out economy measures in the public services, where more than four million wage earners work, most of them blue-collar and clerical workers. Public service workers make up 20 percent of the total wage earners in West Germany. Charges for public services have been increased.

But the FDP viewed even these austerity measures as only a "compromise solution." New negotiations, similar to the haggling over reestablishment of the coalition, took place

around the question of the 1982 budget.

In the beginning, one segment of the SPD defended "measures favoring jobs" ("incentives" of 1.5 billion marks [1 mark = US\$0.46] to the private sector to encourage the creation of jobs). Later, however, everyone went over to the austerity measures put forward by the FDP, which hit 99 percent of the wage earners.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt responded to the criticisms raised within the SPD's parliamentary fraction by saying that "a purely Social Democratic budget for 1982 would not have a different makeup."

In the negotiations the FDP showed it wanted to go even further. Its chairman and other leaders openly discussed the possibility of changing coalition partners, moving into a coalition with the CDU-CSU. In the end the 1982 budget was adopted, but only after the SPD had promised that if the economic situation deteriorated it would accept new austerity measures, especially the elimination of the automatic payment of wages for all sick days.

This promise was a real provocation against the unions, for whom the right to automatic sick pay is seen as one of the big gains of the West German workers movement after the Second World War.<sup>3</sup>

#### **Union leaders refuse to act**

But although the union leadership was inclined to raise verbal opposition to this threat, it did nothing concrete. Like the critical Social Democratic members of parliament, the union bureaucracy was afraid that concrete actions might cause the breakup of Schmidt's coalition government.

Two examples illustrate this behavior. Right after the elections, the post office union, which has less than 400,000 members (compared to nearly 1 million members of the Public Services, Transport, and Communications Union [OTV], which includes most of the workers in the public services, including 250,000 rail workers), was driven to strike over questions of overtime pay, vacations, and jobs.

The postal workers received no support from other public service sectors. After five days on strike with hardly any results, they were forced to abandon the struggle following strong pressure from Chancellor Schmidt, who wanted to make his inaugural address in a climate of "social peace."

The spring 1981 wage negotiations showed a similar picture. The country's largest union, the 2.3 million-member metalworkers union (IG-Metall), set the general tone. From the start, the bureaucracy of the metalworkers union indicated that it was aiming for about a 5 percent increase in wages, which was the generally predicted inflation rate at that time.

This would already have meant a decline in real wages since a 5 percent rise in gross wages means a nominal net wage increase of only 3.6

3. The principle that sick workers continue to collect their wages was won in 1956 by the longest strike in the history of West Germany.

percent, due to the fact that the workers would be pushed into a higher income-tax bracket.

The bosses responded with a provocative offer of a 2.5 percent increase in gross wages. The union bureaucracy wanted at all cost to avoid a general metalworkers strike and responded with a "tactic of mobility." Several thousand metalworkers took part in warning strikes that never lasted more than one hour. But since the strikes were spread over several months and the bureaucracy rejected the use of sharper methods of struggle, the movement was stopped when the bosses offered a 5 percent increase in gross wages, although by then the inflation rate had clearly gone past the 5 percent mark.

The bureaucracy was going to suddenly accept a 4.2 percent offer but was stopped by a broad movement of union members.

#### **Concern over unemployment**

In the private sector, most of the agreements are around 5 percent, except in the public services where they were limited to 4.2 percent. You do not have to be a great prophet to predict that 1981 will be the first year since the war when there will be a reduction in the purchasing power of the working class in West Germany.

Up to now the union bureaucracy has not lifted a finger in the struggle against unemployment. In fact, the present contracts make it impossible to raise the question of reducing the workweek until 1983. And the bureaucracy is doing nothing to prepare for struggles when 1983 rolls around. On the contrary, it is seeking ways to prevent a struggle for a general reduction in the workweek.

The leadership of IG-Metall buried the demand for lowering the retirement age. It is consciously opposed to the demand for a thirty-five-hour week. Eugen Loderer, president of IG-Metall, has already stated that "if the employers have a reasonable attitude toward the question of retirement" he would be ready "to accept the forty-hour week beyond 1983."

Within the working class the question of the struggle against unemployment, or more generally of a more combative policy by the unions, is becoming the central concern. The bosses' attacks are being aimed more vigorously than before against the traditional bastions of the workers movement. This is especially true in the Ruhr valley.

In Dortmund they are preparing to close the largest steel mill, or at least sharply reduce its activity. The unemployment rate has already passed 10 percent in that city.

In Frankfurt nearly the whole traditional metallurgical industry is threatened. Two factories employing several thousand workers are threatened with closure. The 1981-82 recession is not even sparing the layer of skilled workers, the traditional base of the unions.

#### **Opposition forces grow**

Up to now, by using bureaucratic methods, the bureaucracy has been able to continue its favorable attitude toward social peace. But it

can no longer smother the growing criticism.

Opposition forces have won new successes in the elections for the factory councils in early 1981; the nuclei of oppositionists that already existed have been largely able to consolidate their positions. In the most threatened sectors of the working class, we are seeing a tendency to seek new and more effective forms of struggle.

In all the conflicts within the factories, people discuss, or are even beginning to carry out, actions like the mobilization of whole neighborhoods in a city, solidarity movements by other unions, factory occupations, and the beginning of workers control through blocking the shipment of inventory or machines. It is increasingly apparent that the great majority of workers would take part in these activities if the leaders would give them a green light.

#### **The peace movement, the Social Democrats, and the unions**

Although the workers movement and the unions are on the defensive, a new movement is growing fast. The peace movement, as it is known, is primarily a reaction against NATO's rearmament plans (deployment of neutron bombs and Pershing II and Cruise missiles, mainly in West Germany) and is growing in strength and creating a political mass movement that far surpasses the movement of recent years, both in its breadth and its ability to mobilize people.

While being largely carried forward by the youth, this movement brings together people of all ages. Its scope ranges from the Christian youth, who play a very active role in it, to members of revolutionary organizations. In contrast to the movement against nuclear power plants, the peace movement's influence and attractive power run deep into the SPD and the unions. This is due not only to the movement's merits, but also to the traditions of the West German workers movement.

#### **Rapid growth of movement**

The movement has grown rapidly, especially since the change in administrations in the United States and the Schmidt government's adaptation to President Reagan's military and rearmament policy.

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the West German army, the Social Democratic minister of defense wanted to organize a Prussia-style oath-taking ceremony for the new inductees. A total of about 70,000 people demonstrated in various West German cities in early 1981 against this provocation.

The Krefeld Appeal petition, launched primarily by the West German Communist Party (DKP), and aimed against the rearmament and the stationing of nuclear weapons on West German territory, was signed by 800,000 people in the space of six months.

