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# **INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS**

combined  
with **inprecor**

Vol. 21, No. 9

May 16, 1983

USA \$1.25 UK 50p

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## **Salvadoran FMLN Presses United Struggle**

**In Response to Death of  
Two Revolutionary Leaders**

***150,000 in Armed Demonstration***  
**Nicaraguans Reply to Reagan's Threats**

# As U.S. loses ground, Reagan escalates Central America war

By David Frankel

Notwithstanding deepgoing opposition at home and isolation internationally, President Reagan is pushing ahead with the escalation of the war in Central America. That was the message in his April 27 speech before a special joint session of Congress.

"The national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America," Reagan declared. "If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail elsewhere."

To defend the interests of U.S. big business against the advancing social revolutions in Central America, Reagan is asking for an emergency package of \$300 million in additional economic and military aid for the current fiscal year, and \$600 million for 1984.

Zeroing in on the revolutionary government in Nicaragua, Reagan accused the Sandinistas of "helping Cuba and the Soviets to destabilize our hemisphere."

"Violence," Reagan claimed, "has been Nicaragua's most important export to the world." Guerrilla attacks in El Salvador, he said, "are directed from a headquarters in Managua, the capital of Nicaragua."

## Real center of violence

In one of the real headquarters of violence — Miami — on the afternoon of Reagan's speech, various and assorted counter-revolutionaries from Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Cuba rallied to express their appreciation for Reagan's war in Central America and the tens of millions of dollars that have already been spent to finance their operations. They received a telegram of warm encouragement from Reagan, who hailed this gathering of terrorist outfits as the hope of the hemisphere.

Journalists from all over the world have filed firsthand reports exposing the Honduran bases where thousands of U.S.-armed and U.S.-trained counterrevolutionaries are camped, and from which they are carrying out a war of terrorism and sabotage against Nicaragua. Yet Reagan had the gall to say that the Sandinistas "like to pretend that they are today being attacked by forces based in Honduras. The fact is, it is Nicaragua's government that threatens Honduras, not the reverse."

Two days before Reagan's speech, the Sandinista government warned that the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries were about to launch a new invasion of Nicaragua, this time from Costa Rica as well as Honduras. It was in this context of the opening of a new rightist front on the Costa Rican border that Reagan spoke of "the flow of arms" from Nicaragua to Costa Rica — a previously unheard accusation.

The intention behind these lies is clear.

Washington is doing everything it can to organize and encourage the escalating attacks on Nicaragua, including the opening of hostilities from Costa Rica. The steps taken by the Sandinista government to defend itself and to arm the Nicaraguan people against these attacks are then taken as pretexts by the imperialists to escalate their intervention in the name of defending Honduras and Costa Rica.

Although the heart of Reagan's speech was the concerted attack on Nicaragua, the reason for the urgency and mounting concern in Washington is, above all, the situation in El Salvador. Top U.S. officials now admit that the Salvadoran dictatorship is losing its war against the guerrilla forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), despite massive aid from the Pentagon.

## 'Steady progress for guerrillas'

"The last six months have been a period of steady progress for guerrillas in El Salvador, according to both Salvadoran and American officials," *New York Times* correspondent Stephen Kinzer reported from San Salvador April 25.

FMLN units, according to Kinzer, "are launching attacks in almost every part of the country." The Salvadoran army, in contrast, "has been all but paralyzed for the last three months."

Officials in Washington agree with the assessment of their counterparts in El Salvador, Leslie Gelb reported in the April 22 *Times*. Gelb interviewed more than a score of administration policy makers. These, he said, "know they are running out of time."

"A range of Administration officials say the United States must make a sustained, increased effort in El Salvador or lose the war to the guerrillas," Gelb reported.

A "sustained" effort, Gelb explained, meant the estimate that "it will take from two to seven years before significant progress can be made toward bringing the situation there under control."

In his speech Reagan repeatedly appealed for time. The guerrilla fighters in Central America, he declared, will not be "readily discouraged. It is crucial that we not become discouraged before they do."

A few days before Reagan's speech, *Times* reporter Hedrick Smith noted, "As the White House sees it, the President's task is to combat the political fatigue that has already developed over the Salvadoran conflict and to rouse the nation to sustain an even greater effort. . . ."

But so far all such attempts have fallen flat. Working people in the United States are opposed to the prospect of another Vietnam-type

war, and Reagan's speech did little to allay the fears.

Not a single new piece of evidence or a single new argument was presented by Reagan. As in the past, he blamed Cuba, Nicaragua, and ultimately the Soviet Union for inciting and organizing the revolutions in Central America.

Even Sen. Christopher Dodd, who presented the official Democratic Party reply to Reagan, pointed out that "If Central America were not racked with poverty, there would be no revolution. If Central America were not racked with hunger, there would be no revolution. If Central America were not racked with injustice, there would be no revolution."

## Why U.S.-backed forces are losing

The U.S.-backed forces in El Salvador outnumber the rebel forces by more than 6-to-1, according to Washington's own estimates. The government troops are far better equipped than the guerrillas. The Pentagon provides them with training, with helicopters and planes, with napalm and phosphorus bombs. Why, then, are the government forces losing the war?

When U.S. officials are not blaming Cuba and Nicaragua, they are scapegoating the Salvadoran army's top commanders. Former Minister of Defense Gen. José Guillermo García, who resigned April 18, was singled out in this regard by Washington.

"One of the most consistent criticisms of the outgoing defense minister and his cronies is that they were unable or unwilling to use the kind of counterinsurgency techniques advocated by Washington," Christopher Dickey reported in the April 19 *Washington Post*.

There is no doubt about the Salvadoran military's lack of fighting spirit. Stephen Kinzer reported on a visit to four of the most important garrisons in El Salvador one April weekend. None of the commanders were present. They had all taken off for the weekend.

But the problems of the Salvadoran armed forces do not arise from the incompetence of individual officers, any more than they come from Cuba and Nicaragua.

Washington's real problem in El Salvador is that it is faced with a social revolution in which the masses support the rebel forces and in which the local ruling class has lost confidence in its ability to rule. That is what is behind the growing disintegration of the regime, the demoralization of the armed forces, and the persistent massacres of the civilian population.

## 'Unable to win and unwilling to lose'

As Gelb put it, the U.S. rulers are in a situation where they are "unable to win and unwilling to lose." The result, as they fail to stem the revolutionary tide at each stage, is that they raise the stakes in the region.

Officials in Washington, Gelb continued, believe that "if the left takes over in El Salvador the contagion will spread uncontrollably to the Panama Canal and up through Mexico to the border of the United States."

Yes, the "contagion" will spread. But not because of the military power of Nicaragua or Cuba. The threat to the imperialists is the greatest of all subversives, capitalism itself, and the *example* of the social revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. That is why, as Gelb says, "there is now agreement in the Administration that Cuba is 'the source' of the problem in Central America."

Throughout Latin America there is massive unemployment, hunger, illiteracy, and disease. The scourge of the capitalist economic crisis is causing a rapid increase in these social evils. But in Cuba unemployment, hunger, and illiteracy have been eradicated by the establishment of an economic system that produces for human needs, not private profit. Medical care is available to all, and it is free. Moreover, Cuba also showed that it is possible to throw off the yoke of U.S. political domination and to end the costly and humiliating national oppression imposed by imperialism.

The workers and peasants in Nicaragua and Grenada have followed the example of the Cubans by winning political power and beginning a process of social transformation that has already greatly improved the living conditions of the masses. These victories have inspired new struggles, and in El Salvador the working people are advancing toward the conquest of political power.

It is this great movement of social and national liberation that is such a deadly threat to the rulers in Washington. There is no conspiracy, no secret plot — only the openly stated demand of millions of working people for an end to the exploitation of their labor and natural resources by U.S. big business, for the right to control their own countries and to build a society in which they make the decision and assert the right to live in decency and dignity.

But these demands are incompatible with the profits demanded by Wall Street. For the billionaires who control the U.S. government, this is a cause for war.

#### Imperialists divided over tactics

As Reagan's war moves forward, however, the imperialist rulers have become increasingly divided over how to pursue their ends. Many are fearful over the price that they may be forced to pay for their intervention.

At the same time, as Dodd made clear in his reply to Reagan, there is agreement among them on the essential challenge. The U.S. rulers must "oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America." The difference is over tactics to achieve that end.

The opposition to military intervention among U.S. working people is a far cry from the complaints voiced in ruling circles. It is the working class that will have to pay in blood and money for any new Vietnam in Central America. And it is the working class that is already paying for the massive U.S. military buildup, which is being carried out at the expense of desperately needed social programs here at home.

Massive opposition to the counterrevolu-

tionary war in Central America among working people in the United States has already forced the imperialist rulers to go far slower in their escalation of the war than they had intended. The U.S. working people will yet have the last word in this momentous struggle, along with their sisters and brothers fighting for a better life in Central America.

In his speech Reagan quoted the late Sal-

vadoran working-class leader Salvador Cayetano Carpio, who pointed out that after the liberation of El Salvador, El Salvador and Nicaragua will be "arm-in-arm and struggling for the total liberation of Central America."

For Reagan, that is a nightmare. But for working people around the world, that is an inspiring perspective, one that advances our fight for social progress everywhere. □

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Intercontinental Press (ISSN 0162-5594).  
Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York every other Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

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

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

**To Subscribe:** For one-year subscriptions in the U.S. or Canada send US\$25.00. Subscription correspondence should be addressed to: Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-6933.

For airmail subscriptions to Britain, Ireland, and continental Europe send US\$35.00 for one year; US\$17.50 for six months. Write for subscription rates to all other countries.

For air-speeded subscriptions to Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box K208, Haymarket 2000. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 8852, Auckland.

We prefer payment in bank drafts or postal checks payable in U.S. dollars because of the charges involved in clearing personal checks drawn on other currencies. However, personal checks will be accepted, with an additional 5 percent added for clearing charges.

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

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

# 'Come with your rifles'

## Armed demonstration of 150,000 answers Reagan

By Jane Harris

MANAGUA — "Everybody to the Plaza of the Revolution tomorrow!" called out Sandinista leader Dora María Téllez over Radio Sandino immediately after Reagan's April 27 speech threatening Nicaragua.

"Come with your rifles, your machetes, and your sticks," to show Reagan "you are ready to die defending your homeland, your revolution, and your future."

In response, 150,000 people — a fifth of the city's population — flooded in from all directions to Managua's downtown plaza. Thousands more marched in local actions in the other 15 provinces across the country.

They came with their rifles, their machetes, clubs, sticks, shovels, baseball bats, and hammers — whatever weapons they had — held high in the air. Factory workers in hard hats, office workers in white shirts, postal workers, students, market vendors, a scattering of farmers from the countryside — nearly every layer of Nicaraguan society was present in the Managua march, many of them in militia uniforms.

"No pasarán!" — they shall not pass — was the chant on everybody's lips. Another slogan that could be heard was "Capitalism is counter-revolutionary."

### 'All arms to the people'

Facing the sea of demonstrators was a giant billboard whose message summed up the current stage of the war: "All arms to the people to defend the revolution."

"We are calling on the workers of the world and especially the Americans to stop Reagan's new intervention plans," said Lucio Jiménez, general secretary of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST).

Jiménez, the first speaker, denounced Reagan's attempt to trick the American people into believing that the newly requested funds would go toward feeding the Salvadoran people. He reminded the crowd of the funds that had already been used for chemical warfare, for the murder of the 40,000 Salvadorans, for the assassinations of Archbishop Romero and the four Maryknoll nuns, and more recently for the assassination of Marianella García, president of the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission.

Fifteen-year-old Brenda Rocha, a heroine of the war, addressed the crowd on behalf of the Sandinista People's Militia (MPS) and the Sandinista Youth. Rocha became a symbol of Nicaragua's determination to resist the invaders following her participation in combat in the northeast of Zelaya Province.

Following the battle, of which she was the sole MPS survivor, her shattered right arm had to be amputated. In the recovery room, Rocha

said she would go back to the militia as soon as possible and urged everybody else to join.

Reagan thinks he will be the owner of the world. But, Rocha said, he "will never be the owner of Nicaragua, nor will he be the owner of El Salvador."

She held up her left arm, declaring, "Here is my other arm to give for my homeland."

Lombardo Martínez, a leader of the Independent Liberal Party (PLI) spoke on behalf of the Revolutionary Patriotic Front (FPR), the bloc of political parties that support the revolution. Nicaragua's history, he said, is one of "struggle against invaders, whether they are called English, Spanish, or gringos."

The Revolutionary Patriotic Front includes, apart from the Liberals, the People's Social Christian Party (PPSC), the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The rally's featured speaker was Monsignor José Arias Caldera, known as the "monsignor of the poor."

Caldera said that the Reagan administration "has lived in the blood, the sorrow, and the deaths of the world's people." As the crowd roared thunderous approval, he called Reagan even worse than Hitler, but warned that "from the Malvinas to the Rio Bravo, the people of Latin America are prepared to fight back."

"Now is the time for saints," Caldera said,

"but now saintliness means readiness for defense."

The crowd was solidly in agreement. Only three days prior to the march, Government of National Reconstruction Coordinator Daniel Ortega had warned them that a new escalation of U.S. aggression was imminent.

Counterrevolutionaries have already begun to open a new front in the south, on the border with Costa Rica. On April 22, 50 to 60 contras attacked the Nicaraguan border post of Jalouver, and several smaller-scale attacks occurred earlier in the month.

The rightist forces based in Costa Rica, under the command of ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora and Nicaraguan businessman Alfonso Robelo, are equipped, like the contras fighting in the north, with arms and supplies from the United States. Several counterrevolutionary camps established in southern Nicaragua have been broken up by Sandinista troops, who have captured more than 40 prisoners. According to the Sandinista government, 2,000 more counterrevolutionaries are preparing to enter the northern Nicaraguan province of Nueva Segovia from Honduras.

In the past month, 11 U.S. spy planes — a record number — have photographed Nicaraguan territory and troop movements. Furthermore, there has been a major increase in U.S. military planes carrying supplies and weapons from U.S. bases in the Panama Canal Zone to Honduras.

Nicaraguans are appealing to workers and farmers in the United States to help end these attacks. They want peace so that they can rebuild their country. But as the demonstrations here and throughout the country showed, they are prepared to defend their revolution arms in hand. □

## New counterrevolutionary invasion

MANAGUA — A new invasion of Nicaragua is under way, Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto announced here May 2. Twelve hundred counterrevolutionaries invaded Nicaragua's Nueva Segovia Province April 30, and another 1,000 are massed just across the border preparing to join the attack.

Nicaragua has issued a formal protest to the U.S. government, charging the Reagan administration with organizing and financing the invasion.

In this latest escalation of the U.S.-backed war, D'Escoto reported, Honduran army units opened up mortar attacks against Sandinista positions to enable the contras to cross the border in two large units — one of 500, the other of 700.

They were intercepted immediately by Sandinista armed forces. Heavy fighting continued at the time of D'Escoto's announcement.

Another 1,000 contras are massed near the Honduran town of Siuce, where they are preparing to invade with covering fire

and logistical support from Honduran troops based there.

The new invasion confirms the charge made April 25 by Daniel Ortega, coordinator of Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction, that another invasion was imminent.

The new invasion comes in support of one by 2,000 contras that began in early February. Sandinista defense officials estimate that nearly a quarter of the original invading force has been wiped out, but they still retain capability of carrying out extensive terrorist action.

Thirteen persons were killed in an ambush April 30 when contras in Nueva Segovia Province opened fire on civilian vehicles. One of those killed was a West German doctor, the second internationalist volunteer to be killed within a month.

Two days later in the same province, contras kidnapped 47 persons, intercepting their vehicles near the town of San Fernando.

# FMLN rebels press forward in unity

*Death of two top leaders will not stop struggle for liberation*

## By Larry Seigle

Salvadoran revolutionaries are responding to the deaths of two of their top leaders with stepped-up efforts to unify their forces. Recognizing that such unity is essential to the victory of the revolution in El Salvador, the organizations that make up the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) are closing ranks.

"We declare that in spite of the grief that seizes us we will remain firm in struggle, and that nothing and no one can stop the revolutionary advance of our people," declared the FMLN and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) on April 20.

While pressing forward with their efforts at unification, the FMLN forces have also deepened their military offensive in the countryside.

In the wake of the assassination of Mélida Anaya Montes and the suicide of Salvador Cayetano Carpio — two of the foremost leaders of the People's Liberation Forces (FPL) — Salvadoran revolutionists are particularly on guard against disruption operations, smear campaigns, and "disinformation" efforts by the CIA aimed at foiling the advances being made toward unity.

Anaya Montes, better known as Commander Ana María, was slain in Managua, Nicaragua, early on the morning of April 6. Cayetano Carpio, the founder and commander in chief of the FPL, took his own life April 12 after learning that the assassination of Anaya Montes had been organized by an individual who was part of the central command of the FPL.

The details of the tragic events were reported in Managua by the Nicaraguan Ministry of the Interior, whose forces captured the assassins.

## Results of investigation

In a statement made public April 20, the ministry reported the following results of its investigation to date:

"1. The investigations have led to clarification of the circumstances in which the crime [the murder of Anaya Montes] was committed, as well as the identification and capture of its perpetrators, whose names are the following:

"a. Rogelio A. Bazzaglia Recinos, 28, mastermind and organizer of the crime. He was arrested April 9 of this year.

"b. Walter Ernesto Elías, 18; Andrés Vásquez Molina, 22; and Julio A. Soza Orellana, 25, who carried out the assassination and in whose possession were found the weapons, clothing, and other items used to carry it out. They were captured the 12th of this month.

"c. Alejandro Romero Romero, 24, and María Argueta Hernández, 39, accomplices who facilitated entry of the homicidal group into the house of Commander Ana María. They were arrested the day of the crime.

"All of them are of Salvadoran nationality.

"2. Statements by the prisoners and further investigations have shown that the mastermind and main person responsible for the murder used the pseudonym Marcelo and is a member of the Central Command of the People's Liberation Forces (FPL) of El Salvador, where he carried out responsibilities in close connection with Compañero Salvador Cayetano Carpio, Commander Marcial, first in command of this revolutionary organization."

## How plot was implemented

The Ministry of the Interior's statement continues:

"3. This person [Marcelo], taking advantage of the responsibility he had been given inside the FPL and of the confidence placed in him by Compañero Salvador Cayetano Carpio, took advantage of the latter's absence to sow political distrust against Commander Ana María among some rank-and-file members, who were then manipulated to carry out this crime.

"4. The course of events and our investigations indicate that these developments are a result of enemy activity, characteristic of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

"5. Once the perpetrators of the crime were detained and these important results of the investigations were obtained, the Ministry of the Interior proceeded to inform Compañero Carpio of these facts. Depressed and overwhelmed by the irrefutable proof of enemy activities carried out through a member in his confidence that culminated in the assassination of Compañera Ana María, Compañero Carpio made the tragic decision to take his life Tuesday, April 12, at 9:30 p.m. In the same house at the time were Compañera Tula Alvarenga de Carpio, wife of Compañero Carpio, and other compañeros who immediately informed this ministry of what had happened."

A separate statement released by the People's Liberation Forces confirmed the essential facts released by the Nicaraguan government. The mastermind of the assassination "lent himself to diversionary maneuvers instigated by the CIA," said the FPL.

"To carry out such a shameful and odious crime through maneuvers and trickery, this individual used various ex-compañeros. . . . With this treacherous and disgraceful action, Marcelo tried to resolve a resentment and alleged ideological and political divergence with

Compañera Ana María."

Commander Ana María, who was 54, had been a teacher in San Salvador and a professor at the Autonomous University in El Salvador. She was a founder of the National Association of Salvadoran Educators (ANDES) and a member of the leadership body of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), a mass organization led by the FPL.

Thousands of Nicaraguans turned out for her funeral in Managua April 9, held at a plaza that from now on will be known as Commander Ana María Revolutionary Unity Square.

The new name chosen for the plaza symbolizes awareness that in El Salvador — as was the case in Nicaragua prior to the July 1979 defeat of the Somoza dictatorship — the unification of revolutionary forces is essential to the overthrow of the tyrannical regime and the conquest of power by the workers and farmers.

In his speech at the memorial rally — the last he was to deliver — Cayetano Carpio emphasized that "U.S. imperialism is mistaken if it thinks that with these blows it will weaken our unity."

## Forty years of struggle

Carpio's death removed from the FMLN one of its central leaders, and the one who was best known outside El Salvador. On assignment from the FMLN, he had traveled widely to organize international support and to explain the aims of the revolutionary fighters. He attended the second congress of the Cuban Communist Party in 1980 and was the FMLN's representative at the fifth congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party in 1982. At the time of the murder of Ana María, he was in Libya.

Cayetano Carpio was a baker who became a leader of the bakery workers union. In 1944, he led the first successful bakery workers strike in El Salvador. He soon became one of the country's best-known union leaders.

In 1947 he joined the Communist Party of El Salvador and quickly became part of the leadership. In the 1950s he was imprisoned and tortured by the police and was forced into exile for a time.

