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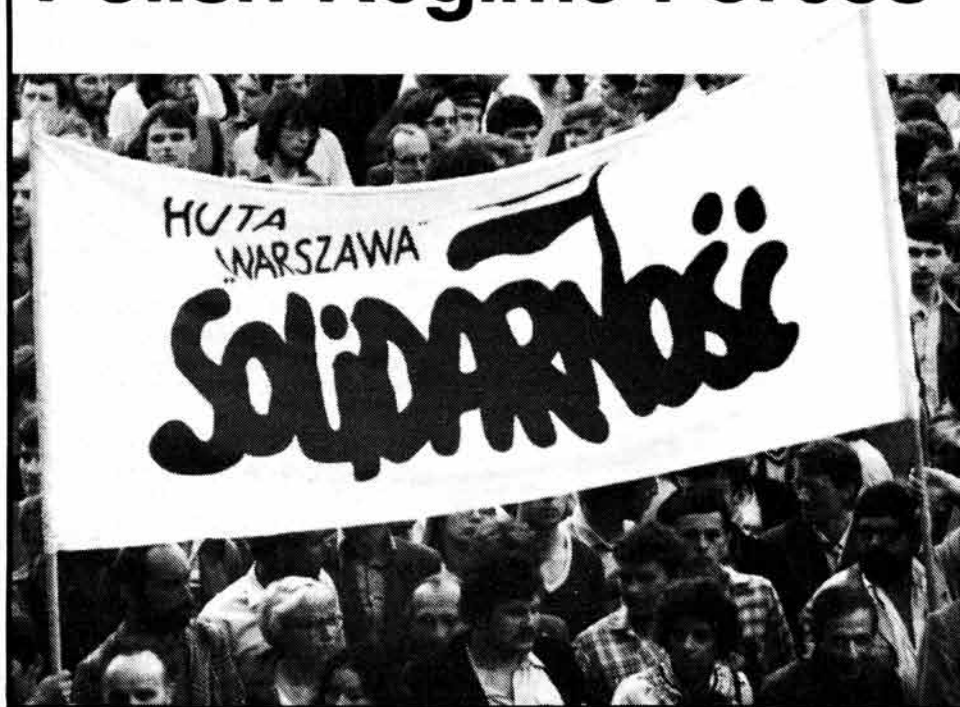
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Hands Off Solidarity!

Polish Regime Forces Showdown



Reagan's 'Hit Squad'
Frame-Up: New
Threat to Libya

Nicaragua
Says No to
U.S. Blackmail

'Grenada is Not Alone' — Speech by Maurice Bishop

Showdown in Poland

By Ernest Harsch

The Polish bureaucracy has provoked a decisive confrontation with the country's powerful working class.

In open defiance of the vast majority of Polish society, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski declared a "state of war" on December 13, sent troops to occupy key positions, and began rounding up top leaders of the Solidarity union movement.

Although presented as a move to save Poland from an "abyss," it is, in fact, aimed at breaking Solidarity, the strongest and most representative body ever created by Polish workers. It is a counterrevolutionary act, designed to stifle the popular struggle for democratic rights, national independence, and workers rule.

General strike call

Members of Solidarity's leading twelve-member Presidium who escaped arrest immediately issued a call for a countrywide general strike to demand the lifting of martial law and the release of arrested unionists. Within hours of Jaruzelski's announcement, union activists in Warsaw were handing out leaflets declaring, "The attack on our union is aimed at its liquidation" and "Do not let them smash our Solidarity."

As we go to press, reports from Warsaw indicate that many workers were staying away from their jobs December 14, the first working day after the crackdown. But with the cutoff of all internal telephone communication and restrictions on travel, it was difficult for reporters to gauge the scope of the strike.

The Polish workers and farmers have been mobilized for more than a year and a half in the most massive revolutionary upheaval in the country's history. They have learned the enormous social power that flows from their numbers and their position as the producers of Poland's wealth.

Although capitalism has been abolished in Poland and a workers state established through the nationalization of industry, the establishment of a planned economy, and the adoption of a state monopoly on foreign trade, the workers and farmers have been blocked from having any say over how society is run. A privileged bureaucracy runs the Polish government

and economy.

Having been awakened to the possibility of a Poland run democratically by the working people themselves, the Polish masses will not accept a return to the lies, mismanagement, and social injustice that they were subjected to for so long.

The ruling bureaucrats, on the other hand, are determined to hang onto their material privileges. Their regime is incompatible with the demands of the workers for social equality, the abolition of privilege, and workers democracy and control over the economy.

The Soviet bureaucrats are also opposed to these demands. For months they have been pressing the Polish authorities to move against Solidarity. They hailed Jaruzelski's crackdown almost as soon as it began.

If the Polish bureaucrats and their Soviet allies are successful in destroying Solidarity, it will be a major blow not only to working people in Poland, but to workers around the world who draw inspiration from Solidarity's militant example.

Like the other crimes carried out by the bureaucrats in the name of socialism, it could only serve to discredit socialist ideas. It will help feed the propaganda mill of the imperialists, who are using it to justify their military buildup and their war moves against the Central American and Caribbean revolutions, and against the peoples of the Middle East.

Already the imperialist media is seeking to whip up anticommunist sentiment in the United States and Western Europe. Anticommunist forces in New York, for example, lost no time in taking to the streets outside the Polish consulate there.

Military rule

At 6:00 a.m. on December 13, in a speech over Warsaw radio, General Jaruzelski invoked the provisions of the Polish constitution allowing for the suspension of normal laws during a "state of war." Under those provisions, the government can make summary arrests and try people before military tribunals.

Jaruzelski also banned all strikes and public gatherings, imposed a nighttime curfew, and declared that Solidarity's activities were suspended.

A twenty-member Military Council of National Salvation was set up to govern the country — in effect a military regime. Major public services and industries, including the coal mines, were put under direct military rule.

One decree stipulated that anyone between the ages of sixteen and sixty could be forced to perform "unpaid work for a period up to seven days" if required by "the needs of the state's defense."

In an effort to provide some political cover for this brutal crackdown, Jaruzelski an-

nounced that several former officials were among those arrested, including the widely hated former party leader Edward Gierek.

But the real target was Solidarity. An estimated 1,000 leaders of the union were picked up in coordinated raids around the country. Lech Walesa, Solidarity's chairman, was seized in Gdansk and flown to Warsaw for "negotiations" with the government, according to a government spokesman.

Lies and provocations

In justifying the crackdown, the Polish authorities have tried to convince the population that it was an unavoidable step, necessitated by provocations carried out by "extremists" in Solidarity who are unconcerned about the disastrous state of the Polish economy.

But it is the Polish government that has chosen the road of confrontation, and it has been preparing to use force for some time.

Ever since the strike agreements of 1980, the authorities have been refusing to implement many of the provisions of those agreements. Despite all their claims of favoring a "socialist renewal," they have resisted any basic changes in the way Poland's economic or political administration is run. They did not allow working people to have any real voice in management. As a result, the country has been thrown into crisis.

The bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy in particular has led to widespread suffering.

Many basic food items have become scarce, such as meat, eggs, milk, and sugar. Poles have to spend long hours in line to get even the few items that are still available. This has aroused considerable anger and frustration over the government's policies.

Earlier this year, Solidarity chapters in some areas proposed to the government that the union take on responsibility for food distribution. The authorities rejected the proposal.

Farmers appealed for more fertilizer and agricultural equipment so that they could increase food production. The government failed to provide it.

While overseeing the decline of the economy, the government and party leadership have been cynically trying to pin the blame on Solidarity. See, they charged, before Solidarity there was enough food; now there isn't.

This propaganda campaign was coupled with an escalating series of provocations against Solidarity. These became particularly sharp after General Jaruzelski was named head of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Communist Party) in October, with open Soviet support.

Police in a number of towns attacked union activists distributing political literature, sometimes beating them. Editors of regional Solidarity publications were charged with violating the censorship laws. Some 370 persons, most of them union activists, were placed under investigation for "antistate" offenses.

Some of these police actions provoked workers to launch protest strikes, which the

Year-end schedule

Next week's issue of *Intercontinental Press*, dated December 28, will be the last in 1981. It will contain the 1981 index and year-end articles.

After this issue we will not publish for two weeks. The first issue in 1982 will be dated January 18.

authorities then exaggerated in the party-controlled mass media to justify further attacks.

While all this was going on, Jaruzelski at the same time tried to present a "reasonable" face. He proposed bringing Solidarity into a "broad coalition," possibly involving an expansion of the governing National Unity Front (which is now composed of the PUWP and its two satellite parties). This was a maneuver, designed to saddle the union with a share of responsibility for the economic situation, while blocking any real measures to overcome the crisis.

Solidarity turned down this proposal. Instead, it proposed negotiations on a series of concrete questions, such as the establishment of democratic control over economic management, union access to the mass media, and the adoption of an emergency program to see the country through the difficult winter months. Talks around these questions began in November, but were soon broken off by the government.

By the end of that month, the authorities began moving more concertedly toward a showdown.

On November 22, police broke up a meeting at the Warsaw home of Jacek Kuron, a prominent political activist (who is now in detention). Four days later Solidarity members were arrested in Plock and Chorzow for putting up posters.

On November 28, a meeting of the PUWP Central Committee adopted a resolution calling on the Sejm (parliament) to adopt a new law giving the government sweeping emergency powers to ban strikes and protests.

Around the same time, the Council of Ministers arbitrarily decreed that various economic reform measures that had previously been agreed to would be postponed for at least a year.

Then on December 2 more than 1,000 riot police stormed a strikebound Warsaw firefighters assembly, where 340 cadets were demanding the same rights as university students.

'We cannot retreat'

Faced with these provocations, Solidarity had no choice but to respond.

"The events of the past few days prove that the government has rejected the possibility of dialogue with society and has embarked on the road of violence," a meeting of Solidarity leaders held in Radom on December 3 declared.

"We do not want confrontation," Walesa said several days later, "but we cannot retreat anymore."

The Warsaw chapter of Solidarity called for a national day of protest on December 17 in response to the storming of the firefighters academy. This call was later backed by the national leadership. Solidarity announced that it expected a quarter of a million people to turn out in Warsaw alone.

The authorities demanded that the December 17 protests be called off, and warned that they would be countered "with all severity."

They also escalated their propaganda cam-

paign. The government broadcasted carefully selected passages of a tape recording it acquired of the closed debates at Solidarity's December 3 Radom meeting, in which leaders warned of the possibility of "confrontation." The government was seeking to present Solidarity as the aggressor.

It was in this tense situation that Solidarity's National Committee met in Gdansk December 11-12.

The union's reaction to the government's campaign took on a more overtly political form. It directly challenged the authority of the bureaucratic government itself.

The Solidarity leaders demanded that the authorities allow free and democratic elections to local government bodies and the establishment of a "social council" to oversee the economy. If these demands were not met, they said, then the union would organize a national referendum by February 15.

In the referendum, people would be asked whether they had confidence in the Jaruzelski government or favored the establishment of a provisional government and free elections. They would also be asked whether Poland should provide military guarantees to the Soviet Union, and whether those guarantees

should be secured by the PUWP or Solidarity and the provisional government.

The authorities were clearly afraid that such an expression of the popular will in Poland would expose the extent of the government's social isolation. They moved to prevent that.

In placing the army in power, Jaruzelski is playing his last card, and an extremely risky one.

The army is the only institution the bureaucracy has left that has any degree of popularity, based largely on the fact that it has not been used to attack the workers in recent years. That will quickly change.

Also, the ranks of the army will now be put to the political test. Where will the loyalties of the soldiers lie? With the bureaucracy, or with their class brothers and sisters in Solidarity?

The outcome of this fight, however, will depend to a large degree on Solidarity's political response, and the extent to which it is able to mobilize its base of popular support.

If past experience is any guide, the Polish working class will not take Jaruzelski's move lying down. The decisive confrontation in Poland's year-and-a-half-long revolution is at hand. □

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Reagan's 'hit squad' frame-up

Washington ups the ante in campaign against Qaddafi

By Will Reissner

On December 10, President Reagan invalidated all U.S. passports for travel to Libya and demanded that every American citizen in that North African country leave at once. The action followed days of reports about mythical Libyan "hit squads" operating in the United States.

Reagan's move was the latest in his campaign to topple the government of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi. White House spokesman Larry Speakes refused to elaborate on further measures being planned. "We'll keep those to ourselves," he said. U.S. officials refused, however, to rule out military action.

The incredible case of the Libyan "hit squads" was kept on the front pages of U.S. newspapers for more than a week through the use of speculation and rumor.

One day newspapers would report that hit men might be in Canada, preparing to smuggle antiaircraft missiles across the border in order to shoot down the president's plane.

Then it was reported that "Carlos the Jackal" is part of a hit squad and has already entered the United States. Several days later, Carlos and the hit men under his command were reportedly gathering in Mexico.

Haynes Johnson noted in the December 8 *Washington Post* that "the 'Libyan hitmen squad' reports are setting a new standard of incredibility." He added that "the government continues to give the highest official blessings to the widest circulation of the most sensational stories to reach the public in years."

Qaddafi answers the lies

Qaddafi has categorically denied Washington's charges. In a December 6 interview on U.S. television, Qaddafi stated "we haven't sent any people to kill Reagan or any other people in the world." But Qaddafi pointed out that "America is attacking us," and has been "preparing to assassinate me. . . ."

The Libyan leader challenged the U.S. government to present evidence for its charges in order to "let the American people and the Libyan people and the Congress of America know the truth, who is [a] liar: Reagan or Libya?"

Qaddafi added that "America must get rid of this Administration, and fell it down, as they did with Nixon. . . ."

The Reagan administration charges that the lives of U.S. citizens are in "imminent danger" in Libya. This was challenged by Americans in that country. "I feel absolutely safe here, and I always have," said Barbara Devine, a teacher who has lived in Libya for four years. She added that 90 percent of the seventy teachers working with her wanted to stay.

Executives of U.S. oil companies, according to the December 12 *New York Times*, "publicly questioned the Administration's belief that the safety of American citizens in Libya was in jeopardy."

The State Department has threatened Libya with severe reprisals if any attempt is made to prevent Americans from leaving, even though the Libyans have said from the beginning that the Americans are free to go if they choose.

But according to the December 12 *Washington Post*, the State Department is also warning of stern measures against U.S. citizens who do not leave, "including possible attempts at extradition, against any who try to stay behind."

One particularly ominous note was sounded in London, where U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger noted that the U.S. Sixth Fleet was standing by to evacuate Americans from Libya. It is worth remembering that when Lyndon Johnson sent 42,000 U.S. Marines into the Dominican Republic in 1965 to stop a revolution, he claimed the troops had been dispatched to protect Americans in that country.

Washington's opposition to Qaddafi

Washington's opposition to the Libyan government is not based on supposed assassination threats. What Washington cannot tolerate is Qaddafi's support to anti-imperialist struggles around the world.

For example, Libya has provided aid to Nicaragua while Reagan is trying to strangle the revolutionary government there. Qaddafi backs the Palestine Liberation Organization and helps lead the opposition to the U.S.-backed Camp David accords, intended to legitimize the Zionist regime. Libyan troops defended the government of neighboring Chad against forces backed by France, Chad's former colonial master.

Carter and Reagan characterized such acts as support for international terrorism, but Qaddafi's own description of his policy is more accurate: "We fight against colonialism. This is a right and a duty."

Since at least 1977, successive U.S. administrations have put Qaddafi's government on the top of their own hit list.

There has been a steady propaganda campaign to portray Qaddafi as a dangerous lunatic. Former president Jimmy Carter described Qaddafi as "sub-human." Gerald Ford called him "a cancer." Media accounts of Qaddafi regularly use adjectives like dangerous, volatile, erratic, and unstable.

But Washington's moves against Qaddafi go beyond propaganda. The Carter and Reagan administrations both held discussions with French officials about joint plans to overthrow the Libyan government. In February 1981, ac-

ording to *Time* magazine, top Reagan administration figures met with "a high-ranking French official" to discuss an assassination plot against Qaddafi to be carried out "by a group of Libyan exiles, trained and controlled by the French." These plans were scuttled when French voters tossed President Giscard out of office on May 10, 1981.

The real hit squad

But that did not end Reagan's campaign against Qaddafi. In May the State Department ordered all Libyan diplomats to leave the U.S.

In July the State Department urged U.S. oil companies to withdraw their American employees from Libya. A U.S. official stated at the time, "we're playing confrontation politics, and we want them out, whether there is a coup in the works or not."