In the spring, there were up to 40,000 people in local and regional pacifist demonstrations. A series of mobilizations took place at places where nuclear weapons are stored.

In West Berlin the largest demonstration



against U.S. policy ever seen in that city took place September 13 when 80,000 demonstrated against U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig's visit. (By way of comparison, the big February 1968 demonstration against the Vietnam War brought together 20,000 people in West Berlin.)

But this is not simply a protest against the policies of the government and parliamentary opposition (who have no differences whatsoever on the missiles question). In the final analysis, the thing that is obviously alarming the leaders of the SPD, CDU-CSU, and FDP is that the peace movement is taking aim at the entire West German foreign policy of recent decades: integration into the Western camp, the Atlantic Alliance, participation in NATO, and alignment with U.S. foreign policy.

### Stakes for SPD

The peace movement is shaking up and questioning all these constants of West German policy. But the stakes are obviously more decisive for the SPD than for the bourgeois parties. In the late 1950s the leadership of the SPD was able to impose the decision to join NATO only by doing it in conjunction with revising the SPD program toward a reconciliation with capitalism (the Bad Godesberg Program).

If broad sectors of the party, under the influence of the peace movement, challenge these new pillars of foreign policy, it could quickly turn into a discussion that would question the entire orientation of the SPD leadership, not simply on questions of military policy.

Moreover, an independent peace movement is an enormous challenge for the SPD. That party is trying to take on the image of a "peace party." It had some success with this in the 1960s. Its election victories in 1976 and 1980 resulted partially from the fact that the leadership of the SPD was able to present itself as *the* peace party and successfully presented the CDU-CSU as "unsuitable for peace." If the peace movement is able to stabilize itself, the SPD could suffer painful shocks in future elections.

### Divisions over October 10 protest

The divisions within the SPD have crystallized around the question of what attitude to take toward the big antimissiles demonstration in Bonn on October 10, 1981. Within the Social Democratic camp, initially only the Young Socialists supported this demonstration. Then Erhard Eppler, a member of the SPD presiding committee who is now considered the best-known critic of Helmut Schmidt in West Germany, declared he was ready to speak at the demonstration. Nearly fifty SPD members of parliament stated that they would participate in the demonstration. Helmut Schmidt's attempt to prohibit all SPD members from participating in the October 10 march on Bonn failed.

Then a public dispute broke out between Chancellor Schmidt and SPD Chairman Willy Brandt on what attitude to take toward the peace movement and the possibility of bring-



Helmut Schmidt, Willy Brandt: SPD leaders fall out over how to defuse peace movement.

ing it back into the Social Democratic sphere of influence.

The trade-union bureaucracy, which wanted to line up with Helmut Schmidt on this question, also lost some feathers in the process. The German Trade Union Federation (DGB) prohibited the federation's commission of trade-union youth from officially supporting the demonstration, but this prohibition was ignored on all levels. The commissions of trade-union youth in many unions called for participation in the demonstration. The entire printers union called on its membership to participate. The teachers union officially supported the demonstration in many cities. Well-known union members called on people to attend the demonstration in advertisements printed in the local press. Several local union leaderships mobilized and even provided financial support for the demonstration. One of the scheduled speakers was Georg Benz, one of the main leaders of IG-Metall, the largest union in West Germany.

### 'Jobs not missiles!'

The key question is to determine how the conflict and differentiation within the organized workers movement caused by the peace movement and the Bonn demonstration will develop in the future. The International Marxist Group (GIM — the German section of the Fourth International) feels that the slogan "Jobs, not missiles" makes the connection between the austerity policy and the rearmament policy, with the aim of developing an even more closely linked struggle within the organized workers movement against both these axes of the big business offensive.

Indeed, the social evolution in West Germany is still characterized by the fact that there is a big lag between the mass movement against remilitarization — basically supported by the youth and marginal sectors of the working class — on the one hand, and the defensive attitude and low level of class consciousness of the working class, which remains held in the Social Democratic straitjacket by one of the

world's most powerful workers bureaucracies.

Unless one takes the uneven development of these two processes into account, it is impossible to understand why the process of differentiation that has begun within the Social Democracy is primarily benefiting groupings that view the organized workers movement as only of secondary importance or even as unimportant (the ecologist movements, "alternative" slates, etc.); why the Maoist and centrist groupings are foundering;<sup>4</sup> and why the mass of Social Democratic workers, to the extent they turn away from the SPD, do so only in a passive way in the absence of credible political alternatives.

The above-mentioned organizations do no more than translate the themes of the ecologist movement into reformist Social Democratic language and avoid like the plague a confrontation with the trade-union bureaucracy and a response to unemployment that goes beyond neo-Keynesian proposals.

To change that course, the working class must be effectively involved in the struggle against the growth of unemployment and against the austerity policy. This requires that the hold of the union bureaucracy over the unionized workers be shaken. That is not impossible, as shown by the fact that the SPD found itself plunged into crisis almost overnight.

October 8, 1981

4. All the revolutionary organizations have lost members in recent years. The Maoist KPD (Communist Party of Germany) dissolved without a sound in 1979. The Communist League (KB) split in two in the same period. Another important formation of Maoist origin, the Communist League of West Germany (KBW) also had a split and for the first time underwent a broad internal debate on the crisis. The Socialist Bureau (SB) itself states it is on the verge of dissolving. Elements coming out of the KBW, the KB, the SEW (the West Berlin branch of the East German Communist Party) as well as members of the SB are trying to gather together leftist elements within the ecologist and alternative movement around a projected newspaper.

# Bureaucrats seek to stifle dissent

*Face tenacious opposition*

By Jun Xing

[The following article appeared in the November issue of *October Review*, a Trotskyist Chinese-language monthly published in Hong Kong. The translation has been provided by *October Review*.]

\* \* \*

Since the conclusion of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in June, the party has been carrying out a campaign against "liberalization."

CCP Vice-chairman Deng Xiaoping issued the order, and the Propaganda Branch of the party convened a national conference to strengthen the party's leadership in ideology. At the conference, CCP chairman Hu Yaobang attacked Bai Hua and his screenplay *Pained Love*, criticizing it as being "representative of a wrong tendency." Thus, the campaign against the renowned poet and writer, first launched in April, has resumed.

At the same time that the government is repressing freedom of creative writing in the mainland, its repressive arm is being extended to Hong Kong. Several pro-CCP magazines that have not fallen entirely in line with the party's propaganda have been pressured to cease publication. The most striking example is *Zheng Ming Daily*. In announcing its demise, *Zheng Ming Daily* proclaimed that it "is not tolerated by people poisoned by 'leftism'

[i.e., of the Maoist variety], . . . and it is difficult to continue the struggle under severe repression."