In the 1960s he helped to initiate the United Trade Union Federation (FUS), in which the Communist Party (CP) played a major role.

He became the general secretary of the CP in the late 1960s, but in 1970 he decided to abandon the organization and form a new group. Cayetano Carpio and the six others who agreed with him rejected the approach of the CP, which confined itself largely to participation in elections and trade union activity within the hopelessly narrow legal framework established

by extremely restrictive labor legislation.

They came to the conclusion that further argument within the CP was fruitless. As Cayetano Carpio explained it, they decided that "it wasn't possible to get the party to understand the need for a political-military strategy, that is, an overall revolutionary strategy, and that this had to be demonstrated to our people in practice. . . ."

He and his small group of supporters began, on April 1, 1970, the work of building an underground organization. Two years later this culminated in the public announcement of the formation of the People's Liberation Forces.

#### Impact of Cuban revolution

Cayetano Carpio's break from the Communist Party was representative of a phenomenon that was occurring throughout Latin America in the wake of the victorious Cuban revolution, which, for the first time in the Western Hemisphere, brought the workers and farmers to power.

The Marxist leadership of the Cuban revolution reestablished the continuity of proletarian internationalism carried out by a revolutionary government — a continuity that had been broken after Lenin's death. Cuba proved that it was possible to defeat U.S. imperialism and begin the construction of a new social order.

As the class struggle sharpened throughout Latin America, revolutionary-minded forces began searching for ways to follow the Cuban example, to apply the lessons of the Cuban revolution in the conditions of their own countries, and to unite the leadership forces necessary to move toward that goal.

In El Salvador, the debate and discussion began, Cayetano Carpio recalled, "virtually with the victory of the Cuban revolution, when the most clear-sighted people . . . began to feel that a dogmatic line could not lead the revolutionary process into the new stages that were required."

The ferment in El Salvador gave rise to several organizations, coming from different origins, but all seeking to find the road to mobilizing the masses to take political power.

In 1971 left-wing Christian Democrats, among them many students, joined with other revolutionary-minded activists, including some from the CP, to form a heterogeneous grouping known as the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP). The stormy internal life of the new organization was marked by factional conflicts, splits, and even violent confrontations.

Out of one of these splits in the mid-1970s, emerged the National Resistance, whose fighting organization is known as the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN).

The deepening of the working-class radicalization and the mass mobilizations affected every working-class organization, including the Communist Party. In 1977 the CP started moving toward convergence with the organizations born in the 1970s. In 1979, the party decided to join the armed struggle.

All of the Salvadoran groups fighting imperialism were deeply inspired by the victory



Nancy/Barricada

Sandinista commanders Doris Tijerino (left) and Mónica Baltodano were honor guards at funeral of FMLN Commander Ana María.

of the Vietnamese revolution in 1975, which signaled a period in which the relationship of class forces on a world scale was shifting against the Yankee colossus.

However, the different revolutionary organizations remained divided, with factional and sectarian differences blocking joint action even when no overriding political differences existed.

#### Example of Nicaragua unity

With the July 19, 1979, victory of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the revolution in El Salvador entered a new stage. The Salvadoran people — fighting against the same kind of political repression and worsening economic conditions that led the Nicaraguan masses to rise up and take power into their own hands — were inspired by this nearby revolution. The workers and farmers of El Salvador were becoming increasingly convinced that a new government, one representing *their* class interests, could only be imposed by the most resolute struggle to destroy the imperialist-backed regime.

As the mass mobilizations deepened in the urban centers and the armed struggle expanded in the countryside, militants from all the revolutionary organizations began to press for unification of the fighting forces, so that battles would not be lost due to lack of coordination or

wasteful competition between the guerrilla groups.

Likewise in Nicaragua, the unification of the three tendencies of the divided Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) was an essential part of the process by which the working class and the most exploited layers of the peasantry asserted their leadership of the revolution, and assured the seizure of power. Without the reunification, the triumph of July 19 would have been impossible.

#### Formation of FMLN

In May 1980 the process of uniting the divided Salvadoran forces took a big step forward with the announcement of the formation of the United Revolutionary Directorate (DRU). The FPL, CP, ERP, and FARN came together in what was projected as a new unified command for the military and political organizations struggling to overthrow the dictatorship. Later joined by a smaller group known as the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC), this became the FMLN.

The FDR was also formed around this time, uniting mass organizations, unions, and broader political forces recognizing the authority of the FMLN.

Nonetheless, the five political parties within the FMLN retain their separate existence, and have even maintained, in the main, their own

separate fighting forces.

As the revolutionary process has deepened and new young fighters have joined the struggle, the pressure for advancing the process of unification has grown. New recruits are not preoccupied by the previous lines of division, nor concerned with past disputes. While political discussion is continuing throughout the vanguard forces, less and less does this take place along the old organizational lines.

As the working class comes more and more to the fore in the revolutionary process, the pressure for advancing the unification process grows.

The Cuban and Nicaraguan leaders have also been doing what they can to encourage the unification process of the Salvadoran forces by generalizing the lessons of their own revolutions.

The connection between the unity of the revolutionary leadership and the successful mobilization of the masses was emphasized by Manuel Piñero, a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban CP, at a conference in Havana a year ago attended by revolutionists from throughout Latin America.

"Life shows that it is not enough to proclaim the need for unity in order to advance toward achieving it," Piñero said. "It is precisely in this manner that the real maturity of a vanguard and its full commitment to the cause of its people is tested. Individual passions, sectarian deviations, and other limitations must bow before the collective interests of the masses.

"The process of building unity encompasses all the motor forces of the revolution and the allied democratic sectors. But its vital nerve center is the solid unity of the vanguard.

"The truth is that when the different detachments of the left succeed in cementing unity in action, have a consistent strategy, and put forward common tactics and struggles, the mass of the people — who are instinctively for solidarity among themselves — increase this unity, to the point of making it virtually irreversible.

"And the broader the scope of the forces — national and international — taking part in the struggle against the immediate enemy, the greater is the imperative of the unity of the vanguard."

#### 'Disinformation' and disruption

If unity within the leadership is essential to the success of the Salvadoran revolution, finding ways to block and disrupt that unity is at the top of the agenda for the enemies of the revolution — first and foremost the United States government, with its massive resources for such efforts.

This was put bluntly in the secret National Security Council document concerning Central America recently made public and reprinted in the *Militant* of April 22. This document outlined the central aim of U.S. policy in Central America and the Caribbean as preventing "the proliferation of Cuba-model states" in the region.

Disruption operations to block unity among

revolutionary groups in Central America were high on the list of operational priorities outlined in this government document. The United States should secretly "initiate efforts to increase factional strife among guerrilla groups" and make a "concerted effort to exacerbate factional strife in extreme left" the document said.

The U.S. rulers hope to divide revolutionary forces within El Salvador, as well as to disrupt collaboration between those forces and potential allies in other countries, including here in the United States.

The circulation of rumors and political gossip about alleged divisions and sectarian designs — often spiced with fabricated quotations, distortions, and other "inside" information — is standard operating procedure for such a campaign.

A perfect example of this kind of operation is the way the capitalist news media has reported the slaying of Commander Ana María and the suicide of Commander Marcial.

Rumors, insinuations, and speculations are presented in such a way as to suggest "the real story" — that Cayetano Carpio was actually murdered by forces within the FMLN, and that

a "power struggle" has broken out within the revolutionary forces.

That the facts all show the opposite is irrelevant to those mouthpieces for imperialism.

#### Sucker bait from 'N.Y. Times'

This kind of disinformation was typified by the *New York Times*, an authoritative voice of the American ruling class. The *Times* story on the death of Cayetano Carpio was a masterpiece of its kind. It was full of sucker bait, presented as inside stuff for those foolish enough to go for it.

The article offered not a single fact to contradict the detailed account released by Nicaragua's Ministry of the Interior on the suicide of Cayetano Carpio.

Nonetheless, the *Times* story, headlined "Top Salvadoran Rebel Chief Dies in Mystery," centered on "speculation" that the circumstances of Cayetano Carpio's death "might not have been precisely as described publicly." The evidence? The opinion of "an American official in San Salvador" who asserted that "hard-core revolutionaries do not commit suicide"!

The *Times* then goes on:

## 'Washington will fail'

[The following message was sent by the Political Committee of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party to the Revolutionary Democratic Front—Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR-FMLN) and to the People's Liberation Forces (FPL). It appeared in the May 6 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

With the assassination of Commander Ana María and the tragic death of Commander Marcial two outstanding leaders of the working class of El Salvador and the world have been lost. They were courageous fighters, worthy representatives of the people of El Salvador who are battling to free themselves from imperialist oppression and exploitation.

The assassins of Commander Ana María played the game of the CIA. Stung by the recent advances of the revolutionary forces, Washington is seeking to weaken the leadership of the Salvadoran people through such blows. Moreover, imperialism is seeking to capitalize on the loss of these two leaders to sow division among the revolutionary forces in El Salvador and opponents of capitalist oppression and exploitation everywhere.

In this aim they will fail.

The members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, together with all those in North America who support the people of El Salvador in their just struggle,

are inspired by the united response of the forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. The current offensive, named in honor of Commanders Ana María and Marcial, is testimony to the unity and determination of the Salvadoran workers and peasants.

Every blow you strike against the repressive forces of the puppet regime is a blow for the emancipation of working people in the United States and throughout the world.

Millions of Americans sympathize with your cause. Tens of millions, the vast majority, oppose Washington's aggression against El Salvador, and against other peoples in Central America and the Caribbean. Opposition to a new Vietnam in Central America runs deepest among the workers, farmers, Blacks, Latinos, and other oppressed peoples.

Inspired by your example, the Socialist Workers Party pledges to redouble efforts to help build a broad, united, and powerful movement in this country to stay Washington's hand. This is the best way we can pay homage to the two fallen fighters and leaders, Commanders Ana María and Marcial.

No U.S. aid to the murderous regime in El Salvador!

No U.S. troops to El Salvador!

Stop the "Made in USA" war against Nicaragua!

With unity until victory!

Venceremos!

"Although no evidence was offered, among the speculation was that the Nicaraguan or Cuban Government, feeling pressure on the Sandinist revolution, had decided Mr. Cayetano Carpio's group was an obstacle to negotiations to solve the problems in the region and had decided to eliminate that obstacle."

Thus, the Cubans and Nicaraguans are accused of betraying the Salvadoran revolution by murdering one of its leaders because he was too intransigent. The *Times* makes not even a pretense of reconciling this "speculation" with the charge that Cuba is "the source" of all the trouble in El Salvador and everywhere else in this hemisphere.

Finally, the article implies, without rhyme or reason, that Jorge Shafik Handal, leader of the Communist Party of El Salvador, must also be considered a suspect because the death of Cayetano Carpio is expected to "strengthen [his] hand."

As for the murder of Anaya Montes, the *Times* believes that any accusation that the CIA had a hand in that is too ridiculous for words. She was clearly murdered by people from her own organization as a result of "internecine" disputes.

Thus, in one short article, the *Times* manages to point a finger of suspicion at the Cubans, the Nicaraguans, the Salvadoran Communist Party, and the FPL.

The purpose is to aid in the campaign of driving a wedge between the groups of the FMLN-FDR, and between the Salvadoran revolution and its staunchest supporters internationally.

#### **A firm, revolutionary response**

Whatever the precise role that imperialist agents played in the assassination of Commander Ana María — and more evidence will be forthcoming as the investigation continues — Washington immediately seized on her death to advance its disruption campaign.

With the subsequent suicide of Commander Marcial, which they could not have anticipated, they further stepped up their campaign to obstruct the road of unity.

But the firm response of all the revolutionary organizations of El Salvador in favor of deepening the process of unification has made it difficult for the disrupters to have much success.

As the FMLN and FDR put it, "Those who

believe that we are going to weaken in the face of the sad circumstances are mistaken. To the contrary, our revolutionary courage will grow and our unity will strengthen!"

"Finally, we state once again to our people that we are ready to step up the struggle on all terrains and no imperialist maneuver will suc-

ceed in the face of the unwavering decision of the FMLN and FDR to reach victory together with our people, to be able to respond with them to achieve their aspirations and to honor and remember our heroes and martyrs.

"With unity until victory!"

"United to fight until the final victory!"

"Revolution or death, we will win!"

## **Record of imperialist assassins**

### *Murder in Nicaragua follows familiar pattern*

**By Ernest Harsch**

In response to accusations that the CIA was responsible for the April 6 assassination of Salvadoran rebel leader Mélida Anaya Montes (Commander Ana María) in Managua, Nicaragua, the U.S. government has piously denied any involvement.

Seizing on the fact that those arrested by Nicaraguan security forces in connection with the assassination were members of the same Salvadoran guerrilla group that Ana María was a leader of, State Department spokesman Alan Romberg claimed, "It's pretty clear that gang warfare has broken out among the insurgents."

Thus Washington's hands are obviously clean.

Or are they?

That it was Salvadorans, even insiders, who wielded the knife hardly proves that the CIA had no hand in the murder.

It has long been a favorite practice of the political police agencies of imperialist powers to assassinate leaders they fear. CIA officials now admit that they plotted to kill Patrice Lumumba, the Congolese national leader who was murdered in 1961.

Cuban President Fidel Castro has been the intended victim of numerous CIA assassination plots, a fact documented by congressional hearings.

Sometimes CIA agents are directly involved in such assassination attempts. But often others are employed to do the dirty work instead.

The infiltration or corruption of someone in the leadership of the organization to which the targeted individual belongs is standard procedure. It is often the only way to get close enough to carry out the assassination plans.

But more important is the political advantage. It is easier to cover up imperialism's hand and to sow confusion and demoralization in the wake of the murder.

After the 1965 assassination of Malcolm X, one of the United States' most outstanding Black revolutionary figures, the big-business media, echoing the police, portrayed his killing as the work of members of the Nation of Islam (a group from which Malcolm had split a year earlier), acting on their own.

But the evidence of other attempts on Malcolm's life, inconsistencies in the police account, testimony by the defendants, and the fact — revealed only later — that one of Malcolm's bodyguards was a police informer all

point to a different conclusion.

There is no doubt about the role of the political police in the 1969 slaying of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, members of the radical Black Panther Party in Chicago. Both were killed by a barrage of police gunfire. Hampton was asleep in his bed at the time.

During testimony in a subsequent suit against the government, it was revealed in court that William O'Neal, an FBI informer who had infiltrated the Panthers and become Hampton's bodyguard and the party's chief of security in Chicago, helped the police set up the raid.

A case that bears striking similarities to the assassination of Commander Ana María was the January 1973 killing of Amílcar Cabral, the well-known African liberation leader and founder of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), territories in West Africa then ruled by Portugal.

Cabral was killed in Conakry, the capital of Guinea, by a group of PAIGC members led by Innocent Camil, the commander of the PAIGC's naval forces. They were arrested by the Guinean authorities while trying to flee into Portuguese-occupied Guinea-Bissau.

The Portuguese authorities, and the imperialist press in general, portrayed the killing as an internal "squabble." And just as Washington is now trying to suggest there is a Nicaraguan or Cuban hand involved in Ana María's killing and the subsequent suicide of Salvador Cayetano Carpio, the big-business press seized on the fact that Cabral had been murdered in Conakry to claim there were rifts between the PAIGC and Guinean President Sékou Touré, who provided aid to the PAIGC.

However, the investigation into Cabral's assassination revealed that the Portuguese secret police, the PIDE, had played a key role in it.

This blow against the PAIGC came at a crucial point in its liberation struggle. Its forces had already won control of most of Guinea-Bissau and were on the verge of proclaiming the country's independence. But Cabral's assassination, obviously intended to demoralize the PAIGC's fighters, failed to stop them. The following year they won their goal.

Similarly, the loss of two key leaders of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), while a grievous blow, cannot halt the Salvadoran revolution. □

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# New U.S. threats and slanders

*Reagan tries to prepare climate for further action*

**By Steve Wattenmaker**

Over the past several months Washington's hostile propaganda toward Cuba has been stepped up considerably, and it has been accompanied by a series of provocative actions.

- On April 19 the State Department accused two Cuban UN diplomats of spying and ordered them to leave the country in 48 hours. A Latin American diplomat responded that the order was "a political gesture, part of a U.S. campaign to inflame sentiment against Cuba." These were the fourth and fifth Cuban diplomats to be expelled from the United States in the past nine months.

- Several days later the State Department restricted the travel of all Cuban diplomats at the UN to within 25 miles of New York City.

- Cubana Airlines was barred from U.S. air space for two weeks in March after Washington claimed that two Cubana passenger jets en route from Montreal to Havana had strayed from their designated flight paths over U.S. territory.

Officials in Washington claimed the planes had flown suspiciously near Griffiss Air Force Base in upstate New York.

- Washington's hypocrisy was exposed April 26 when Cuba reported that a U.S. spy plane flew the length of the island in what Cuba termed a "deliberate and cold provocation." The overflight took place during celebrations marking the 22d anniversary of the Bay of Pigs invasion.

- In two other incidents recently Cuba was accused of exporting diseases to the United States and other countries. A Miami doctor suggested in March that Cuban soldiers returning from Angola had picked up Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). Cuban refugees supposedly then transmitted the mysterious and deadly disease to the United States, the doctor hypothesized.

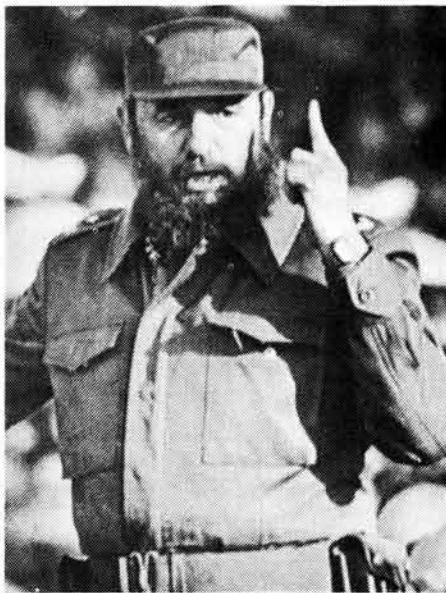
The "theory" quickly foundered on the fact that no case of AIDS has ever appeared in Cuba.

U.S. embassies in several countries also recently spread rumors that Cuban cattle were infected with contagious aphthous fever. The object of the slander campaign was to block Cuba's export of cattle vaccines and other animal products to countries in Latin America.

## Charge Castro runs drug ring

Meanwhile, federal drug enforcement officials dusted off old charges that Castro was running illegal drugs into the United States.

The original version of the story was concocted by federal prosecutors in Miami last November. Four top officials of the Cuban government were charged by a Miami grand jury with teaming up with a wealthy Colombia



FIDEL CASTRO

drug trafficker, Jaime Guillot-Lara, to smuggle millions of tons of contraband into the United States.

The sensational charges quickly disappeared from the headlines when the federal prosecutors were forced to admit that they built their case around the suspect testimony of Johnny Crump, a convicted cocaine smuggler who struck a deal with U.S. authorities for a lighter sentence.

Undaunted by their first fiasco, in April 1983 federal and New York state officials trotted out another convicted drug runner who claimed Castro had sent him to the United States on another drug-smuggling operation.

Testifying behind a screen to protect his identity, Mario Esteves told the New York State Senate Select Committee on Crime that he delivered millions of dollars in illegal drug profits to Cuban government officials.

It turned out that Esteves was arrested in Florida two years ago with 2,500 pounds of marijuana in his speedboat. He faced 15 years in jail. In return for his story, the court reduced his sentence to nine months.

## Excuse for U.S. intervention

The upsurge in these hostile actions against Cuba falls in the context of U.S. imperialism's escalating military intervention in Central America. The Reagan administration hopes that an avalanche of hostile propaganda will help build support for further moves against Cuba.

At the same time the administration is counting on more direct threats and sanctions

to pressure the Cuban people to weaken their support for the revolutions sweeping the Caribbean and Central America.

President Reagan told an audience of businessmen March 10 that the "Soviets and their Cuban henchmen" were responsible for the rebellions in Central America. "It is the United States national security" that is endangered, he warned.

The U.S. government issued a bold threat to Cuba in early April. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders testified in Congress April 12 that the administration had warned Cuba and the Soviet Union that "a dangerous situation would . . . develop" if either country increased its military aid to Nicaragua.

"We have communicated to Moscow and Havana how dangerous such a move would be," Enders told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

## Preparing public opinion

Another move in Washington's war of nerves against the Cuban revolution appeared in the April 22 *New York Times*.

Leslie Gelb reported that the administration had concluded that Cuba is "the source" of the rebellions in Central America. "Although there is apparently no agreement yet on what to do about it, some officials talk as if something is either going on or in the works to make Cuba pay a price," Gelb wrote.

But the Reagan administration faces a problem not just in the Cuban revolution. U.S. working people are deeply opposed to the administration's huge arms buildup and the threat of new Vietnams in Central America and the Caribbean.