In August, U.S. Navy jets shot down two Libyan planes over the Gulf of Sidra, which Libya claims as part of its territorial waters. The August 3 *Newsweek* reported that the CIA had developed "a large-scale, multiphase and costly scheme to overthrow the Libyan regime. . . ."

The October 6 assassination of Egyptian President Sadat, Washington's strongest ally in the Arab world, led to a step-up in the pace of the U.S. campaign against Libya. Following Sadat's death, which Secretary of State Haig initially blamed on Qaddafi, Washington sent two AWACS radar planes, which are aerial warfare command posts, to the Egyptian-Libyan border. The governments in Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Morocco were approached to join an anti-Libya crusade. Military aid to the Sudanese government was tripled.

The November 8 *Washington Post* reported that the White House had "given Egypt assurances of a U.S. military umbrella against the Soviet Union in case of an Egyptian attack on Libya." The following day, U.S. troops began arriving in Egypt for a major military exercise, "Operation Bright Star," the biggest deployment of U.S. troops in the Middle East since Washington's invasion of Lebanon in 1958.

Washington has also been trying to economically strangle Libya. In the last six months, declining Western orders for Libyan oil have led to a drop in production from 2 million to 700,000 barrels a day. On November 12 the Exxon Corporation announced it was withdrawing from all its oil and gas operations in Libya and other companies began hinting at similar moves.

The recent propaganda campaign, seen in the context of the years-long political, military, and economic pressure against Libya, shows that a hit squad is at work, but the hit squad is headquartered in Washington and is aimed against Libya. □

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FSLN rejects U.S. blackmail

'We are not going to get down on our knees'

By Fred Murphy

According to the December 11 *New York Times*, "an interagency group has reportedly sent to President Reagan a list of possible courses of action that the United States may take to deal more firmly with the recent military buildup reported in Nicaragua. An official said one of the courses of action could be put into effect soon if Nicaragua remained unresponsive."

What Washington is in fact demanding of the Sandinista government is that it disarm and leave itself defenseless in face of the threat of armed counterrevolution.

This was made especially clear on December 10, when the *Washington Post* published details of U.S.-Nicaraguan negotiations during August, September, and October. Documents leaked by the State Department showed that the Reagan administration had acknowledged the illegal existence on U.S. soil of training camps for right-wing Nicaraguan exiles, and was using this in an attempt to blackmail the Sandinista government.

U.S. demands

"In diplomatic letters to Managua on Sept. 8 and Sept. 16," the *Post* disclosed, "the United States presented drafts of statements pledging to 'vigorously enforce' neutrality laws and clamp down on paramilitary exiles training on U.S. soil, and stating a commitment not to use or threaten force, as a matter of principle, against the Nicaraguan government."

As a condition for doing what it was bound by U.S. and international law to do anyway, Washington "proposed that Nicaragua's regular military forces be limited to 15,000 to 17,000 men. . . ."

"The United States also asked in the draft that the Nicaraguan forces eventually be brought down to 'traditional size' as existed under the Somozas, about 8,000 according to U.S. estimate. And the draft called for Managua to cease importing heavy weapons from Cuba and the Soviet Union and to agree to permit an international body, perhaps a unit of the Organization of American States, to play a part in verifying its arms commitments."

Washington also demanded a halt to what it claimed was the use of Nicaraguan territory in support of rebel forces in El Salvador and other Central American countries. The State Department documents called this the "*sine qua non* of a normal relationship."

Even while it was calling on the Nicaraguan government to submit to such outrageous violations of its national sovereignty, the Reagan administration was cancelling outright \$7 million in U.S. economic aid (already suspended last April), holding naval maneuvers with

Honduras near the territorial waters of Nicaragua, and spreading the lie that 500-600 Cuban soldiers had been ferried through the country en route to blow up a bridge in El Salvador.

Nicaraguan reply

These provocations confirmed to the Nicaraguan government that Washington was anything but sincere in its professed desire for a normalization of relations. According to the *Post*, Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Tinoco informed the State Department on October 31 that "further consideration of the U.S. proposals would depend on U.S. actions regarding the exile training camps in Florida and 'above all the relaxation of tensions your government generates with concrete acts in the area of Central America and the Caribbean.'"

Instead, Washington moved ahead with preparations for military action against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and the rebels in El Salvador and Guatemala, and launched a public campaign of threats, slanders, and diplomatic maneuvers to prepare the ground for such operations.

The Sandinistas were thus left with no choice but to step up their own defense preparations. A nationwide military alert was declared November 8, and recruitment to the Sandinista People's Militias was redoubled.

There has been no letup in the U.S. threats. Addressing the Organization of American States (OAS) in St. Lucia on December 5, Secretary of State Haig charged that Nicaragua was being converted into a "platform of terror and war" in Central America. He called for collective action by Washington and Latin American regimes against Cuba and Nicaragua.

Role of OAS

Haig was answered in no uncertain terms by Nicaragua's foreign minister, Fr. Miguel D'Escoto. Speaking to the OAS meeting later the same day, D'Escoto denounced "the use of force and the threat of the use of force against countries such as Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador, and Grenada."

D'Escoto pointed out that the OAS itself had in the past been an "active accomplice of the United States in its interventionist policy." He cited the 1954 overthrow of the Arbenz regime in Guatemala, the expulsion of Cuba from the OAS in 1962, and the imposition of a "mandatory termination of all trade" with Cuba in 1964.

In those actions, D'Escoto noted, Washington had "failed to respect the principle of non-intervention and had made use of sellout governments or governments they themselves imposed, and even of the OAS itself, to cover up

its responsibility for such attacks."

But as D'Escoto emphasized to the OAS delegates, the relationship of forces in the world and Latin America has changed since those "bygone days." Now the voices of revolutionary governments, such as Grenada and Nicaragua, are also heard at OAS gatherings, to the great displeasure of the U.S. delegates.

Many regimes, under mounting pressure from their own populations, now find it difficult to vote with Washington against countries that stand up to U.S. imperialism. On the eve of the OAS conference, St. Lucian Foreign Minister Peter Josie, who chaired the gathering, even told reporters he would use parliamentary procedure to block any U.S. attempt to introduce the charge of Nicaraguan or Cuban "interventionism" into the proceedings.

And in fact Washington did decide it was more prudent not to introduce any resolutions on this theme. The most it was able to achieve was a majority vote for a declaration supporting the Salvadoran junta's plans for elections. Grenada, Nicaragua, and Mexico voted against this, and four other delegations — Panama, Trinidad, Surinam and St. Lucia — abstained.

Confrontation inevitable

Haig was unable to muster open OAS support for a military move against Central America. But this in no way means that such a move is less likely — only that it will be more difficult for Washington politically.

It is precisely because Washington cannot tolerate the peoples of Latin America taking the economic and political affairs of their countries into their own hands that U.S. confrontation with the advancing revolution is inevitable.

The leaders of the workers and peasants government in Nicaragua understand this and are preparing to meet it. "We are calmly asked why we are arming ourselves," Commander Daniel Ortega said at the closing session of the Council of State in Managua on December 5. "If a power such as the United States, which has invaded us before, threatens to invade or set up a naval blockade, wouldn't it be irresponsible to act in any other way?"

Ortega reaffirmed Nicaragua's "sovereign right to strengthen our defenses without having to account to anyone." While declaring that Nicaragua still has "the doors open for an understanding with the United States," Ortega rejected the "door" that Washington claims to be offering: "it is such a small door that to go through it one must get down on one's knees — and we are not going to get down on our knees." □

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Reagan expands powers of CIA

With support from liberals

By Jim Mack

[The following article appeared in the December 18 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

President Reagan, who campaigned on a promise to "get the government off the backs of the people," has granted the political police expanded powers to spy on us and disrupt our lives. On December 4, Reagan signed an executive order replacing an earlier version issued by President Carter in January, 1978.

To the accompaniment of well-timed newspaper headlines screaming about a supposed Libyan assassination squad stalking government officials, Reagan declared that "an approach that emphasizes suspicion and mistrust of our own intelligence efforts can undermine this nation's ability to confront the increasing challenge of espionage and terrorism."

The new executive order drops some of the very mild limits that the Carter order had publicly imposed on the activities of the secret police. However, the real guidelines and procedures governing the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) have been and remain classified information, hidden from the American people.

The executive orders are merely political statements of general policy. And that is the significance of the new presidential order.

End to 'negativism'

"As we move into the 1980s," Reagan proclaimed, "we need to free ourselves from the negative attitudes [toward the FBI and CIA] of the past and to look to meeting the needs of the country."

The "needs of the country" Reagan is worried about are the needs of the ruling class for a stronger political police as it tightens its squeeze on working people at home and prepares military adventures overseas.

The Carter order was issued in response to the suspicion and hostility toward the FBI and CIA that flooded the country after the dam burst on some of their secret operations. As the public learned part of the truth about secret police disruption operations at home, and conspiracies to assassinate leaders and overthrow legitimate governments abroad, the rulers' secret police became discredited.

Millions no longer believed that the FBI and CIA told the truth, or were in the business of defending democracy. To this degree, their functioning was impaired.

Thus the rulers began a campaign to convince the American people that the FBI and CIA had been reformed. New guidelines were published, ostensibly restricting some FBI and

CIA activities. Bipartisan committees were set up in Congress to "oversee" the FBI and CIA.

FBI agents were even taught to speak about "established concepts of privacy and civil liberties." Those who could not mouth the words were forced into retirement.

Liberals join the crusade

A key role in this process was played by the liberals, who lent their endorsement to the "new" FBI. A number of lawsuits against FBI crimes were settled out of court on the basis of assurances from the government that the FBI would no longer violate constitutional rights. The congressional "oversight" committees, operating behind closed doors, settled into a cozy bipartisan relationship with the spymasters.

Even officials of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) added their seal of approval to the overhauled FBI. Earlier this year, Jerry Berman, ACLU legislative counsel, publicly hailed the job done by FBI chief William Webster: "I think Webster has moved the FBI away from politics and toward a focus on real criminal interests," Berman said. "It's a healthy focus."

Such endorsements have made Reagan's efforts to beef up the political police easier. As part of its sharp escalation of the capitalist offensive against the working class, the Reagan administration has systematically moved to restrict democratic rights, to reduce our right to know what the government is up to, and to strip us of protections against criminal acts by the cops.

The Carter policy of strengthening the FBI and CIA by stressing their reform has been replaced by the Reagan policy of openly granting expanded powers to the political police agencies.

'Special activities'

One of the changes in the new executive order is the expansion of the power of the secret police to carry out covert activities within the United States.

The Carter version had authorized the secret police to engage in what it delicately called "special activities." These were defined as undercover "activities conducted abroad in support of national foreign policy objectives" of the government. (This is usually called "covert action.")

The Reagan order changes the wording to "activities conducted in support of national foreign policy objectives abroad." By relocating the word "abroad," the territory on which covert action is allowed is thus expanded to include the United States.

Asked by the *New York Times* for an example of a "special activity," a government official responded with a "hypothetical" example: "the intelligence agencies could use such authority to help secretly persuade an international organization here to raise and act upon an issue of American concern, such as the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan."

In another area, the Carter order had authorized secret infiltration of stool pigeons and provocateurs into organizations in the United States when done by the FBI "in the course of a lawful investigation." (The FBI has never admitted to involvement in anything *but* a "lawful investigation.")

The Carter version added that such infiltration could not "be undertaken for the purpose of influencing the activity of the organization or its members."

Reagan has simply added here the words, "except in cases where:

"(a) The participation [infiltration, in normal English] is undertaken on behalf of the F.B.I. in the course of a lawful [what else?] investigation; or

"(b) The organization concerned is composed primarily of individuals who are not United States persons and is reasonably believed to be acting on behalf of a foreign power."

This authorizes the very sort of activities at the heart of the notorious FBI Cointelpro operations.

The Carter order had authorized "counterintelligence" activities to be conducted against a variety of targets, especially those engaged in what it called "international terrorist activities . . . conducted for or on behalf of foreign powers, organizations, or persons." It contained a lengthy and broad definition of what it meant by "terrorist activities."

The definition was not broad enough for Reagan, however. The new executive order omits *any definition* of "international terrorist activities."

The term "terrorist activities" has merely become the 1980s replacement for "subversive activities," which was used by an earlier generation of thought-control police. It is a term whose very value to the cops comes from the fact that it is never defined, and never can be defined.

Could be worse?

The Reagan order omits some of the provisions that had been included in earlier drafts, which had been systematically leaked to the press. With this maneuver, Reagan succeeded in sewing up support from the Democrats, who were, to be sure, eager to cooperate. Now that their "amendments" are incorporated into the order, they have no big complaints.

One deleted provision would have proclaimed that the president has the "inherent authority" to authorize wiretaps and hidden microphones without a court warrant. Although this assertion is not in the order, it nonetheless remains the position that Justice Department lawyers are arguing in court in the

Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the FBI.

The major victory claimed by the Democrats is the deletion of a provision that would have granted the CIA more authority to penetrate and "influence" American organizations. This function is now primarily restricted to the FBI.

The fake public debate over the proposed order centered on this provision. The "civil liberties" side of the aisle in Congress insisted that the FBI, not the CIA, should be granted this authority. (The CIA reportedly agreed.)

Representative Donald Edwards, the California Democrat who heads the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, said, "We are not interested in having the CIA unleashed within the United States."

Why not? Because, said the liberal congressman, "the FBI is doing a good job."

Likewise, ex-Senator Frank Church, who chaired the congressional hearings in 1975 on the crimes of the FBI and CIA, has a similar view. Testifying in Congress last month, Church said, according to the *Washington Post*, that "the FBI was much better equipped [than the CIA] to carry out whatever opera-

tions are needed in this country since its agents are attuned to law enforcement."

Even the American Civil Liberties Union, which is critical of the Reagan order, emphasized in its statement that "public outrage over previous drafts of the order leaked to the public, and pressure by a number of senators on the Senate Intelligence Committee, have caused the administration to retreat from many of its most dangerous proposals, including a proposal to permit the CIA to infiltrate and influence the activities of U.S. organizations."

The ACLU statement went so far as to "commend" the Senate Intelligence Committee, whose temporary chairman is New York Democrat Daniel Moynihan, for "persuading the administration to abandon most of its more dangerous proposals."

Moynihan, for his part, hailed the Reagan order because it "makes it clear that the mission of the C.I.A. is abroad."

Even if this were true, what good would it do the American people, or people abroad? What the Reagan administration is setting in motion is an *expansion* of FBI and CIA spying, infiltration, and "special activities," both in the United States and throughout the world. □

vince, some 170 kilometers north of Bogotá. A counterinsurgency camp is located there. Wells said that from the airstrip where his plane landed he could see "six shirtless men . . . tied hand and foot to posts, set in a semicircle in front of an olive-drab military tent."

The peasants in the area told Wells of others who had been "tied up in the sun without food or water at the army base, of worse torture by soldiers in the countryside, and of an army death squad which they claim executes peasants suspected of helping guerrillas. . . ."

They also told Wells that "the army executes peasants and then claims they were guerrillas killed in combat or that they were executed by guerrillas for collaborating with the army."

On October 26 the government decreed a ban on all radio or television reports on the guerrilla groups that operate in Colombia. Defense Minister Gen. Luis Carlos Camacho Leyva claimed that this measure was necessary to prevent the communications media from becoming "sounding boards for subversion."

The Turbay regime has also had to confront a growing movement for human rights that even involves prominent figures from the capitalist parties. This pressure forced Turbay in mid-November to set up a so-called Peace Commission, chaired by ex-President Carlos Lleras Restrepo and including various military figures and politicians.

The supposed aim of this commission is to study the country's situation and propose solutions that can bring an end to violence.

But as Armando Novoa explained in the November 13 issue of *Combate Socialista*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR — Colombian section of the Fourth International), "the democratic sectors have pointed out at two national forums and at many mass meetings that the violence has its origins in the state apparatus itself."

The article called for "the establishment of a climate of democratic rights for the workers and opposition groups. This means a broad and general amnesty, demilitarization of the rural areas, and a halt to the violation of human rights." □

Socialist released in Santo Domingo

Claudio Tavarez, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers League (LRT) of the Dominican Republic who was arrested on November 30, was released on December 7 by the Department of Secret Services of the Dominican police. He served three days of solitary confinement.

He was closely questioned about the LRT's work in connection with the superexploited Haitian sugar cane workers, as well as solidarity work with Central America and the Caribbean. He was accused of being a communist and attempting to organize a fifth column of Haitian workers inside the Dominican Republic in preparation to support an invasion by Haiti.

Colombia

Peasants face army terror

10,000 troops occupy Caquetá Province

By Manuel Hernández

The situation in Colombia has worsened since the October 21 general strike. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 9.) Government repression during the strike itself left at least five dead and some 2,000 jailed.