## Fear of Polish example

The CCP campaign against liberalization reflects its fear of the impact on China of the past year of Poland's experience. The fear is not unjustified. The acute social contradictions accumulated over thirty years of CCP rule are ready to erupt. The crisis of rule is graver than ever.

The following are some concrete illustrations:

Concerning the economy, the party decided on a three-year plan of readjustment, but after two years the results are: no decrease of investment in capital construction, a surge in financial deficits, and serious inflation. Many commodities are illegally transferred from state shops to the free market for profiteering.

It was officially announced that industrial production for the first half of 1981 has not reached half of the annual plan, "the main problems that exist being a shortage in production of coal and charcoal, difficulties in transportation, a fall in profits, an extension of areas of loss, deterioration of the quality of some products, a rise in consumption, and bad economic effects. To strive to accomplish the annual state plan, the production task of the second half of the year will be very arduous" (editorial in *People's Daily*, August 6, 1981).



Chinese troops. Bureaucrats worry that they may be affected by "wrong ideas."

Evasion of taxes, secret dealings with overseas enterprises, bribery, and corruption are general phenomena in collective or state enterprises. "Hundreds of millions in state funds flow into the hands of small cliques or individuals through tens of millions of big and small loopholes" (July 20 circular of Party Central Discipline and Investigation Committee).

Politically, the rotten political structure is further eroded by flagrant corruption and bribery. The privileges of cadres remain the main grudge of the people against the bureaucracy.

The aggravation of unemployment and inflation increases social unrest. In recent months, criminal cases have increased, with the majority being juvenile cases. Prostitution and drug trafficking are again active, as revealed by the fact that the Guangdong authorities recently decreed laws for their strict prohibition.

The August 21 *People's Daily* pointed out that it has been four years since the Gang of Four fell, but the party's style of work, the social mood, and law and order have not turned for the better. The party has resorted to severe penalties and even immediate, arbitrary execution of criminal offenders in an attempt to curb crime.

## Opposition in army

In the army, opposition to the present party leadership comes from two major forces.

One is the high-ranking military officers who prefer Mao's ultra-"left" policies, which they consider more favorable to their established interests. They constitute a force opposing criticism of Mao and opposing any cut in the defense budget.

The other force is the rank-and-file soldiers and some low-ranking cadres. They are more easily affected by the suffering of the urban and rural poor, are discontented with the military leadership, and are disappointed and disillusioned with Mao and the CCP. The "crisis in faith" is developing in the army as well as in society.

This worry is expressed in many recent speeches given by top military leaders. For example, Wei Guoqing, director of the Chief Political Branch of the Liberation Army, complained that "now, the overwhelming majority of our army, the young cadres and militants, . . . lack basic theoretical knowledge of Marxism, lack hard training of life, lack the ability to distinguish between right and wrong, and are easily affected by wrong ideas like anarchism, extreme individualism, and bourgeois liberalization."

He went on, "We must oppose all those who refuse to obey the party's leadership on the



pretext that the party committed mistakes in the past; we must oppose all tendencies that attempt to weaken, shake off, abolish, or oppose the party's leadership" (*People's Daily*, June 22, 1981).

Chief of Staff Yang Dezhi also said that "we must oppose the attitude of totally negating Mao Zedong Thought, the view that it has lost its realistic guiding significance, and the action of refusing to learn or to practice it" (*Red Flag*, No. 13, 1981).

Among the students, many have been standing on the front lines to fight for socialist democracy and to engage in the publication of unofficial periodicals. In the countrywide elections of deputies to the People's Congress, many students took advantage of the campaign activities to criticize the CCP's mistakes and present their ideas on reforms.

The brutal repression of the democratic movement by the faction in power has shattered many illusions about the "democratic reforms" within the party leadership. The arrests of student leaders like Tao Shen (chief representative of the Hunan students) and others of the Peking University have not quenched student protest.

The National Work Conference on Ideological and Political School Education held in early August stressed that "a struggle must be waged on all sorts of wrong ideological currents and tendencies that violate the four basic principles [i.e., to continue on the socialist road, proletarian dictatorship, leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought], and an effort must be made to change the state of feebleness and slackness." The severity of the situation can be seen from such official complaints.

#### Criticism and self-criticism

It is in this context of the crisis of rule that the CCP fears most the impact of Poland's "liberalization" on China. The government therefore is attempting to head it off by launching a campaign against liberalization. Among the first targets are literary figures whose criticisms of existing social and political problems prove intolerable to the bureaucracy.

The party leaders' criticism of *Pained Love* by Bai Hua is that "it is disadvantageous to the people and to socialism, and should be criticized." In launching the present campaign, the party stresses "criticism and self-criticism." The meaning of the latter is not that writers can defend their own ideas, but that writers should submit obediently to the criticisms and confess their "mistakes."

But the so-called antirightist campaign against outspoken writers in 1957 can no longer be repeated today with success. Even the party admits the difficulties in launching the campaign.

A commentator in the August 18 *People's Daily* admitted, "Toward literary works and speeches with wrong tendencies, we often cannot wage criticism and struggle in a timely, righteous, persuasive way, which shows our slackness and feebleness. Some comrades

cannot at all accept criticism; they view all criticisms as labels. It is now not at all easy to carry out criticism and self-criticism, and the latter is even more difficult. Some times, whoever is criticized at once gains sympathy."

Hu Yaobang also said, "As soon as they hear that criticism and self-criticism is to be carried out, there is at once resentment, boycott, and opposition" (*People's Daily*, August 31, 1981).

Why is there such a response? It is because when the rulers produce this "weapon," it is at once recognized by the people to be a means of suppression. Did such appeals not fill up Stalin's writings? Was Mao not used to appealing to the people to criticize and self-criticize? These present appeals in the *People's Daily* are reminiscent of the terrible 1957 episode.