And if Washington harbors any lingering hopes that tougher measures will soften Cuba's denunciations of imperialism's war plans in the region, it should recall Fidel Castro's words in speaking to thousands of Cuban militia members last December:

"Our main strength does not lie in our weapons; it lies in our morale, our patriotism and our revolutionary consciousness. . . ."

"We are not a world power. We are a small country and we are willing to make our contribution to peace; but one thing we will never ever do is give up our principles, never give up our dignity, never give up our ideology, our independence." □

## Correction

A typographical error appeared in Fidel Castro's speech to the Nonaligned Summit Conference in the May 2 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. On page 235, the text says U.S. corporations "invested \$1.45 billion" in underdeveloped countries during the 1970-79 period. The sentence should have read: "In the specific case of U.S. transnationals, during 1970-79 they invested \$11.45 billion and repatriated profits amounting to \$48.67 billion, which means a \$4.25 return from the Third World for every new dollar invested in that period."

# May Day protests back Solidarity

*Demonstrations held in 20 cities*

**By Ernest Harsch**

Chanting "This is our holiday!" tens of thousands took to the streets of Warsaw and a score of other Polish cities May 1 to celebrate the international working-class holiday and to express their backing for the outlawed Solidarity union movement.

The demonstrations were the largest since August 1982, and took place despite government threats and displays of force. They showed that Solidarity still commands massive support among working people and that opposition to the government's bureaucratic methods of rule and mismanagement of the economy remains widespread.

A declaration calling for the May Day protests was issued by the Provisional Coordinating Committee (TKK), Solidarity's underground leadership. It affirmed, "Solidarity lives and is well rooted in the factories. The union functions and has not given up its defense of the rights of working people in Poland. We are fighting for the right to free activity, for freedom for political prisoners, and for an end to the persecution of activists of the independent union movement."

## **100,000 protest**

According to initial estimates, some 100,000 people responded to this call around the country. The government-run television acknowledged that there were actions in at least 20 cities. The largest reported demonstrations took place in Warsaw, Gdansk, and Nowa Huta, a steel center near Krakow.

In Warsaw, a crowd of between 5,000 and 10,000 gathered outside St. John's Cathedral in the capital's Old Town, filling the narrow streets and spilling out onto the nearby Castle Square.

White-and-red Solidarity flags and banners were waved by the demonstrators and hung from some surrounding buildings. Protesters chanted the names of Lech Walesa and other Solidarity leaders, as well as "Release the prisoners!" "We want the truth!" and "Here is Poland!"

Units of the ZOMO riot police sealed off the streets in the area, and after nearly an hour called on the crowd to disperse. The protesters answered with whistles and chants of "This is our holiday! Freedom for all!"

The police opened up with high-pressure water cannon and then charged the crowd with riot sticks. But the demonstration reformed in an open area near the Vistula River, doubling in size as it was joined by newcomers. The protesters dispersed again when a convoy of armored vehicles moved in from one side and

units of mounted police came from the other.

In Gdansk, a large white-and-red Polish flag, with a Solidarity logo emblazoned across it, was hoisted atop one of the towers at the main train station.

Meanwhile, a crowd estimated at between 15,000 and 40,000 assembled. Some came from a mass at St. Brygida's Church and others were reported to have joined after splitting away from the government's official May Day ceremonies. The demonstrators rallied at the monument to workers slain during the 1970 strikes, located just outside the main gate of the Lenin Shipyard, where Solidarity was born.

As in Warsaw, the police attacked, swinging truncheons. Some of the demonstrators fled through the narrow streets of the Old Town, amid barrages of tear gas. Others reformed and attempted to march to the working-class suburb where Walesa lives.

A separate demonstration of up to 2,000 gathered outside Walesa's apartment building and cheered when he appeared at the balcony.

The official television news also showed film of clashes between protesters and police in Nowa Huta, and reported that police broke up a march of several thousand in Wroclaw.

Other cities where demonstrations were known to have taken place included Krakow, Szczecin, Poznan, Gdynia, Bydgoszcz, and Lodz.

Commenting on the scale of the demonstrations, Walesa said afterward, "I am very happy. Physically, we did not have much chance [against the police], but it is a great gain."

## **More threats and repression**

In contrast to the enthusiasm and spontaneity of the pro-Solidarity May Day demonstrations, the bureaucracy's official ceremonies were muted affairs. Although they were larger than the antigovernment actions — thanks to a concerted campaign of pressure in factories and schools to ensure a big turnout — the official marches were virtually silent, and attracted few spectators.

Nevertheless, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the prime minister, claimed that those who oppose the government's policies "constitute today only a pitiful margin without any chance of success."

But those who back Solidarity and its demands are no "pitiful margin." They comprise the bulk of Poland's workers, nearly 10 million of whom belonged to the union before Jaruzelski's declaration of martial law in December 1981.

Those who participated in the May Day demonstrations were only the most determined and courageous. They came out despite a weeks-long campaign of intimidation and threats — and with the knowledge that they would most likely be attacked by the police.

Government officials had bluntly warned that the police and military were "prepared for any occasion." Patrols of military police were resumed in Warsaw and other cities April 21, for the first time since martial law was eased at the end of December.

In an effort to further intimidate workers, the authorities have continued a series of trials of key Solidarity leaders and supporters, and have carried out new detentions. On April 24, the police announced the arrest of Jozef Piniór, one of the five members of the TKK and Solidarity's highest-ranking leader in the Wroclaw region.

Walesa himself was detained briefly and questioned several times after he met with TKK members on April 9–11 and indicated his backing for the May Day actions.

However, because of the popular support for Walesa and the movement he heads, the authorities are still treating him with relative care, for fear that arresting him could provoke a massive outcry. In fact, Walesa's campaign to get back his old job as an electrician at the Lenin Shipyard has been successful.

## **Walentyńowicz freed**

Likewise, Anna Walentyńowicz, another popular Solidarity leader at the Lenin Shipyard, received a relatively light sentence at the conclusion of a trial on charges that she had helped organize a strike at the shipyard immediately after the declaration of martial law. Although the prosecutor had asked that she be jailed for three years, she was given a 15-month suspended sentence in late March and freed.

The bureaucracy's carefully limited repression is a reflection of the predicament that it faces. It is precisely because Solidarity is not some "pitiful margin" that the authorities must be cautious.

Sensing the government's difficulties — and their own continued strength — Solidarity supporters again became bolder in openly challenging the bureaucracy's rule in the period leading up to May 1. This has come after several months of relative passivity and demoralization following the failure of Solidarity's general strike call last November.

A programmatic declaration issued by the TKK in late January, entitled "Solidarity Today," laid out a more long-term perspective

of struggle for Solidarity's demands, including a new emphasis on struggles in the factories around immediate issues.

In line with this approach, workers at the Fadroma enterprise in Wrocław carried out a week-long work slowdown February 14–19 to protest against the firing of union activists.

On March 8, students at the University of Warsaw rallied on the anniversary of the 1968 Polish student upsurge.

On March 13, and again on April 13, thousands demonstrated in Warsaw, Gdansk, Wrocław, Kalisz, and elsewhere to mark the day of the month on which martial law was declared.

More than 1,000 Solidarity supporters gathered in Warsaw on April 17 to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the 1943 Jewish Warsaw Ghetto uprising against the Nazi occupation forces.

The only leader of that uprising still living in Poland, Marek Edelman, was barred by the government from attending the commemoration because of his support for Solidarity (he was a union leader in Łódź before martial law). Edelman had called for a boycott of the government's official anniversary ceremonies, calling them "manipulated celebrations."

Referring to the government's antiworker policies, Edelman declared, "Real socialism has nothing to do with this." □

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## Brazil

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# Unemployed show their anger

## *Protests shake major cities as IMF plan is imposed*

**By Will Reissner**

Five days of angry protests by unemployed workers in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and other cities in early April highlighted the deepening economic crisis shaking Brazil. This outburst of anger began only days after the 19th anniversary of military rule in that country.

The protests in São Paulo, Brazil's industrial center, arose out of meetings of the unemployed organized in that city's shantytowns by the Communist Party of Brazil (PC do B), a small organization that looks to the Albanian Communist Party for leadership.

These meetings turned into massive gatherings. One such rally on April 4 was further swelled by thousands of unemployed workers who had showed up at a nearby factory to apply for several jobs advertised in a newspaper.

The crowd enthusiastically supported a proposal to march on the palace of the state governor of São Paulo to demand action to create jobs.

### **Attack by 10,000 police**

Chanting "end the unemployment or we will stop Brazil," the marchers reached the palace, where the governor refused to meet with their representatives. At that point the demonstrators began tearing down the iron fence surrounding the palace and were attacked by 10,000 mounted and riot police using tear gas. The demonstration finally dispersed when the governor changed his mind and met with 10 of the marchers, promising to spend more on public works programs.

But battles with police continued for more than four days, taking place in 48 locations in São Paulo and several other cities. More than 500 people were arrested, and most shops and offices in São Paulo were closed for several days. Crowds of shantytown dwellers distri-

buted the goods in foodstores and supermarkets.

On April 11, a similar protest broke out in downtown Rio de Janeiro after about 2,500 people lined up outside a building to apply for several job vacancies.

As the April 15 *Latin America Weekly Report* notes, the rebellions "were clearly fed by the desperation of the unemployed and shantytown dwellers, who have been through three and a half years of recession, without unemployment benefits or social security payments."

The demonstrations and battles with police reflected the sharpening social tensions in Brazil. The *Latin America Weekly Report* notes that "many observers commented on the ferocity of the rioters." It added that "with the end of the festive season — Christmas, Carnival and Easter — the unemployed faced long months of unrelieved hardship."

Since there is no unemployment compensation in Brazil, the number of unemployed workers is unknown. But estimates range between 25 million and 30 million (the country's total population is about 130 million).

The economic depression has further deepened since the beginning of this year, when the International Monetary Fund insisted on implementation of a drastic austerity program as its price for providing temporary relief for Brazil's foreign debt crisis.

### **IMF austerity plan**

Today Brazil's foreign debt stands at nearly \$84 billion, by far the highest in the world. Several times in recent months the central bank has been unable to make payments on loans and interest to U.S. lenders, and has been saved from default only by the intervention of the Federal Reserve Bank in New York.

Brazil had borrowed heavily from imperialist banks during the 1960s and 1970s.

The military government expected to be able to repay the foreign loans by increasing Brazilian exports of manufactured and agricultural goods. But export markets have shrunk under the impact of the worldwide capitalist economic crisis. And raw materials sales, which still make up 40 percent of Brazil's total exports, have also been hard hit by falling commodity prices.

In two agreements signed in December and February, the IMF agreed to provide Brazil with over \$6 billion in new credits, the largest IMF loan to a single country in the fund's history.

But in return for the new loans, the Brazilian military government had to agree to further cut the living standards of workers and farmers in order to free up resources to repay the imperialist banks. The government agreed to cut spending by 20 percent, and curtail imports by \$3 billion while boosting exports.

All these measures, together with the general impact of the international capitalist economic crisis, are expected to result in a 5 percent decline in Brazil's gross national product in 1983. Economists estimate that just to keep unemployment from rising, Brazil's economy must grow by 3 percent per year.

### **Decline in real wages**

As part of the austerity program, in mid-February the government announced a sudden devaluation of the Brazilian currency by 23 percent to make exports cheaper. This move led to an immediate surge of inflation. In March alone, prices climbed more than 10 percent (an annual inflation rate of 316 percent). The price of staples such as milk, bread, and eggs rose by more than 30 percent that month.

In January, the government abolished a law mandating cost-of-living increases for workers; strikes are illegal in Brazil.

Brazil's working class and poor can ill afford further cuts in their living standards. As Carl Peterson wrote from Rio de Janeiro in the April 2 *Nation*, despite the economic growth of the past decade, for the vast majority of Brazilians "real wages have declined catastrophically since the 1964 U.S.-backed military coup, which overthrew the reformist government of João Goulart and installed the present regime."

São Paulo's governor, Franco Montoro, took office in March following elections in November for civilian state governors — the first in 17 years. Montoro is a liberal capitalist opponent of the military regime. His response to the workers' protests has been to defend the interests of his class by drawing closer to the military and launching a general repressive drive against all working-class organizations. Although the repression has focused on the PC do B, it is also hitting the Workers Party (PT) and other groups.

But despite the repression, imperialist bankers fear that in the face of the recent events in São Paulo the Brazilian government will be unable to apply the degree of austerity demanded by the IMF. □

# New austerity plan hits workers

*Socialist and Communist leaders voice regrets*

By Jean Lantier

[France's Socialist Party government announced a package of austerity measures — it prefers the term "rigor" to "austerity" — on March 25. The austerity plan was announced days after the third devaluation of the French franc since President François Mitterrand took office in June 1981.

[Under this package, there will be a 1 percent surcharge on all income taxes, and new taxes on tobacco, alcohol, and gasoline. Many taxpayers will also have to make a forced three-year loan to the government equalling 10 percent of their total income taxes.

[Charges for gas, electricity, telephones, and railroad tickets were increased 8 percent. Hospital charges were also increased, and government spending for social security was cut. A program to limit spending abroad by French tourists was dropped after bitter opposition from the travel industry.

[The austerity package was announced less than two weeks after the March 13 second round of municipal elections in France. In the two rounds, the Socialist and Communist parties, which are partners in the government, suffered substantial losses.

[The following article is abridged from the April 1, 1983, issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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On February 16, Mitterrand's prime minister, Pierre Mauroy, stated on television that "there is no austerity plan and this discussion about austerity is a discussion that is not currently germane." He added — this was in an election period — that "if we had to deepen the [policy of] rigor, there would be no question of further imposing on those who are the most deprived, those who are the poorest, those of average income. If we had to deepen the rigor, we would necessarily have to impose on those who are the richest. . . ." This was a shameful lie.

One month later, the package of measures announced by Mauroy's government attacked all the wage earners, while sparing the rich. Through the tax increases, the cut in the indirect wage, and the increased utility charges, this government uses every means to force the costs of the crisis onto the mass of workers.

We must force these men to withdraw the austerity plan by use of the strike. They do not understand any other language.

Their policy cannot succeed. You can lead a horse to water, but you cannot make it drink.

The horse, that's the employers. After the first two devaluations, the employers did not invest more, did not create more jobs, did not play the game. Won't these ministers who govern us ever see that the employers won't bow to their wishes, won't allow themselves to be seduced?

Only profits count for the employers. Who can make us believe that the funds deducted by force from the wages of the workers will in any way serve to create jobs?

## Pangs of conscience

Sharply cutting purchasing power, as the government has just done, causes some pangs of conscience among Socialist and Communist party leaders. This "does not correspond to what we wanted to do," Socialist Party leader Lionel Jospin tells the SP's leadership committee. Georges Marchais and Herzog, for the Communist Party, express their doubts, and think it would be better to make the rich pay.

Here we see these leaders of the two big parties wedged between the employers — who are hellbent on their profits — and a working-class base that is scandalized by the government's policy. Failure stalks them, on the economic as well as the political level.

But there it is: they want to cure the capitalist system of this sickness called crisis by palming the virus off on the workers.

These damned doctors attack social security and the wage earners, while the cause of the illness is the patient itself, the system based on profits. These ministers are incompetents, placing their meager science at the service of employers who don't want them.

Since June 1982 two austerity plans (the first was only an appetizer) have frontally attacked the purchasing power of the workers.

Consumption is going to drop, if we let it. This drop will have an impact on the volume of production, and therefore on jobs. From this we can project increased factory closings and layoffs.

In addition to layoffs, the government will systematically carry out a policy of encouraging the spread of part-time work. The worst effects of this policy will weigh on women, who are specially exploited. That's what Thatcher did, that's what Mitterrand will do.

This plan is therefore a straightforward and unambiguous plunge into austerity. The only way to push back the Mauroy-Delors plan will be through workers' struggles to defend their purchasing power and to force its cancellation.

## Anger among workers

Today there is great discontent in the factories. In the locker rooms, in the cafeterias, at the coffee machines, you hear expressions of

disgust, of bitterness. Everyone expresses their opposition to these measures that only hit the wage earners.

This sentiment must be turned into action. This collective sentiment must be expressed. The workers, who are against the austerity, must raise their voices against the government's attack. In the plants there is spontaneous rejection of the austerity measures. This must become a demand for the immediate cancellation of the measures, all of them.

Many workers — union members or unorganized — are ready to say together that this austerity plan must be blocked. The trade-union federations do not openly oppose this. If for once they listened to the workers they would say publicly, before their meeting with Mauroy, that in the name of their members they demand the cancellation of the plan. They would say that they are jointly preparing a national response, a united 24-hour strike, if the government dares to maintain its decrees despite the common position of the unions.

They don't do this. It will take many union members, many workers to bring them to their senses. The CP-led General Confederation of Labor (CGT) opts for decentralized action. The SP-led French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) prays for a common employers-workers fund for the creation of jobs. Both prefer any detour rather than the road of struggle.

## Need for united response

In the face of an attack that hits everyone, in the face of a body of measures that are totally interlinked, there must be a united national response. Let's prepare one. You cannot unleash such an action simply by pushing a button. We must work to see the initial actions that take place by department or job category converge toward a common national objective: all together, on strike, in the streets, the same day.

Does anyone dare think that such an action would not make Mitterrand and his ministers stop and ponder? The question of trade-union unity, of workers' unity, is therefore at the heart of the response.

The CGT seems ready to have a united May Day, maybe. The CFDT has shown the same willingness, as has the National Teachers Federation (FEN). Since unity is possible, they should agree right away to organize a 24-hour national strike. They have the means to do it. It is up to us to make them understand that they must be willing to do it.

And what about our dear parliamentary deputies?

This time it is not a question of going to see them to beg them to intervene. If these SP and CP deputies have any respect whatsoever for the voices that carried them into the National Assembly, they should refuse to vote for the austerity plan.

But these deputies, like the ministers, will have their ears unplugged only by the voices of the workers in united strike against these measures and in defense of their purchasing power. □

# Marroquín faces deportation

*Final appeal now before Supreme Court*

**By Steve Wattenmaker**

The campaign to win political asylum for Héctor Marroquín, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, has entered a critical stage. If Marroquín's final appeals are rejected, he may be forced to leave the United States within the next several months.

Born in Mexico, Marroquín has lived in the United States for nine years. Since 1977 he has been fighting efforts of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to deport him. Marxists, the INS has said, have no right to political asylum. In January 1983 a federal appeals court agreed.

Prominent civil liberties attorney Leonard Boudin filed court papers in early April asking the U.S. Supreme Court to reverse that judgment. Meanwhile, the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) has begun a nationwide drive to gain support for Marroquín's right to asylum. Marroquín will tour coast to coast, explaining his fight to trade unionists, Black and Latino activists, students, church groups, and antiwar organizations. Major rallies for Marroquín in a score of U.S. cities will highlight the tour.

## **Labor movement the target**

The government's determination to deport Marroquín reflects its need for an immigration policy that can be used against the U.S. working class as a whole.

During 1982 immigration cops raided factories and workplaces across the country, rounding up undocumented workers for deportation. The highly publicized raids were labeled "Operation Jobs" in an attempt to misdirect the blame for high U.S. unemployment — laying it at the feet of undocumented workers. Native-born workers will be persuaded to turn against foreign-born workers, the U.S. rulers hope, thus further dividing and weakening the working class as a whole.

Within that general framework, through deporting Marroquín and others like him, Washington hopes to intimidate revolutionary-minded activists among the increasingly large and vital section of the U.S. working class that comes from Central America and the Caribbean. "Marroquín has admitted from his own mouth that he is a Marxist . . . the U.S. doesn't grant asylum to those kinds of people," the government attorney said at Marroquín's 1979 deportation hearing.

In the same vein, the U.S. State Department acted recently to bar Hortensia Allende, widow of Chile's Salvador Allende, who was murdered during the 1973 coup, from entering the United States — because, it claimed, she is a "communist." Nicaraguan government leader Tomás Borge was also denied a visa to

speak at Harvard University in April.

The attempt to deport Marroquín is part of this strategy. That is why the threat of his being forced out of the United States is so real and immediate.

## **Fled persecution in Mexico**

Héctor Marroquín's demand for political asylum is based on the fact that he may lose his freedom or even his life if he is forced to return to Mexico.

As a politically active student in Mexico in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Marroquín was part of a generation of youth who were outraged by the social inequality suffered by Mexico, under the heel of U.S. imperialist domination.

A milestone in Marroquín's political life was the October 1968 massacre of hundreds of students peacefully protesting in Mexico City. The Mexico City massacre was part of a broader campaign by the government to imprison, murder, or "disappear" an entire generation of radicalized leaders of the trade union, peasant, and student movements.

In Monterrey, where Marroquín was studying economics, the police also carried out murderous repression against student activists. In January 1972 Marroquín watched as the authorities gunned down his roommate Jesus Rivera, accusing him of being a guerrilla.

Marroquín was finally forced to flee Mexico in early 1974 after another friend, a university librarian, was murdered. Two days after the killing, Marroquín was startled to see his own picture in the newspaper. He and four others were accused of killing the librarian. They were also branded as members of a terrorist organization that did not exist.

