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British Coal Strike: Miners Get National, International Labor Support for Struggle



London marchers back coal miners, June 27.

G.M. Cookson

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Striking British miners need international help

By Malik Miah

International solidarity — that's what's needed to aid the embattled British coal miners who have now been on strike against mine closures for over 100 days.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), with 85 percent of its 183,000 members out on strike, is locked in a major class battle with Britain's employers and government. The mineworkers are historically one of the strongest and most militant British unions and have led the entire British working class.

The stakes in the current confrontation are high.

The outcome of this battle will be felt far beyond Britain. As the most important labor struggle in an imperialist country over the last decade, its outcome will have an impact on the relationship between the employing class and working people in all the advanced capitalist countries.

A victory for the miners will inspire metal workers who have struck for a 35-hour work week in West Germany, French steelworkers fighting mill shutdowns, Spanish shipyard workers fighting for jobs, and U.S. coal miners, who are heading toward a big contract showdown with the coal operators in September.

Conversely, a defeat for the miners will profoundly set back the labor movement across Europe, and in North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

Recognizing these high stakes, workers in Europe and Australia have been helping the NUM try to stop the Thatcher government's efforts to import coal to break the strike.

British coal mines are nationalized — owned by the government — as the result of big labor struggles after World War II. The Thatcher government, and its National Coal Board (NCB), aims to close 20 mines and wipe out 20,000 jobs in the next year, and 70 mines and 70,000 jobs over the next three years.

This is part of its overall offensive against the entire British working class, which suffers double-digit unemployment. Part of the attack on the miners is aimed at laying the groundwork for "privatization" — selling off the more profitable mines to private corporate interests. Similar plans are afoot in the nationalized British steel industry.

British miners believe this privatization scheme will lead to much poorer working, health, and safety conditions.

In response to the British government's job-cutting plan, the NUM leadership began organizing a fightback. This started with a major campaign within the union to educate the membership on the issues and stakes in the im-

pending confrontation.

The NCB sought to divide the ranks of the NUM in anticipation of this fight. Earlier it instituted an incentive pay plan that resulted in a minority of miners, in areas such as Nottinghamshire, receiving much higher wages than other NUM members. The union's educational campaign sought to counter this divide-and-rule scheme, explaining the need to remain united to beat back the government attack.

The fighting stance of the NUM leaders both reflects and has encouraged creativity and boldness in the ranks. The top leadership has helped push the struggle forward, and, in the fight, new young leaders are emerging.

The admiration for NUM President Arthur Scargill among the miners is for good reason. He has been on the front lines of the confrontation, where he has felt the blows of the police batons with other miners and, like them, has been carted off to jail.

Scargill speaks for the determination of the NUM membership when he says, "If it takes until November or December, we will win." He tells the miners, "You have a leadership prepared to lead, not a leadership whose only interest is a seat in the House of Lords [Parliament's upper house]. I pledge that this leadership will not accept pit closures. The leadership will lead until we win."

This reflects the determination of the rank and file displayed in the mass picketing, the defense of their rights when violently attacked by the cops, and the mass demonstrations.

The sacrifices and fighting spirit of the miners has won growing support from women, Blacks, farmers, and the organized labor movement.

The wives and family members of miners (there are no women miners) have especially taken the lead in organizing unprecedented active support among women for the strike.

This highlights the fact that the strike is taking on more and more the character of a social movement. It is increasingly seen as a fight of the entire working class and its allies against the employers and their government.

The strike has also polarized the labor movement. The Trades Union Congress (TUC) is on record backing the strike, although many top officials have only given it lip service. But others, notably rail workers and dockers who are inspired by the NUM's fighting example, have pledged strong support for the strike and have acted on it.

Britain's union-based, mass Labour Party also backs the strike despite the lukewarm support offered by many right-wing leaders. The National Executive Committee of the party has levied its 250,000 members 50 pence (75 cents) a week for the strikers' support fund.

Cop violence and Thatcher's sharp restrictions on democratic rights are teaching many miners and their supporters new lessons about the true nature of British "democracy."