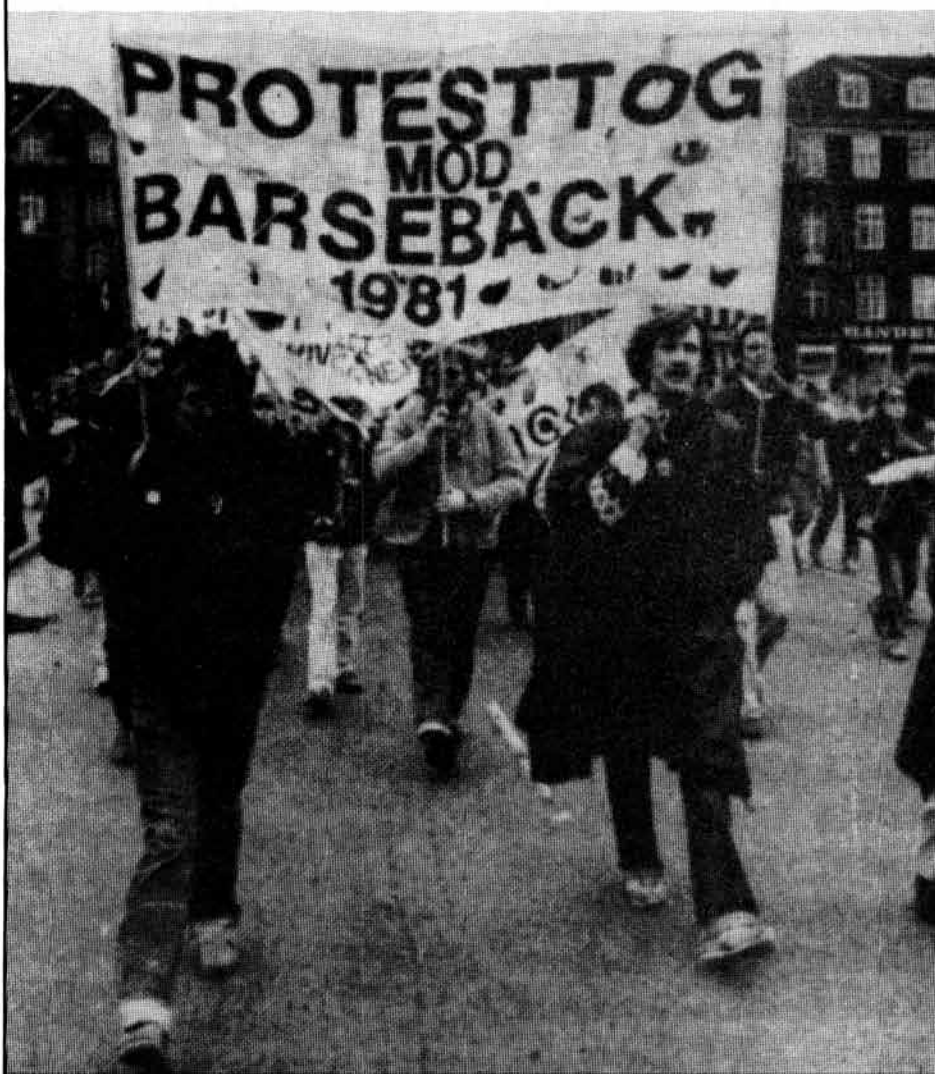
The party repeatedly assures that no more "campaigns" of the kind launched in the Mao Zedong era will be repeated. At that time, a certain percentage of potential targets to be campaigned against was fixed for all units in the country.

Such kinds of campaigns are not launched today not because the present leadership is kinder but because it is much weaker. It can be foreseen that the party's effort to overcome its feebleness and slackness, now cited as the "main task in the present ideological front," will fail.

Writers and the masses of China no longer submit to dictatorial shackles, and least to the party's slogan of "antiliberalization."

September 3, 1981

## Denmark antinuclear protest



25,000 persons marched in Denmark on October 10 to demand the closing of the Barsebäck nuclear power plant in nearby Sweden. Many trade unions were among the 125 organizations that endorsed the demonstration, which included a "protest train" from Charlottenlund to Christiansborg.

Klassekampen

# Junta's record of repression

*Interview with exiled composer Sanar Yurdatapan*

One year after the military seized power in Turkey on September 12, 1980, the junta of Gen. Kenan Evren has established itself as one of the most repressive regimes in the country's history.

"As soon as the junta came into power," Sanar Yurdatapan, an exiled composer, told *Intercontinental Press* October 7, "they closed all the political parties, the trade unions, and professional and artistic organizations. The leaders of those organizations were put in jail. Some were tortured and a few killed."

Yurdatapan is a leader of the Democratic Artists' Community (Demar), now based in West Germany. He was in the United States for several concerts in solidarity with the people of Turkey, together with his wife, Melike Demirag, a film actress and singer. He provided a chilling account of the junta's record of mass repression.

Since the coup, Yurdatapan said, about 200,000 people have been detained. Of that number, 50,000 have been charged and some released. The rest are still being detained without charges being brought against them.

Upon coming to power, the regime extended the period of detention without trial from two days to ninety days. "These days they say they are turning back to democracy — as if there was democracy before — and it is now officially forty-five days," Yurdatapan said. "But this means nothing," since people are often immediately redetained for recurrent periods.

### Executions

Of those arrested, ten have already been executed. The prosecution is demanding the death sentence for 2,000 others.

The military and police have also been carrying out numerous informal "executions." In its alleged drive against "terrorism," the authorities have shot down more than 500 people.

"They have lists in their hands," Yurdatapan explained. "And when they find someone, they kill them outright. They call these 'shoot-outs' or 'operations.' They claim the people shot at the police. But in the newspapers you can see their pictures, lying dead, usually naked or in their pajamas. So it is clear that they found them at night, while they were asleep, and just killed them."

Yurdatapan noted that while the junta that came to power in 1971 went primarily after the intellectual opposition, this one was directly attacking the labor movement.

"There are two big labor confederations in Turkey. One is a yellow one, Turk Is [Turkish Trade Union Confederation]. One of its leaders, Sadik Side, is a member of the cabinet. This yellow union is open, though they cannot

make strikes or engage in collective bargaining — all of that is forbidden.

"The other union confederation, DISK [Revolutionary Workers Trade Union Confederation], is a real one. It has been banned. All of its leaders are in jail. And the prosecutors are demanding the death penalty for fifty-two of them."

Besides the direct repression against the labor movement, the junta's economic policies are also having an impact on working people. Yurdatapan pointed out that the junta is carrying out the same economic policy, which is "dependent on the transnational corporations," as the former government of Suleyman Demirel.

"In Turkey," Yurdatapan said, "inflation was a big monster. It still is. They say that inflation was 150 percent, and now it is down to about 40 percent, so they claim to have succeeded. But people cannot see it in their lives. Yes, now prices go up more slowly, but nobody has money to buy things. Nobody can say the people of Turkey are happy."

### Repression of intellectuals

Another group that has been hit by the repression are the intellectuals and artists. All theater productions are controlled, and many have been forbidden. Films are censored. Many records and cassettes have been banned. Forbidden books have been collected from bookstores and some writers are now in jail.

One well-known film actor, Tarik Akan, publicly spoke about the censorship during a visit to West Germany. Although his friends warned him not to go back to Turkey, he did. He was detained as soon as he got off the plane.