Widespread protests — both in Colombia and internationally — forced the release of all those detained. But the government of President Julio César Turbay Ayala proceeded to outlaw for six months the unions that had called the strike, authorize mass firings of hundreds of workers who participated, close down universities in face of growing student protest, and launch a military offensive in the southern province of Caquetá.

The peasants of Caquetá are being subjected to massacres and aerial bombings, carried out on the pretext of eradicating guerrillas from the April 19 Movement (M-19).

During the last week of October, more than 10,000 special counterinsurgency troops, backed up by the air force, were sent in to occupy a large part of Caquetá, a province of swamps and jungles 340 kilometers south of the capital, Bogotá.

The expedition was commanded by the chief of the Colombian army himself, Gen. Fernando Landazábal Reyes.

Caquetá is in a near-total state of war. Air force helicopters fly over the territory con-

stantly. Hundreds of peasants have fled their plots to escape aerial bombardment. The high command has banned all nighttime navigation on the main rivers of the area, which are intensely patrolled by the marines. These rivers are the only means of transport to the interior, and the blockade has caused a critical situation with regard to food and medical care. A telegram sent by residents of the village of Puerto Solano to the authorities indicated, "children slowly dying, hunger and malnutrition."

Reports of massacres and torture of peasants have also come from other parts of the country. In the region of Urabá in the northeastern province of Antioquia, for example, a Regional Forum on Human Rights was held September 26. Residents of the area presented testimony concerning torture, murders, "disappearances," and other attacks on opposition leaders, municipal council members, and leaders of trade unions or civic organizations. It was also reported at the forum that peasant families have been forced to abandon their plots or sell them at ridiculously low prices owing to death threats from soldiers who patrol the area.

The government systematically denies all such accusations.

Nonetheless, Associated Press correspondent Tom Wells described in the October 18 *Los Angeles Times* his experiences during a week's visit to the Cimitarra region in Santander Pro-

'Grenada is not alone'

Speech by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop

[The following speech was given by Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop at the opening of the First International Conference of Solidarity with the Grenada Revolution on November 3. An article on the conference appeared in the December 14 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Comrades, in the name of our party, the New Jewel Movement [NJM], in the name of the People's Revolutionary Government, and in the name of the people, the workers, the youth, the women, and the farmers of free and revolutionary Grenada, I join comrades in extending to you, our fraternal and esteemed guests from all continents of the globe, a most warm and cordial welcome. We are extremely happy to host you here on our soil, and we pledge to ensure that your stay here is both productive and enjoyable.

The importance of this historic conference on international solidarity with Grenada cannot be overstated. In the first place this conference manifests our continuing strict adherence to international principles. We have always scrupulously avoided viewing our struggle, our revolutionary process, from a narrow nationalist perspective. We have long understood that the world revolutionary process, the struggles of oppressed

We have long understood that the world revolutionary process, the struggles of oppressed mankind everywhere, is one and indivisible . . .

mankind everywhere, is one and indivisible. Thus, this international solidarity conference holds grave importance as it bears testimony to our commitment to the noble concept of internationalism.

This conference derives additional importance from the fact that your presence here will indicate to imperialism in a clear and forward way that Grenada is not alone. It will tell the imperialists in the boldest terms that their schemes, their machinations, their maneuvers to isolate the Grenada revolution have all failed miserably — as the Grenada revolution enjoys broad popular support, not only at the national level, but also internationally.

Thirdly, for us this solidarity conference is a momentous occasion, as we understand very clearly that the force and weight of international public opinion cannot be dismissed and constitutes indeed a significant factor in the struggles of the people.

Comrades, March 13, 1979, was a bright new dawn for the people of Grenada and the working people of the Caribbean. That dawn marked the end of the long, dark night of terror and the beginning of a new day. Our heroic people — the anti-Gairy masses — rose to the challenge of history and, in the words of the Caribbean poet, Edward Brathwaite — “shattered the door and entered that morning, fully aware of the future to come, there's no turning back.” As it has been said so often before, when a conscious, determined people rises as a united body and cries “enough,” injustice, tyranny, and exploitation are doomed . . . and thus begins a new and glorious chapter in the history of man: the construction of a just and equal society by the poor, for the poor, and with the poor. The people's struggle through time for the realization of that dream is the long march of history. From the very inception of our party, the New Jewel Movement, we have been guided by the clear understanding that the struggle against the dictatorship was not an end in it-

self, but a necessary precondition for the infinitely larger struggle of building that new and just society.

Building the new society involves a long and difficult process of national reconstruction. Twenty-five years of Gairyism had devastated the social and economic fabric of our society. It had destroyed our country's international standing — Grenada was reduced to the laughingstock of the international community, land of a tin-pot dictator lost in extraterrestrial dreams, [laughter] preoccupied with UFO's, obsessed with his divinity, but brutal and ruthless in the exercise of power. Fifty percent of the labor force of our country was unemployed. Our infrastructure was totally dilapidated. Our tourist industry was one which brought little benefit to the country. Despite our fertile soil, and with Gairy's political interference in the development of agriculture, the production of our main export crops had stagnated. Food crop production had declined, and our food import bill was approximately 40 percent of total imports. Due to the dependent status of our economy and with a combination of ineffective price controls and monopoly profiteering by merchants, inflation rates were very high. Financial mismanagement over many years had reached staggering proportions, and left the national treasury in debt to local commercial banks and in considerable arrears to local, regional, and international agencies.

Our people's revolution was therefore faced with the difficult twin task of economic reconstruction and democratization of the society.

Our fundamental objective has always been, as detailed in the 1973 manifesto of our party, the construction of a new life and new society. In June 1974 we issued a ten-point Statement of Principles. This document reads:

“We stand for:

“1) People's participation, people's politics, people's democracy

“2) People's cooperatives for the collective development of the people

“3) Health care based on need

“4) Full development of the people's talents, abilities, and culture

“5) Full control, as a people, of our national resources

“6) Employment for all

“7) A decent standard of living for every family

“8) Freedom of expression and religion

“9) The liberation of Black and oppressed people throughout the world

“10) A united people . . . a new society . . . a just society”

These principles and objectives were as valid at the dawn of our revolution as they were five years before when they were formulated, and as they are today — almost three years after that first morning of our revolution. Already we have begun to implement these aims, although in addition there were certain initial priorities that we set ourselves upon taking power, based on an assessment of the most pressing needs of the people — jobs for the thousands of unemployed, health care, the improvement of the agricultural infrastructure, mass education, and above all, the process which would facilitate all other developments, the democratization of the society. Yet our progress has been hampered by certain objective difficulties which have prevented us from moving as rapidly as we would wish towards the attainment of our goals.

Like our sister Caribbean islands, we continue to be plagued by natural disasters. Each year since the revolution, hurricanes, high winds, or torrential rains have caused considerable damage to our agriculture and infrastructure. In 1979 we suffered US\$6 million worth of damage — in 1980, the total destruction of 27 percent of our nutmeg crop, 40 percent of the banana and 19 percent of the cocoa, amounting to some US\$20 million. In 1981, damage to crops, roads, and bridges totaled US\$5 million.

With an open, dependent, economy tied to the economies of the capitalist world, we have suffered and are suffering from the ongoing economic crisis in the capitalist world. Demand for our principal commodity exports has dropped. World market prices for nutmegs, cocoa, and bananas, which account for 97 percent of visible exports earnings, fell by 22 percent in 1980 over 1979. To compound a difficult economic situation, tourism (our second most important industry) declined by 8.8 percent in 1980. This problem, which is also experienced by our Caribbean neighbors, led to reduction in foreign exchange earnings, employment, and income generation, and some stagnation in economic activity. The decline in stay-over visits to Grenada fell not only because of the worldwide economic recession but also because of active propaganda destabilization by U.S. imperialism. This year, our tourist industry, poised for recovery with full-house bookings at all the main hotels, was dealt a major blow with the sudden destruction by fire of undetermined origin of a substantial part of our largest hotel — the Holiday Inn. Revenue losses such as these serve to aggravate an already unfair, unjust, and unequal balance of trade. Although the total volume of Grenada's imports remained constant, the total cost of these imports between 1979 and 1980 rose from US\$50 million, due largely to steep increases in freight rates and fuel as well as imported inflation from the western industrial countries.

Another economic difficulty facing us at this moment is the U.S. economic squeeze. U.S. imperialism has embarked on a coordinated campaign of economic strangulation of our country designed to deprive us of access to financial resources from the bilateral, regional, and international sources.

These unprincipled tactics include attempted sabotage of an EEC-sponsored, cofinancing conference to raise US\$30 million desperately needed to ensure completion of our international airport. The determination of U.S. imperialism to squash this process is evident in its vulgar and direct interference on the executive board of the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and the World Bank to block loans required for vital capital investment and public investment. At the insistence of the U.S., Grenada was recently excluded from receiving financial assistance from the Windward Islands Banana Growers Association from funds provided by USAID [U.S. Agency for International Development] for banana rehabilitation.

Confronted with the belligerence of U.S. imperialism, and having the vicious legacy of twenty-five years of "Hurricane Gairy" to recover from, how has our revolution responded to the urgent tasks of national reconstruction?

In agriculture — the pillar of our economy — our main policy and tactic has been one of diversification. Diversification of agricultural ex-

We have suffered and are suffering from the ongoing economic crisis in the capitalist world . . .

port production to increase the range of agricultural commodities which can earn foreign exchange; diversification of agricultural export markets with the objective of penetrating new markets and lessening our dependence on any one buyer; diversification and expansion of domestic agricultural production for import substitution, as a basis for agroindustrial development, and the linking of the domestic agricultural sector with the tourist sector. Since the revolution, fifty times more money has been allocated in the national budget for agricultural development. In the building of the new tourism, we have also been diversifying our tourist markets through increased promotion in Western Europe, the Caribbean, and Latin American markets, while nonetheless attempting to maintain and indeed to achieve diversification in our traditional North American market.

With a 50 percent increase in our energy costs, energy conservation measures have been put into effect, resulting in a decrease in consumption by private motorists but a 20 percent increase in state consumption (mainly in the operation of equipment) on account of increased developmental activity. Several major infrastructural improvements have been



Jim Percy/Direct Action

Bishop speaking at an August 1981 meeting.

undertaken: a new international airport, highway development of the east coast, the construction and opening up of sixty-seven miles of agricultural feeder roads, improvement of electricity services, vastly increased water supply, major expansion of telephone service, forestry development, and conservation. These efforts at national reconstruction and towards the solution of the main difficulties faced by our economy are the consistent and creative application of the basic program of our party as we set out in our 1973 Manifesto for People's Power and the achievement of genuine national independence. This document states — and I quote:

"NJM has always stood for *real* independence, *genuine* independence, *meaningful* independence. At our People's Convention on Independence on May 6, 1973, at Seamount, where 10,000 of our supporters were present, our two major speeches were called "Meaningful vs. Meaningless Independence" and "New Directions for Genuine Independence." This manifesto of ours sketches the things we must do as a people under new leadership to achieve *real* independence. For we believe independence must mean better housing for our people, better clothing, better food, better health, better education . . . more jobs . . . in short, a higher standard of living for workers and their children."

The seizure of state power on March 13, 1979, by the people, led by its vanguard party, the NJM, has opened up revolutionary possibilities for the implementation of that program. [applause]

The revolution, with the active participation of our people, has

brought concrete benefits to our working people. Unemployment has been reduced from 50 percent of the working population to less than 30 percent by the expansion of the cooperative and state sectors. The people's budget has removed the burden of income tax from the backs of the 30 percent of the lowest paid workers. Financial assistance to the tune of \$4 million has been provided to the poorest sectors of the population for house repair, and a Ministry of Housing with responsibility for a national housing program has been created. Conditions of life in the villages are being progressively improved by the construction of community centers, bath and laundry facilities, and post offices by the voluntary labor of our people in their community work brigades.

In education the revolution has made important gains: the establishment of a national literacy and adult education program, the Center for Popular Education, the institution of free secondary education, a 300 percent increase in the number of university-level scholarships, the creation of a national in-service teacher training program for the professionalization of all our primary school teachers. The revolution has placed emphasis on the expansion of educational opportunity because our party has always recognized the fundamental link between education, the process of national development, and the construction of a participatory democracy. [applause]

Unemployment has been reduced from 50 percent of the working population to less than 30 percent . . .

As in the vital areas of housing, jobs, and education, the revolution has brought concrete benefits to the masses in the field of health. A national milk distribution program has distributed 1,100 tons of milk to the elderly, to our youth, and to expectant mothers since 1979. Free health care made possible by increases in medical personnel and the expansion of services, particularly in the rural areas, has transformed the pattern of health.

The transformation of the national economy, begun since the people's revolution, has been guided by the same basic conception of an economy at the service of the working people and freed from external domination and control which we proposed since 1973. It is worthy of note that the vast majority of the new programs and bold initiatives embarked upon by the revolution are not bright ideas spontaneously conceived in some moment of inspiration, but the product of collective discussion and analysis within our party and among the broad section of our people of needs, problems, and long-term goals.

On the economic front, new institutions and new programs all aimed at the strengthening of the national economy and the laying down of a sound material basis for future development are being built. The Grenada Farms Corporation — a state enterprise — has been established to coordinate the operations of all government farms. These farms, scandalously mismanaged and their produce shamelessly misappropriated during the Gairy era, are now the centers of a new thrust forward for our agriculture. More important, agricultural workers — the producers of the green gold of our country — on these state farms are learning self-management, and more and more are taking on the responsibility for increasing production. On these farms the arithmetic of exploitation has been replaced with a new language of workers' participation in the establishment of production targets, profit sharing, and the teaching of the real history of struggle of our working people. [applause]

The establishment of an agroindustrial plant now makes it possible for us to make full use of local crops which in the past were never fully utilized. Mangoes, tamarinds, soursops, guavas, to name a few, are now valuable cash crops because of the demand produced by this agroindustrial plant. Spice Island Products now embraces a proud range of juices, jams, and canned local fruit and vegetables.

Likewise, the Marketing and National Importing Board has reduced the high cost of living and broken the backs of the monopolists in sugar, rice, and cement. This body now has the responsibility to import specified commodities from the cheapest sources and ensure internal distribu-

tion at much cheaper prices than obtained previously. Like the Grenada Farms Corporation, the Grenada Resort Corporation was set up to manage government hotels and other tourism enterprises, and has been achieving modest successes!

At the same time, the organization of a national fishing fleet and the establishment of a fishing school and a fish processing plant are all together serving to build an integrated and sound fishing industry.

Other critical measures and economic programs set up include:

- A coffee processing plant to process local coffee for domestic consumption and export.
- Construction of three bio-gas plants and the carrying out of detailed studies of our hydropower, hydrocarbon, and geothermal potential as a possible means of alternative energy.
- The introduction of scientifically evaluated systems of work planning in government departments and ministries to ensure productive use of government finances and as a basis for budgetary allocations.
- The setting up of a people's bank — the National Commercial Bank — which after just two years is already the second largest bank in Grenada.

All of these, comrades, represent some of the initiatives taken in our attempt to place our national economy on a sound footing. We have always given priority to this task because it is a strong national economy that will guarantee the social and material well-being of our people. We have a slogan, comrades, by which the masses understand quite simply this logic, "You can only take out what you put in." [applause]

But more important, comrades, more significant than all the other achievements of the Grenada revolution, because it is the means whereby we achieve all other benefits and will move to achieve even more social and economic benefits as this process unfolds, is the outstanding success of the Grenada revolution in the task of the democratization of our society.

One of the earliest acts of the revolution was the repeal of all anti-worker laws and the enactment of democratic, progressive labor laws such as the Trade Union Recognition Act, which guarantees the right of workers to form and participate in trade unions of their choice. As a result, there are nearly 10,000 workers organized in trade unions today and most of these unions are developing programs of democratic participation and education for their members.

One of the earliest acts of the revolution was the repeal of all antiworker laws . . .

The revolution has also taken several steps to stimulate and make possible the participation of women in the development of our nation. There can be no talk of real democracy if half of a nation's population is either disqualified from participation or can only participate in a very limited sense. And there can be no talk of women's participation if the conditions for this participation do not exist. Our sisters cannot participate fully unless the society encourages their participation. And in Grenada, in barely two and a half years of revolution, we have a proud record of measures taken to bring the women of our country fully into the development process.