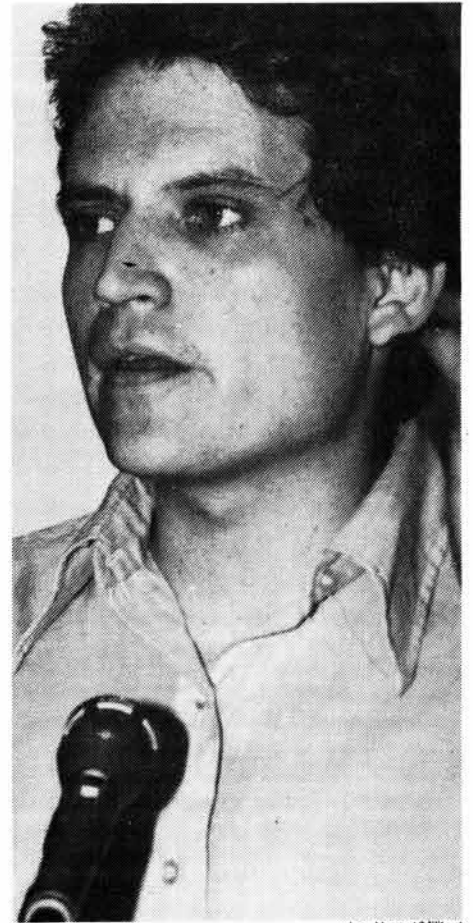
After talking to a lawyer — and seeing first hand what the police had in store for him if he surrendered — Marroquín fled to Texas.

## **INS rejects asylum**

While working under an assumed name in Houston, Marroquín had his worst fears confirmed. He was accused of more terrorist acts — including a half-million-peso robbery. At the time of the alleged robbery, Marroquín was lying in a Galveston, Texas, hospital after a serious car accident. Around the same time, he heard that two of those accused with him of killing the librarian had been shot down by police. A third was kidnapped and never heard from again.

Marroquín joined the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in 1975. At the time he was working in a Coca-Cola bottling plant in Houston and became active in a union campaign to organize the work force.

In September 1977 Marroquín was arrested



Lou Howort/Militant

HÉCTOR MARROQUÍN

at the Mexican border, trying to re-enter the United States after a visit to his lawyer in Monterrey. It was only then that Marroquín found out he could ask for political asylum. He did and was turned down cold.

That began the U.S. government's five-year effort to deport Héctor Marroquín.

At his deportation hearing in 1979, Marroquín proved beyond doubt that he was the victim of a political frame-up. But the INS turned its back on the overwhelming evidence that his only "crime" in Mexico was speaking out in defense of the oppressed. He was ordered deported.

An appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals in March 1982 was turned down and Marroquín took his case to the federal courts.

Marroquín's fight for asylum has already won broad public support. In 1978 he spoke to thousands of people during a 60-city tour. A renewed campaign on the same scale is being mounted as the Supreme Court considers his final asylum appeal.

Messages of support are needed from around the world. Messages demanding that Héctor Marroquín be granted political asylum should be directed to: Alan Nelson, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536. Please send copies to PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# 1,500 at meeting for E. P. Thompson

*Leader of British antimissiles movement offers anticommunist message*

By Larry Seigle

[The following article appeared in the April 29 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

NEW YORK — A large crowd turned out here April 13 to listen to E. P. Thompson, one of the best-known figures in the movement against nuclear missiles in Britain.

Thompson, a social historian and author, spoke at a forum entitled "Protest and Survive" sponsored by the Nation Institute, associated with the liberal magazine, *The Nation*.

More than 1,500 people bought \$5 or \$6 tickets to attend the event.

Also on the program was Randall Forsberg, a national leader of the bilateral nuclear freeze campaign in the United States. The evening was moderated by Studs Terkel, the Chicago radio personality and writer.

Thompson got an enthusiastic response from the audience as he described the ongoing demonstrations at Greenham Common, a military base 50 miles west of London. The base will be the site of the first of the new cruise missiles that Washington is planning to deploy in Western Europe this year.

In collaboration with its NATO allies, Washington is planning to place a total of 572 new cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Britain, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands,

and Italy.

The missiles will be aimed at the Soviet Union. The Pershings will be only five or six minutes away from their targets.

## Greenham Common protest

In reaction to this nuclear escalation by the United States, a series of increasingly sizable demonstrations have been organized in Western Europe.

At Greenham Common, women — whose goal is to stop the deployment of the missiles — have been encamped outside the base for 18 months. Their determined action has helped to deepen the debate and galvanize opposition to the missiles.

On April 1, some 70,000 turned out near the Greenham Common base in one of Britain's largest antinuclear demonstrations. The protest was part of a series of large actions held in a number of capitalist countries in Europe against the new U.S. missiles.

Opinion polls show that a clear majority of people in Britain are unconditionally against the missiles. This sentiment is especially deep within the labor movement. Unions representing 6 million members are formally affiliated to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), the main organizer of the antimissile demonstrations.

And the Labor Party itself has gone on re-

cord in opposition to the missiles, and for the dismantling of all U.S. bases in Britain.

The growing opposition to the missiles is posing serious problems for the imperialists in Washington and their allies in Western European capitals. The actions have been aimed at halting the introduction of the U.S. missiles, which the imperialists consider a critical necessity in their policy of nuclear terrorism against the Soviet Union and the working people of the world.

## Growing debate

There is, however, a deepening debate within the ranks of the antimissiles movement. E. P. Thompson is prominent among those who insist that the protesters in Western Europe should not focus their demands on their own imperialist governments and on Washington, but should demand "equally" that the Soviet Union dismantle its nuclear missiles.

Recently, Thompson has identified himself with the increasingly vocal anticommunist and anti-Soviet wing of this movement, a fact which has come as something of a surprise to many.

He gave expression to these views at the New York forum, and has recently written about them in the pages of *The Nation*.

In his speech, Thompson defended his position that the threat of nuclear war comes not from Washington and its imperialist allies, but "from the growing military-industrial complexes of both East and West."

He said that European opponents of nuclear missiles should focus on the slogan of "the removal of all nuclear weapons from the Urals to the Eastern Atlantic." (The Ural Mountains, half a continent east of Moscow, are the traditional dividing line between Europe and Asia.)

In a stridently anticommunist tone that was jarring to some in the audience, Thompson insisted that "the non-aligned majority peace movements of Europe are in no way lovers of the Soviet system, no way at all." To make this clear, he insisted, antimissiles forces should not "confine ourselves to the measures of halting weaponry," but should raise the banner of the fight against "repression" in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

(Professor Thompson made no reference to any problems of repression closer to London, such as British terrorism in Northern Ireland.)

## Warning to 'sleepwalkers'

In an article in the February 26 issue of *The Nation*, Thompson had presented this viewpoint in even bolder language. He warned that those who reject placing equal responsibility on Washington and Moscow for the danger of

## Democratic Party explains nuclear freeze

As the Democratic Party has increasingly adopted the bilateral nuclear freeze proposal as part of its election platform for 1984, the end point of the strategy behind the bilateral freeze campaign has become clearer for all to see.

The Democrats are using the bilateral freeze proposal to give themselves a peace mask, while they plunge ahead with ever-greater appropriations for war spending, nuclear buildup, and military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The House of Representatives, controlled by the Democratic Party, is now getting ready to approve the bilateral freeze resolution. They will take this move at the same time they are voting to increase war spending to all-time record levels ("only" a 4 percent jump, after inflation), and as they refuse to cut off financing for the murderous regime in El Salvador and the CIA's private terrorist army operating in Nicara-

gua.

A lengthy "clarification" of the freeze resolution was offered by Representative Clement Zablocki, Democrat of Wisconsin and chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, during the debate in the House on April 13.

As the *New York Times* reported, the congressman "assured House members that the resolution would not require the United States to disarm unilaterally. It would permit the nation, he contended, to continue the development, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons the Administration wants to build, unless and until such weapons were specifically included in a freeze agreement with the Soviet Union."

According to Zablocki, "Nothing will be frozen until the freeze is signed, approved, and ratified. The purpose of this resolution is not unilateral restraint."

Indeed not.

war are "sleepwalking" into a Soviet trap. If the sleepwalkers do not wake up, wrote Thompson, the Kremlin will succeed in its efforts to "manipulate" the antimissiles movement to serve its own ends.

"The Western peace movement," Thompson wrote, "derives its strength precisely from its political independence, its 'unacceptable' demands upon both blocs. If it should sleepwalk into a state of dependency in accordance with the Soviet game plan, its support could fall away as rapidly as it arose. The movement could be painted into an ugly pro-Soviet corner."

Thompson's attack on his critics among the antimissiles protesters will sound to many like an echo — deliberate or not — of widely publicized red-baiting charges that have been emanating recently from the U.S. government and right-wing circles.

These smears — against organizations such as the U.S. Peace Council, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the National Council of Churches — have been part of a systematic campaign to discredit opponents of U.S. war policy.

As an advocate of the "third camp" view, Thompson denies that it is the imperialist powers that are the source of the danger of nuclear war. "We do not wish to apportion guilt between the political and military leaders of East and West," says Thompson. "Guilt lies squarely upon both parties."

This framework drives Thompson and his followers constantly toward more right-wing positions leading to accommodation with imperialism. The line defended by Thompson, and its increasingly anti-Soviet tone, has been the subject of debate and sharp disagreement in Britain, including within the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the labor movement.

#### Electoral strategy for U.S.

Thompson's "third camp" anticommunist strategy was in complete harmony with the perspectives presented at the New York meeting by Randall Forsberg, speaking for the bilateral nuclear freeze campaign.

Forsberg presented an orientation to working for Democrats in the November 1984 elections as the essential next step to be taken by supporters of the bilateral freeze proposal in the United States.

Advocates of a bilateral freeze, Forsberg said, should concentrate their energies in 1984 on waging "an electoral campaign at every level." The goal, she said, should be to "change the course of American politics" through the elections, so that "we get to a point in November 1984, where we have a government in the White House as well as the House of Representatives that will support a nuclear freeze."

This perspective got a mixed response from the audience. During a discussion by panelists, Richard Falk, a professor at Princeton University, drew some of the biggest applause of the evening when he responded to Forsberg by

pointing out that "it is not at all clear that the American people will have a meaningful choice in the 1984 elections."

Falk explained that such a choice would have to be "something more than whether the defense budget increases 10 percent rather than 4 percent."

#### Silence on Central America

Unfortunately, neither Forsberg nor Thompson took advantage of the opportunity presented by the large meeting to speak out forcefully against the escalating U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. Neither of them acknowledged that the danger of nuclear war lies in the fact that the imperialist powers threaten to use their nuclear arsenals in just such wars against people of the Third World — as Britain threatened to do in

## Imperialists fabricate Soviet spy scare

By Will Reissner

Since the beginning of 1983, nearly 70 diplomats and journalists from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have been expelled by the United States and its allies on charges of spying. This compares with 49 expulsions in all of 1982 and only 27 in 1981.

Since March 31 alone, Britain expelled four Soviet citizens, Spain expelled one, France expelled 47, the United States expelled three, and Australia expelled one.

Right-wing columnist William Safire of the *New York Times* charged on April 28 that the expulsions show that under Soviet leader Yuri Andropov, spies "have taken charge in Soviet embassies around the world."

The front-page headline in the April 25 *Christian Science Monitor* claimed "Soviet spies stalk US Congress."

But the flurry of expulsions of Soviet diplomats and warnings about Soviet spies has nothing to do with any sudden increase in espionage. Rather, it has to do with the dramatic increase of imperialist propaganda against the Soviet Union. Washington has accused the Soviets of using banned chemical warfare weapons, of employing slave labor to build gas pipelines, of being the focus of evil in the world.

Reagan maintains that the Soviet secret police have spearheaded the movement against placement of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe. He charges that the Soviets are ultimately behind the revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean. And now Soviet spies are supposedly running amok throughout the world.

Dusko Doder, writing from Moscow in the April 27 *Washington Post*, notes that "the wave of expulsions of Soviet diplomats and other espionage-related charges by Western countries is seen here as a political and propaganda 'guerrilla war' against Moscow waged by the United States."

Doder adds that "as the Soviets see it, the re-

its war against Argentina a year ago.

The meeting was held in the midst of the major revelations concerning the U.S. secret war in Nicaragua, and the growing international debate over what more and more working people see as a new Vietnam being prepared in Central America and the Caribbean by Washington's deepening intervention.

Save for an appeal by Forsberg to unspecified "peace forces in Central America" — who did she have in mind? — that part of the world was left unmentioned all evening.

The speakers thus avoided taking sides against a war that is actually being waged today by the imperialists in Washington, as they strive desperately to hold back the advance of humanity represented by the struggle of the workers and farmers of Central America and the Caribbean. □

cent expulsions . . . in various countries have been carefully coordinated by the Reagan administration to create a climate of tensions."

This Soviet claim of a coordinated campaign is bolstered by the fact that the April 5 French expulsion of 47 Soviet diplomats and journalists was announced in Washington by William Safire before it even took place.

The Reagan administration is using the campaign against Soviet "spies" not only as part of its general anticommunist propaganda offensive, but also to bolster its pressure on U.S. allies to curtail their trade with the Soviet Union.

Philip Taubman of the *New York Times* reports that "in discussions last year with other Western nations, particularly their intelligence services, the Administration stressed the need for increased efforts to crack down on the technology leakage."

Significantly, the charge made by the French interior ministry against the 47 expelled Soviet citizens was that they were "engaged in a systematic search on French territory for technological and scientific information."

William Schneider, undersecretary of state for security assistance, science, and technology gloated that the French government's action "could help us tighten up export restrictions."

A similar point was made by another Reagan official on April 23, two days after Washington expelled three Soviet citizens on spying charges. Assistant Secretary of Commerce Laurence Brady called together representatives of 10 West European embassies in Washington to demand that their countries impose further restrictions on sales of high-technology products to the Soviet Union.

But the European imperialists draw the line at moves that cut into their profits. On April 28 the 10 Common Market governments called Reagan's moves on trade with the Soviet Union "contrary to international law and comity." □

# Consumer goods in short supply

*Economic sabotage and speculation cause scarcity*

**By Michael Baumann**

MANAGUA — As the invasion of U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries has escalated in recent weeks, serious shortages have occurred in a number of products here. These include eggs, milk, cheese, laundry soap, cooking oil, beef, chicken, gasoline, and toilet paper.

Where do these shortages come from?

Tomás Borge, Nicaragua's Minister of the Interior, put his finger on one of the major factors: economic sabotage.

"Imperialism is trying to provoke uneasiness and discontent among the masses, through both false rumors and artificial shortages," Borge told an assembly of Sandinista Police March 26. "It is certain that a large part of the products that are currently scarce in the markets are scarce because of the rumors that have been circulated.

"We can't rule out here what the imperialists did in Chile, what they did in Cuba, where they devoted economic resources to buy basic consumer items and then destroyed them."

A report on the Sandinista daily *Barricada's* editorial page three days later frankly acknowledged the scope of the problem and indicated some contributing factors.

### Speculation has big impact

"Speculation in basic products has increased enormously, creating situations of serious shortage in some neighborhoods and cities, or else an insane increase in prices. In the space of just a few days many products have begun to run short, despite normal rates and quantities of production, even an increase in some cases."

This is "an old tactic of the counterrevolution," *Barricada* said, but it is clear "many people are participating."

The big merchants and wholesalers, *Barricada* said, "still control part of the distribution of many products" and are "without doubt" a big part of the problem.

As for the medium-sized merchants, "Some of them are receiving fewer goods from the wholesalers, have less to sell to their own customers, and consequently have increased prices to 'compensate' for fewer sales. They may also be keeping some things off the market, for when the lines get even longer."

Many small merchants and street vendors "buy directly from the supermarkets, at times simply emptying them, in order to resell the items at higher prices."

Finally, some consumers with economic resources to do so are stockpiling items they think might run out, *Barricada* said.

While some items are rationed here — sugar, rice, toilet paper, gasoline, laundry soap, and cooking oil — the Sandinista gov-

ernment has in general tried to use the state-owned and cooperative sectors to act as a counterweight to private-sector speculation and hoarding.

The idea is that through state-owned marketing channels — largely the country's two supermarket chains, people's stores in the countryside, and union-run commissaries in the factories and big agro-export farms — sufficient quantities of basic necessities could be provided at the official, subsidized price to keep prices down in general.

One of the big problems, however, is maintaining a sufficient quantity of goods that can be put on the market any time spot shortages threaten to encourage hoarding and price-gouging. It is very difficult for Nicaragua to import products needed in greater quantities because of the lack of U.S. dollars.

To begin to meet the current shortage situa-

tion, the revolutionary government has encouraged neighborhood Sandinista Defense Committees to play a bigger role in policing price violations and has carried out several highly publicized raids on merchants hoarding scarce items. It has also taken steps to try to assure smooth distribution of the two latest items in short supply — laundry soap and cooking oil.

Distribution of both products was nationalized in January, and there have been some improvements. But it has not yet significantly increased the supplies available at the official price.

In a nationally televised address April 8, the Sandinista leadership warned that real shortages could soon develop in a whole host of products because of the military situation.

The FSLN called on the entire population to unite to defend the country and warned that the war situation "may mean greater difficulties for the development of our economic programs and more serious limitations in the availability of economic resources to be distributed in the country.

"To confront these inevitable difficulties, our government will take firm measures, both to regulate fair distribution at all levels and to halt hoarding and speculation." □

## Grocers forced onto black market

**By Michael Baumann**

MANAGUA — A recent visit to a small grocery store here gave an indication of how pressures toward black-market dealings are building up.

Of the half-dozen stores we visited in the neighborhood, this is the only one that has lines. That's because the owners, in the past, have been scrupulous about sticking to official prices. A red-and-black Sandinista signboard on the wall serves notice that they support the

revolution.

Lately we had noticed that the lines were shorter, and that the store had less and less, or none of the items everybody is looking for — eggs, milk, oil, soap, toilet paper. We asked why.

"We just aren't getting deliveries anymore," one of the owners told us.

"Take milk, for example. The other day one of the neighbors told me that Perfecta [one of the two state-owned dairies that serves Man-



Michael Baumann/IP

Not all market vendors approve of Sandinista government's attempts to protect working people from price-gouging. In Masaya market, woman above told *IP* correspondent Jane Harris (right) that the government "should keep its nose out of my business."



agua] was making a delivery at one of the other stores. But they never came here. I don't know why."

This store is open seven days a week. It's supposed to get four cases of milk a day to supply its customers. We visited on a Tuesday. They hadn't had a delivery since Friday, and that sold out within hours.

As a result, they have begun to make inquiries, through relatives and friends, about alternate sources of milk supplies. They are already buying small quantities of cheese on the black market, something they resisted for weeks.

Eggs are another problem, the owner said. "We haven't had any eggs in weeks."

"You can buy them in the Mercado Oriental," she said, referring to the big central market here where much of the black market trading takes place.

"But you have to pay 13 córdobas [US\$1.30] a dozen wholesale. Then you'd have to turn around and sell them for 15 córdobas a dozen [US\$1.50, 25 percent above the official price] and risk getting fined. That's what the other stores in the neighborhood are doing."

Was there a possibility of talking with the government supply agencies and getting some of these deliveries straightened out?

"I could probably go to MICOIN [the Ministry of Internal Commerce]," she said doubtfully, "but that takes a long time. I'd have to take a cab and lose half the day. It's not worth it."

"I don't go to meetings much, or things like that," she said. "We try to help the revolution

by selling things at fair prices, and by distributing the rice and sugar [low-profit ration-card items]."

Then, laughing ironically, "things don't

work too good except for vices." She pointed to the shelves of rum and cigarettes, and to a cooler full of beer. "We've got no milk, no eggs, oil, or soap, but plenty of vices." □

## Women farm workers meet

### Discuss how to overcome discrimination

By Jane Harris

GRANADA — Seventy-two women farm workers gathered here April 10 to discuss problems they face in the fields and how to resolve them.

Sponsored by the Luisa Amanda Espinoza — Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE) and the Rural Workers Association (ATC), the meeting discussed political, organizational, labor, and social problems women farm workers confront.

While many of the concerns that were expressed affect the entire work force, delegates explained how, as women, they had special difficulties being union activists because of family responsibilities. In addition, their husbands often did not understand why they should participate in union activity.

Delegates pointed out that it was hard for them to take a role in union leadership when many of them had difficulty reading and writing. (Adult education courses, held at night, are not easy for them to attend if they have children.)

During the dead season, women said they were the first to be let go, despite the fact that many are heads of families.

Where childcare does not exist, women explained that they were forced to bring their children to the fields. When women missed work because of their children's illness, many were fired.

Two state farms were singled out as not giving women equal pay for equal work — which is against Nicaraguan law. Discrimination in hiring and training was reported. In some cases, women were even denied the right to join the union. During the coffee harvest, some women miscarried because of the difficult terrain they were assigned to work in.