To date more than 3,000 miners have been arrested and hundreds injured by cops. Two strikers have been killed. The police have occupied many towns in the coalfields. The elite counter-insurgency unit of the Special Air Services has also been mobilized against the strike.

These attacks are carried out under the guise of "protecting the rights" of scabs. Under new government anti-crime laws, workers can be arrested and held for up to 96 hours without charges.

The British ruling class is pursuing this course and pulling out the stops to try to defeat the miners because this is key to driving ahead their antilabor policies.

So far they have not succeeded. The outcome is not yet decided. Every act of solidarity with the NUM, in Britain and abroad, helps to tip the scales in favor of the miners. □

German metalworkers break 40-hour workweek

By Will Reissner

"We've forced open a door, and others will go through it," stated West German metalworkers union leader Hans Mayr. Mayr was describing the June 27 settlement of a seven-week strike that had closed West Germany's automobile plants. By the time it ended, 450,000 workers were either on strike, locked out, or laid off.

The metalworkers' strike — the longest and hardest-fought job action in West Germany's postwar history — began May 14 as the 2.5 million member IG Metall union pressed its demand for a 35-hour workweek with no re-

duction in pay as a means of reducing unemployment.

Although the 35-hour goal was not reached, the union forced the employers to back down on their contention that the 40-hour week should remain carved in stone.

Under the terms of the settlement worked out through arbitration, in April 1985 the average workweek of West German metalworkers will drop to 38.5 hours with no cut in pay. The actual workweek, however, will be determined on a plant-by-plant basis, and may vary from 37 to 40 hours.

The metalworkers also won an immediate

3.3 percent raise and 2.2 percent more in April, as well as a one-time \$90 payment upon returning to their jobs.

The employers, strongly backed by the conservative Christian Democratic-Free Democratic government, had adamantly opposed any reduction in work time, arguing that anything less than 40 hours would ruin the economy by making West German products uncompetitive.

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl dismissed the union's 35-hour demand as "stupid and ridiculous."

The head of the employers' organization, Dieter Kirchner, reflected the hardline attitude of the bosses: "Better one week of labor conflict than one minute reduction in worktime."

The employers believed that with the government's help their non-concessions stance would force the strike to collapse.

Many union members recognized that much more was at stake than the length of the workweek. "Sure they want to prevent the 35-hour week," said Richard Heller, a 50-year-old shop steward in an Opel car plant, "but the main goal is to break the unions."

IG Metall Vice President Franz Steinkühler charged that the employers wanted to use high unemployment to make the unions "toothless and tame."

The strike marked an important breach in the long tradition of class collaboration between the officialdom of the West German unions and the employers. Between 1970 and 1982, for example, the per capita number of workdays lost on strike in West Germany was less than half the number in Japan and less than one-tenth the number in the United States.

But with the capitalist economic crisis the number of jobless in West Germany nearly tripled in the last three years, rising from 889,000 to 2.35 million.

Real wages have been dropping for three years. In 1982-83, real wages fell 3 percent, while profits in West German industry were up 10 percent.

IG Metall members — concentrated in the steel, auto, and engineering industries — have been particularly hard hit by unemployment. It was recently announced that 25,000 more jobs will be eliminated in the steel industry in the next two years.

The unions estimate that a reduction in the workweek to 35 hours would create 1.5 million new jobs in West Germany.

Although steelworkers have been hardest hit by the layoffs, IG Metall decided to focus its strike on the highly profitable automobile industry.

West German labor law requires unions to pay weekly strike benefits at a rate prescribed by statute. A long strike by IG Metall's entire membership would have quickly bankrupted the union. Therefore IG Metall limited the number of workers actually called out.

Through selective strikes in key auto-parts plants, IG Metall was able to make a big impact even though relatively small numbers of

workers walked out.

Because many West German automakers have shifted to the "just-in-time" system of ordering parts, they had few stockpiles, and production was quickly crippled.

As the giant auto assembly plants began to close for lack of parts, the employers applied their own pressure through massive lock-outs.

In the Stuttgart area, for example, early in the strike the employers' organizations decided to lock out all workers at plants employing more than 2,000. The lock-out was expanded on June 13 to all plants employing more than 1,000 workers.