Consistent with our slogan, "Idle Lands and Idle Hands — An End to Unemployment," in the year two of the revolution we moved to set up a National Land Reform Commission, with terms of reference to identify existing idle lands and make recommendations for their productive use [by unemployed youth willing to work such lands co-operatively]. In like manner the preparation of our national budget has since the revolution involved the participation of trade-union representatives; and this year the process of deciding how our resources will be used for our national development will involve an even wider participation. This year the budget discussion is being taken to the people — our national budget will be debated and shaped not by a handful of men sitting in an exclusive "Parliament," but by our organized people in their thousands, in their community groups, their zonal councils, their parish councils.

And the mention of these structures, comrades, brings us to the fact of

the spectacular growth of mass organizations in our country in the two and a half years of the revolution. Our National Youth Organization [NYO], National Women's Organization [NWO], both founded by the New Jewel Movement, and our NJM Young Pioneers are mobilizing increasing numbers of our youth, our women, and our children. The youth organization is close to a target for this year of organizing one-third of the country's young people. Our sisters in the NWO have passed the

From the earliest days of the revolution we have been subject to threats and attempts by U.S. imperialism to undermine and destroy our process . . .

6,000 mark and are fast approaching their target of 7,000 (or nearly one-third of the women of the country) organized for action, participation, and community development.

The revolution has fostered the formation of student councils in every secondary school, linked into the National Students' Council.

In the villages you will find community work brigades, which, in fact, determine priority needs and spearhead work on community building, cleaning, and maintenance projects.

Three weeks ago the Productive Farmers Union, one of the most unique organizations that the revolution has produced, held its first annual general meeting with its full membership of just over 1,000 small and medium farmers in militant attendance.

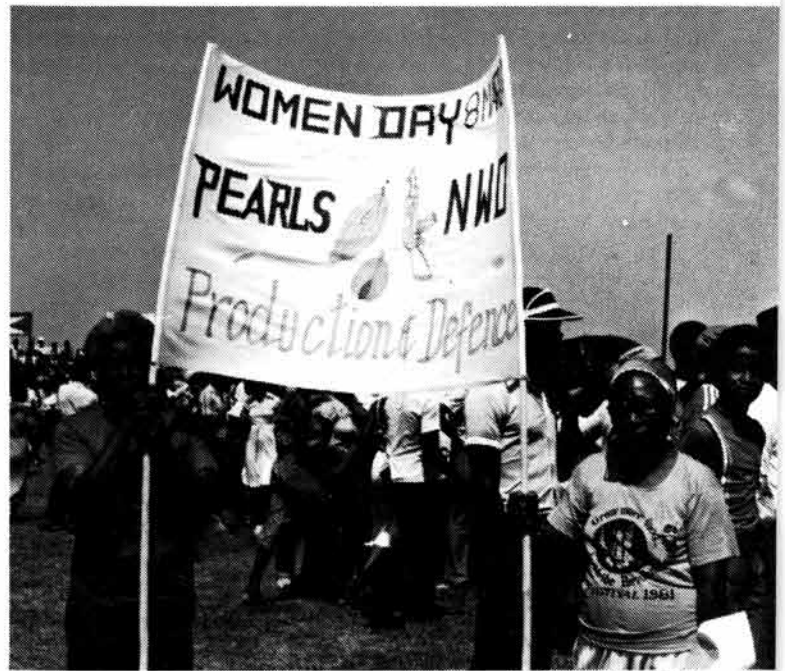
In addition to the many organizations and action groups operating at community, parish, and national level, our people meet *regularly* with the leadership of the country in parish and zonal councils and in workers' parish councils, where the twin principles of the *accountability* and *responsibility* of the leadership to the people become a reality for the first time in the English-speaking Caribbean. The leadership is accountable because in its face-to-face meetings with the people it must report on the achievements and the difficulties of particular ministries and state bodies, it must answer the questions of the people on those issues which affect their lives. The leadership is responsible to the people because it must take action where the people indicate that action is required.

In Grenada the people do not only listen passively to their leaders, they talk back. They do not only glimpse their so-called representatives now and then in the press, they meet them regularly, they rub shoulders with them. In Grenada, structures have grown up and are developing daily to ensure the real participation of people — a continuous, day-by-day process, not a seasonal exercise which changes nothing. Our democratic process is our strongest weapon for change, for development, for the improvement of life in our country. [applause]

There are many reasons why your solidarity with Grenada is important. There are many reasons why you must not only *feel* solidarity with the Grenada revolution but you must also *express* this solidarity loud and clear.

First of all, our revolution is an attempt to build a new socioeconomic development model. It is an attempt to solve our problems by new methods. It is the boldest attempt, in the history of the English-speaking Caribbean, to tackle the dire problems of underdevelopment which so drastically affect the lives of the mass of people in our region, the problem of poverty, illiteracy and poor education, substandard nutrition, unemployment, and all the other evils. It is an approach which rejects some of the manifestly inadequate strategies which the ruling class in most of our sister islands are still clinging to, because these strategies are guaranteed to safeguard their own position and to yield nothing but the barest minimum of political power and material benefits to the majority of the people.

Therefore, comrades, when you show your support for our revolution, you are asserting with us the right of a small and poor, but courageous and determined people to build their own process, to solve their problems in their own way, without threatening the sovereignty of any other people, nor compromising with their own proud and unshakable principles.



Kara Obradovic/Young Socialist

Our people, led by our party, the NJM, are demanding the right to build this new society *in peace*. We desire peace. We know that peace is a precondition for the realization of the people's wish for a better and more just existence. But this wish for peace, this insistence on our right to self-determination is being denied us. Daily we are threatened by the aggressiveness and the hostility of a power thousands of times our size, thousands of times richer in resources than us. Daily our process is the object of threats both veiled and undisguised, coming from the mighty United States and its string of yardboys and yardgirls in the region. Once again, comrades, we assert that we are the masters of our own house, we stand upright, with dignity, ready to defend this land, this sea, this region.

We need your solidarity, comrades, because this revolution is increasingly a light, a beacon of hope to the poor and exploited masses of the Caribbean. The aims, objectives, and achievements of this revolution are a crystallization of the most profound human aspirations of Caribbean people towards a better life. For 400 years the exploited masses of the region have struggled with dignity for bread, jobs, justice, and

We have a proud record of measures taken to bring the women of our country fully into the development process . . .

peace. Today in Grenada, today in free and revolutionary Grenada, this struggle at last is beginning to bear fruit. And this fruit is not for us alone. It is not the property of ourselves alone. Just as our struggle has been a part of the broader struggle of the working people of the Caribbean and the world, so now, our revolution is an integral part of the forward movement of working people regionally and internationally.

We need your solidarity, comrades, because we are conscious of these responsibilities not only to ourselves but to oppressed and exploited peoples everywhere. That is why in every forum, at every opportunity, we have resolutely condemned apartheid, Zionism, and racism, we have unwaveringly accused and unmasked imperialism, and we have added our voice to the condemnation of exploitation, injustice, and inhumanity in all its forms and manifestations. You shall find us marching in your ranks; our voice shall not be stilled. [prolonged applause]

And this important role of the Grenada revolution is clearly recognized by the working people of the region. For whatever the volume and

bitterness of the attacks made upon us by the decrepit leadership of the region and its decadent press, however often the voice of Washington is mindlessly echoed by its agents in the region, the real people have again and again demonstrated their confidence in, and support for, this process which they see as theirs, too. Behind the smokescreen of misinformation they somehow perceive the real issues, that this revolution is a unique process in which new benefits are being brought to the people, and a popular process in which the people participate more and more each day.

The Caribbean people refuse to be misinformed about our process. The Caribbean people understand the undemocratic and antiworker position of the regional press. This is borne out by the survey recently conducted by the *Jamaican Daily Gleaner*, itself a tool of international reaction, a survey which revealed that the majority of people are not affected by the negative propaganda put out against our revolution.

There is also the recent example of the strong protest made by workers of the *Trinidad Express* and other workers in the media in Trinidad (another regional rag in the service of U.S. imperialism). These workers came out in protest against what they correctly identified as a vulgar, concerted anti-Grenada press campaign, they came out and demanded the right of the Caribbean people to undistorted information about a sister island.

There is the evidence of the trade-union conference that we have just hosted and which turned out to be the biggest in its three-year history. It was the largest gathering ever of representatives of the Caribbean working class. The hosting of this conference has been for us both a duty and

Our democratic process is our strongest weapon for change, for development, for the improvement of life in our country . . .

a pleasure. This conference has been held at a time when the working people of the Caribbean are beginning to feel the full weight of the capitalist world economic crisis, and when the regional ruling classes have agreed on common solutions, which can only mean harsher conditions, austerity, more and more hardship, and increased exploitation of the poor.

One of the highest expressions of international solidarity with the Grenada revolution is precisely today's conference. For the first time since our revolution, people like yourselves, who have been consistent friends and allies of our struggle, are meeting all together. You come as friends, as comrades-in-arms, as firm, consistent defenders of the truth of this revolution. The presence of comrades from all continents is not only an indication of the support of the international community for our revolution, but is also a testimony to the oneness of our struggle against a common enemy and to the unity of our aspirations.

Another living example of the regional support that our revolution has attracted is the presence among us of internationalist workers from the Caribbean region as well as from other parts of the world. In all the key sections of our development, these internationalists are co-workers, facing with us the historic challenge of creating the new and just society.

Comrades, one of our most important reasons for calling upon your support is the threat we face from U.S. imperialism. From the earliest days of the revolution we have been subject to threats and attempts by U.S. imperialism to undermine and destroy our process. The strategy of imperialism has been to fight us on all fronts: political pressure, propaganda destabilization, economic warfare, and now, imminently, the military solution.

From the very morning of our revolution, pressure was brought to bear upon us by the U.S. in an attempt to dictate the character and direction of our political process. We were warned, for example, that relations with Cuba would not be countenanced.

The propaganda campaign also began very early, with an impudent plan to use the local media to wage war upon the revolution *from the inside*, like a worm surreptitiously eating away at the heart of a healthy fruit. The lesson that imperialism learned from that early impudence

was that this revolution must be respected; and every subsequent attempt, including the recent action of a group of counterrevolutionary planters, merchants, and professionals, has been firmly dealt with. The revolution, having silenced the local mouthpieces of imperialism, faces increased propaganda aggression from outside. This campaign was taken to a new level with the prime-time broadcasts on the U.S. national television network, feeding to the people of the United States of America the most vulgar distortions of Grenadian reality.

On the economic front we have been faced with recurrent acts of sabotage; the vulgar abuse by the U.S. of its dominant position in international institutions like the IMF and the World Bank to stifle the legitimate rights to assistance of small, developing states in the region like Grenada and Nicaragua.

Today the assumption of power by a fascist clique in the U.S. and the failure of imperialism's attempts to destroy our process have brought our revolution face to face with the ugliest side of imperialism — naked military aggression. In the last two months alone there have been two major maneuvers carried out upon Caribbean land and sea by the warlords of the north; "Ocean Venture '81," "Operation Amber and the Amberines," and "Red X 183" have been shameless rehearsals for eventual invasions of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada and/or preparation for an armed entry into El Salvador on the side of the fascist junta!

But it is not only here in our Caribbean that the enemies of peace have been rattling their sabers. These neutron warmongers have been seeking military confrontation on several continents. The shooting down of two Libyan planes; the military maneuvers code-named "Bright Star"; the South African invasion of Angola; the open attack by Zionist Israel on Iraq, Beirut, southern Lebanon, and the Palestinian people; and the tons of lies being spread today against the revolutionary peoples and governments of Cuba and Nicaragua in preparation for an armed invasion; and the role of the U.S. in El Salvador are all examples of this trend.

The peoples of the world, however, including the people of the United States, conscious of the grave danger to mankind posed by these adventurist actions and policies, are standing up for peace.

Comrades, world public opinion is increasingly a force of international affairs. The voice of the working masses can no longer be ignored. We saw the part it played in the Vietnam War. International public opinion has become more and more powerful in recent times when the balance of forces has been shifting towards anti-imperialism and national self-determination. Again and again we have seen world public opinion respond indignantly to acts of military aggression against small, weak nations; again and again we have seen world opinion condemn and curb the attempts of imperialism to intervene and turn back popular processes.

Daily we are threatened by the aggressiveness and hostility of a power thousands of times our size . . .

And this, comrades, is another reason why your solidarity is so important to the *continued forward movement* of the Grenada revolution. But it is important that international public opinion be mobilized not only against the military subversion of popular processes. It is important that we recognize the equally devastating effects of the other forms of aggression. International public opinion must treat with equal gravity attempts to block aid to countries like Grenada, the financing of counterrevolutionary journalism and other propaganda destabilization, and the landing of marines on the soil of other countries. For all of these have the same aim of overthrowing our revolution; all of these are acts of aggression against our people.

So how can you, the friends of the Grenada revolution, continue to help us build and consolidate this process? How can your solidarity safeguard and promote our revolution?

Comrades, solidarity meetings such as this are a vital forum for galvanizing world public opinion. Educating and informing the people of the world about the reality of this revolution is a necessity. This task by itself is part of the general struggle of the poor for the right to informa-

tion. It is part of the broad struggle against the imperialist, monopoly control of the media and for a new world information order.

As a poor, underdeveloped country, our efforts to break the vicious cycle of poverty and exploitation, the programs of the revolution designed to improve the social and economic well-being of our people, depend to a large extent on the material assistance that we receive. And we are therefore always very appreciative of the internationalist assistance which we receive from so many different peoples.

Friends of our revolution, you can help us by organizing Grenada friendship associations in your country. Providing a framework for organized and ongoing solidarity work, providing a framework within which peace forces, friends, and other well-wishers can be drawn into

Our revolution is an integral part of the forward movement of working people regionally and internationally . . .

concrete political, educational, and fundraising activity. Alongside the formation of friendship associations is the organization of tours to Grenada. The most often reiterated position of the revolution in response to the absurd lies and distortions has been to "come and see for yourself."

Our revolutionary process is one guided by principles of honesty and integrity; our revolutionary process is one defended and made by the Grenadian masses. We say to our friends, "come, share our experiences," we say to the doubting Thomases, "come see for yourself." [ap-
plause]

By coming and seeing for yourself, and by encouraging others to do likewise, you not only dispel the falsehoods of imperialism, but you also help our economy, by contributing to the new tourism.

So here you are among us, brothers and sisters, to witness for yourselves the evolution of what we aspire to build into a new civilization in the Caribbean. What is new about our model, what is different about our process? The answer to this can be assisted by a whole series of questions which might be posed by any visitor to our shores who is struck by the evidence that something is afoot here which does not quite fall into the pattern of life in most of the rest of the Caribbean. Some of the questions that are most usually asked are the following:

- Why did we, as one of the priorities of the revolution, send volunteers into the field to find out how many of our people were illiterate, and then move decisively into developing a national program of adult education?
- Why have we stretched our human and financial resources to set up a training program for all primary and junior secondary teachers, instead of continuing the traditional teachers-college model of training fifty select teachers per year?
 - Why are we instituting primary health care?
 - Why do we hold so many mass meetings?
 - Why do we hold so many solidarity rallies and events with so many national liberation movements and friendly governments around the world?
 - Why are we working so hard to expand the NYO, and NWO, and other mass organizations?
 - Why are we the only country in the English-speaking Caribbean that has decided to arm our people and create a People's Revolutionary Militia? What has inspired this confidence?
 - Why are ordinary, grassroots men, women, and youth being exposed to leadership training and political science courses?
 - Why are we developing so many new organizations, and popular democratic organizations such as workers' parish councils, youth and women's parish councils and community zonal councils within every parish?
 - Why is the distribution of milk in every community carried out voluntarily by the organized members of that community?
 - Why have we established work brigades to involve our people in the task of rebuilding our country on a voluntary patriotic and unpaid basis?

- Why are our community organizations able to set up and run day-care centers and kindergartens with only minimal input from the government?

- Why, in the face of serious transportation problems, in the face of ongoing attempts to undermine the confidence of the people in their revolution, in the face of serious ongoing objective problems, why, in the face of all this, were we able to bring to Seamount yesterday a crowd far, far bigger, and far more militant, united, and conscious than the 10,000 who came out to the NJM's first People's Congress held on that same spot around eight years ago?

- Why is the anti-Grenada lobby becoming so strident and hysterical?
- Why does the newspaper of our revolution, *The Free West Indian*, encounter so many obstacles to its distribution in the other Caribbean islands, while their newspapers sell freely on our streets, notwithstanding the lies and the distortions which they print about Grenada?

- Why is there no propaganda campaign, no accusations of human rights violations, no calls for elections, no policy of isolation, no economic blockades, nor any threat of military intervention against a country like Haiti, where people are literally jumping into the sea every day to escape the unbearable conditions under which they live?

- Why?
We invite you to explore our country, examine our process, experience our revolution, and assess for yourselves the new directions that we have taken.