The delegates, all actively defending the revolution through neighborhood vigilance teams or the militia, had many constructive suggestions concerning these problems.

They told the plenary session that a major problem was the lack of knowledge about laws already on the books. They proposed an educational campaign to overcome this.

Some problems, they felt, had easier solutions than others. For example, women could be guaranteed technical training courses. Prepared meals could free them from work at home, making adult education and union work more realistic.

At the end of the day, delegates received a surprise visitor, Commander Jaime Wheelock, minister of agrarian reform and a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista Na-

tional Liberation Front (FSLN).

Wheelock said he was sure that the problems raised by the delegates were similar to those faced by all women farm workers; that in order for the FSLN to help lead the way forward it was essential for the directorate to be familiar with these problems.

He said, "We are going to gather all these ideas together and make them into laws of the republic and labor code.

"We know we have a lot to do. We are a poor country. We received an inheritance of underdevelopment, backwardness. We are a country that is still struggling to be independent economically. We are fighting for our national sovereignty — a very difficult road," he said.

Meetings like this "help us as a leadership" to see the full scope of the problems, Wheelock said.

"What women can bring to production is really half of what we can produce," he pointed out, as women are half the agricultural work force. Agreeing, the women chanted back, "Without the participation of women, there is no revolution!"

Less than 12 hours later, U.S.-financed counterrevolutionaries destroyed the childcare center on the La Colonia state farm in the northern province of Jinotega. That act was just one more example of how the U.S.-organized war against Nicaragua is directed toward pushing back the gains that working people have won in this revolution, including women workers. The meeting of farm workers, for example, could never have taken place when the ex-dictator and friend of Washington, Anastasio Somoza, was in power. □

### Massive opposition in USA to CIA war against Nicaragua

Six-to-one, the American people are against a CIA-sponsored invasion of Nicaragua.

That's according to a recent poll conducted by the *Los Angeles Times*.

The paper reported April 12 that sentiment "ran high" against such an invasion.

"By a margin of 6 to 1," the paper found, "respondents opposed covert U.S. intelligence operations there, with 62 percent saying the CIA should not be involved and 10 percent saying it should." The remainder, the paper said, were "undecided."

Poll takers also asked if people considered U.S. involvement in El Salvador morally justified. Forty-nine percent said no, with but 26 percent saying yes.

### Workers set an example

MANAGUA — The residents of the working-class neighborhood José Benito Escobar here have set an excellent example of how to deal with speculators.

Growing problems with the local state-assisted "people's store" reached a climax March 26. Although 300 people were lined up outside, the manager refused to open the doors.

As the crowd began to discuss breaking down the doors, officials from the regional Sandinista Defense Committee (CDS) and the Ministry of Internal Commerce arrived.

They authorized a takeover and occupation of the store, which was quickly organized in an orderly fashion.

Cooking oil, soap, milk, and other products the manager claimed he was "out of" were soon being sold at the official prices. A total of 90 gallons of the scarcest item, cooking oil, was found hidden in the warehouse.

The old manager and staff have been fired. Three members of the local CDS have been hired to run the store, which is now really serving the 1,600 families in the neighborhood.

# Death of a Sephardic Jew

Interview with Dvora Yehoshua

By Georges Sayad  
and Deborah Liatos

Kfar Shalem is a neighborhood in the city of Tel Aviv. Walking through Kfar Shalem, one cannot but be reminded of the slums and refugee camps the Palestinian Arabs have been forced to live in. Kfar Shalem is an area of run-down houses, dirt roads, and garbage piles amongst the rubble of half-destroyed housing.

In this country of Israel it is an accepted norm that Arabs should live under such conditions of misery. After all, the common racist Zionist ideology is that "those dirty animals, those terrorists" do not deserve any better. But Kfar Shalem is not a Palestinian Arab slum; it is the home of 500 Jewish families.

It seems, however, that Kfar Shalem did not just inherit an Israelized version of its old Arabic name of Salameh, but also an Israelized version of the fate of the Palestinians. Walking along its dirt roads, one sees here and there the dark Arab faces of its residents. Suddenly one is reminded that this is an ethnically divided country of European Ashkenazim and Oriental (Middle Eastern and North African) Jews, the Sephardim. This is not the promised land of milk and honey the Zionist commercials depict — not for the majority of Jews, the Sephardim.

Throughout the neighborhood appear spray-painted slogans and posters on the unpainted walls of homes. The posters call attention to a memorial meeting for Shimon Yehoshua. On December 23 the home of Yehoshua was beset by tragedy — a tragedy that reflects the tremendous tensions present in the fabric of Israeli society.

In an exclusive interview with *Intercontinental Press* in her home at Kfar Shalem, Dvora Yehoshua, the slain youth's sister, related her story.

"You can see for yourself, there are 19 people in these two rooms. You fix one wall and the other one falls apart. It's very difficult and it's cold — it's very hard to heat this place because it's an old Arab home."

The government has refused, for the last 30 years, to improve their housing conditions. It has also denied licensing for new building, preferring to see the neighborhood vacated for new luxury apartments.

## Confrontation with police

The incident occurred when an Israeli bulldozer of the Tel Aviv municipality, accompanied by municipal inspectors and dozens of armed policemen, went to the house of Shimon Yehoshua to demolish an unlicensed room. Seeing that no action would be taken by the government to relieve their problem, Shimon had built this room with the money he earned

while serving in the Israeli army in Lebanon.

When the family learned that the room was to be demolished, Dvora explains: "Shimon had to get this injunction preventing the demolition. But usually they only give you 24 hours, so you won't have time to get any such injunction.

"Since we expected that on Thursday morning they would come to demolish the house, Shimon decided to stay here. Our father and another brother then ran to the court to get the injunction. It was 8:30 a.m. when the secretary told him that the injunction was ready. They only had to wait for the signature of the judge, who was going to come any minute. They called the neighbor, who has a telephone, and told her the injunction would be ready any minute. When she tried to tell this to the policemen, they simply pushed her and wouldn't pass on the information.

"There were 45 or 50 policemen standing there waiting.

"Shimon told the police, 'Look, you have to wait a couple of minutes. We have an injunction.' The police said, 'We're not in charge. You have to talk to the municipality.' And the municipality said, 'We're not in charge. You have to talk to the police!'"

As the bulldozer approached the house, Shimon drew a pistol, for which he had a permit, shouted at the driver, and shot once into the air.

The police immediately shot him, Dvora explained: "They shot him once in the head and once in the shoulder.

"They took me, my mother, and another small sister and brother to the police van so we would not make too much trouble. Meanwhile, they didn't give him any medical aid.

"He was not dead yet. His heart continued beating for two hours. They took him down to the synagogue, and left him there. They didn't demolish the whole illegal room, they just demolished the place where he stood, where he was murdered. They murdered him and then they destroyed all the evidence.

"The brother who was at the court called again to say that he had the injunction signed in his hand, but it was already too late. They treated Shimon like nothing. A neighbor called an ambulance."

Two brothers were detained by the police until that evening. The family heard about the death on the radio.

During the interview, a snoop from the municipality entered the Yehoshua home. He rudely interjected that the newspapers that come to learn about Shimon's death do so to attack the Israeli state, and that they are enemies of Israel.

"I don't care if the Americans know too," replied Dvora. "I don't want everybody to think that in this country there is only justice. There are also problems." The interview continued.

## U.S. aid goes to military

Instead of spending money for the construction of housing, the Israeli government uses the money it receives from the United States and from private sources for military purposes. They use it for the invasion of Lebanon, for the continued occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, for the building of new settlements on

## A society based on oppression and inequality

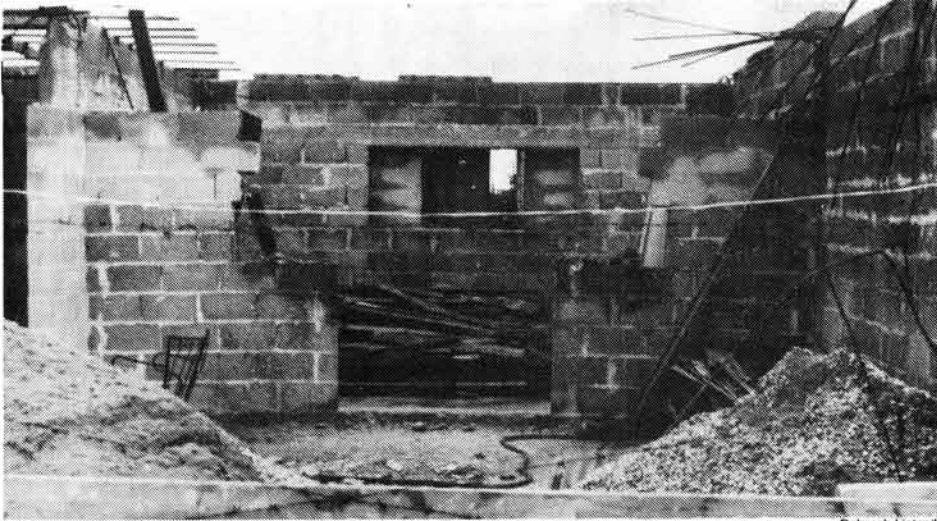
The Israeli state was established in 1948 through the expulsion of the native Palestinian population, which at that time was the majority. Vast tracts of Arab-owned land were confiscated by the new colonial regime, along with tens of thousands of Palestinian homes and businesses.

Today, infant mortality among Palestinians in Israel is more than twice that of Jews. The gulf in wages between Arabs and Jews is comparable to that between Blacks and whites in the United States. Palestinians also suffer vicious discrimination in housing, health care, education, and employment.

The national oppression directed against the Palestinian Arabs is complemented by the gross inequality within

the oppressor population. In 1981 the average income of Sephardic urban families was 20 percent lower than for Ashkenazi families. Although the Sephardim are the majority among Israeli Jews, they account for less than 18 percent of university students.

Figures from 1976–78 show that 10 percent of Sephardic youth from the ages of 14 to 17 neither worked nor studied, compared to 3.4 percent for Ashkenazim in the same age bracket. Furthermore, *New York Times* reporter David Shipler noted April 7, "official figures, covering 1965 to 1978, suggest that Israeli society has not done well at reducing the economic gulf." Shipler found that the gap between Sephardim and Ashkenazim "increases with time spent in the country."



Deborah Liatos/IP

Destroyed room, the site where Shimon Yehoshua was killed by Israeli police.

Arab lands, and for maintaining the rule and wealth of the small minority of the rich in Israel.

"We have lived here for more than 30 years," continued Dvora. "We have no place to get money from. The municipality brings rich people from abroad, rich Jews, and they say to them, 'Look at what problems we have (showing them Kfar Shalem). Give us money so we can rebuild.' Then they take the money and invest in [the wealthy neighborhood of] North Tel Aviv and do some unimportant thing for the rich, while they leave us in this situation. Why doesn't Lahat [mayor of Tel Aviv] go to the rich people in the north? There are a lot of illegal buildings there, hotels and so on. Why does he come to us? We are honest people, but we have no money to bribe them. We are not strong — that's why he comes to us.

"There was a special tax on every worker for the war and all prices rose. Instead of compensating for the rise in prices, what happened is that they took money from families in order to finance the war. One thousand old Israeli pounds each month were taken and nothing remained for the people."

Shimon's father, a very religious man, was deeply shaken by his son's death. He explained to us that people in the United States should go on strike against Israel and send no more money, since it was not being used for what was promised. Instead, he felt the money should go directly to the needy families.

The murder of Shimon Yehoshua sparked two days of violent riots in Kfar Shalem and other Sephardic neighborhoods. The riots were followed by a demonstration of 2,500 from the Jewish slums on January 8. They demonstrated before the Tel Aviv municipality, demanding a freeze on the demolition of illegal housing in Kfar Shalem and an investigation of the circumstances leading to Shimon Yehoshua's death. The demonstrators' placards read: "Lahat resign" and "Justice for the south."

When asked what will happen now, Dvora explained: "It is now in court, a procedural thing. Of course the committee of the village may organize protests. When the Arabs are killed, they have a day of protest, like the day of the land. But among Jews nobody does it,

nobody holds a day of protest. Well, the Arabs are people too, they are humans too — but the poor of your own house should come first."

The mayor of Tel Aviv, Lahat, is part of Begin's governing Likud coalition. The Likud enjoys the support of a majority of the Sephardic Jews. Behind this support lies the bitter resentment felt by most Sephardim towards the Ashkenazim. The Ashkenazim are the ones that have the good jobs, education, and housing. From their ranks come the ruling class that runs the country, controls its wealth, and that has relegated the Sephardim to second-class citizenship since the first days of the Israeli state.

The Labor Party, Begin's opposition, has been for decades the main political instrument of Israel's Ashkenazi ruling class. One indication of the deep hatred toward them was the appearance of swastikas after Shimon Yehoshua's death, saying that the Ashkenazim are as bad as the Nazis.

This recent incident and the conflict around

## Israelis demand amnesty for Udi Adiv

Supporters of Israeli political prisoner Udi Adiv have launched a campaign to win his release. Convicted in 1972 of "treason, violation of state security and meeting foreign agents," Adiv has served more than 10 years of a 17-year sentence.

Behind the trumped-up charges against Adiv was his political opposition to Zionism and his support for the rights of the Palestinian people. After serving in the Israeli army during the 1967 war, Adiv became convinced that if the Israeli government continued its course of aggression against the Arab world and its oppression of the Palestinians, it would lead to a permanent state of war. He eventually formed the "Red Front," a group that considered itself communist.

Adiv attempted to establish a political dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), traveling to Syria for that purpose. But upon his return the Israeli authorities claimed that the individuals Adiv had met with were actually Syrian agents. It was for this

the Beirut massacre commission of inquiry findings do not just lay bare the simmering conflict within Israeli society. They also show that Begin's Likud administration is no solution for the Sephardim and other exploited Jews.

After all, it was Lahat's Likud administration that ordered the destruction of the Yehoshua home and it was the police under this same Likud mayor that murdered Shimon Yehoshua. After years of Likud government, Kfar Shalem is still a slum, while billions are being diverted for the construction of new settlements in the West Bank and for the military, which uses Jewish youth as cannon fodder.

No, the solution lies elsewhere. It lies in the Jews' historic allies, the oppressed peoples of the third world. It lies in the Sephardim's Arab brothers and sisters. It lies in the Palestinian Arabs and their revolutionary organization, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

As the West Bank Palestinian weekly *Al Fajr* explained to its readers in January, after the death of Shimon Yehoshua:

"Residents of the occupied territories who openly declare their support for the oppressed Jews would like to direct their attention to what's happening in the West Bank. Here, too, demolition of houses occurs, people are killed, and other violent acts are perpetrated in villages and camps.

"We assert that we Palestinian residents of camps, villages, and towns face a double oppression: national oppression, because we demand, like other nations of the world, self-determination; and class oppression, because of the fact that the majority of the Palestinian people are unskilled workers exploited in Israeli workshops and factories."

*Al Fajr* concluded, "We extend our hand to the Israeli Jew . . . because we stand in the same trench against oppression." □

meeting that Adiv was sentenced to 17 years in prison.

In November 1982 Adiv's family appealed to Israeli President Yitzhak Navon to grant him an amnesty. Thousands of people have signed petitions demanding Adiv's release, and the three High Court judges who upheld his original sentence have also called for Adiv to be freed.

Many prominent Israelis have met with PLO officials and have incurred no punishment, whereas Udi Adiv is still in prison for attempting precisely the same thing. Former Israeli Judge Yitzhak Ulsheem said of the lynch-type atmosphere built up by the media at the time of Adiv's trial: "In a Western democracy no trial was ever held with such negative prejudgment by the press."

Letters of support for Adiv should be sent to newly elected president Chaim Herzog, Jerusalem, Israel. Copies can be sent to Tura Adiv, Kibbutz Gan Shmuel, Israel. □

## **Socialist** **ACTION**

*A weekly newspaper published in London.*

The March 25 issue featured an article by Rick Hellman on the activities of an unofficial disarmament organization in the Soviet Union. The article was headlined, "KGB bid to crush Soviet peace group."

Hellman reported, "On 4 June 1982, a Group for Establishing Trust between the USSR and the USA proclaimed its formation at a news conference in Moscow. They said that the official Peace Committee was too closely tied to the Kremlin and an independent group was needed to complement official activities. Its initial membership consisted of eleven intellectuals."

In addition to calling for the establishment of Moscow as a nuclear-free zone, an end to all nuclear testing, and the setting up of cultural and scientific links between the United States and the Soviet Union, the group's demands "include negotiations for a bilateral freeze in the deployment of nuclear weapons and thence to a reduction of nuclear stocks; utilisation of the money for a joint programme of world improvement; the dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact; opposition to the development of MX and the new ICBM's East and West," Hellman wrote.

The group's activities, Hellman went on, "has led to increased repression from the KGB.

"Within days of its formation [spokesperson Sergei] Batovrin had been placed under house arrest. In August he was confined to a psychiatric hospital for a month, subjected to treatment with drugs against his will, and on his release made a compulsory outpatient."

Other members of the group have been briefly detained and harassed as well.

Hellman concluded that it was "imperative" for the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the labor movement to offer "their support to all independent peace groups in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

## **Bandera** **Socialista**

*"Socialist Flag," newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International. Published weekly in Mexico City.*

The April 18 issue contains an article by José Luis F.H. Ayala analyzing the mid-February congress of the Palestine National Council in Algeria.

"Imperialism hoped that with the withdrawal of the PLO from Beirut, the abandonment by the Arab bourgeoisies, and the dispersal of its forces, that organization would be

ready to negotiate in betrayal of its cause," Ayala writes. "But these hopes were in vain."

Although articles in the mass media speculated on a supposedly imminent breakup of the PLO between so-called hards and softs, Ayala states, the congress "marked important political advances for the PLO."

Despite its military defeat in Beirut, he writes, "politically the PLO triumphed definitively. More than ever, the PLO today has the sympathy and support of progressive people throughout the world."

He adds that "the most important advance of the PLO is its vision of its relation with the rest of the Arab nation. The PLO focuses its hopes on the Arab workers as its best allies against imperialism. This does not mean that it ignores the negotiations, diplomatic relations, etc., that it *has to* have with the bourgeoisies of the Arab countries. What is new is that today the Palestinian cause is not subordinated to these relations, but vice versa."

Ayala says that the congress "condemned and rejected the Reagan plan" and declared the Fez plan to be "the *minimum* acceptable 'for the mobilization of the Arab countries,' and must be accompanied by military action." The PNC also supported "the first part" of the Brezhnev plan calling for the creation of an independent Palestinian state under the PLO's leadership, but not the portion calling for recognition of the state of Israel.

Ayala's conclusion is that "the PLO is currently the vanguard of the Arab revolution. It deserves our unconditional support and solidarity."

He adds that "as revolutionary internationalists we must support and broaden the movement in solidarity with the PLO in Mexico," and he calls for an end to the Mexican government's "political, diplomatic, and economic relations with Israel."

## **Rouge**

*"Red," weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International. Published in Paris.*

An article by Jean-Pierre Beauvais in the April 15 issue describes the breakdown of talks between Jordan's King Hussein and Yassir Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Hussein had been attempting to get the PLO to agree to President Reagan's plan for the Mideast. The breaking off of the talks, Beauvais said, marks "the failure of an imperialist plan that intended to take maximum possible advantage of the defeat suffered last year in Beirut by the Palestinian resistance."

The talks between Hussein and Arafat were designed to establish "a Jordanian delegation 'including a Palestinian presence' that would, in the spirit of the plan, participate in eventual

negotiations with Israel, whose leaders reject any relations with the PLO that could signify *de facto* recognition," according to Beauvais.

"By involving themselves in this process," he adds, "Yassir Arafat and his supporters within the PLO leadership were simply carrying the orientation they have always maintained to its logical conclusion: the search for a solution to the Palestinian question in alliance with the Arab bourgeoisies and their regimes, even the most reactionary ones."

Beauvais maintains that "this orientation was solemnly reaffirmed last year at the Fez summit" where "the PLO delegation lined up behind the 'peace plan' elaborated by the Saudi monarchy (the 'Fez plan')."

The article adds that "in taking part in talks with Hussein — who was the organizer of the cold-blooded massacre of thousands of Palestinians in September 1970 — Yassir Arafat, although he had officially rejected the 'Reagan plan,' in practice accepted this thesis."

Beauvais argues that the talks with Hussein broke down despite Arafat's desire "to maintain his framework of alliance with the Arab bourgeoisies." But Arafat could not compromise on the issue of who would represent the Palestinians, in Beauvais' view, because of "his own special interests" and because any concessions on this question would throw into question the unity of the Palestinian movement.

With the breakdown of the talks, "the Yassir Arafat leadership. . . now finds itself without a credible diplomatic option and therefore in a real blind alley."

## **THE MILITANT**

*A socialist weekly published in New York City. Reflects the views of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.*

In an article in the February 11 issue headlined "Behind U.S. campaign on 'human rights abuse' in Suriname," Ernest Harsch focused on the efforts of the U.S. and Dutch imperialists to bring down the Surinamese government.