Yurdatapan and Melike Demirag have themselves been victims of this repression. All of Yurdatapan's songs have been banned, including love songs and those performed by well-known commercial singers. Both were stripped of their Turkish citizenship after attending a film festival in Cyprus. They were accused by the Turkish authorities of being "terrorists" and of engaging in "anti-Turkish propaganda."

Their two-year-old daughter, Zeynep, has also been stripped of her citizenship.

Another sector that has suffered especially from the repression is the Kurdish population of Turkey.

### National oppression of Kurds

"The Kurds have always been under national oppression," Yurdatapan emphasized. "First of all, it is denied that there are Kurds. We cannot know how many there are, because it is forbidden to say, 'I am a Kurd.' Some say

there are no more than 8 million. Our Kurdish friends say 15 million. Okay, let us accept 8 million. Eight million — that is a nation! It is as big as Belgium.

"It is forbidden for Kurds to speak in their mother tongue. In primary school, this is torture for a little child, who is told he is not Kurdish, but Turkish.

Since the coup, Yurdatapan went on, the pressure against the Kurds has stepped up. Entire Kurdish villages have been surrounded by troops, under the pretext of searching for weapons. People have been tortured openly. The leaders of the Kurdish organizations have been jailed and tortured. One member of the former parliament was jailed simply because he dared to say, "I am a Kurd."

Yurdatapan stressed the importance of the fight for Kurdish rights in Turkey. "Anyone who thinks he is a democrat must accept that there is a Kurdish nation and that Kurds must have the basic right to speak their language, to be educated in their mother tongue, and to have the right to cultural development."

### International solidarity

When asked what impact international solidarity with the people of Turkey could have, Yurdatapan replied, "A lot."

Noting that Turkey's economy is greatly dependent on those in the West, particularly in Europe, he argued that if a majority of the people in those countries learn about the real situation in Turkey, their governments would be unable to give direct financial aid to the junta, as they are now doing.

Talking about his hopes to get out some of this information to the people of the United States, Yurdatapan continued, "If the average U.S. citizens — the housewives, the grandmothers and grandfathers — really knew what was going on in the world, if they knew what their government's policies were doing to other people, they would not bear this and something would happen."

Another effect of international solidarity would be to strengthen the opposition to the junta within Turkey itself, Yurdatapan said.

He also pointed out, "The working classes are rather developed in Turkey, not only in numbers, but also in consciousness. The authorities cannot take that away. There may be some silent periods, but this silence does not mean that workers have changed their ideas." □

### Intercontinental Press

*Intercontinental Press* is a unique source for political developments throughout the world.

\$35 for one year.

\$17.50 for six months.

410 West Street  
New York, N.Y. 10014



# STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## Poland: the workers councils and self-management

[The following resolution was adopted by majority vote at a meeting of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on October 7.]

\* \* \*

1. Since summer 1981 the rise of the political revolution in Poland has entered a new stage with the emergence of workers councils and their local and regional coordination. As a result, the self-management movement has taken on an explosive antibureaucratic dynamic. This step forward of the political revolution corresponds to a deepening polarization of the *dual power* situation which has characterized political and social developments in Poland since the powerful rise of the working masses self-organization in Solidarity and various "social movements."

The need to take effective emergency measures, initiated by and under the direct control of the workers, is increasingly seen as necessary among broad layers of the working class, given the seriousness of the economic crisis. There is a fall in industrial production, shortage of consumer goods, an erosion of economic links between the towns and the countryside, sky-rocketing prices on the black market, failure of the rationing system, catastrophic decline in housebuilding levels, the cancellation of numerous productive investment projects, etc.

Protest movements and strikes continually break out against the shortages or against various measures of intimidation by the authorities. The masses' sense of their own strength, their general attitude, as well as their rebellious initiatives against the bureaucratic regime, force the regime to retreat and increase its paralysis.

In this context the masses themselves seek to fill the vacuum left by the regime through attempts at self-organization going from the stage of protest, of control, to making decisions and even management. This was expressed at the Solidarity congress, not only by the adoption of the theme of the "Self-governed Polish Republic," but also by the explicit questioning of the government's and party's right to decide the major social and economic options on behalf of the workers (the demand for the referendum on self-management, then the decision to organize a referendum on key questions of the law adopted by the Sejm [parliament]).

2. Given the impossibility for the bureaucracy of confronting the powerful mass movement head-on, the orientation of the leaders of

the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Communist Party) has been to play for time, to make agreements and then go back on them. They seek to divide Solidarity, even to integrate a part of its leadership. They limit themselves to selective repression — today there are more than 200 cases pending against Solidarity militants — in order to accentuate divisions among the cadres of the independent trade union.

With the "help" of fatigue and the negative effects of the crisis in basic supplies, the bureaucracy hopes to bring about a first downturn in popular mobilizations. It blows hot and cold. It appeals for "national harmony" and at the same time tries to throw the responsibility for the effects of the economic crisis on the shoulders of Solidarity. In fact, all this must create the conditions for harsher repression, for a counterattack to defend its power and caste privileges.

For the bureaucracy, the "ideal solution" would be a counterrevolutionary blow in which the Kremlin's armed forces would only play a backup role. In this way they would avoid a confrontation in which the national question would play a central and catastrophic role for the Polish and Soviet bureaucracies. It is with this perspective in mind that sectors of the PUWP are endeavoring to establish special intervention forces inside the army and police.

The continuous rise of the self-organization, politicization, and radicalization of the working masses had repercussions inside the PUWP, which has in turn increased the crisis of bureaucratic domination. A million party members are also members of Solidarity. The fact that it is the party of a governing bureaucracy does not mean that it will not be affected by the shock waves of movements that arise in the Polish working class. The process of dislocation of the PUWP preceded and then accompanied the very deep crisis of the state apparatus. It was therefore necessary for the party to get its own house in order before being able to "restore order" in the country. This could not be done on a "status quo" line, given the depth of the crisis and breadth of the mass movement. The PUWP had to have a "renewal" congress. The aim of the congress was to reestablish the bureaucracy's control in the party under the least damaging conditions, with a view to achieving its fundamental objective: to reestablish its control over the country, to channel, hold back, and then break the mass movement.

This PUWP congress was unable to resolve the crisis of the bureaucratic regime, nor modify the relationship of forces between the bureaucracy and the masses — which has be-

come more and more unfavorable to the bureaucrats.

The defeat of the democratic opposition inside the PUWP (the horizontal structures) further strengthened the impression of the masses that "renewal" Kania-style was not a true reform of the bureaucratic regime but a simple tactic to sidetrack the workers. The workers are not fools. There was, nevertheless, a certain restoration of control in the party apparatus. But even the apparatus remains vulnerable and new divisions will appear under the body-blows of the rising political revolution.