Comrades, beloved friends, once again we reiterate our pleasure in having [you] here with us. One hundred and twenty delegates from so

World public opinion is increasingly a force in international affairs. The voice of the working masses can no longer be ignored . . .

many countries from all continents is a definite statement of militant solidarity that "Grenada is not alone."

Comrades, we urge you to enjoy your stay in our country and hope that whatever our modest hospitality lacks will be more than made up for by the warmth and friendliness of our people.

We assure you of our total support in your struggles against injustice, exploitation, and warmongering; and for peace, social progress, and national liberation.

- Long live solidarity, friendship, and cooperation among peoples!
- Long live the anti-imperialist and antifascist unity of peace-loving and progressive forces worldwide!
- Long live the force and weight of international public opinion!
- Long live internationalism!
- Long live the Grenada revolution!
- Forward ever, backward never!

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Vietnam: still at war

Imperialist embargo has devastating impact

By Sidney Lens

[The following article appeared in the December issue of *The Progressive*, a left-liberal monthly published in Madison, Wisconsin. The author recently returned from a trip to Vietnam.]

* * *

A decade ago, when the United States still waged war in Indochina, the South Vietnamese economy could count on an annual infusion of \$2 billion in U.S. aid, and additional hundreds of millions of dollars spent by American troops. Factories established with U.S. loans turned out goods made from raw materials imported from the United States. If rice was in short supply, Washington sent rice. If roads needed to be built, American contractors built them.

North Vietnam, too, received some economic aid — though not nearly as much — while the war raged. The Soviet Union, China, and some of the Eastern bloc states sent help.

Today, annual economic aid to all of Vietnam — north and south — amounts to barely \$1 billion, and comes mostly from the Soviet Union. China, engaged in a continuous border war with Vietnam, sends no help at all. Neither does the United States, which has imposed a total embargo on Vietnam since hostilities ended in 1975. The embargo, observed by all but a handful of Western nations, has crippled economic development in Vietnam and shattered hopes of postwar recovery and reconstruction.

The continuing war

It is no exaggeration to say that our war against Vietnam continues — by economic means, but with consequences almost as devastating as those formerly inflicted by bullets, bombs, and defoliants.

What is happening in Vietnam today resembles what happened in the United States after the Revolutionary War — a time historians call "the critical period." The newly independent nation suffered extreme hardship. Crops rotted in the fields while penniless farmers engaged in barter to meet their needs and faced the loss of their land to mortgage-holders. According to historian J.B. McMaster, half the people in Vermont were "totally bankrupt, the other half plunged into the depths of poverty." Had New Hampshire enforced the debtor laws "two-thirds of the community would have been in prison." In Massachusetts, protests against foreclosures and unfair taxes escalated into a six-month-long rebellion. One hundred thousand people — out of three million — fled the United States (as the Vietnamese "boat peo-

ple" are doing now), most of them to British Canada.

Though the war had officially ended, Britain continued it by other means, as the United States is doing now against Vietnam. In the mid-1790s, the Crown seized 478 American vessels bound for the French West Indies, impressed hundreds of Americans sailors, and continued to occupy and rule Detroit, Fort Erie, Niagara, and five or six other key places. In the occupied territories, Britain armed Indians and conspired with them to establish an independent state that would serve as a barrier against U.S. westward expansion.

A similar offensive is being mounted against Vietnam now by the United States and its new ally, China.

What the Vietnamese face

By generous estimate, Vietnam's gross national product is \$8 billion a year — less than \$150 per capita. With this pittance the communist government must not only feed and clothe a population of fifty-three million but cope with a staggering level of destruction. When the Americans withdrew from the South, they left behind a devastated economy with three million unemployed, a million handicapped, a million addicted to drugs, 800,000 orphaned, and 600,000 caught up in prostitution. Millions were — and are — suffering from the effects of Agent Orange, and Dr. Nguyen Du'ong Quang, deputy director of the University Hospital in Hanoi, told me that war veterans are fathering disproportionately high numbers of deformed children.

The Vietnamese say two-thirds of all homes in Southern villages were either destroyed or damaged. Two-thirds of the rubber trees were rendered unusable — either temporarily or permanently. In the North, American planes dropped 7.8 million tons of bombs (three-and-a-half times what the Allies dropped on Germany during World War II). Half the villages and all the cities, except for the center of Hanoi, were hit mercilessly. All told, fifteen million Vietnamese were left homeless after the "American war" ended.

Four million acres of forest had been destroyed. Six hundred miles of railroad needed repairs and 500 bridges along the way had to be rebuilt. Of the 3.5 million hectares of rice paddies cultivated in 1960, 1.3 million were chemically compromised by U.S. defoliants and 1.2 million left untilled. Of the 42,000 hectares of coconut land, only 9,900 were still in production in 1975. In 1971 the nation produced 25.4 million tons of tin and zinc; in 1974, only three million. The land is pock-

marked with twenty-six million bomb craters, many now filled with stagnant, malarial water, and 150,000 tons of explosives are still dug in to the ground waiting to explode. A few bombs, in fact, go off almost daily.

Even if one discounts for inevitable exaggeration, those in charge of Vietnam's recovery obviously face a towering challenge. The need for capital is immense — far greater than can reasonably be expected from external or internal sources.

Shortages of 'just about everything'

Remarkably enough, there is no famine in Vietnam today, and none is likely. But clearly the circumstances demand acute austerity. "We have shortages of food, consumer goods, raw materials for our factories, fertilizers, medicines, just about everything," says Xuan Oanh, executive secretary of Viet My, a Vietnamese-American friendship organization. The shortages tend to feed on each other. Because of the scarcity of consumer goods, for example, farmers — especially in the South, where private ownership of land is still widespread — tend to withhold some of their crops from the market. Why sell when there is nothing to buy in city stores?

To make ends meet, the Vietnamese have resorted to improvisation — sometimes with great success. They have encouraged, for instance, the formation of collectives to produce everyday wares. In Ho Chi-minh City (the erstwhile Saigon), I visited a handicraft plant that opened in 1977 with an investment of \$100 pooled by a few workers. It is now a flourishing enterprise of 230 "partners" who make pails and kerosene lamps. There are 250 such cooperative workshops in Ho Chi-minh City, and 2,500 smaller "production teams." In all, 200,000 people are employed in such ventures (as against 330,000 in state factories). Other inventive recourses to circumstances include the "new economic zones" — tracts of land reclaimed by the unemployed, former drug addicts, or volunteers from the cities. It is difficult to tell how voluntary are the volunteers or how successful the zones are. The reports are mixed.

Vietnamese authorities have been careful not to push the people harder than conditions allow. Since there is little money for adequate supplies of seed and fertilizer, for example, farm collectives are being formed very slowly in the South, though collectivization was completed in the North years ago. Similarly, the state makes no attempt to interdict the flow of packages relatives send from abroad. These goods — thousands of parcels arrive each month — form the basis of a gray market that helps keep the economy going.

Along Ho Chi-minh City's Dong Khoi Street and the avenue that bisects it, Le Coi, one can buy almost anything — American whiskey, cigarettes, motorcycle parts, pipes, electric fans, blenders, sun glasses, and hundreds of other Western-made items. The packages keep many private merchants in modest comfort. To some extent individual in-

initiative is also encouraged in industry. There are 100 privately owned factories in Ho Chi-minh City, according to a trade union official, and 100 that are jointly owned by the state and private entrepreneurs — as against 330 government-owned plants.

Need for capital

But while the government's flexibility helps to ease tensions, it cannot solve the basic problem, a massive shortage of capital. Vietnam strikes a visitor as lagging generations behind the outside world — a bicycle economy in the space age. The country has a tentative look, like the skeleton of a building before the walls are put in.

The only way for surface vehicles to cross the Red River into Hanoi is by means of a mile-long bridge, Long Bien, that was bombed out of commission frequently during the war. For long periods people had to rely on makeshift pontoon bridges. Finally, Long Bien was restored and the Chinese agreed to build a new bridge not far away. But when Hanoi's relations with Beijing soured, China ordered its engineers to pack their blueprints and come home. Other builders had to be found — and capital raised — to begin all over again.

Until the new span is completed years from now, therefore, the Vietnamese must make do with Long Bien, which has a six-mile-an-hour speed limit and is so jammed with bicycles and carts (and sometimes water buffalos and goats) that it often takes a half hour or more to cross. Since the bridge tilts, traffic lanes have been reversed so that heavily loaded trucks that pass over it early every morning don't ride the sloping side.

According to the United Nations, a stockpile of 100,000 tons of rice in the South this year that was badly needed in the North couldn't be shipped for want of adequate transport facilities. Some miracle, such as a large offshore oil strike (exploration is under way) or a string of consecutive good harvests, might ease the present difficulties, but the American embargo and the possibility of a full-scale war with China threaten recovery for the foreseeable future.

Pressure from Washington and Peking

Vietnam is caught in a vise of geopolitical ambitions. The United States, having suffered a humiliating defeat in its gamble for a foothold in Southeast Asia, is determined to pressure this nation to change its ways and change its government — or at least demonstrate that a communist Vietnam must fail.

China's ambitions are more complex. Xuan Thuy, an influential leader of the Vietnamese State Council, says China's goals since the Sino-Soviet split two decades ago have been to align itself with the United States in opposition to Moscow and to exert dominance over Asia. China supported Vietnam in its wars with France and the United States to frustrate the two Western powers in Southeast Asia, but Beijing also sought to limit the scope of its client's victories since a strong, unified Vietnam would also be an obstacle to plans for Chi-

nese hegemony in Asia.

By the time the United States withdrew its forces in 1973, Beijing had achieved its rapprochement with Washington. President Nixon had agreed that Taiwan was part of China, and the People's Republic had finally taken its seat in the U.N. Security Council. As a quid pro quo, China supported Henry Kissinger's two-government concept for Vietnam.

So goes the Vietnamese explanation for the remarkable turnabout in China's position. It seems to me to fit the pattern of events. In any case, China initiated sustained attacks along Vietnam's northern frontier as early as 1975, and they continue today.

In the American press, this conflict is presented as a "small war" typical of many such in Asia and Africa. But for Hanoi it is a big war along hundreds of miles of border — a war that has brought destruction to scores of villages. "The Chinese," an official told me, "destroy with such thoroughness that they do more damage to the villages they attack than B-52s were able to do during the 'American war.'" Mortar shelling is an everyday thing, and there is a virtual state of siege on the long front. Vietnamese leaders are braced for what they say may turn out to be a "third" Vietnam war.

The western front

Coincident with the Chinese probes, the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea — another former ally — attacked along the western border of Vietnam, and launched an all-out offensive in 1977. At the same time, one to three million Kampuchians (out of a population of nine mil-

lion) were being slaughtered by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, and a number of disaffected commanders in his army, including the current president, Heng Samrin, appealed to Hanoi for help. Vietnam responded with a quick military foray that drove Pol Pot's forces into Thailand. They remain in bases there, and continue to conduct guerrilla attacks on Kampuchea, with the aid of China, Thailand, and the United States.

The Vietnamese do not say how many of their troops have been tied down in this quagmire, but Chinese and American sources estimate there may be 200,000 so engaged. Even if the number is only half that many, it is a major drag on Hanoi's strained resources and one more significant impediment to economic recovery. The Vietnamese have offered to pull back most or all of their forces if China and the United States would pressure the Thais to seal their borders to Khmer Rouge guerrillas, but Beijing and Washington have been unsympathetic: They instead are trying to establish a Kampuchean government-in-exile, which would include Pol Pot.

Peace in Southeast Asia remains tenuous, and Vietnam's travail is bound to last longer. Fortunately for the present regime, the Vietnamese do not seem to blame their government for the state of things. According to Western and Third World diplomats in Hanoi, they blame the United States and China — and after many decades of hard going, they are prepared to be patient. □

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Poland: First lessons of an unfolding revolution

[In this issue *Intercontinental Press* continues publication of majority and minority documents debated at the May 7-14 meeting of the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the Fourth International. Translations of these documents from the French are by the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

[The U.S. government directly intervened to prevent the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) from participating in the May IEC meeting. Government lawyers in the April-June 1981 trial of the lawsuit brought by the SWP against secret police spying and harassment subpoenaed central SWP leaders who had planned to attend the IEC meeting and present counter reports there. Those subpoenaed were legally required to be available to appear in court on twenty-four hours' notice when the government began its case and could not leave the United States. Material reflecting the views that SWP leaders would have presented at the IEC meeting will be published in forthcoming issues of *Intercontinental Press*.

[The following resolution on Poland was passed by majority vote of the IEC.]

* * *

In Poland, the developments of the mass movement since July 1980 constitute the broadest experience of the rise of the political revolution in a bureaucratized workers state. It is one of the richest and broadest examples of working class mobilization on a world scale.

Beyond conjunctural considerations, the Fourth International must draw out the first theoretical, strategic, and political lessons of this experience.

1. An antibureaucratic political revolution has begun in Poland; that is, the prospect of socialist democracy which will eliminate the obstacles that the dictatorship has erected in the path of socialism. In practice the question of power is already being posed. Everything points to this conclusion: the practically uninterrupted extension of the mass movement, the self-organization of workers in the factories, followed by the poor peasants, students, and the first signs of this among civil servants; the myriad economic, political, cultural, and ideological activity of the masses; the numerous initiatives being taken at all levels of society; the challenging of authority in the factories and on a local and regional level, as well as repeated attempts to replace those in authority with other people or with other structures; the initial appearance of workers guards, strike pickets, and the defense of the Interfactory Organizing Committee (MKZ); the creation of a uncensored press (the MKZ press in the regions have circulations running into the tens of thousands) and a broadcasting-distribution network of minicassettes in the factories; the access, albeit limited, of Solidarity to the television; the appearance of consumer cooperatives and tenants associations — some of which have carried out housing occupations; and the creation of workers universities and even ecology clubs coordinated on a national scale. Some first signs of dispute have appeared in the army. But the repressive apparatus is still far from disintegrating.

Solidarity bodies in the factories and the MKZ have, to an increasing extent, played the de facto role of organs of embryonic working class power — as the most representative spokespersons of the bureaucracy have not failed to point out.

The texts of all agreements concluded since August 1980 between the regime and Solidarity are based on the following schema: "on the one side . . . on the other side." What is this "one side," that is, Solidarity? It is more than 80 percent of the wage-earners in Poland. What is the "other side"? The "socialist regime" — but since when can the "socialist

regime" or the "dictatorship of the proletariat" be opposed to the working class? The "other side" is clearly the power of the bureaucracy, the bureaucratic dictatorship. What does this opposition of two powers demonstrate if not a situation of dual power, the confrontation between the emerging power of the workers and the declining one of the bureaucracy?

2. The specificities of this impetuous upsurge of the mass movement correspond at one and the same time to the general characteristics of the socioeconomic situation in the bureaucratized workers states (transitional societies between capitalism and socialism, blocked in their progress towards socialism by the dictatorship of the bureaucracy) and to those proper to social developments in Poland since 1970.

The Polish events confirm that the bureaucracy in power in the bureaucratized workers states is not a new ruling class. There is no common measure between the resistance that the bourgeoisie is capable of putting up against the rise of the socialist revolution in capitalist countries as deeply industrialized as Poland, and the extreme weakness which the Polish bureaucracy has exhibited faced with the rise of the mass movement. Its principal trump card is the threat of a Soviet intervention.

This difference is above all explained by the fact that the bureaucracy does not have real roots in the productive process. It lacks a necessary socioeconomic function from whatever angle you look at it. It is a social parasite, hiding its true nature and not admitting its main economic and social privileges. Furthermore, on the ideological level, the bureaucracy is obliged to identify with principles that it violates in practice.

The domination of the bureaucracy is based above all on its monopoly of political power. In conditions of collective appropriation of the means of production and the main part of the social surplus product, this is automatically transformed into a power monopoly over all domains of social life. The bureaucracy shores itself up on the continued atomization and absence of political activity of the working class, which is also caused by factors such as the initial backwardness of the country, the insertion into the "socialist camp" dominated by the Soviet bureaucracy, and the pressure of the imperialist camp, etc. But if these last elements explain why it is impossible to bring to conclusion the building of socialism in a single country, or in a relatively limited group of countries, it does not follow that the atomization and political passivity of the proletariat cannot be surmounted in bureaucratized workers states that are extensively industrialized such as Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, or Hungary. In such conditions socioeconomic development means that the struggle for the direct power of the workers and for the elimination of bureaucratic privileges is possible at a level qualitatively superior to that of the past.