They have fomented various coup attempts, encouraged domestic opposition, and applied external pressure, Harsch noted. Following the December crackdown on rightist oppositionists, in which 15 people were killed, both Washington and the Hague suspended their economic assistance to the country.

"Although the imperialists have been using the killings as a justification for the aid cutoffs," Harsch wrote, "their hostility to the Surinamese government is in fact a reaction to its anti-imperialist actions."

"In February 1980, a group of noncommissioned officers seized power in Suriname, overthrowing the corrupt and proimperialist regime of Henck Arron. Although different political currents were reflected in the ruling Na-

tional Military Council (NMC) and the new government often followed contradictory policies, it took a number of progressive measures that aroused the concern of the imperialists in Washington and the Hague.

"It nationalized several enterprises, including the Dutch-owned power company. It pressed for more favorable trade and economic assistance agreements with the Netherlands. It took some modest steps to improve the living conditions of working people and to create new jobs. Some members of the NMC sought to encourage mass mobilizations.

"By late 1981, key members of the NMC began to move toward closer ties with Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, and to condemn U.S. policies toward the Caribbean, although this was opposed by some of the bourgeois cabinet ministers. . . .

"Alarmed by such growing Surinamese contacts with the revolutionary leaderships in the Caribbean, the U.S. and Dutch governments — with the support of business circles and other proimperialist forces within Suriname — have been seeking to bring down the NMC."

Within this context, Harsch also noted, "The level of organization of the working people in the country remains rather weak. While there were some sizable anti-imperialist mobilizations in 1980 and 1981, the NMC has not recently sought to answer the rightist threat by adequately mobilizing the population. This has further emboldened the proimperialist forces."

Harsch concluded that Washington and the Hague were seeking to replace the Surinamese regime with "a new one that will follow imperialist dictates."

## **klassen strijd**

"Class Struggle," published fortnightly in Amsterdam by the International Communist League (IKB), Dutch section of the Fourth International.

The January 22 issue devoted a full page to the situation in the former Dutch colony of Suriname, on the northern coast of South America, following the December 8 crackdown on proimperialist opposition forces by the government of Desi Bouterse. During that crackdown, 15 opponents of the government were shot and emergency restrictions on democratic rights imposed. These actions were sharply condemned by the Dutch and U.S. governments, and both imperialist powers cut off further economic assistance to Suriname.

The main article by Bert Prins was entitled, "Bloodbath in Suriname: Only the left can defend democracy."

It began, "On December 8, 15 opponents of the Bouterse regime were lined up against a wall, and all democratic rights were suspended. Bouterse claimed that he was trying to halt a rightist coup. Nothing could be further from the truth. Through the bloodbath, his 'revolutionary process' has been stopped dead

in its tracks. A rightist coup is now closer to the door than ever before."

"Bouterse does not represent the interests of the oppressed masses," Prins continued, "but those of a layer of bourgeois nationalists. On the one hand, these bourgeois nationalists want to reform the economy to their advantage — and to the disadvantage of imperialism — while on the other hand they fear the initiatives and demands of the masses. . . .

"Through the executions, and especially through the shackling of the press and the curfew, the entire population has been intimidated. Strikes have been made impossible, fear has been sown. *Everyone can now be certain of only one thing: opposition can be answered with a bullet.*"

The imperialists, Prins went on, took advantage of this situation to try to win public opinion over to its side. "They placed Bouterse under heavy pressure through the [suspension of] development assistance, and open threats of intervention. Bouterse did the reactionaries an enormous service on December 8."

A companion article, entitled, "Down with Bouterse, but how?" examined the imperialist campaign against the Surinamese regime, explaining that it would not be in the interests of the oppressed if Bouterse were overthrown in that way.

Turning to the Dutch government's cutoff of economic aid to Suriname, the article raised questions about how serious the Dutch imperialists were in pursuing this form of pressure. "The Netherlands has *suspended* its assistance to Suriname. That is not the same thing as canceling its treaty! The minister has also made it clear in parliament that he is leaving the door open a crack. If Bouterse does good things, then the assistance can be resumed. . . ."

Prins pointed out that the Dutch government "has not stopped arms shipments to Suriname. That is something that one must, in any case, boycott — not money that is necessary for hospitals, projects for small farmers, and drainage ditches for slum districts. However, such money can be sent to Suriname through much better channels — such as the trade unions."

In contrast to the imperialist campaign, the article declared, Bouterse should be "driven out at the initiative of a progressive mass movement, supported by the active solidarity of the left in the Netherlands and elsewhere."

A small item on the bottom of the page provided an example of such solidarity. The Movement of the Surinamese Left (BSL), a group based in the Netherlands, is circulating a petition calling for an international investigation into the December killings. *Klassenstrijd* urged support for the petition campaign.

## **Granma**

Newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. Published in Havana.

The April 10 issue of the English-language

weekly edition of *Granma* reprinted an interview with Surinamese leader Desi Bouterse that was obtained by a correspondent for the Cuban magazine *Bohemia*.

Asked what was behind the imperialist attacks against Suriname, Bouterse replied, "We always said that we'd make a revolution, and our process is going forward. Naturally, the imperialists are trying to prevent us from consolidating it because they have large interests in Suriname. That's why they want to isolate us and attack us. It is neither in the interests of Holland and the United States nor to their liking that a revolution take root in Suriname. . . .

"In spite of all the noise made by Holland, it is in Miami that the same mercenaries who went to Vietnam are now being recruited to come to Suriname. Therefore, the greatest danger comes from the United States."

Noting the numerous slanders in the imperialist press against Suriname, including charges about Cuban involvement in the country, Bouterse said, "Now what the imperialists are trying to do with their propaganda is to obtain international support to justify their counterrevolutionary activities here. They don't tire of describing us as monsters, executioners . . . and they foster the idea that anyone who succeeds in eliminating us will become the hero who saved Suriname from the 'Cuban virus.'"

Bouterse explained his government's caution in dealing with the imperialist economic interests in Suriname: "The thing is that both the United States and Holland have big interests here: bauxite, lumber, minerals. . . . Until recently they thought that we would radicalize the process, that we would do all sorts of horrible, irresponsible things, and that would give them the chance to intervene. Maybe they even thought that we would nationalize their property and kick them out of here immediately. That's what they were waiting for to be able to act. But we didn't do that, nor will we do anything beyond the full understanding of the Surinamese people."

Returning to this problem of mass consciousness, Bouterse explained, "Our revolution is of a singular nature. . . . Sometimes it's difficult to explain to a foreigner the peculiarities of this process since, for various reasons, we're doing things almost backward as compared with other countries, because . . . we didn't take power after 20 or 30 years of struggle and because our population is very heterogeneous. Therefore, it takes a long time to make the people understand that the revolution really serves their interests.

"It takes time and patience to convince the people that the capitalist system — in which we still live — has no future, that it's crumbling. At present, what the people are seeing with their own eyes is making them understand what capitalism really is, what imperialism really is. All those plots in the last three years, the imperialists' aggressiveness, the withdrawal of economic aid . . . all these things are teaching the people what imperialism really is."

# Interview with leader of miners

*Workers fight for living wage and a say in management*

[In October 1982 a new civilian government headed by Hernán Siles Zuazo was installed in Bolivia after a massive working-class upsurge forced an end to the military dictatorship that had ruled the country since July 1980. (See *IP*, Nov. 1, 1982, p. 782.)

[Siles Zuazo, who heads the Democratic and People's Unity (UDP) bloc, had won a plurality in the 1980 elections, but was prevented from taking office by the military's coup. The UDP consists of Siles Zuazo's Left Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNRI), a bourgeois-nationalist formation; the Bolivian Communist Party (PCB); and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), which is affiliated to the Socialist International, but which is also a bourgeois-nationalist formation. The MIR withdrew from the government in January. Parties to the right of the UDP hold a majority in the legislature.

[On October 31 — just three weeks after he was sworn in as president — Siles Zuazo announced that he would institute a scheme of "comanagement" between workers and the government in the state-owned tin mines and in other nationalized enterprises. These represent about 80 percent of the key industrial installations in the country.

[Although the October 31 announcement was timed to coincide with the 30th anniversary of the nationalization of the tin mines, what was involved was not an extension of that progressive measure. The government is attempting to get the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB), and its main component, the tin miners union (FSTMB — Trade-Union Federation of Mine Workers in Bolivia), to take responsibility for helping to implement its austerity policies.

[Thus, on November 6 the government followed up its proposal for labor-management boards in the nationalized industries with the announcement of an economic program in keeping with the demands of the International Monetary Fund. The measures announced by the new regime included the setting of a completely inadequate minimum wage (8,490 pesos, compared to the 40,000 pesos estimated as the minimum living wage by the miners union); a 100-day wage freeze; and increased charges for essential services such as public transportation and electricity.

[The FSTMB is calling for a majority of workers on any "comanagement" boards set up by the government. The following interview is with Felipe Vásquez, a member of the executive committee of the FSTMB and of the Revolutionary Workers Party—Combate (POR-Combate — the Bolivian section of the Fourth



Siles Zuazo (center) at his inauguration last year.

International). It was given to Carlos Illades in the Huanuni mining area in February. It is reprinted from the April 18 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly magazine published under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

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*Question. What is the basis for the demand that the miners have presented to the government for a minimum wage with a cost-of-living increase?*

*Answer.* To go back into history a bit, we can say that since 1942 the miners have been the standard-bearers of the demand for a living minimum wage.

For several decades, this has been the demand that the workers have been most interested in. But it was simply ignored both by the MNR [Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] governments under Paz Estenssoro and the military regime that followed.

Since November 1981, the Huanuni miners have maintained that the demand for a living minimum wage is inseparable from the demand for a sliding scale of wages. This was the only consistent answer for the workers facing the crisis that has gripped the country.

Up till now, the miners union is the only organization that has made a serious study of the question of a living minimum wage and of the sliding scale needed to compensate for inflation.

We have taken into consideration the patterns of consumption among the working

people, the nutritional needs that are linked to our geographic conditions, the size of families, prices, and so forth.

After this study, we reached the conclusion that in May-June 1982, the minimum living wage for a family of six was 11,330 pesos a month (about US\$500). Our study was unprecedented in Bolivia. Previously, everybody limited themselves to making calculations on the basis of increases in the cost of living.

*Q. If the miners' demand is not accepted by the government, what will the FSTMB do?*

A. For the moment, the government has not rejected our demand. But, unless we get a favorable response after the end of the 100-day "social truce" the government has asked for, that is, after mid-February, we will start to mobilize.

As I have said, a minimum living wage with automatic cost-of-living increases is a demand that we cannot give up.

*Q. What is the position of the FSTMB on the "comanagement" in the state enterprises that the UDP government is talking about?*

A. Since 1970 we have been discussing the question of workers participating in the management of the public enterprises. This was a way of challenging the government bureaucracy's control of these enterprises.

At the same time, it was necessary to mount a counter-attack against sections of the bourgeoisie that wanted — and still do want —

to denationalize the key sectors of the economy. We had to point out how the workers could run the economy on a different basis.

It was also necessary to make it clear that the reason the state-owned enterprises went into the red and have stayed there was the bureaucratic management imposed by the bourgeoisie.

For a whole period "comanagement" as the workers understood it had a progressive character, since it represented a vigorous struggle against reactionary governments that were trying to reprivatize the strategic sectors of the economy.

When we talked about "comanagement" in 1970, in reality we were fighting for a workers majority in the administration. Likewise now, we don't want the whole thing to be reduced — as the present government does — to mere technical administration.

We want the workers to have a direct influence over the use of resources, in determining a planned allocation of resources, in the sale of products, etc.

*Q. What are the different positions on the question of "comanagement" within your union?*

A. There are three general points of view.

Some support the government's position, that is, for parity between government and union representatives in the administration of the enterprises. The involvement of workers representatives in this scheme would amount to no more than a simple administrative role.

The workers representatives would not have the slightest power of decision with respect to financial matters. In other words, the government wants to involve workers representatives in the framework of relationships of capitalist exploitation.

Then, there is the position that is being put forward by the revolutionary organizations. It calls for a majority for the workers in the "comanagement" boards and the right of workers to a say in the financial dealings of the enterprises, in the sale of the products, and so forth.

In other words, we are calling for a change of orientation in the management of the enterprises in order to move toward workers self-management.

Finally there is a position based on ultraleftist notions. Those who hold it declare their total opposition to "comanagement." They call for workers control, but have not defined very well what this would mean.

At present, the FSTMB is discussing this question in a national commission made up of representatives of the government and of the COB. But we miners have made it clear that this discussion should begin among the rank-and-file workers and not be channeled from above.

*Q. Some people think that the participation of the workers in the administration of the nationalized enterprises could undermine the fight for a minimum living wage with automatic cost-of-living increases. This could happen, they argue, because the workers would be*

*drawn into assuring the profitability of the enterprises. What do you think about that?*

A. We miners think that we could get rid of the bureaucrats, if we reorganized the use of resources, and if we brought in new machines we could make the enterprises profitable.

In the case of those enterprises that bring in the least profit, we would seek ways of increasing production. But all of that requires a rectification of the government's policy toward the mining industry. It is necessary to work out a policy designed to bring about a substantial improvement in the living and working conditions of the miners.

For all these reasons, we think that there is no basis for the argument that workers "comanagement" would be an obstacle to winning a living minimum wage.

If the government does not accept the formula of "comanagement" with a workers majority, there are two possible alternatives.

We may decide not to participate in the "comanagement" bodies. Or within the framework of "comanagement," we may take up a vigorous fight on the trade-union level, with the active participation of comrades involved in "comanagement."

*Q. What do the miners think about what the UDP has been doing in the government?*

A. We miners took the lead in the Bolivian people's fight for democratic rights. Our idea was that this would make it easier for us to organize and therefore to carry on our fight in more favorable conditions.

With the November 1981 strike at Huanuni, we won respect for the rights of labor. Then, we waged a struggle for political rights, and we made headway there, too.

At the time, on the basis of its program, the workers thought that the UDP would follow an anti-imperialist policy, introduce a living minimum wage with an automatic cost-of-living increase, and so forth.

Concrete experience has opened the workers' eyes about the UDP government. A technocratic team has assumed the dominant role in the government and imposed a series of measures, such as those decreed in November, which dealt a severe blow to the workers' aspirations.

The government has not put defending the workers' interests first. We, for our part, have taken our distance from the government. It is an index of the workers' rejection of the UDP's policy that in the elections that have been held since November nongovernmental left slates have won.

Thus, despite the opposition of the Bolivian Communist Party, the miners have confirmed their class independence in several congresses.

*Q. What has been the reaction of the workers to the departure of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) from the government in January?*

A. Not everybody had seen it the same way. Nonetheless, most workers agree on one point:

The governmental crisis has been the reflection of the contradictions that run through the regime because of its composition.

We workers are very concerned about the present situation. This is because it is the most reactionary sectors that have gained the most from the breakup of the government coalition.

The workers do not confuse bourgeois democracy with workers democracy. But they have a stake in the present democratic process and are demanding that it be deepened. This does not prevent us in the least from preparing to deal with an attempt to reestablish a dictatorship, which is clearly in the works.

*Q. In your opinion, what are the immediate perspectives for the Bolivian workers movement?*

A. I think that the decisive moments are approaching. In such a context, there will be an increase in workers' mobilizations, and there will be a tendency for the workers to radicalize.

In Bolivia, there have been a lot of attempts to impose bourgeois solutions, both civilian and military. All these schemes have failed. The only possible alternative for the workers is a workers government and socialism. □

## Stop Turkish executions!

Urgent protests are needed to save the lives of seven Turkish revolutionaries facing imminent execution for opposing the country's U.S.-backed military dictatorship.

They are: Ahmet Erhan, Sadecin Guven, Harun Kartal, Tayfun Ofkok, Baki Altin, Aflan Zener Yildirim, and Ahmet Fazil.

All seven have been accused of belonging to the revolutionary organization Dev-Yol. They were convicted and sentenced to death April 7 by the Military High Court in Ankara on charges of assassinating two government officials in 1980 and 1981.

Turkey's Consultative Assembly rubberstamped the court ruling April 10. The final step is for the head of state to approve the executions.

As we go to press Turkish authorities are under mounting pressure to spare the lives of the seven. Amnesty International has launched an emergency campaign in their behalf. The French Socialist Party and members of the European Parliament are among those who have demanded that the military dictatorship of Gen. Kenan Evren spare the revolutionaries' lives.

The government originally brought the seven to trial in October 1982, along with 566 other accused members of Dev-Yol. The military prosecutor has asked for death sentences in 186 of the cases.

Execution of the first seven will make it easier for the Turkish regime to carry out more of the death sentences.

Protest telegrams should be sent to: President Kenan Evren, President's Office, Ankara, Turkey. Please send copies to *Intercontinental Press*. □

# 'Above all, he was a revolutionary'

*Marx's ideas live on a century after his death*

By Margaret Jayko

"A specter is haunting Central America and the Caribbean — the specter of Communism." This is how the opening sentence of *The Communist Manifesto*, written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in 1848, might read if it were written today.

March 14 marks the 100th anniversary of Marx's death. The centrality of Marxism for our epoch is openly acknowledged today even by its fiercest opponents.

The "specter of Communism" is increasingly the central theme of every foreign policy speech by the Reagan administration.

Pope John Paul II's recent tour of Central America and the Caribbean was marked by his condemnations of class struggle, "collectivist systems," and, above all, by his open hostility to the Nicaraguan workers' and peasants' advance toward socialism.

Reagan's recent pronouncements on El Salvador have sounded the alarm about "falling dominoes." Without a drastic increase in U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, El Salvador will follow Nicaragua and the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada in taking the Cuban road of "Marxism-Leninism," says Reagan.

Liberal Democratic Party politicians are no less fearful of Marxism-Leninism. In debating increased U.S. military aid to El Salvador, Democratic Speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill summed up their position: "There's just a strong feeling around here that it's another Vietnam situation. At the same time, nobody wants to see that country go Marxist."

## 'Struggle against communism'

In two recent speeches, Reagan highlighted the centrality of the "struggle against communism" (in reality, the struggle to preserve capitalist exploitation of the laboring masses).

On March 10, he told the National Association of Manufacturers, "For the past three years, under two Presidents, the United States has been engaged in an effort to stop the advance of Communism in Central America by doing what we do best — by supporting democracy."

When he spoke to the National Association of Evangelicals, Reagan branded communism as "the focus of evil in the modern world."

Contradicting his own "falling dominoes" theory, Reagan asserted, "I believe that Communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written."

The reality of today's world, however, is not a declining influence of the ideas of Karl Marx, but the fact that the socialist revolution

Millions of people around the world marked the 100th anniversary of Karl Marx's death in March. In this issue of *Intercontinental Press* we are reprinting four appreciations of Marx and Marxism that appeared around the centenary.

The article on this page by Margaret Jayko appeared as the introduction to a number of articles on Marx in the March 25 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*. It is followed by a speech delivered by Commander Víctor Tirado of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN); by an article written by Belgian revolutionary leader Ernest Mandel; and by a speech by Canadian revolutionary Roger Annis.

he predicted is rapidly being extended in the Western Hemisphere.

Millions of toilers in Latin America and the Caribbean, inspired by the example of 24 years of the Cuban revolution, and the accomplishments of the four-year-old workers and farmers governments in Nicaragua and Grenada, are reading, studying, and applying Marxism in their struggles against imperialism and class exploitation.

It is this advance of the socialist revolution, led by the Marxist leaderships of the Cuban Communist Party, the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and the Grenadian New Jewel Movement, that is at the center of world politics today and that is provoking the increasing barrage of anticommunist propaganda — and military intervention — from Washington.

And it is this advance of the workers of the world toward socialism that more than anything else highlights the relevancy of Marxism 100 years after the death of Marx.

## Socialism's advance — tribute to Marx

The advance of the anticapitalist revolution is the most fitting tribute possible to Karl Marx, the founder of the communist movement. Marx was not only the founder of scientific socialism — he was also the foremost political leader of the proletarian movement as it began some 150 years ago. As Frederick Engels — Marx's closest collaborator and lifelong friend — said in his speech at Marx's funeral, "Marx was, before all else, a revolutionist."

When Marx died on March 14, 1883, different social classes reacted differently to the

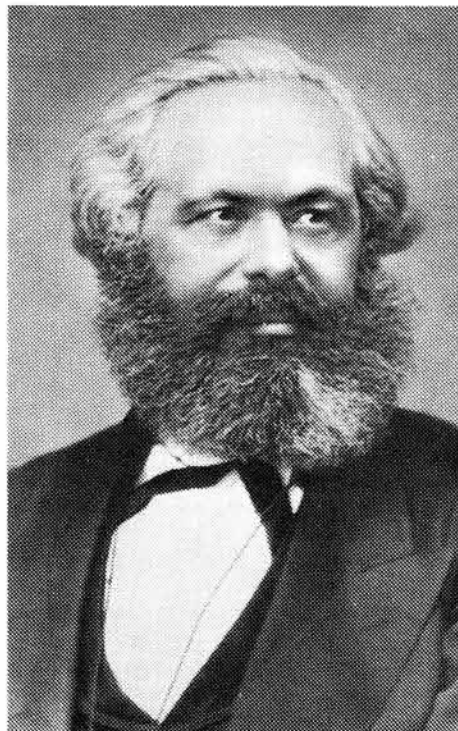
news. Most of the big-business press around the world either kept silent or wrote the same kind of vicious slanders on the occasion of his death that they had written while he was alive.