Just after the PUWP congress the sense of a power vacuum was confirmed. The economic crisis and its consequences were becoming increasingly insupportable for the masses. Conditions were very open for new, audacious, mass-based initiatives such as the "hunger marches" and the challenge to the government's right to nominate managers (at Lot, Huta Katowice) as well as struggles against censorship.

3. Once the economic crisis, combined with the massive independent organization of the workers, had placed the need for a thoroughgoing economic reform before the whole country, self-management became the question of the hour in Poland.

It was posed within the bureaucracy and government, with a preventive aim, at practically the same time that it was being raised inside Solidarity and in the workplaces. But during the first period, which lasted nearly a year, the struggle for self-management suffered from three handicaps:

A. It became lost in a largely ideological and legalistic debate, reflecting the weight of experts cut off from the main concerns of the working class and sometimes influenced by petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideologies.

B. It came up against many working-class cadres' memories of the lamentable failure of the 1956-57 self-management experience, which was completely reabsorbed and reintegrated by the bureaucracy. It also conflicted with the desire to maintain the Solidarity trade union above all as an instrument to defend the workers immediate interests, in particular with the power of control (and veto) over the bureaucracy's decisions.

C. It was also held back initially by a widely held illusion among the masses that Solidarity could impose on the government an economic policy which took into account the workers interests.

The attitude of the working-class vanguard began to change in June-July 1981. Given the delay, inconsistency, and antiworker character of the "economic reform" prepared by the bureaucracy and the growing disorganization of production, many workers in the big factories started to take control measures, establish inventories, and discuss production plans. Real living experience and practice resolved the question of whether the Solidarity structures should be used for economic management. Instead the workers themselves created workers

councils, closely linked to Solidarity. Councils or committees taking the initiatives to set up such councils exist today in a thousand workplaces. In various regions — Lodz, Lublin, Warsaw, Silesia, etc. — “founding committees for the coordination of workers councils” have been set up.

Several national meetings of council delegates were organized at the initiative of the Network of Solidarity Organizations in Leading Factories and the Working Group for Inter-regional Self-management Coordination Initiatives. The latter wants to stimulate national coordination of the councils.

The workers self-organization movement is therefore clearly orienting towards the creation of new ad hoc bodies tending to take in hand the management of the economy. More and more the debate has shifted from the ideological level to a confrontation between several proposals for the practical functioning of self-management.

4. In a schematic way one can distinguish three variants of self-management proposals, reflecting different social-political choices and corresponding to different class interests and different social layers.

A. The government proposal, expressing the interests of the leading layer of the bureaucracy (the bureaucracy of the party and state), which aims above all to empty the masses' desire for self-management of any substance. The essential decisions would remain in the hands of the bureaucracy, who furthermore would use market mechanisms more widely. At the workplace level, elected worker representatives would be associated with administering and taking responsibility for fundamental choices over which they had had no decision-making power. The clear aim of this project is to get the workers to take responsibility for an austerity policy, to divide and demoralize them one step at a time. In the best of cases this proposal would make self-management a minor reform of bureaucratic management (such as the Hungarian model).

B. The proposal from the moderate experts from Solidarity and the “independent” economists, which expresses the interests of a layer of managers inside the bureaucracy. This so-called *self-management* is based above all on the financial and decision-making autonomy of the enterprises. It involves giving broader power to the *directors* as well as extensive recourse to the marketing mechanism, in opposition to the needs of a really planned economy and to the interests of the workers, both in social terms and as concerns management itself.

C. A proposal which responds to working-class interests, several elements of which have already been defined by a working-class left wing inside Solidarity. In order to be put forward as a practical alternative, it must become more precise by defending a form of workers self-management *that extends to all levels and therefore is democratically planned*. Bureaucratically centralized planning would be replaced by democratic planning, where the cen-

tral objectives and priorities of the plan would be determined by the workers as a whole, by democratic votes after public discussions and debates involving the whole nation. Within this framework that would express the choices of the workers as a whole, self-management would operate by sector of production, region, locality, and in each workplace for all decisions that could be validly made at each of these levels. Direct consultations of the whole population, worker-peasant conferences, and producer-consumer conferences would complete the institutions of workers self-management.

These three proposals are not technical variants, but rather express different social interests. It is therefore necessary to resolutely fight for the third proposal, the only one that conforms to the immediate and historical interests of the working class. The other two proposals do not permit the workers to have real decision-making power over their lives, whether as producers, consumers, or citizens. In the two other cases the real economic decisions will be *imposed* on the workers by the bureaucracy or by the “laws of the market” or by a combination of the two. These two other proposals tend to considerably increase social inequality and to split the unity of the workers into sectoral, regional, corporate, or local interests that become increasingly contradictory. They also imply an inevitable attack on full employment and the massive reappearance of unemployment. In this sense only the third proposal is an authentically socialist perspective expressing workers self-management.

5. The movement towards economic self-management also poses *the necessity for political power to be directly exercised by the working class*. Even in restricting themselves to actions of controlling and challenging government decisions, the Solidarity trade unions are fulfilling the de facto function of a *counter-power*.

The struggle for the abolition of censorship, for free access to the mass media is in fact a struggle to break the monopoly on political power exercised by the PUWP, the party of the bureaucracy. This thrust has led to the demand for the legalization of tendencies and political parties. The Solidarity congress included the idea of “political pluralism” in the program it adopted. If one adds the beginnings of a massive trade unionization of the police and the appeals made by Solidarity sections to the soldiers, one can understand the extent of the challenge of the bureaucracy's power.

In the working masses, a powerful sense of confidence in their own strength has taken hold, nourished by the many successes won over the last year. From this point of view the Solidarity congress represents a *turning point on the political level*. The bureaucracy's attempt at intimidation, in hopes that the second part of the congress would take a step backward in relation to the first session or would at least not deepen the radicalization has, moreover, fallen flat. The compromise on self-

management between the government and the Solidarity Presidium has been overturned.

The confidence of the Polish workers in themselves was above all expressed in a formidable explosion of *workers democracy* during this Solidarity congress, not only at the level of the congress itself, but also at the workplace level, where workers assemblies met almost daily to discuss what was happening at their congress. Thousands of messages and telegrams from Solidarity branches exerted a constant pressure on the delegates at the congress. This confidence was expressed at the second congress session by the protest against the decision to raise prices and by the way in which the minister, constrained to explain himself and the government measures before the congress, was sent packing. This congress session was in fact the meeting of a sovereign assembly, the assembly of the embryonic workers power that is rising up in Poland today.

6. The deepening of the dual power situation poses, on the level of political institutions, questions analogous to those raised by the discussion on self-management. Behind the different proposals presented inside Solidarity regarding the new political institutions that need to be created, there are different political-ideological currents expressing the interests of different classes and social layers.