In a more general way, in the bureaucratized workers states, any mass self-organization of the workers and any lasting political activity on a broad mass scale immediately begins to undermine the bureaucratic dictatorship. From this flows the importance of democratic demands in the struggle for the political revolution.

As contrasted with the bourgeoisie, which has deep social roots in private property, the bureaucracy, which is not a ruling class, has no such foundation. If a bourgeois state can perfectly well integrate certain democratic rights for a long period (like those of trade unions independent of the bosses, free press, freedom of association, organization, etc.), a bureaucratized workers state like Poland cannot fall back, for a long time, on such concessions when it is confronted with an upsurge of the mass movement. The power of the bureaucracy cannot coexist in the

long term with such democratic gains precisely because in the absence of private property, democracy ceases to be formal and becomes real. It prompts the mass of workers themselves to directly control the economy and the state.

However thirty to thirty-five years of bureaucratic dictatorship in the "people's democracies" and fifty years of bureaucratic dictatorship in the USSR implies, in turn, a qualitative accentuation of the masses' depoliticization and atomization. So that when there is a rupture in this domination one sees, at one and the same time, an extraordinary aspiration to democratic forms of organization and discussion and some of the difficulties the masses have to reappropriate these practices. Thus when the masses move once again into action, they generally do so on the basis of an ideological level and political consciousness which is the result of the consequences of the Stalinist dictatorship on the objective level (absence of the continuity of Marxist cadres and education, of political practice) and on the subjective level (a discredit which affects communism, socialism, and Marxism and a partial reevaluation of religious doctrines or social democratic-type ideologies).

But given the objective force of the working class in the heavily industrialized bureaucratized workers states, this ideological confusion and the low level of political consciousness can coincide with a very sure class instinct, which is nourished by the contradiction between officially affirmed "social principles" and reality itself. This class instinct forms a barrier against any attempt to restore capitalism, as the Polish experience has clearly demonstrated since August 1980.

The Polish workers have clearly declared that they are opposed to the private appropriation of the factories and large-scale finance and commerce. Furthermore there will be no restoration of capitalism by the ideological and political transformations alone, unless these result in a concrete return to private property.

This ideological confusion is therefore not shown in relation to an attachment to the collective appropriation of the means of production, but with regard to the very conception of socialism, more or less identified with the present regime. When, for diplomatic reasons or not, spokespersons of Solidarity or of different mass currents declare that they are not attacking socialism, since they do not put into question the "leading role of the party" or "censorship as such," they echo the characterization of socialism made by the bureaucracy itself. Indeed the latter proclaims that to challenge the arbitrary nature of the repressive bodies, censorship, or the monopoly of bureaucratic power (the "leading role of the party") is to attack socialism, thus justifying the blackmail of the Soviet military intervention.

But this "socialism" (more exactly, the transitional society between capitalism and socialism) is fundamentally the collective property of the means of production, economic planning, and the state control of external trade. It is not this or that aspect of the hypertrophy of the bureaucratized state like censorship or the dominant role of the political police.

The absence in practice of any social force capable of fighting for a restoration of capitalism does not imply the nonexistence of any petty-bourgeois or bourgeois ideology in Polish society — including inside the ranks of the proletariat. These ideologies exist more because of the misdeeds of Stalinism than due to the weight of the past or the capitalist environment.

Above all, nationalism must be singled out. Certainly, it is revealed as a powerful mobilizing factor against the national oppression exerted by the Soviet bureaucracy. But it can also be used by the bureaucracy to try to make people forget the difference of interests between itself and the working class in the name of the "national interest."

All these factors are obstacles in the path of a rapid victory of the political revolution. It opens a space for the political maneuvers of the bureaucracy. It makes it more difficult to respond to the complex problems posed by the building of socialism in the countries in question. However it neither prevents the *outbreak* of the political revolution, nor the opening up of a situation of dual power, even of long duration, in the most industrialized of the bureaucratized workers states.

3. The Polish experience confirms as well the central role of the working class in any struggle which objectively puts the question of power on the agenda. Whatever might be the immediate "detonator" of

the upsurge of the mass movement, given the social structure of these countries, proletarian hegemony necessarily becomes objectively asserted. The predominating influence among those struggling will be the workers, their preoccupations, their forms of struggle, and specific organization.

Poland, after two successive waves of industrialization, in the 1950s and then the 1970s, is now placed among the ten or twelve main industrialized countries of the world. The weight of the proletariat in Polish society has increased to the same extent as the growth of industry. Poland stopped being a peasant or predominantly agricultural country a long time ago. To justify their conception of the "leading role of the party," the Soviet bureaucrats refer to Lenin's texts, which relate to a situation when "small commercial production" predominated. This is absurd. In fact, in Poland today, "small commercial production" — that is, small family private property — hardly provides 15 to 20 percent of national income.

The formidable power of the Polish proletariat has obliged the bureaucracy right from the beginning of the mass mobilizations of July-August 1980 to negotiate, maneuver, and ride with the mass movement, rather than confront it directly. Its strategy consists in harassing, selectively repressing, wearing out, using provocations — including the despicable weapon of anti-Semitism — above all trying to *divide* the movement prior to any attempt at massive repression. In this war of harassment, different factions of the apparatus can take their own distinct initiatives. To win time, the bureaucracy has been forced to make many concessions, which in turn have stimulated the extension and deepening of the mass movement.

The "national" relationship of forces is too unfavorable to the bureaucracy to allow it any other tactic. Only if there is a reflux or partial defeats of the mass movement, which is far from being the case, would it be able to have recourse to a broader range of tactical choices. For the moment the bureaucracy is constrained to "hold a loose rein," allowing the movement to feed on its own success.

The specific tactics of the Solidarity leaders, both in July-August 1980 and in January 1981, have played an important role in this success — a success achieved thanks to broad-based proletarian mass mobilizations — which produces a relationship of forces that is eminently unfavorable for the bureaucracy.

If this relationship is unfavorable to the bureaucracy in Poland, it is even more unfavorable for a restoration of capitalism; for the politicization, radicalization, and experience gained in the last ten months does not facilitate, but on the contrary makes each day more impossible, any emergence of a broad tendency inside the mass movement in favor of a restoration of capitalism. *The "threat of a return to capitalism" is not on the agenda in Poland today.* This threat is a propaganda theme to justify in advance the counterrevolutionary military intervention of the Kremlin. In fact, the victory of the unfolding antibureaucratic political revolution will speed up the transition to socialism in Poland, Eastern Europe, the USSR, and China and will give a formidable stimulus to anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggles throughout the world.

4. We can point to a series of specific characteristics at the origin of the "Polish Summer":

A. A faster rhythm of industrialization, giving birth to a younger working class;

B. A succession of working class explosions (1956, 1970, 1976, 1980) to which one can add the student explosion of 1968. These explosive struggles facilitated the emergence of experienced workers cadres and leaders both in the workplaces and the towns. A number of these were among the initiators of Solidarity in summer 1980;

C. The alliance, especially after 1976, between the working class vanguard and the intellectual opposition permitted the initial politicization of the movement and its national centralization on a platform which rapidly became a common one. Nevertheless, the intellectual opposition, including the expert advisors of Solidarity — whatever may have been their usefulness at certain times, especially in the initial phases on the movement — have generally played a moderating role, even a brake, in relation to the most militant layers of the proletariat;

D. The systematic refusal of the workers to accept the "rationaliza-

tion measures" proposed by the bureaucracy to overcome the economic crisis. In 1971, faced with the workers mobilization provoked by the rise in prices, the Gierk leadership set out on a policy of forced industrialization — essentially on the basis of massive imports and Western technology on credit — to increase the supply of consumer durable and semidurable goods. This policy only postponed the day of reckoning and made the contradictions more explosive. In 1976 the government had to retreat again, faced with the outburst of anger provoked by the new price increase — without giving up, for all that, the headlong rush forward of its industrial policy;

E. The gravity of the social and political crisis arising from the 1976 strikes obliged the bureaucracy in the period preceding the 1980 explosion to tolerate a semilegal activity of the emerging workers vanguard and intellectual opposition.

5. The question of power is posed in Poland — in a double sense. On the one hand, the increasingly broad mobilization of the masses, their growing incursions into "administrative" and "political" domains, constrains the bureaucracy in its governing functions. On the other hand, the extension of the activity and demands of the masses pushes them to take on, bit by bit, some tasks in the factories and in certain local councils which are the responsibility of the regime. Given the seriousness of the economic situation, this incapacity of the ruling groups is considered even more intolerable by the workers and peasants. Up to now these initiatives aim above all to set up a control and contesting of the authorities' decisions.

However, if the workers have up to now refused to consciously pose the problems in terms of a counterpower, they tend nevertheless to *counterpose working class solutions to the bureaucracy's solutions* (such as during the generalized and prolonged work stoppage, when strikers inevitably showed a tendency to go from a general strike to putting the factories and public services back into operation under workers control).

6. The difficulties of the supplies of foodstuffs and basic necessities are continually getting worse, despite the sizeable deliveries from abroad. This leads one to suspect that, outside of the consequences of bureaucratic disorganization and wastage, deliberate maneuvers of economic sabotage are becoming evident, both from the Polish and the Soviet bureaucracy. Their objective is to put pressure on the mass mobilizations, to reduce the activity of a nonnegligible part of the working population, obliging women in particular to spend hours and hours in shopping queues and in the search for food. Phenomena of demoralization could thus result from such acute shortages.

Furthermore the threatened questioning of the principle of full employment represents a very big danger for the Polish working class and for the unity of the movement. Already a series of workplaces have been forced to lay off their workforces due to a lack of electricity supply or raw materials.

In addition, the freezing of nearly a thousand investment projects (factory building) leads official economists to envisage significant redundancy measures.

This type of austerity policy, considered by the bureaucracy as indispensable in order to balance the state budget and to stop inflation, has received enthusiastic support from Poland's capitalist creditors. They had, incidentally, advised such a course of action.

A number of the leaders of Solidarity find themselves disarmed faced with this perspective. Some of them — influenced in particular by the positions of a sector of the Solidarity experts who are supporters of such policies — have a tendency themselves to take up formulas such as "making the economy sound" and "rationalization" in the name of the "national interest" — concepts used by the bureaucracy. In adopting such a position the trade union leaders move away from an effective defense of the class interests of the proletariat, its unity, militancy, and social force.

Parts of the working class are sensitive to the argument that there is a surplus of administrative personnel in the economy and that their redundancies would reduce the costs of production. But in the plans of the economic "experts" and the bureaucracy, the reduction of costs must be

achieved by holding down salaries and stepping up work "discipline" (work time, work speeds), which would mean redundancies and unemployment. Furthermore any hope of envisaging the absorption of unemployment by mass emigration is totally unrealistic in the present situation of the international capitalist economy. Finally, redundancies and unemployment would be a very useful weapon in the hands of the bureaucracy to divide the workers ranks.

7. A significant disjuncture exists today between the relationship of forces in Poland itself, which is favorable to the workers, and the unfavorable relationship of forces today on an international level. Indeed the real confrontation which is coming in Poland cannot be reduced to that between the Polish proletariat and its allies on the one side and the Polish bureaucracy on the other. The decisive confrontation which is developing will set the Polish proletariat also against the Soviet bureaucracy and its bureaucratic allies in the "people's democracies." The Polish proletariat will approach this within a relationship of forces marked at the present time by:

A. The lag between the beginning of the political revolution in Poland and the much slower awakening of the masses in the other workers states of Eastern Europe;

B. The uneven development between the dynamic of the political revolution in Eastern Europe and that of the political revolution in the USSR;

C. The uneven development between the political revolution in Poland and the socialist revolution in capitalist Europe.

In these conditions the Polish proletariat runs the risk, in the short term, of standing alone against the armed force of the Soviet bureaucracy and its allies should they decide on intervention. Alone it cannot win — at least not quickly.

Is the strategy of withdrawal and concessions from now on the only realistic one from the point of view of the interests of the Polish proletariat?

First of all, one cannot start from the hypothesis that Soviet military intervention is already inevitable. The greater the price the Kremlin has to pay for this intervention, the more it will hesitate, and the possibilities of other revolutionary explosions in the East or West, which would back up the Polish workers struggle, will be better. Furthermore the latter's unity and continued mobilization, the reinforcement of Solidarity and all the bodies of self-organization — not only inside the working class, but also in the administration and army — and the links of the independent trade unions to the international workers movement are the *sine qua non* conditions for the Kremlin having to pay the highest possible price. In order to make military intervention the biggest disaster for the Kremlin and therefore to increase its hesitations, the most commonsense orientation is that which ensures workers have maximum confidence in themselves and maximum capacity for united mobilization.

Any policy from Solidarity which results in division, isolation, or repression of the so-called radical elements or tendencies; any manipulation of the base to impose compromises; and any refusal to accept or maintain strictly democratic trade-union structures, including the right of tendency, would only weaken the striking force and capacity of resistance of the Polish proletariat. Far from avoiding it, this orientation would objectively favor a Soviet intervention.

In reality what is counterposed here are *two possible strategies*. One believes that through maneuvers and guile, one can bring the Soviet bureaucracy, as well as that of Warsaw, to accept long-term coexistence with an active and independent Solidarity. This is pure utopia. The other understands that the gains of August 1980 and their consolidation can only be defended and maintained as a whole through successive and inevitable tests of strength with the bureaucracy. The latter will never resign itself to the existence of a truly free workers movement in the country, for that is tantamount to the destruction of the basis of its monopoly of power.

The counterposition of these two strategies has nothing to do with some sort of refusal of any compromise or tactical withdrawal, at a given moment, which is inevitable in any social and political struggle of such large scope. But the condition for such compromises not to dangerously weaken the proletariat's potential for struggle is that they are not



Lech Walesa (center) at demonstration in Warsaw in August 1981.

imposed by manipulation, but come out of democratic debates inside the movement and its structures; that they are presented for what they are; and that they do not damage the unity and cohesion of the structures of self-organization and in no way affect the masses' confidence in their own strength and in the future of their movement.

Furthermore the Soviet intervention would not automatically register the end of the road for the political revolution. If the Polish workers manage to make use of all the recently acquired experience to carry out a broad-based resistance, then the consequences of intervention would be shown to be disastrous for the bureaucracy. One thing is the impossibility for the Polish proletariat on its own to defeat the concentrated force of the Soviet bureaucracy. Quite another thing is the powerlessness of this bureaucracy to put an end to tenacious workers resistance organized in the workplaces. Any resistance to an eventual Soviet intervention would in addition be galvanized in Poland by strong nationalist sentiment, which could weld together the majority of the nation and certainly a fraction of the army. This is the result of the weight of the national question in the modern history of Poland and the specific elements of national oppression that Stalinist domination confines the country in. This is one of the important reasons why the Kremlin has hesitated up to now.

8. The uprising of the Polish proletariat has already had profound consequences on the structures of power used by the bureaucracy in the bureaucratized workers states. It has also had repercussions in the CPs internationally.

Today the crisis of Stalinism has virulently broken out inside the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP — the Stalinist party in Poland).

It was inevitable that the effects of the workers uprising would penetrate deeply inside this party, given its social composition. These are shown with the appearance of the so-called "renewal" current, in the constitution of local and regional coordinations between supporters of this current, as well as with the struggle for free elections of delegates and posts at all levels, including for the congress and the Central Committee. It is a question of nothing else but an attempt by the working-class base to apply inside the PUWP the same principles of internal democracy that the workers mean to put into operation in the self-managed trade unions.

Furthermore the strong national pressure in favor of resisting the Kremlin's maneuvers is also expressed in conflicts and differentiations in the PUWP.

Some intellectuals, technicians, and journalists, who are motivated by their contempt for the incapacity of the bureaucrats, have also joined this movement. However a part of them, who often appear as spokespersons for the movement, are frightened by the radical character of the

workers mobilizations and some even fear to lose their privileges. The "liberal" wing of the bureaucracy is counting on them to prevent the "renewal current" going beyond certain limits — while at the same time using the energy released by this to revitalize the party's façade and to permit it to play its "leading role."

After the example of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Polish experience confirms that when society is profoundly shaken up by the dynamic of the mass movement, these Communist Parties, although privileged instruments of the bureaucracy's power, tend to decompose according to competing social interests — from the top layers of the bureaucracy which actually holds power to some layers of the working class which, in moments of intense social crisis, can act as "transmission belts" for the workers revolt inside the party itself.