But the workers of the world sensed that they had suffered a great loss. In the United States, much of the labor press reported his death, hailed Marx's contributions, and pledged that the proletarian struggle would continue on to victory.

Engels captured this sentiment in a letter he sent to Friedrich Sorge, the foremost U.S. Marxist of the time, the day after Marx died. Engels explained that "mankind is shorter by a head, and the greatest head of our time at that. . . . The final victory is certain, but circuitous paths, temporary and local errors — things which even now are so unavoidable — will become more common than ever. Well, we must see it through. What else are we here for? And we are not near losing courage yet."

## 'Marx will be the mentor of U.S. workers'

The biggest memorial meeting in the world was initiated by the Central Labor Union of Greater New York and Vicinity and was held at Cooper Union in downtown Manhattan. Thousands of U.S. workers — both foreign-



KARL MARX



and native-born — turned out.

Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the Russian revolution, wrote in 1939, "The best theoreticians of Marxism will appear on

American soil. Marx will become the mentor of the advanced American workers" (*Marxism in Our Time*).

Today, when the effects of the capitalist

crisis on U.S. working people are becoming ever more severe, there is again a growing openness to the analyses and answers that Marxism provides. □

# FSLN leader speaks on Karl Marx

*'Through Marxism, we came to know Sandino'*

[The 100th anniversary of Karl Marx's death was commemorated in Nicaragua with several weeks of educational presentations and discussions on the life and work of the founder of scientific socialism. The closing ceremony was held March 14 in Managua's Rubén Darío National Theater.

[The 2,000 invited guests included representatives of the four political parties that support the revolution (the Sandinista National Liberation Front [FSLN], Nicaraguan Socialist Party [PSN], Independent Liberal Party [PLI], and People's Social Christian Party [PPSC]), workers selected by their unions; leaders of mass organizations; and representatives from workers states and national liberation organizations.

[The main speech of the evening was given by Commander Víctor Tirado, member of the FSLN National Directorate responsible for labor affairs. We have taken the text of his speech from the March 16 issue of the Sandinista daily *Barricada*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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One hundred years ago today Karl Marx ceased to exist. "He went to sleep forever in his armchair — softly and without regrets," according to what his biographer Franz Mehring wrote. He had applied the materialist conception of history to the study of philosophy, economy, and politics — enabling him to discover the laws of capitalist production.

On that day, the international workers movement lost its greatest fighter and thinker — its most notable scholar and teacher. But he and Engels left a solidly based theoretical and practical work that served as a guide for future generations of revolutionaries the world over.

With his profound scientific analysis of capitalism, he demonstrated that this social system had within it elements, contradictions, and great antagonisms that would destroy it.

Capitalism will be replaced by a new regime in which there will be no more exploitation of man by man, he concluded, after having examined with great thoroughness and in great detail the economic, social, historical, and philosophical basis for the structure of the regime he called wage slavery.

Differing with other thinkers — contemporaries or those who came before him — he did not see the advent of a society without exploiters as a utopia; as an ideal that humanity had to make happen independently of classes and lev-

els of economic, political, and social development.

He foresaw the arrival of socialism and communism because it is a historic necessity. Because social forces interested in attaining this ideal exist. Because it is the radical and definitive solution to the great and serious structural problems capitalism brings with it. It is the way out of poverty; economic crisis; national, regional, world, and social imbalances. It is the response to the arms race and to war.

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## Capitalism will be replaced by a new regime in which there will be no more exploitation . . .

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He left behind a great intellectual heritage and a powerful workers movement in a historic offensive — an offensive that he helped build and guide in its incipient stages. This workers movement housed various tendencies, but at the time of Marx's death the majority of these tendencies had grown weaker or disappeared because they couldn't stand up to the tests of life. Marxism stood out as the predominant current among the organized proletariat from that time on.

When Marx died the International of which he was one of the founders and principal leaders had already ceased to exist, but it left a seed that flourished. It had left workers organizations, a sense of class consciousness, an internationalist consciousness that no one could contain or destroy. It left the most advanced proletariat a clear conception that they must be the first to rise up in struggle against capital and that in this battle they must unite around them all workers and exploited peoples.

When Marx died, there were already workers parties in Belgium, Denmark, Germany, England, France, Holland, Italy, Norway, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Hungary, and the United States. In Russia, Marxist groups and proletarian organizations existed that were the precursors of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. In Latin America, the revolutionary workers movement took its first steps. Parties or socialist currents existed in Argentina, Mexico, Chile, and in other nations.

One hundred years ago, the center of gravity of the revolutionary struggle was in Europe. And the responsibility for this battle fell almost

exclusively on the shoulders of the industrial workers.

One century later, the situation has changed completely. Eastern Europe now lives under a socialist regime and, in the western part of that continent, capitalism still dominates. The impetus of the working classes in Western Europe has been weakened, but it has not been extinguished nor eliminated. It can reappear at any moment, because the last word has not been said. The workers of these countries will also arrive at socialism, as Marx promised, by roads that differ perhaps from those that others have followed up to this time and in much better circumstances. This will be a big help for us, the countries of what is called the Third World.

Peoples have risen up on the world political scene who 100 years ago were considered inferior by the ruling classes of the metropolitan centers. They were colonized or about to be colonized. Now, the great emancipating movement is continuing in Asia, Africa, the Near and Middle East, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

We are reviewing 100 years of Marxism, and in this period capitalism ceased to be able to monopolize and dominate the entire world. Next to it, a socialist system arose in Europe, Asia, Africa, and in the lands of America — a vast and powerful anti-imperialist movement and national liberator.

One hundred years later in Central America, the peoples of the region do not want to be banana republics, nor imperialism's backyard. They want to forge their own destiny. They have said "Enough!" and have begun marching in this direction, come what may — military threats, diplomatic threats, or blockades.

Capitalism has been weakened. Undoubtedly it is less powerful than it was 100 years ago or than it was 50 or 30 years ago.

As revolutions triumph and the anti-imperialist movement grows stronger, capitalism withers away — it wears out.

What hasn't changed is its aggressive nature. It has not ceased to be the source of armed conflicts. All wars that have broken out — since Marx's death up to the present time — have been provoked by imperialism, be they world, regional, or local wars.

But in the course of a century, the conditions in which these wars can take place have changed. Imperialism can provoke wars of varying scale. But forces exist in the world that are capable of putting the brakes on imperial-



Michael Baumann/IP

May Day demonstration in Managua last year.

ism and avoiding war.

If up until now regional warfare has not broken out in Central America, it's because U.S. imperialism has very little support for the undertaking — inside its own country as well as abroad.

Besides this, another factor has appeared in the last 25 or 30 years. The United States is no longer that great power that emerged victorious from World War II. It has been weakened as an economic and political power. In its own camp, the capitalist camp, it no longer exercises absolute hegemony. The decision-mak-

### **The great emancipating movement is continuing in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and the Caribbean . . .**

ing centers of capitalism have been subdivided.

Washington's orders — which until recently were respected — have encountered opposition on various occasions in Western Europe and Japan, and also by medium-size powers such as Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, and Mexico.

Reagan has overestimated the United States. For him, time hasn't passed by or taken its toll. The dream has not faded in his eyes. He firmly believes his country still maintains the strength and supremacy it had in the cold war years,

when it pulled its allies into all the adventures it carried out.

The policies of the current president of the United States are outside of reality. That's why he hasn't been successful. However, he is not conscious of this situation and therefore insists on seeking forceful solutions, which have little chance of succeeding.

However, so long as they continue, his persistent efforts are dangerous. We cannot rule out that in his stubbornness, despite world public opinion and that of his own country, he may unleash an armed conflict of incalculable consequences.

We listened with amazement and concern to the speech the U.S. president delivered last week. Besides the aggressive tone that is his custom, we found that he justifies his intervention in the area with the shameless thesis that U.S. national security is in danger because Central America is the fourth border of the United States.

Perhaps, in the past — 100 or 50 years ago — imperialism drew our borders. Today, however, the situation is different. It is the peoples of Central America who define them, who draw their own borders with a firm and powerful hand.

We are fighting for the strengthening of independence, sovereignty, and self-determination because this helps construct the basis for socialism. We want to change our relationship with the United States. We are not — nor do we wish to be — a border or a link to imperial-

ism. We want to have normal relations, on an equal footing, with the United States.

However, Reagan won't give up the old framework and, consistent with this view, has taken a dangerous step in El Salvador. He is asking Congress for \$110 million to reinforce the armed forces of that country and \$20 million to prop up his allies in the region.

Millions of dollars so that the massacre in El Salvador will not be stopped — so that counterrevolutionaries can continue killing on the northern border of Nicaragua. Millions of dollars so that the problems of our economies can be aggravated, so that democratic development and a solution to the problems of our peoples can be delayed, so that the possibility of a negotiated way out of the crisis of the isthmus becomes further removed.

Right now, given the new military escalation of the White House in El Salvador, who can take it seriously when Reagan says he's in favor of a political solution?

And, if the war — which is hardly a secret — continues against us, how can he ask us to lower our guard? How can he ask us to disarm? Not to strengthen the army, militias, and reserve battalions?

Under such circumstances, the state of economic, national, and military emergency must continue because the dangers and threats surrounding us remain serious and ever-growing.

And we must reinforce our defense.

A hundred years after Marx's death, we are turning our eyes toward the past, the present, and the future. It becomes clear that history has followed the course the author of *Capital* foresaw. It didn't come, as we have said on another occasion, in a straight line, but rather in a zig-zag. At times the march has been accelerated and on other occasions it has been slow. There are retrogressions and rapid progress. In one day, as Marx said, 20 years can be condensed.

As Marx demonstrated scientifically, socialism is the future of humanity because, in spite

### **Socialism is the future of humanity . . .**

of its errors and imperfections, it is the best answer to the big problems facing mankind today. It is the best solution to the sharp conflicts that capitalism poses.

We live in an era of transition from capitalism to socialism that began in 1917 with the triumph of the October Revolution. We don't know when this era will come to a close. However, what we are sure of is that all peoples will arrive at socialism — at different moments, with different rhythm, each in their own way — using more original resources that right now we can't even begin to imagine.

In these days of homage to Marx we have said, and we want to repeat, at the risk of becoming boring, that Marxism for the Sandinistas was a complete revelation — the discovery of a new world. And the first thing we learned from it was to know ourselves, to look inside

our country, into our people's revolutionary heritage — toward Sandino. Through Marxism, we came to know Sandino, our history, and our roots. This is, among other things, the great teaching we received from Marx — reading him, as [FSLN founder Carlos] Fonseca

said, with Nicaraguan eyes.

From Marx, we have much to learn. We never intend to apply — nor will we in the future — his doctrine as a dogma. It was he who said that this is not a sacred scripture, nor is it the key to open all doors.

We value his writings as we do Lenin's, as a guide for action, as a creative instrument that must be continually re-created. We have worked in this direction and so have revolutionaries the world over. That is the first and great requirement of Marxism. □

# 100 years of Marxism since Marx

## *Ideas of scientific socialism borne out by history*

**By Ernest Mandel**

[The following article appeared in the March 21 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly magazine published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

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There is a strange paradox about the place of Marxism in the world today, 100 years after Marx's death. Its influence in society seems greater than ever. Never have so many round-table discussions, academic conferences, books, and magazine and newspaper articles been devoted to Marx as on the occasion of this centenary.

Never have so many heads of state and governments, so many leaders of mass parties throughout the world claimed to be guided by Marx's ideas. But at the same time, never has there been so much talk about a "crisis of Marxism," about its "irreversible decline," or even "death."

In fact, Marxism represents a union of *two* movements, a theoretical one and practical one. It is necessary to look at these two movements to determine what the balance sheet of Marxism is today.

On the one hand, Marxism has a rigorously scientific side, which respects all the laws of scientific work. Throughout his life, Marx remained a scientist; he had nothing but contempt for anyone who concealed or falsified facts or the results of investigations under any pretext whatsoever, including "we mustn't discourage the militant workers."

### **Only truth is revolutionary**

Marx continued his scientific work, in particular, because he was convinced that only truth is revolutionary. It was his conviction that workers struggles could never come to fruition, that is, could never lead to the building of a classless society on a world scale, unless they were continually enlightened by the results of a scientific analysis of reality and its development.

On the other hand, Marxism also involves a devotion to liberation that is no less rigorous and demanding. Before Marx, philosophers and social scientists were generally content to interpret the world. For Marx, the aim of science was to transform the world and to do so with a clear purpose.

It was necessary, through revolutionary ac-

tion, to eliminate all social conditions in which human beings were enslaved, miserable, mutilated, alienated beings. It was necessary to build a society in which the free development of every individual would be essential to the development of all. To this aim Marx remained faithful to his last breath.

These two objectives of Marxism, the scientific explanation of social development in all its ramifications and the achievement of the most thorough-going liberation ever conceived of, were so bold that the major accusation made against Marx, which is still the main one today, is that he was the last of the utopians. The claim is that such a vast scheme could never be realized.

To this accusation, those who believe in heaven add that Marx was guilty of the sin of pride, that he founded a "religion of humanity," a claim that is in total contradiction to the fundamentally critical, and constantly self-critical character of Marx's teachings. But these people argue that Marx created a religion without God, and that, therefore, in seeking to do an excess of good works, he ended up finally doing inordinate evil.

Toiling humanity, which is suffering and struggling to break its chains, can hardly share such skeptical, resigned, and cynical judgments. It will not reconcile itself to its chains on the basis of an argument that it cannot be known whether they can ever be completely broken. The proposal that it would be better to put a little oil under the manacles than file through them and throw them into a ditch will never satisfy those enchained men and women who prefer to rise up against slavery. As long as humanity endures, this breed of revolutionists will never disappear.

### **Marxism withstands test of time**

A hundred years after Marx's death, what is the balance sheet of the two sides of Marxism?

As regards its effectiveness in analysis and in scientifically predicting events, the balance sheet is entirely positive. If we compare the world of 1843 with that of 1983, and if we ask ourselves whether the transformations that have occurred are those that Marx predicted, if they are the result of the nature of bourgeois society and the contradictions rendering it, as he taught us to understand them, the answer has to be "yes," without any significant qualifications.

Marx understood, better than any scientist

or moralist of his time, the mighty and terrible impetus of the technological revolutions that are inherent in the capitalist mode of production. They arise from private ownership, the market economy, competition, and the insatiable drive to extort more and more surplus value from living labor in order to accumulate more and more capital (dead labor).

This was a portentous dynamic because it contained a promise of liberating labor, through automation, from all uncreative, tiring, and alienating work. It was a terrifying one because it was leading to the periodic transformation of the productive forces into forces of destruction that were undermining man and nature and threatening to destroy the entire planet.

### **Evolution of capitalist society**

Marx understood that competition would lead to the development of monopolies, which in turn would become locked in fiercer and fiercer competition. The small capitalists would be ruthlessly absorbed or crushed by the big ones.

Bourgeois society would evolve toward becoming a pyramid, with a great majority of wage earners at its base and at the top in every country a few dozen giant firms and financial groups. And rising above that on the international scale there would be a few hundred "multinationals" that would lay down the law for all the bourgeois states, and embroil all workers and all peoples in a monstrous machinery in which everything was subordinated to their individual profit drives.

Marx understood that this machine was going to break down periodically, that the capitalist system would give rise to regular intervals to economic crises and wars, whose cost would eventually become unbearable and then fatal. How foolish today those prophets look who claimed during the 1950s and 1960s that capitalism had at last exorcised its devils, that is, was going to guarantee full employment, continued growth and a constantly rising standard of living, as well as enduring peace.

The prolonged depression gripping the international capitalist economy today is a striking confirmation of the correctness of Marx's scientific analysis. He understood that, whatever partial and temporary advantages humanity might derive from this system, the wage and semiwage workers were going to rise up in cohesive masses against this monstrous

machine. That is, it was from the class struggle of wage labor against capital that the potential would arise for transforming the world to achieve the liberation of every man and woman.

This struggle would first take the form of a spontaneous revolt, without any clear consciousness of the aims to be achieved or the means by which to achieve them. It would go through a gigantic labor of organization, of cooperation and learning class solidarity on all levels. It would lead finally to conscious revolutions, guided by the experience accumulated. This process would be propelled by objective needs and by an understanding of political needs. It would be furthered by the Marxist program itself.

#### **Historic advance of working class**

In view of the great tasks of these revolutions, it was inevitable that there would be partial and even total defeats. The working class would examine its victories and its defeats in a ruthlessly critical way. It would continually have to retake ground that seemed to be definitely won in previous periods, until this vast historic movement of the rise, decline, and renewed rise of class consciousness and proletarian revolution led to the building of socialist society on a world scale.

Of all of Marx's analyses and projections, it is unquestionably this vision of the historic advance of the working class that is the most impressive. At the time the Communist Manifesto was published, there were no more than 100,000 trade-union members in the entire world, about 10,000 socialists, and at most a few hundred communists. And all of them were in half a dozen countries. Today, there is no country in the world, not even the smallest island in the Pacific or the most remote corner of equatorial jungle, where capitalism, impelled by its irresistible drive to expand, has been able to establish a factory, a harbor, or a store employing men or women for wages that unions have not sprung up.

Throughout the world, there are now hundreds of millions of workers in unions; and this rise of the union movement has been accompanied by the formation of parties proclaiming themselves socialist that have tens of millions of sympathizers, or tens of millions of people who vote for them. Out of this, there are hundreds of thousands, if not millions of communists who proclaim themselves Marxists. As regards the self-critical tendency of proletarian revolutions, you just have to open your ears to hear expressions of it in tens of thousands of factories, workshops, offices, commuter trains, and subways throughout the world.

#### **A movement for liberation**

But what is the balance sheet of Marxism as a movement for liberation? It is no less impressive. But it is also distinctly more contradictory.

Thanks to the stimulus given by Marx and

Engels and their followers, the workers fighting and organizing against the bourgeoisie have gained a clearheadedness that has enabled them already to partially transform the world by making some advances toward liberation.

The following are some of the main gains that have been made: The fight for the reduction of the workday has gone on from cutting down a workweek of 72 hours and more to a battle for the 35-hour week, which we can and will win. There has been a no less intense struggle to extend solidarity to our most exploited and oppressed brothers and sisters — women, youth, the unemployed, the immigrant workers, the national minorities, the sick, the disabled, and the elderly.

There are also the efforts that have been made to extend this class solidarity on a world scale. This is a difficult but not an unrealistic task, as shown by the movements in solidarity with the Cuban, Indochinese, and Central American revolutions, coming after the earlier movements in the interwar period.

Finally, there are the first victorious socialist revolutions, inspired in particular by the thought of Lenin — from the October Revolution in Russia to the Yugoslav, Chinese, Cuban, and Indochinese revolutions. All of this is a reality in today's world, even if these gains will not be definitively established as long as international capitalism lasts. We can already say that if it had not been for Marx and Engels, today's world would be a very different and far more inhuman place than it is.

#### **Social democracy and Stalinism**

However, their vision of the emancipation of humanity has not been realized anywhere in its entirety. The two mass currents into which the real workers movement is divided, reformist Social Democracy and Stalinism (with the Eurocommunist subcurrent gradually shifting from the latter to the former) have both come to a resounding failure.

Social Democracy has not moved forward one inch toward abolishing capitalism through reforms. The present capitalist crisis, with its train of unemployment and poverty, the hunger that exists in the so-called third world, the threat of nuclear extermination that hangs over the human race, are sufficient testimony to this failure.

While the Stalinist bureaucracy was able to usurp the fruits of the most gigantic revolutionary effort ever undertaken by a working class, it has ended up in a total impasse. The society that has emerged from victorious revolutions has not led to socialism but has remained frozen midway between capitalism and socialism. In addition, in all cases, save in Cuba, a despotic bureaucracy rules, blocking any further advance toward socialism. This bureaucracy subjects the workers to obvious oppression, and in every country where it exists and throughout the world, it more effectively discredits socialism, communism, and Marxism than any bourgeois propaganda has ever been

able to do.

It is in this failure and nowhere else that we can find the source of the so-called crisis of Marxism about which there is such a storm of hot air being raised these days. It is not a crisis of Marxism but a crisis of the practice of a bureaucratized workers movement, as well as the crises of the bureaucratized post-capitalist societies. These crises are, moreover, going hand in hand with a more and more open abandonment of Marxism by the leaders of these movements, which in its way confirms that Marx has nothing to do with it.