The proposal that most conforms to the interests of the working class and to the achievement of the aims of the political revolution, at the present stage, is that of the free election of a second chamber of the Sejm by all the self-management bodies, with multiple slates of candidates. This second chamber would be a chamber of workers councils and other self-management bodies (territorial, etc.).

This proposal would permit not only the creation of dual-power bodies and the centralization of those that already exist, but also would take the working masses through the initial experiences of true workers power. In these conditions, the first chamber of the Sejm would very rapidly see its area of responsibility correspondingly reduced. In Poland today the social weight of the working class would ensure it a large majority in the second chamber.

The idea of free elections to the Sejm obviously cannot be rejected. But today to focus the masses' activity on this demand could lead to a confrontation with the bureaucracy on a terrain that is less favorable to the masses than that of self-management. Furthermore, this approach does not make it possible to resolve the fundamental problem that confronts the Polish workers: bureaucratic power or workers power.

Finally, the *centralization* of self-management in a second chamber of the Sejm — which is not counterposed to the demand for free elections on the municipal and regional level — is certainly more effective in standing up to a final attempt by the bureaucracy to save its power through a big maneuver of “national



reconciliation," bringing together the PUWP, the moderate, conciliatorist wing of the Solidarity leadership, and the Church hierarchy. Similar proposals along these lines have been made — on the pretext of the extremely sharp economic crisis — by forces like Stefan Olszowski, a leader of the PUWP, Catholic intellectuals, very representative experts, and certain leaders of Solidarity. Such a "national unity" government would have the aim of committing Solidarity to comanagement of the crisis and consequently would rapidly break down its unity and that of the working class. The election of a self-management chamber would, on the other hand, maintain the unity of the workers and express in the clearest way their thrust toward power.

Any plan for workers self-management and its centralization must provide a satisfactory response to the needs of the workers and the independent peasant smallholders. In fact the bureaucratically-imposed restrictions and financial conditions for the allocation of intermediary and productive goods (fertilizer, agricultural machinery, etc.) to the independent peasants exacerbates the agricultural crisis. This crisis introduces tensions that could increase between the working class and a sector of the peasants. To respond to this and cement the worker-peasant alliance, close cooperation between the workers councils and the peasant smallholders organized in Rural Solidarity needs to be developed in order to control distribution and give priority to plans to produce manufactured goods for agriculture.

7. Up to now the radicalization and the politicization of the working class and Solidarity cadres has taken place on the basis of increasingly sharp hostility against the bureaucracy, its government, and party. This radicalization indiscriminately favors all those tendencies appearing to be the most hostile to the ruling regime. This was inevitable given the conditions of ideological confusion born of thirty years of Stalinist dictatorship and the bureaucracy's discrediting of Marxism and communism. It was also due to the weight acquired by the church as a function of its role — requested and tolerated by the bureaucracy — as the only semilegal opposition force in the country during the last twenty-five years. Nationalist and right-wing tendencies such as the KPN (Confederation for an Independent Poland) have thus been able to acquire a certain base in the working class, partly because of those tendencies that vacillated when faced with the bureaucratic regime.

Around the question of economic self-management and the institutionalization of the masses' political power, political differentiation and a sifting out process are developing that lead to a "reshuffling" of the political forces in play. Already for the election of the chairmanship and national leadership of Solidarity, different tendencies began to be organized — running the gamut from the KPN to a revolutionary socialist left, which was espe-

cially representative of the thrust toward workers self-management.

While the masses' desire for national sovereignty has been an important element in the upsurge of the movement, today the national question is becoming a significant factor in political differentiation. Despite its nationalist demagoguery, the bureaucracy is still seen as owing its power to the support given it by the Kremlin. The right-wing political tendencies present themselves not only as the sharpest opponents of the power of the Polish bureaucracy, but also as the incarnation of the ideal of national sovereignty against the Soviet bureaucracy. Those are the two principal sources of their popularity.

However each further step in the workers' radicalization and politicization will increasingly draw out the contradictions and ambiguities of the KPN and all the other right-wing political tendencies that are seen in Poland. Workers increasingly demand a combination national sovereignty and economic-political workers power; The KPN and right-wing tendencies are opposed to workers power. National sovereignty implies that the Polish working masses should be masters of their own fate. But an increased opening to the Western economy, recommended by the right, would place decision-making power over the Polish economy in the hands of the "world market," the Western bankers, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The cases of Peru, Turkey, and Zaïre demonstrate what happens to "national sovereignty" in these conditions.

Therefore the revolutionary socialists will increasingly appear as the authentic and uncompromising representatives of national sovereignty and workers power, of true workers self-management, which must base itself on the extraordinary strength of the mass movement and which cannot "limit" itself without the risk of becoming eroded.

8. Both the Soviet bureaucracy and its allies, and imperialism and its allies, continue to exert constant pressure against the rising political revolution in Poland. Whatever may be the tactical variants through which this pressure is exercised, it has a single and unique objective: to prevent the Polish working class from winning and directly exercising political power, to break its combative spirit. The attempt to "moderate" and then integrate Solidarity into the bureaucratic system and to prepare for repression are two sides of the same policy.

While the attack from the Soviet bureaucracy is more open and without pretense (threats, blackmail of an economic boycott before the winter), it has been combined now for several months with attempts to divide the leadership of Solidarity and to link up with at least a wing of it, which conforms to the plans of the Polish bureaucracy. The most striking move in this direction was the letter from the chief of the Hungarian trade unions, Sander Gaspar, to the second session of the Solidarity congress. These maneuvers also reflect a more

differentiated reaction from the Soviet bureaucracy, faced with the risks that the Polish example could spread to countries of its zone of influence and inside the USSR. The appeal to the workers of the Eastern European countries, made by the Solidarity congress and massively printed in all their languages, constitutes a new, worrying alarm signal for the bureaucracy. In the same way, it also must find highly disturbing the various appeals made to Polish troops such as the one made by the regional leadership of Solidarity in Piotrkow Trybunalski, which called on the soldiers to remain "in solidarity with the nation" and "not to let themselves be used for the defense of the interests of a small group of men who hold power thanks to the nomenklatura system."\*

Imperialism has camouflaged its constant economic pressure on the Polish revolution behind public declarations of its sympathy. But things are much clearer in reality. Financial pressure remains strong. The extension of the period for the repayment of debts is combined with the imposition of usurious interest rates. The West German capitalists have raised the demand that Poland affiliate to the IMF. Food aid remains far below Polish needs, and far below the real possibilities of imperialist countries, which are staggering under the weight of unsold food surpluses, with food ending up being destroyed.