Precisely because the bureaucracy is not a class it cannot completely break its links with the working class, out of which it has partially come. These links can just as much become factors of decomposition of bureaucratic control when the workers revolt takes as an objective the very foundations of the bureaucratic dictatorship. The party is only an effective instrument of bureaucratic domination to the extent that it combines hierarchical vertical control, its state/government functions, with a minimal organizational structuring of the working class — an indispensable condition for the latter's atomization. In other words, the party must exercise a real influence inside the working class. But when the proletariat starts to act and to organize collectively, the lower instances produce a penetration of workers' concerns and demands from the bottom to the top of the party. The coordination at the base, the activity of the proletariat, results in the undermining of bureaucratic centralism, and the social and political conflict between the proletariat and the bureaucracy is reflected inside the party.

In the medium and long term the repercussions of the rebirth of the workers movement in Poland will be profound in Eastern Europe, the USSR, the People's Republic of China, and in the CPs of the capitalist countries.

In all the bureaucratized workers states the Polish example will stimulate analogous initiatives, whatever may be the delay before sectors of the proletariat and rebel youth can grasp its real and profound significance — especially due to the way the bureaucratically controlled mass media systematically distorts all information. Indeed, outside of the specific problems that played a detonating role in Poland, the same expressions of bureaucratic dictatorship that incited the Polish workers to create new mass organizations exist everywhere: total integration of the trade unions in the bureaucratic state; complete fusion of the party apparatus and the state; absolute control of the bureaucracy over the means of information — whose lying and manipulative character escapes no one; impossibility for workers to express or defend their immediate interests against the bureaucracy within the existing institutions; strikes, workers demonstrations, and any embryonic attempts to create vanguard workers organizations are outlawed and systematically repressed; and national oppression.

It is because it fears the "Polish Summer" will be repeated in other "people's democracies" and in the USSR itself that the Soviet bureaucracy is mortally terrified by the existence of independent trade unions in Poland. It is this fear of losing its power and privileges, and nothing else, that is the root of its course towards a showdown with the Polish workers. In brutally proclaiming its positions, it is bent on putting the bureaucracies of the "people's democracies" on their guard against any policy which would weaken the hold of the Kremlin over those countries to which it applies the "principle of limited sovereignty."

The beginning of the political revolution in Poland has opened up a new stage in the world crisis of Stalinism. It qualitatively exceeds that opened by the "Prague Spring" and the Czechoslovakian intervention. In turn, the latter had been more serious than those provoked by the Sino-Soviet conflict, the victory of the Cuban revolution, the military intervention in Hungary in 1956, the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, or again that caused by the Tito-Stalin split.

As for the CPs of the capitalist countries, whatever the critiques formulated already within the "Eurocommunist" discourse, they are seeing the floundering of one of the principal myths of their ideology — the USSR, the "people's democracies," the "socialist camp" are supposed

to be countries where the "working class is in power," which have achieved socialism "by basing themselves on the immense majority of the workers and peasants." On the contrary the Polish events confirm that the immense majority of the working class considers itself kept out of power and even opposes and challenges the power exerted by the bureaucracy. The question which immediately arises for all those inside these parties who still identify with communism, with scientific socialism, is the following: What side are you on in this confrontation? On the side of the workers or the bureaucratic regime? The very fact that this question is posed, leaving aside the answer one gives, shakes to the foundations any ideology apologetic to the bureaucracy — on which the CPs still base themselves.

Even the CPs most critical of Moscow globally support the Kania line; that is, they state they are in favor of a reform and not a revolutionary overturn of the existing structures in Poland.

They do not support, or in any case do not popularize, the mobilizations and the most advanced demands of the workers, for that would come into immediate contradiction with the parliamentary, gradualist, and reformist strategy they develop in their own countries. How can they identify in practice with the initiatives of a trade union which intends to be democratic and self-managed like Solidarity, while at the same time their class collaborationist policy leads them to stifle trade-union democracy in the organizations they control?

Social democracy is trying to win new credibility in relation to the CPs through exploiting the Polish crisis. It is nevertheless frightened of the revolutionary implications of the uprising of the masses in Poland. The whole social democratic orientation in the economic and social crisis which is rocking the capitalist world is founded on the myth of "the integration of the working class" and the so-called impossibility of achieving direct democracy on the economic and political levels. The Polish events are in the process of damaging this myth. Furthermore European social democracy is particularly attached to "East-West trade," so dear to the German, Swedish, Austrian, Finnish bourgeoisies, etc. — which restrains the former from giving broad support to the struggle of the Polish workers.

9. The profound upheaval in the party produced by the mass movement must not induce any illusion in the possibilities of a self-reform of the bureaucracy through a "renewal" of the PUP. All the history of the "people's democracies," and above all the bitter experience of "Gomulkaism" in Poland itself, demonstrates the utopian character of such hopes.

What is emerging in Poland in the inevitable rebirth of political pluralism in the framework of a post-capitalist society — that is, the existence side by side of a whole series of organized political forces. It matters little whether this pluralism covers bodies which use the name of the party, or the many "currents," "tendencies," or "factions" inside Solidarity and other bodies of mass self-organization. The important thing is that in reality different political orientations exist as well as the right of workers, poor peasants, intellectuals, and students to group together to defend these different positions. Already many tendencies are beginning to be defined inside the movement.

It is inevitable that different sectors of the proletariat react differently to the conflict with the bureaucracy and to the economic, social, cultural, and institutional problems which are posed in Poland today. It is not so much the diversity of traditional political formations, but more the diversity of responses given to the varied problems, which feed the political pluralism of the unfolding revolution: problems such as the tactic to adopt towards the bureaucracy, the modalities of an economic recovery, the reform of the factories/production units; the relationship between individual and collective consumption; or the threshold of tolerance for social inequality.

The absence of a mass revolutionary party able to gather together broad sectors of workers through the intransigent defense of their interests, and also the absence of sufficient political experience of the coexistence of different political forces, further increases these differences.

The existence in Poland of a powerful Catholic ideological-political current among the masses and people as a whole — leaving aside the historical roots of the influence of the Catholic religion — is essentially

explained by the following factors:

A. The phenomena of national oppression that Stalinist domination reintroduced in Poland gave a new esteem to the historical role of the Catholic Church in the eyes of the masses, insofar as it is seen as the guardian of the national identity of the Polish people;

B. The persecution suffered by the church during the 1949-56 period — during the worst excesses of Stalinist repression — enhanced its prestige in the eyes of the masses;

C. The agreement reached between the Gomulka faction of the bureaucracy — supported by the Kremlin, in 1955-57 — and the Catholic hierarchy, designated the latter with a status of semiofficial opposition force, the only channel through which the discontent of the masses against the bureaucratic dictatorship could be legally expressed;

D. The church, as "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition" could play the role of legal protector, in a prudent but real way, of strikers and their families who were victims of bureaucratic repression during and after the 1976 strikes. This considerably increased its credibility among workers and also young people — in spite of its reactionary positions on questions such as divorce, abortion, or contraception;

E. The liquidation, after the Second World War, of the large estates and property, which had throughout history been closely linked to the church, modified the way in which the Catholic hierarchy was perceived by the peasant masses;

F. The discredit that has fallen on Marxism as a consequence of the Stalinist dictatorship has pushed a whole series of dissident intellectuals towards "social-oriented" Catholic doctrines during the 1970s.

The regaining of mass political influence by the Catholic Church in Poland is therefore a dual product of Stalinism: an objective result of the bureaucratic dictatorship and the product of its orientation — for it prefers a legal Catholic-nationalist opposition to one which identifies with Marxism.

The role of Catholicism inside the mass movement and inside Solidarity must be examined from two angles.

First of all, Catholicism and the church are far from being homogeneous or monolithic in Poland. Growing differences run through the clergy, some factions of which are closer politically to the rank-and-file workers and peasants than the hierarchy. Growing differences also separate various currents among Catholic intellectuals.

Secondly, the Catholic hierarchy, vigorously supported on this by the Vatican, has not pushed for a confrontation between the proletariat and the bureaucratic regime. On the contrary, it holds back the mass movement, preaches moderation, defends "order and stability." The Polish church no longer draws its resources from securities and real estate, but depends largely on donations from the mass of believers. That is why the hierarchy is sensitive to the pressure of the workers and small peasantry. Furthermore it is extremely hostile to the powerful upsurge of the mass movement and the dynamic towards self-management, which undermines its reactionary social doctrine and authoritarian structures. It therefore uses its prestige and apparatus, and its experts in the trade unions to try to integrate Solidarity into the state structures. It aims to start to dismantle the dual power situation in this way. *In this sense the Catholic hierarchy and the Vatican, for their own reasons, have supported and will continue to support the Warsaw government.*

They have not stimulated the "destabilization" of Poland. They fear a victory of the political revolution because such a victory would also sap the bases of capitalist domination in Western Europe.

Those people who use the pretext of the supposedly preponderant influence of the Catholic currents inside Solidarity to question the validity of its role as representative and instrument of self-organization of the Polish proletariat, are therefore obliged to make a travesty of reality. Far from constituting a struggle between the "forces of the Church" and "socialist forces," the unfolding confrontation in Poland places the proletariat, certainly influenced by Catholic ideology, on the one side, against the bureaucracy, supported by the Catholic hierarchy, on the other.

10. Imperialism is trying to take advantage, ideologically and politically, of the Polish crisis, in order to back up its international rearmament campaign and its antiworker and antisocialist austerity offensive.

It would take even more advantage of a Soviet military intervention, which among other things would greatly facilitate its operations in Central America and the Caribbean.

But it is necessary to clearly distinguish its propaganda proclamations and operations from its real political aims. The latter are very much determined by two motivations. Imperialism does not want to run the risk of a generalized "destabilization" in Europe which the victorious struggle of millions of Polish workers would provoke. Neither does it want to run the risk of losing its markets or the \$23 billion lent to Poland, which only the bureaucracy is ready to guarantee.

For these two reasons, imperialism, and especially the Western bankers, have been far from favorable to the mass movement in Poland and have appeared as objective allies of the bureaucracy.

11. The rise of the political revolution in Poland is expressed at one and the same time by the reaction of the masses to the proposed economic reforms prepared by the Polish government and by the counterproposals of the militant vanguard of the movement.

The Polish bureaucracy is incapable of applying a planning system based on a rational use of all the available resources with an aim of achieving coherent objectives, considered, at least in part, as priorities by the majority of working people. The latter understand that the enormous wastage, the dysfunctioning of the economy, the lack of coordination between investment decisions, the theft and fraud of the bureaucracy, and the scandalous extension of its material privileges and social inequality in general, are not errors that such and such a current or group in the bureaucracy are responsible for. Workers are coming to understand that all these phenomena are logical and inevitable products of the system of bureaucratic management as a whole.

The Polish masses do not bear any responsibility for these failings. Today they are paying the price for it in the form of a real winter of famine. These anomalies can only be eliminated if the economy is made "transparent," if the links between the efforts of the producers and their rewards in the form of increased goods and services are clearly seen, and if the priorities for growth targets are democratically established by the masses themselves.

There are therefore fundamentally two possible ways to reform the dilapidated Polish economy.

The first, the Hungarian "technocratic" approach, even glossed over with a self-management language, gives the priority to the "truth of prices," to the utilization of market mechanisms, to the reestablishment of *individual* profitability of factories as the best means of combating wastage in the economy as a whole. This path is easier to adopt by the reformist wing of the bureaucracy because it is in no way incompatible with the maintenance of its power and privileges. It can bring temporary results, as was the case in Hungary, only to reproduce in the medium term the defects originally denounced. Its application is nevertheless made more difficult in Poland given the very extent of the economic crisis, which means that bureaucratic decentralization and the implementation of market mechanisms would have as inevitable corollaries an austerity policy and unemployment that are unacceptable for the masses.

The second approach, which is more difficult to adopt, is already being debated by sectors of the Polish proletariat. This is the path of democratically centralized workers self-management, in which it is not the market but the conscious decision-making of producers on a national scale which fixes the priorities of the plan, as a function of the criteria of social needs that have to be satisfied as a priority. The rise of the mass movement has revealed strong egalitarian aspirations. Inequality and injustice have provoked more revulsion among the masses than the penury and low standard of living. This revolt has, as a result, a clear socialist content. Technocratic reform of the economy, by increasing inequality in remuneration between factories and inside them, and also between regions and within them, would go in a direction opposed to that desired by the large majority of workers. The path of democratically centralized and self-management permits these aspirations to be realized.

Behind options in favor of this or that variant of economic reform are not therefore, in the first place, "technical" or "scientific" choices. They are political and social choices. What is the principal social force capable of advancing towards socialism: the proletariat or the bureaucracy?

What are the principal mechanisms for reinvigorating the economy: technical or social solutions? Who must exercise power in practice: the proletariat or other social or political forces? It is the coherence between the overall struggle of Solidarity and the choice of a given type of economic reform which it is necessary to inscribe in the consciousness of the ten million members of Solidarity and all their allies.

12. Workers self-organization has drawn in its wake a similarly vast social movement among the main allies of the working class: small peasantry, students, intellectuals, civil servants. This does not have a formal significance. As we saw before in Russia, Germany, Spain, etc., all the allies of the proletariat will spontaneously adopt the form of organization which prevails inside the working class (soviets, committees). They are doing this today in Poland with the self-managed trade unions. There is also a precise social content to this convergence.

The creation of Rural Solidarity allows the worker-peasant alliance — through the Solidarity-Rural Solidarity alliance — to be placed on a new and much more solid base than in the past.

At the beginning of the peasant self-organization movement, the predominant tendency was that of the protection of small private property, given that the small peasantry had been, and remain, victims of the arbitrary exactions of the bureaucracy. Furthermore this preoccupation remains strong inside the poor peasant smallholders in Poland. The workers vanguard must know how to take this into consideration and not confuse poor small peasants with Kulaks. All policies of forced collectivization of agriculture have always failed.

Rural Solidarity permits successive sectors of the small working peasantry in Poland to go through an extremely positive experience. The very logic of the socialist character of the workers uprising has aided the progress of the cooperative spirit among the small private peasantry more in six months than during the previous thirty-five years' existence of "People's Poland." Once again, the peasant example allows us to show empirically where the true motors and the true obstacles for the construction of socialism in Poland are to be found!

13. Against the bureaucrats' ideas that break with the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes and the state, the Fourth International puts forward the classic conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The bureaucracy can proclaim till it is blue in the face that "the state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) is us," but the Polish workers will remind them that the dictatorship of the proletariat can and must be that of all the salaried workers, especially in a country where this proletariat — as opposed to Russia in 1922 — already constitutes the big majority of the working population.

In this sense, it is decisive that the Polish workers counterpose working-class solutions to the policies of the bureaucracy by putting forward a workers counterplan. In order to respond to the urgent needs and necessities of the laboring masses, it is necessary that such a counterplan be centralized and expresses the interests of the working class as a whole. Sectorial, regional, local, or workplace-based plans are therefore insufficient. The elaboration of a counterplan requires the centralization of information, an inventory of resources, and a survey of needs democratically established by the working population. It is in this direction that the next steps forward by the mass movement must be taken — in order to avoid having disorganization and economic sabotage end up by blunting working-class militancy and unity.

Workers' and consumers' control, and not factory "profits," must measure the way in which achieving such a plan conforms or not to proclaimed objectives. With this approach certain market mechanisms can certainly be used, to avoid excessive price distortion, to get an idea of the real weight of subsidies, and to try to progressively reduce them. But such mechanisms would remain subordinated to the use of "conscious" and democratic criteria, both to define the priorities for economic growth and to measure its progress.

If in the course of a new wave of struggles the masses fix this workers' counterplan as an objective to be urgently achieved, they should use it to replace the plan elaborated by the "official" authorities — whatever might be the way in which this replacement is carried out. This would rapidly become the central economic transitional demand of

the Polish political revolution.

Workers should firmly oppose any austerity policy proposed by the regime which is carried out at the expense of themselves and the poor peasantry. They have no responsibility for the economic chaos created by the bureaucracy's bad management and corruption!

They should resist the bureaucracy's blackmail — which brandishes the threat of redundancies, factory closings, and unemployment, and counts a great deal on using this weapon to divide and demobilize Solidarity and the working class.

They must defend the interests of the most oppressed and exploited layers, in particular women, who are the first targets in proposals to "shed fat from the economy"!

The workers and their allies are conscious that the greatest reserve the Polish economy has today is their technical qualification, their productive capacity, and their intelligence, which has been insufficiently used, if not systematically frustrated by the bureaucratic system of management. To fully use this potential one cannot exclusively or mainly rely on material incentives — especially since the Polish economy does not have enough resources to develop such measures on a large scale. This potential can only be exploited if the workers feel masters of their tools and decide the priorities themselves, at all levels and not just in the workplaces. They can then assume their responsibilities because they will have become in practice in charge of economic management as a whole. Once again, only by taking the road of democratically centralized workers self-management, without disdaining the secondary use of material incentives, can this objective be reached in the short to medium term.