#### **Capitalism the source of war**

Applying the Marxist method and criteria to analyze these crises leads to four conclusions.

1. In the first place, it would be entirely wrong to look for the origins of these crises in the ideas of Marx. Marx's greatest contribution to the understanding of the history of societies is that in the last analysis it is social existence that determines consciousness and not the reverse. To imagine that the Social Democrats' capitulation to the first imperialist world war and their subsequent aid to the capitalist counterrevolution, followed by the crimes of Stalin and the capitulation of the reformists and the Stalinists in their turn to Hitler, were the consequence of imperfections in the writings of Marx, an extra comma or an absent adjective, borders on the ridiculous.

The great tragedies of the 20th century are the work of capitalism, not of Marx. They can only be explained as the outcome of clashes between hundreds of millions of human beings, of conflicts in the material interests of great social classes or sections of classes. In this context, ideas — both "good" and "bad" — play a role, to be sure, but hardly the main one.

2. Furthermore, it is just as wrong to look for the ultimate source of Stalin and the deviation of the victorious socialist revolutions in the Slavic soul, the Mongol conquest of Russia, or the little power-hungry sadist who lies sleeping in all of us, awaiting only the proper conditions to come to a violent awakening.

The secret of the victory, as well as of the degeneration, of the Russian revolution lies in the last analysis in the contradiction between the ripeness of the objective conditions for the world revolution — the world crisis of capitalism that began in 1919 — and unripeness of the objective conditions for building socialism in Russia and China, as well as the unripeness of the subjective conditions for achieving revolutionary victory on a world scale. For a long period this produced deviations in the course of the world revolution, and the negative consequences are far from being overcome.

#### **Crisis of Stalinism**

3. Thus, the vitality of Marxism was demonstrated in the most striking way by the fact that it was able to offer the most precise analytical methods for explaining what happened to Social Democracy and Stalinism.

Specifically, it is the Marxist criticism of the bureaucracy in the workers movement, of bureaucratic dictatorship, and bureaucratized transitional societies that is the most scientific, the most thorough, and the one that most points the way toward real historical solutions.

To the great surprise and the no less great horror of all reactionary forces in the world, from the Kremlin to Washington, and including the Vatican and the right-wing "dissidents," a growing part of this Marxist critique is coming from the East European countries and China themselves. This is just the beginning of a reawakening that is full of promise.

4. The final thing we see is that for 30 years a real mass movement has been under way to overcome in practice the crisis of Stalinist "Marxism," (which has nothing in common with real Marxism) and "living socialism" (which has nothing in common with socialism).

This is what we call the antibureaucratic political revolution. It reached its highest point so far in the 1980-81 revolutionary upsurge in Poland. It is to the historic credit of Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International that they predicted this revolution and they were the on-

ly ones who prepared for it.

The victory of the political revolution will in no way mean a restoration of capitalism. After the inevitable groping, this movement will lead to the triumph of planned, democratically centralized self-management in the economy. That is, to use Marx's own words, it will lead to the rule of the associated producers.

With respect to the state, this revolution will lead to a system of workers self-administration based on the most extensive pluralist socialist democracy, that is, the rule of workers councils, under which the state will immediately begin to wither away. It will be the councils that govern. The revolutionary party essential to the establishment of this system will confine itself to offering political guidance and never try to substitute for them.

#### Revolution in imperialist countries

Moreover, periodically the workers in the industrialized capitalist countries have also advanced along the same road to emancipation, with inevitable ups and downs in the process. This has happened in Russia in 1917, in Germany in 1918, in Hungary in 1919, in Italy in

1920, in Spain in 1936, in Italy again in 1948 and 1969, in May 1968 in France, and in Portugal in 1974-75.

The liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples is little by little taking the same direction, under the influence of partial industrialization and the emergence of the proletariat as the major class within them.

These are then the three sectors of the world revolution in which history is painfully working its way toward the only positive solution to the crisis of humanity — the rule of workers councils, a world socialist federation in which all the men and women on our planet will finally be able to take control of their lives, will eliminate war forever, end the production of weapons of mass destruction, and put an end to the exploitation of labor and to political oppression.

This is what the Fourth International is striving for. It is for this that Karl Marx did his titanic work. From the moment that historic movement achieves its first victory in an industrially advanced country, all the chatter about a "crisis of Marxism" will be forever ended. □

# Marxism and social revolution in Canada

## *Struggles in Quebec show way forward for all workers*

By Roger Annis

[The following is an edited version of a talk presented at a March 12-15 conference in Winnipeg, Manitoba, on the 100th anniversary of Karl Marx's death. Some 600 people attended the conference, which heard presentations from Ralph Miliband, Tariq Ali, Ernest Mandel, Kathleen Gough, Stanley Ryerson, Varda Burstyn, and others.

[Roger Annis is a leader of the Canadian Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). His speech is reprinted from the April 18 issue of *Socialist Voice*, a fortnightly newspaper which reflects the views of the RWL.]

\* \* \*

The capitalist world has for several years now been gripped by the deepest and most profound crisis we have seen since the 1930s. The system is increasingly incapable of meeting the most elementary needs of the world's people, and millions are being propelled into action for fundamental change. At the same time, imperialism is engaged in bloody wars in Central America, the Middle East, southern Africa, and Indochina in a desperate attempt to halt the advance of the socialist revolution.

We are in a period of major class confrontations. Unlike the last such period — the Great Depression of the 1930s — the working class enters this one much stronger: with industrial trade unions, with political parties, and, most importantly, with one-third of humanity al-

ready living in societies which have established planned, socialized economies.

#### Central task for Marxists

The central task for Marxists in fighting for a successful outcome to the battles on the agenda today is the construction of mass revolutionary working-class parties which can lead the fight to defend workers and their allies against the offensive of the bosses, including the fight to establish our own governments, governments of working people.

Such a government in Canada would be a powerful instrument to lead a struggle for the abolition of capitalist exploitation, the sexist degradation of women, and the national oppression of the Québécois. It would break with imperialism's war drive and give unconditional support to the national liberation struggles of the oppressed nations of the world.

Is such a revolutionary change possible in this country? Many in the so-called Marxist left, who stand outside the working class where resistance to the capitalist crisis is centered, say no. They believe that workers are moving to the right.

We say: Yes, it is possible. In my talk today I would like to spell out the thinking of the Revolutionary Workers League on the kind of political program and strategy needed to build a party in this country that can lead such a struggle.

When I left Montreal five days ago, 80,000 teachers were nearing the end of the three-

week truce they had granted the Quebec government. The latest news is that they've decided to prolong the truce for another two weeks. It's hard to predict where the teachers' battle — and the fight of all 320,000 public sector workers that they are part of — will end.

What is clear is that political life in Quebec will never be the same. With the strike build-up that began last November 10, and the imposition of contract rollbacks by the government on January 1, important changes in the consciousness of Québécois workers have taken place.

You see this everywhere: at union rallies like the massive demonstration that brought 40,000 workers to Quebec City on January 30; in the schools, where teachers are turning their classes into discussion groups on the far-reaching consequences of the PQ's [Parti Québécois — the bourgeois nationalist party that controls the Quebec provincial government] draconian antilabor laws; on the buses, where Montreal transit workers have plastered stickers defending the five union local leaders who were jailed in February for leading them out on the one-day general strike November 10, 1982; and in the letters columns of the dailies and on the radio hot-line shows, which are filled with the pros and cons of the Common Front [formed by Quebec's three main union federations] battle.

A powerful stimulus to the unions' fight is the fact that they are in reality defending the social gains won by the people of Quebec in



Will Reissner/IP

Quebec workers demonstrate January 29 against attacks on labor movement.

the 1960s and early 1970s.

Quebec's health, education, language, and social service systems are proudly viewed by the Québécois as examples of the social progress they have made over the past 20 years in fighting language discrimination and national oppression. Important gains were won despite stiff opposition from the federal government and from the English-Canadian and American corporations which control the economy. That's why there's so much anger against the Parti Québécois; it was elected to extend, not to dismantle these gains.

The PQ's latest actions have opened up a period of deepgoing discussions on whether a radically different kind of political action based on workers' own organizations is needed.

Workers are discussing if it's enough just to challenge governments that attack labor, or whether such governments should be *changed*; if it's enough just to rely on "friends" of labor in office, or whether workers *themselves* should form the government.

What's on the agenda is the launching by Quebec labor of its own political party. The pace of this development is, of course, not possible to predict, but it is the path along which events are leading.

#### Stakes for all workers in Canada

All this is tremendously important to the entire pan-Canadian labor movement.

One, because it's the federal government and its corporate backers with their "6 and 5" [wage restraint] programs which stand behind the actions of the PQ government, a government which they would actually like to throw out of office. They gave the PQ its marching

orders when the federal government cut back transfer payments to the province by hundreds of millions of dollars over the past few years and when the bond markets in Toronto and New York threatened to lower the province's credit rating still further if cutbacks in provincial government spending weren't made.

If [Canadian Prime Minister Pierre] Trudeau is today telling the PQ that it must drastically cut spending, whatever the consequences, can it be very long before he and his provincial counterparts, like Davis in Ontario and Bennett in B.C. [British Columbia] do the same?

Thus, in a rather direct sense, PQ-style wage cuts of 20 percent and draconian measures against democratic rights are the order-of-the-day right across the country.

Two, because of the important stakes for women. Two-thirds of the Common Front members are women. Thus its demands against wage cuts and speed-up, for job security, for more child care spaces to be available to the general population, etc., are first and foremost the demands of women.

A victory of the Common Front this year would be an important defense of women's rights throughout the Canadian state.

Three, because a movement of the Quebec labor movement onto the political scene will radically transform politics right across the country. At present, the NDP [New Democratic Party] caucus in Ottawa is content to exist as no more than a pressure group on the federal government, within the framework of a three-party system. One of the principal excuses it offers for this miserable performance is that the Québécois are to blame for not voting NDP — this from a party leadership which has not only completely failed to speak out for Que-

bec's national rights but has blocked with Trudeau against them!

The NDP is potentially a very powerful instrument for workers to use in throwing out the Trudeau government and in fighting for a workers government. When Quebec labor moves into politics under its own banner — organized into a labor party — it will help unleash this potential force. It will become possible to fight for a government of workers' organizations in Ottawa — a government of the NDP and Quebec labor.

This will provoke a profound political debate in the workers movement on the program and strategy labor needs to overcome its national divisions and wage a united battle for a government committed to socialist policies.

Quebec labor is in the vanguard of the fight-back of the pan-Canadian labor movement: against Trudeau's "6 and 5" antilabor program, and, in its own way, for a political strategy to throw out this government. That's why solidarity with the Common Front today is so crucial.

#### Socialism and the 'three giants'

I've been focusing on developments in Quebec because I think it is the most advanced expression of a country-wide process of radicalization and deepening of class consciousness amongst working people. Our members experience this in the factories where we work and at the factory gates where we sell our newspapers. It was also very much evident in the victory of Chrysler workers last year, and is shown in the growth of movements around issues like abortion rights, Native Indian rights, and solidarity with the people of Central America.

This is part of the general phenomenon the world over. Imperialism has taken some heavy blows in the past few years. Even where it manages to deal setbacks to people fighting for social and national liberation — as against the Palestinian people in Lebanon last year — it pays a very heavy political price.

Today the eyes of the world are focused on Central America and the Caribbean because it is here that imperialism is running into its most determined and farsighted opponents.

Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada in particular — the "three giants" as Fidel Castro has called them — have set a powerful example for the toilers of the world.

These revolutions are of immense importance for us in Canada because they show that governments based on the mobilization of the workers and farmers can produce extraordinary economic and social gains. They are exactly the kind of governments that we should fight for here: a government that takes the side of working people against the bosses and their profit system.

Some argue that socialism and workers' democracy are incompatible, and cite Poland as proof. But the revolutions in Central America show the opposite: the *only* way to defend and extend democratic rights is to establish governments of workers and farmers to lead a fight

for socialism.

Campaigns of solidarity to defend the gains that have been won in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada are a burning necessity for all these reasons.

### Revolutionary leadership

Increasingly we see emerging from the political leaderships of these revolutions — from the Cuban Communist Party, the Sandinista National Liberation Front [FSLN] in Nicaragua, the New Jewel Movement in Grenada, and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front [FMLN] in El Salvador — a current which stands in the Marxist tradition: revolutionary, internationalist parties which are fighting to extend their revolutions.

This is a phenomenon not seen on a world scale since the Third International was led by Lenin and Trotsky in the 1920s.

We in the RWL believe that with all these changes happening at home and abroad, conditions have never been better for the construction of a mass revolutionary workers party in this country, linked with like-minded parties internationally.

But despite such favorable objective conditions, in the past few years in Canada we have seen the demise and even disappearance of a number of organizations which claimed to base themselves on Marxism. Some people even go so far as to speak of a "crisis of Marxism" and a "failure of the Leninist model" of party-building.

This theme has dominated this conference.

We completely reject the notion that Marxism is in crisis, still less that Lenin's practical and theoretical contributions to Marxism and to party-building are not valid in Canada today. To the contrary, the "crisis of Marxism" is really only the crisis of certain individuals and organizations unable to cope with the big developments in the international class struggle.

In the RWL we have come through this period not by rejecting Marxism, but by applying it with renewed vigor to the changing conditions.

### The real crisis of the left

The left in English Canada and Quebec is going through a period of sharp upheavals. These are far from over. The main thing they show is that a revolutionary party cannot be built on a wrong program. It cannot be built if you stand outside the most powerful sector of the working class — the industrial unions — and if you do not have a political strategy that points to how the working class can take power.

An organization can only exist as a hopeless sect if it refuses to learn important lessons from the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian revolutionaries.

In Struggle and the Workers Communist Party went into crisis and dissolved because they proved unable to develop correct responses to the challenges facing the labor movement and the international working class as a whole. I want to take up three of the key questions to which these groups failed to give Marxist answers. These are also among the questions which have historically been the Achilles heel of social democracy and the Communist Party in this country.

(1) *The national struggle in Quebec.* It is not enough for Marxists to just support the right of self-determination for Quebec in words. The application of this right in Canada today means understanding and supporting its practical relation to the questions posed in the real world: support for Quebec independence, for the yes vote in the 1980 referendum on sovereignty-association, for the protection of the French language through measures like Quebec's Bill 101, and total opposition to Trudeau's anti-Quebec Constitution and its

phony Charter of Rights.

(2) *The imperialist nature of the Canadian ruling class and its state.* A revolutionary party must be 100 percent opposed to the reactionary ideology of Canadian nationalism, and therefore opposed to utopian economic schemes like an all-Canadian car or an all-Canadianization of the oil industry. What we need is not to change the nationality of the boss class, but to nationalize major industry under workers' control and make common cause with our brothers and sisters in the United States.

Fighting the ruling class's use of Canadian nationalism is key to building a truly binational working-class party which can lead a united struggle against the federal government.

(3) *For a workers and farmers government.* The working class is in the forefront of the struggles to defend the social gains won over the past 35 years since World War II. To be successful, these struggles must be combined with a fight for political power with the aim of forming a government of workers and farmers in Ottawa. The fight to strengthen the working class character of the NDP — both in its actual composition and in its program and actions — combined with the fight for a labor party of the Quebec union movement are key measures for advancing such a perspective today.

\* \* \*

The single most important contribution which Karl Marx and Frederick Engels made to the working-class movement was the example they set through their participation in the class struggles of their day and their generalization of the lessons of these struggles.

Their endless devotion to and confidence in the cause of the working class and their scientific method derived from studying the history of the class struggle should be what guides English Canadian and Québécois Marxists in the coming years. □

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# How masses met invasion threat

*Militias mobilized, meetings held across island*

By Jim Upton

ST. GEORGE'S — Grenada's militias, mass organizations, and trade unions swiftly mobilized to defend the country following Prime Minister Maurice Bishop's March 23 announcement that Grenada faced the threat of an imminent armed attack.

Bishop explained in an emergency radio broadcast that Grenada's Peoples Revolutionary Government (PRG) had uncovered detailed evidence that "an armed attack on our country by counterrevolutionaries and mercenaries organized, financed, trained and directed by United States imperialism" could come at any time.

Grenada's intelligence service had been able to discover the approximate size of the mercenary force being assembled in Miami and a territory "only a few miles away" from Grenada, Bishop reported.

The PRG was also able to find out the timetable for the assault, targets the invaders intend to destroy, and what logistical support they expect to get from the United States.

In the weeks leading up to Bishop's March 23 announcement, the Reagan administration had been escalating the level of hostile and threatening propaganda directed against Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba. Only a few days before the announcement here, counter-revolutionaries launched large-scale attacks against Nicaragua from bases in Honduras.

## Solidarity with Nicaragua

After learning of the invasion of Nicaragua, Grenada went on military alert. Militia members in villages around this small island were mobilized to guard the beaches and vital public installations. Messages from mass organizations condemning the plot against Grenada and expressing solidarity with Nicaragua were broadcast over Radio Free Grenada. The PRG immediately sent a message to Managua saying the Grenadian people stood ready to assist Nicaragua in whatever way possible.

On March 23 an emergency rally to defend Nicaragua drew 2,000 people in St. George's. The *Free West Indian*, Grenada's national newspaper, explained the significance of the attacks against the Nicaraguan revolution.

In an editorial headed "Nicaragua now, Grenada after," the *Free West Indian* declared:

"The recent roguish invasion of revolutionary Nicaragua, by the former National Guardsmen of dictator Anastasio Somoza, is a blatant manifestation of the real nature of the threat that now confronts the Grenada Revolution. . . .

"To some of our people here in Grenada, however, the situation in Nicaragua commands little more than our sympathy, since it is some

distance away from us, we do not have land borders with any other country, so we need not worry, such a situation can never really happen in Grenada."

In fact, the editorial concluded, U.S. imperialism "has singled out Grenada as its next target," and the Grenadian people must "prepare for a threat that is as real as the invasion of Nicaragua."

The cover of the *Free West Indian* reproduced a poster showing Maurice Bishop, Cuban President Fidel Castro, and Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega under the slogan: "Grenada, Nicaragua, Cuba. Three giants rising up to defend their rights to independence, sovereignty and justice on the very threshold of imperialism."

## Meetings organize defense

Leaders of the PRG responded quickly to the danger of invasion. Members of the government, cadres of the New Jewel Movement (which led Grenada's revolution in 1979), and trade-union activists addressed some 20 zonal council meetings held simultaneously across the island March 28.

The zonal councils, which are subdivisions of larger parish councils, are basic forms of popular democracy that have been developed since the revolution. The government called the special meetings to explain the military danger and involve the population in organizing and strengthening defense preparations.

Together with 300 Grenadians, about 40 international visitors attended the south St. George's zonal meeting. We were able to get a firsthand view of how the Grenadian people are responding to the threat of military attack.

The crowd at the meeting was overwhelmingly composed of working people. It was predominantly young and in its majority, women.

After opening the meeting, the chairman introduced Vincent Noel, president of the Bank and General Workers Union (BGWU) and a leader of the New Jewel Movement.

Noel explained that the PRG is responding to the threats against Grenada on two levels. First, the government has initiated a "diplomatic offensive" designed to expose the danger to world opinion and hopefully force those involved to pull back.

However, he stressed the "most important thing in preventing an invasion is the unity and strength of the Grenadian people. . . . It is our own internal strength which will have to withstand the test of repelling and expelling those who come to seize our island."

Noel told the crowd that attempts by opponents of the revolution to recruit Grenadians living abroad in New York and London have been largely unsuccessful. More recently, he



Ernest Harsch/FP

MAURICE BISHOP

said, plans have been made to recruit Jamaican "gunmen" and "Black American Vietnam veterans to an invasion force."

In order to prepare for such an attack, Noel urged people to join the combat militia as "the number one priority." There is room, he said, "for every single Grenadian in the militia."

Noel ended his remarks with the call, "Forward ever!" The audience jumped to its feet and, with clenched fists raised, responded "Backward never!"

## Workers join militia

The meeting then broke into workshops organized for those in the militia; new militia recruits; those willing to do lookout work and information gathering; those responsible for defense preparations, including digging trenches and filling sandbags; civilian safety and organization; training in first aid; and others.

In addition to organizing zonal council meetings across Grenada and its sister islands of Carriacou and Petit Martinique, discussions on the military threat were organized by the unions in workplaces throughout the country.

According to a March 31 radio report, 300 members of the BGWU had already signed up for the militia as a result of the current campaign.

Similar discussions are being held in units of the National Women's Organization and the National Youth Organization. Members of the New Jewel Movement have been organizing on a house-to-house basis across the island to warn people and encourage them to participate in defense efforts.

Addressing the regular monthly meeting of the St. George's workers parish council, Prime Minister Bishop said the government was very pleased that "more and more people are willing to be mobilized and fight back." In particular he noted the vanguard role being played by the "working class as the leading class force" in this mobilization.

Faced with increasing military threats from imperialism, the Grenadian revolution is going through a new stage. Through a process of discussion and education the people are deepening their commitment to defend the gains of the revolution. □