Up to now the solidarity effort of the Western workers movement with the Polish workers has been by and large deficient. Sometimes the existence of a dominant Catholic influence within Solidarity is used as a pretext for this inactivity. But this passivity is, in fact, primarily due to a fear by the trade union bureaucrats, both from the Communist and Socialist parties, that the example of a trade union really run by its members, of an exemplary trade-union democracy with a recognized right of tendencies, of a dynamic toward authentic workers self-management could become contagious inside the working class of capitalist Europe. Given the plans to manage the capitalist austerity, in which all these bureaucrats are implicated to varying degrees, the Polish "disease" is as dangerous for them as it is for the Soviet bureaucracy.

In the face of all these threats and attacks, and this insufficient solidarity, the Fourth International must continue to put all its weight behind the mobilization, on the largest possible basis of unity, of a vast movement of effective solidarity with the rising political revolution in Poland. The main axes of this solidarity campaign are the following:

- Hands off the struggle of the Polish workers to become masters of their own destiny!
- An immediate moratorium on the debt

\*The *nomenklatura* is a list of offices in the government, economic, and administrative apparatus over which the party leadership has the exclusive right of appointment. It is through this system that the bureaucracy insures its control over all key positions of authority in the country. — IP

service and the annulment of all Poland's foreign debts!

• All the mass organizations of the international workers movement, as well as all the governments who claim to represent the workers, should make contact with Solidarity in order to insure massive food and medical aid to the Polish working masses under Solidarity's control!

Establishing and building this solidarity campaign will facilitate the struggle against probourgeois and reactionary ideological ten-

dencies in Poland itself, and will make it possible in Poland to extend the solidarity movement with the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements underway throughout the world.

Translating this into action, as with all the tasks posed by the political revolution in Poland, calls for the close unity of all revolutionary socialists, who are simultaneously implacable foes of capitalist exploitation, the imperialist governments, and the Polish and Soviet bureaucracy. □

## Colombia

# Workers leaders still jailed

*Solidarity needed to halt Turbay's repression*

The Turbay Ayala regime in Colombia has continued its repression in the aftermath of the general strike that took place October 21.

Hundreds of trade-union and student leaders remain in jail. Classes have been suspended at four universities.

In order to carry out mass arrests in the days leading up to the strike, the Colombian government invoked Article 28 of the country's constitution, which provides for detention without trial in the event of a threat of war.

### Death by torture

Despite repeated declarations by the organizers that the strike's purpose was to protest peacefully against repression and austerity, Turbay launched a hysterical campaign through the news media claiming that the strike was aimed at fomenting an insurrectionary war and "Salvadorizing" the country.

The main cities of Colombia were put under virtual military occupation. Troops and even tanks were deployed in the streets.

Two university students were killed in the course of the strike. One of these, Alfonso José Narváez of the Universidad del Atlántico in Barranquilla, apparently died as a result of torture at the hands of the army.

The Universidad del Atlántico was occupied by the military on October 22, the day after the general strike. Also shut down are the National University in Bogotá, the Pedagogic University in Tunja, and the Universidad del Valle in Cali.

Despite fierce repression and threats by the government to order the firing of all workers who participated, the general strike was a success. The port city of Barranquilla was almost completely shut down. Transportation in Medellín and Bogotá was reduced by 60 to 70 percent, and in Cali by 50 percent.

### Demands of strike

The strike was called by the First National Trade-Union Forum, which met August 28-30 in Bogotá. In attendance were some 1,500 delegates representing about 600 unions belong-



TURBAY

ing to all four of the main Colombian labor confederations.

The demands of the strike were the following:

- "Lift the state of siege [in effect almost continually for the past thirty years]; abolish the Security Statute [a 1978 law that, among other things, allows the jailing for one year of anyone who participates in a general strike]; unconditional general amnesty for all political prisoners; demilitarization of the peasant zones; and a halt to all raids, detentions, torture, assassinations, and other acts in violation of human rights and democratic liberties.

- "General wage increase and respect for all the economic and social gains of the workers. Abolish the integral wage [a sort of "income policy"] and halt the layoffs.

- "Freeze the prices of fuel, housing rents, transportation, and other public services.

- "Full rights of association, collective bargaining, and strike for all workers, and a democratic labor reform drawn up by the workers themselves. For the right to a job, a ban on layoffs, and government subsidies for the un-

employed.

- "Annul the El Cerrejón contract;\* nationalize the oil industry, the industrialization and distribution of petroleum, and all our natural resources."

Once the strike had been called, President Turbay immediately denounced it as "subversive." He also launched a campaign to portray the government as democratic and concerned with the workers' problems. Tripartite meetings of the government, trade unions, and employers were held, but no action on the strike demands was forthcoming.

In the weeks leading up to the strike there were struggles by rail workers, cement workers, bank employees, and merchant seamen. Wage increases were achieved by all these sectors.

That the strike did not succeed in completely shutting down the country was due to the betrayal by the bureaucracies of the union federations linked to the Liberal and Conservative parties, the Confederation of Colombian Workers (CTC) and Union of Colombian Workers (UTC). Though a number of the provincial federations linked to these national trade-union bodies supported the strike, the top bureaucrats opposed it. They even encouraged their local apparatuses to serve as scabs, pointing out to the employers workers who advocated the strike and seeking their dismissal.

Since the strike, the government has moved to suspend for six months the legal status of several unions that participated, including the Union of Workers of Santander province (UT-RASAN) and the Atlántico province branch of the General Confederation of Workers (CGT).

Among those still jailed are dozens of members of the Revolutionary Socialist party (PSR), the Colombian section of the Fourth International.

PSR members being held include Estella Paredes of the southern city of Neiva. Paredes was also jailed by the regime in November 1980 owing to her role in defending the peasants of the El Pato region from army persecution.

Other leading PSR members jailed are Luis Pomares, president of the Union of Fertilizer Workers; Armando Cuellar, a leader of the National Union of Colombian Students (UNEC), and César Flores, a leader of the barrio-dwellers movement in Cartagena.

International solidarity can play an important role in freeing these fighters. Telegrams or messages demanding the release of Paredes, Pomares, Cuellar, Flores, and all other jailed trade-union and student leaders should be sent to President Julio César Turbay Ayala, Presidencia de la República, Palacio de Nariño, Carrera 8 #7-26, Bogotá, Colombia. Copies of messages should be sent to *Combate Socialista*, Apartado Aereo 13750, Bogotá, Colombia. □

\*One of the largest foreign investment deals in Colombian history, the \$3.27 billion El Cerrejón contract will allow Exxon Corporation to develop the rich coal reserves in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and pocket half the proceeds.