Against a policy of forced collectivization of agriculture, revolutionary Marxists put forward, as Engels recommended, the progressive collectivization of agriculture through the voluntary integration of the peasantry. Today in Poland, to attack the privately owned farms of the smallholding poor peasantry, the natural allies of the working class, would be a real provocation against the worker-peasant alliance.

As for peasant self-management, it does not have any sense if the farmer's horizon remains limited to his/her small holding. Peasant self-management must encompass municipal administration, roads, transport, supplies, and distribution. What is imperative in all these domains are forms of initiatives and organizations of the cooperative type which precisely release the smallholding peasant from the vicious circle of the choice between the bureaucratically managed state farm and the strictly individual small holding. In this way solutions can be foreseen that progressively go beyond the framework of private property without provoking conflicts between workers and peasants.

This is also the case when individual factory committees try to set up reciprocal exchange relations with the peasants, both to boost agricultural production and to provide for the most pressing needs of the population and working class households. In this case, barter agreements or deals of this type are difficult to conclude with peasants on an individual basis. The supply of tractors, spare parts, fertilizer, and building material is logically arranged with peasant collectives — pushing the latter to accept collective contracts of cooperation.

Finally worker-peasant unity can be concretized in the development of structures of control which aim to impose an equalitarian share-out of social resources — in particular in relation to food supplies and other basic necessities.

The law that forbids the right of soldiers to organize is reactionary, worthy of a capitalist dictatorship. There was no law of this type in Soviet Russia at the time of Lenin, a period when power was based on a congress of workers, peasants, and soldiers soviets. It is a case therefore of ensuring the reintegration of soldiers in the "socialist nation" by extending the right to organize in specific, independent, democratic, and self-management trade unions to soldiers and to the great majority of the militia — with the exception of those guilty of serious crimes against the masses. They must be democratically represented in the supreme bodies, which gather together the representatives of all the living forces of the nation.

This fits into a perspective which, by continually increasing the price the Soviet bureaucracy has to pay for a military intervention, makes such a course more difficult and increases the Polish people's possibili-

ties of resistance.

It is necessary to deliberately and consciously organize within the framework of the still threatened intervention of the Kremlin through preparing for an immediate general strike in the workplaces, public services, and villages, as the only possible response in this eventuality — and relying in order to do this on the capacity for mobilization of the masses and the democratic structures of the movement.

Faced with the paralysis of the regime, the central political demand should be concretized in the creation — whether or not based on the MKZ — of democratically elected bodies at the local and regional levels; the federation of all the structures of self-organization of the masses (workers, peasants, housewives, students, and civil servants); then their federation on the national level in a Congress of People's and Workers Councils composed of delegates recallable by the base and with completely public debates transmitted by radio and television.

Such objectives make it of essential importance to fight for the guarantee of the full and complete exercise of all democratic rights for the masses and for the freedom of expression and organization for all currents without ideological restriction. Historical experience demonstrates that the replacement of ideological-political means of struggle by administrative means and by repression against currents such as the Catholics who are present inside the working class, far from weakening them, in fact considerably reinforces them. Such a policy is not only against the principles of socialist democracy, it is also profoundly ineffective. Socialist democracy and political pluralism must allow various currents who are proposing different solutions to the crisis to freely express and confront one another.

14. The Polish working class has entered a process of political revolution with a leadership which, up to now, has proved its tactical sense and shown itself sensitive to the enormous upsurge of the mass movement and capable of preparing the fightback when faced with the first attempts at repression (preparation of the general strike after the conflicts at Bydgoszcz at the end of March 1981).

This leadership is the product of the struggles of the last twelve years. Essentially it is pragmatic, which in a first phase did not prevent it from accumulating many gains. However, at the moment when the course of the confrontations leads to the question of power being posed, it is vital to have, and defend, a program and an overall strategy capable of defeating head-on the power of the bureaucracy. In the up-to-now victorious — experiences of struggle, militants have reinforced their confidence in the strength of Solidarity and have become radicalized. This has led and will continue to lead to outflanking and differentiations in the trade union, including inside its leadership.

Significant sectors of the Solidarity leadership are applying a long-term strategy of conciliation with the so-called moderate wing of the bureaucracy and present this as the only possible solution. Such a strategy can lead these leading circles of Solidarity to want to free themselves from the control of the workers in the trade union, with all the negative consequences that would have for its unity and democratic functioning. The bureaucracy obviously has an interest in encouraging such a line, although the very crisis of the PUWP and the initiatives of the workers make the setting up of such a mutual collaboration more difficult.

Finally, decades of Stalinist oppression continue to leave their trace on the formation of the leading cadres of Solidarity. This is particularly expressed on the level of relations with the workers of the other bureaucratized workers states, with the workers movement of the capitalist countries, and the anti-imperialist liberation movements of the semicolonial countries.

It is true that the uneven development of the political revolution in the Eastern European countries is a real obstacle to significantly increasing initiatives towards the workers of these countries. However these are still necessary, just as are links with the workers movement of the capitalist countries, to make both one and the other powerful allies against the threat of Soviet intervention.

In a double way the Polish experience confirms the decisive role of the subjective factor in a revolutionary process. It demonstrates how a small vanguard minority — like the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) — linked to the working class and knowing how to be accepted

by it as a result in particular of participating in its immediate struggles, can play a decisive detonating role, when conditions favorable to an explosion of mass struggles have matured. It confirms at the same time that a revolutionary leadership capable of responding to the overall problems posed by the upsurge of the mass movement, and to the tasks flowing from the interlinking of the struggle on the national and international levels (role of the Soviet bureaucracy), is still lacking in Poland. The fate of the political revolution depends on the creation of such a leadership.

Its formation is directly linked to the process of political differentiation and clarifications developing and continuing to develop inside Solidarity and also in sections or fractions of the ranks of the PUWP.

However, its emergence is held back in Poland by the discredit which affects Marxism, to say nothing of Leninism, inside the proletariat as a result of the crimes and successive metamorphosis of Stalinism — even if some advanced elements are expressed in the so-called “renewal” currents of the PUWP or inside the currents of Solidarity which are not of communist origin.

With the rebirth of a free workers movement in Poland, the rebirth of a series of Marxist militants, both workers and intellectuals, is on the agenda. It is by identifying with the mass movement, with Solidarity, by showing themselves to be exemplary militants, that they will not be in any way confused with Stalinism or with the probureaucratic criticisms against Solidarity.

It is in the worker and intellectual vanguard of the mass movement, and within the current clearly favorable to socialism and ready to engage in a combat without concessions against the bureaucratic regime, that the Fourth International will build the revolutionary Marxist organization which will participate in all the mass struggles.

15. The Soviet and Polish bureaucracies will not let up an instant in their efforts to prevent the workers turning into reality the formula in the *Communist Manifesto*: “The emancipation of the workers will be the task of the workers themselves.”

The Fourth International must broaden even further the international solidarity movement with Solidarity, its demands, and the initiatives taken up by the workers.

Through its propaganda and publications it will provide the means for getting the truth to the workers of the so-called “socialist countries” on the real aims of the unfolding political revolution in Poland, which is an integral part of the struggle for the political revolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

It will make as many united front initiatives as possible towards the traditional workers organizations in order to materially and politically support Solidarity and to tighten its links with the trade-union movement and workplace trade-union branches in the capitalist countries. It will campaign for an immediate moratorium on the interest payments of the Polish foreign debt and for the cancelling of Polish foreign debts!

It will denounce in the most vigorous way the Kremlin’s threatened intervention and will mobilize support for the full respect and real exercise of Polish national sovereignty!

The Fourth International will defend, propagate, and enrich its conception of the political revolution and socialist democracy, which has been largely validated by the rise of the masses against the PUWP bureaucracy and the state.

Only revolutionary Marxists can consistently support the struggles of the masses for the overthrow of the bureaucratic dictatorship and the setting up of the regime of workers councils in the framework of the advance of the world revolution! □

Polish-language ‘Inprekor’ begins publication

[The first issue of a new Polish-language Trotskyist monthly was published in Paris on October 1. Called *Inprekor*, it is being published as a supplement to the French-language fortnightly *Inprecor*, and includes some translations of articles that have appeared in that journal.

[The bulk of the ten-page issue is taken up with an article by Cyril Smuga, entitled “Self-management, Solidarity, and the bureaucracy.”

[The two other items are an interview with Czechoslovak oppositionist Jaroslav Suk and part of a document by a socialist opposition group in East Germany.

[In an effort to differentiate itself from another Polish-language journal published in Paris, *Inprekor* carried the notice: “Attention: *Inprekor* has no connection with the appearance in Paris of the newspaper *Walka Klas* [Class Struggle] published by the Polish Revolutionary Workers League, a sect that calls itself a ‘section of the Fourth International.’”

[In explaining to its readers the outlook of *Inprekor* and the Fourth International, the magazine ran the following description. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Inprekor — International Press Correspondence — is a monthly journal representing the views of the Fourth International.

The Fourth International is a political organization encompassing groups and parties in

fifty countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania, and the Americas. Its history goes back to the struggle in the 1920s of the Soviet Left Opposition grouped around Leon Trotsky. Employing massive terror, the bureaucracy decimated our organization in the Soviet Union.

In the mid-1930s, advocates of the idea of a fourth international, the Trotskyists, constituted a strong and concentrated group among the population of the Gulag Archipelago, where they organized a resistance movement, culminating in the great hunger strike in the Vorkuta labor camp. But despite the combined efforts of the GPU and Hitler’s Gestapo, our international organization survived.

Isolated for a long time — in the period of the Cold War those who refused to choose between Stalinism and American imperialism were few in number — the international developed together with the development of the revolutionary struggles for national liberation in the colonial countries, the new wave of class struggles in the industrialized capitalist countries, and the development of the opposition movement in Eastern Europe.

The Fourth International built the struggle against French intervention in Vietnam immediately after the Second World War, supported the revolutionary national liberation movements in Cuba and Algeria, and organized an international movement against the American war in Vietnam. Following the bloody coup in Chile in 1973, we took an active part in the leadership of the international movement in support of the Chilean workers organizations.

Today, we support the revolutionary national liberation movements in Central America and in Ireland — the last colony in Western Europe.

The Fourth International did not expose Stalinism only through books, like Solzhenitsyn. In the 1930s it organized an international campaign against the Moscow Trials. When Stalin tried to isolate the Yugoslav revolution, we organized youth brigades in solidarity with Yugoslavia, despite the differences that existed — and still exist — between us and the Titoist leadership.

In 1953 we organized an information campaign to counter the filthy lies propagated by the Stalinists about the general strike in Berlin. In 1956 we backed the movement for self-management in Poland and Hungary, and opposed the Soviet intervention in Hungary. We took an active part in the movement to support the Prague Spring, against Soviet aggression, and supported the development of the workers councils movement in Czechoslovakia. We support the opposition in the Soviet Union and the “people’s democracies,” regardless of any differences with them.

We enthusiastically support the independent workers movement in Poland, popularizing its demands and forms of struggle, and since August 1980 we have developed contacts between Solidarity and trade unions in the capitalist countries.

We condemn the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and demand the withdrawal of the Soviet army from that country. □



Turkish junta asks death for unionists

A Turkish martial law prosecutor will demand the death penalty against fifty-two trade-union leaders whose trial opens December 24, it was announced December 9. They are part of a total of more than 150 unionists who will be put on trial.

According to the December 10 *New York Times*, "the union leaders are specifically accused of taking part before the 1980 military takeover in such activities as May Day rallies, demonstrations against a new labor union law, and protests against the murder of a union member." All these activities are now apparently capital crimes under the regime of Gen. Kenan Evren.

As the *Times* of London noted, the date of the opening of the trial, only one day before Christmas, was "surely chosen deliberately to ensure the minimum of publicity in Christian countries."

The Turkish military rulers clearly felt emboldened to demand this harsh sentence by the warm support U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger gave them during his three-day visit that began December 3. In fact, on the very day that Weinberger arrived in Turkey to hold talks with that country's military rulers, former Turkish prime minister Bulent Ecevit began serving a four-month prison sentence for defying the present ban on all political statements.

The jailing of Ecevit provoked protests from the European Economic Community (EEC), despite the fact that the EEC's member governments welcomed the September 12, 1980, coup that brought the military to power. The EEC temporarily suspended a five-year \$650 million aid package to Turkey.

But Weinberger told Turkish strongman Gen. Kenan Evren that "we admire the way in which the order and law have been restored in Turkey" since the coup. Weinberger added that the military junta had "lived up to our great expectations."

According to the Reuters news agency, some 30,000 people are now being held in Turkish prisons for political offenses. In addition, the military has permanently dissolved all existing political parties, banned all former political figures from ever running for office in the future, closed newspapers and jailed journalists, and crushed the trade unions and workers movement.

All this is being done with the approval of the Reagan administration. In 1982, Turkey is to receive \$752 million in U.S. aid, up 70 percent from the 1981 figure.

Also coming out of Weinberger's visit is a high-level U.S.-Turkish military planning group to "enlarge and improve defense cooperation." The London daily *Guardian* reported that Weinberger hopes the Turkish army can

play "a more active role in the [Persian] Gulf." Turkey borders Iran.

According to General Evren, U.S. military aid will be vital to increasing "our role in promoting the stability of the region."

Secretary of State Alexander Haig is scheduled to visit Ankara less than two weeks after Weinberger's departure.

The December 8 *New York Times* noted that "not since the heyday of the Baghdad Pact nearly a quarter of a century ago has there been such a public effusion of warmth and understanding between Washington and Ankara."

In addition to bolstering the Turkish military's ability to intervene in the Middle East, the show of U.S. military support for the Turkish regime is also clearly meant as a warning to the new Greek government of Andreas Papandreu. Papandreu, who leads the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), campaigned on a pledge to take Greece out of the NATO alliance and to secure the removal of all U.S. military bases from the country.

According to the December 7 *Wall Street Journal*, "U.S. officials say they hope aid to Turkey will demonstrate to Greece that it needs to remain in NATO to reap the same benefits as Turkey, with which Greece has been feuding for years."

Aggression against Angola

For eighteen days, South African troops struck deep into Angola, the government in Pretoria acknowledged on December 7. This latest South African invasion was said to have begun on November 1, more than a month earlier.

The South Africans claim that their target was a guerrilla base of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which is fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule. But as in most such attacks, the South African forces also struck at Angolan forces.

In early November, the Angolan government announced that South African jets had shot down an Angolan plane on a routine flight near Mulondo, 120 miles inside Angola. It also said that six South African planes had bombed and rocketed Angolan army positions at Cahama on November 5.

So far, at least 160,000 Angolans have been driven from their homes in southern Angola as a result of the repeated South African attacks. Some \$7.9 billion worth of property has been destroyed between March 1976 and the beginning of 1981.

These South African attacks have been carried out with the tacit encouragement of the U.S. government. In August, the American representative to the United Nations vetoed a

Security Council motion condemning the massive South African invasion that began a month earlier.

As the latest South African attack was being announced in Pretoria, Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the pro-South African National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), was in Washington for talks with top White House officials. He met three times with Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker.

A State Department spokesperson said that the Reagan administration considers UNITA "to be a legitimate political force in Angola."

The Angolan government charged that Savimbi's visit confirmed that the White House was pursuing a policy of interfering in Angola's internal affairs.

South African mercenary attack on Seychelles

The South African regime has been deeply implicated in the November 25 attempt to overthrow the government of the Seychelles Islands, which are located in the Indian Ocean and have a population of 64,000.

On that day, dozens of white mercenaries arrived at the airport on a regular flight from South Africa, disguised as rugby players. When an airline clerk discovered their weapons, the mercenaries took 100 hostages and began fighting with the Seychelles army. Forty-four of them then hijacked an Air India jet back to South Africa, where they were briefly detained by the South African authorities before being released. None of the mercenaries were charged under South Africa's stiff anti-hijacking law.

Among the several mercenaries who were captured by the Seychelles troops was Martin Dolincheck, a senior official in South Africa's National Intelligence Service, the apartheid regime's central secret police agency. A majority of those who made it back to South Africa were either South African citizens or residents of that country.

The leader of the abortive operation was "Mad Mike" Hoare, a professional mercenary who is best known for his involvement in the suppression of the anti-imperialist "Simba" rebellion in the Congo in 1964-65. He now lives in South Africa and has long had close ties to the South African intelligence agencies.

The purpose of the attack on the Seychelles was to overthrow President France Albert René and return to power former President James Mancham, who had close ties to the apartheid regime.

The Seychelles government has asked the United Nations to conduct an inquiry into the attack.