By the time the strike ended, even with its

selective-strikes policy, IG Metall had paid out more than \$200 million in strike benefits. The auto manufacturers lost some \$3 billion in sales.

Although reducing the workweek to 38.5 hours will not create a large number of new jobs, the metalworkers' strike has already encouraged other struggles for a shorter workweek in Western Europe and North America.

The European Confederation of Trade Unions, which endorsed the 35-hour week goal two years ago, and the Canadian Labor Congress, which adopted a campaign for it in June, are certain to take heart from the gains won by German workers. □

—IN THIS ISSUE—

Closing news date: July 9, 1984

FEATURES	457	On the Zimmerwald Left — by Karl Radek
	459	Zeth Höglund: pioneer communist — by Kjell Östberg
BRITAIN	436	Thatcher steps up attacks on miners — by Clive Turnbull
	438	Rail workers back miners — by Clive Turnbull
	439	South Wales shows solidarity with miners — by Patricia Neale
AUSTRALIA	439	Unions refuse to load coal for Britain — by Dave Deutschmann
NEW ZEALAND	440	Young Socialists meet — by Elizabeth Stone
VIETNAM	441	Interview with "Vietnam Courier" editor
NEW CALEDONIA	445	Independence Front calls boycotts — by Will Reissner
BOLIVIA	446	Foreign debt payments suspended — by Marcelo Zugadi
EL SALVADOR	448	Duarte masks bigger U.S. role — by Fred Murphy
AFGHANISTAN	451	CIA increases aid to rebels — by Will Reissner
GRENADA	452	New party launched — by Ernest Harsch
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	454	"IMF out of the country!" — by Martin Koppel
ICELAND	456	Socialists evaluate progress — by Malik Miah
DOCUMENTS	450	FMLN hits U.S. intervention in El Salvador
	462	Canadian RWL opens campaign — by Margaret Manwaring
	463	New Zealand socialists urge vote for Labour
	464	European youth support Nicaragua

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Thatcher steps up attacks on miners

Two strikers killed, 3,282 arrested by cops and troops

By Clive Turnbull

SHEFFIELD — On Friday, June 22, 12,000 coal miners marched through the streets of Pontefract, Yorkshire, for the funeral of Joe Green, killed on picket duty by a truck delivering parts to a local power station. His death was the second in the 14-week coal miners strike, following that of David Jones, who died in a battle at Ollerton, Nottinghamshire, in the early days of the dispute.

The striking miners, who came from all over Britain to honor their dead comrade, are involved in a bloody war with the Conservative (Tory) government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is striking against British government plans to close scores of mines and throw tens of thousands of miners permanently out of work.

The toll in the battle has been high. Two are dead, hundreds of workers have been injured, and a staggering 3,282 have been arrested.

Soldiers in cop uniforms

The miners have been confronted with tens of thousands of police, drafted from all over the country. It is suspected that soldiers are being deployed in police uniforms. Rumors of soldiers from mining families spotted by their striking relatives have circulated widely. The June 15 edition of the *Miner*, the NUM's paper, had a headline, "Troops Drive Police Van in Miners' Demonstration," with photographs to prove their case.

Over 80 percent of those arrested have been charged with the catch-all "breach of the peace" or "obstruction." Bail conditions are designed to stop any further involvement in picketing. For some pickets, living in mining villages, this has virtually amounted to house arrest.

Police squads have been sent into mining communities such as Blidworth in Nottinghamshire, Maltby, and Armthorpe in Yorkshire. The *Miner* described what has been happening: "Men in uniform, who go by the name of law-keepers, have run amok, breaking the law at random, physically and verbally abusing inhabitants of a pit village.

"For a period, Blidworth resembled not a mining village in the heart of Notts [Nottinghamshire], but the bloodied and oppressive and fearful streets of Belfast." Belfast is the British Army-occupied north of Ireland.

In Maltby, the *Miner* continued, "the intimidation was mostly at weekends. Frank Slater, delegate at Maltby Colliery, was dragged out of Jumbo's Chinese Takeaway at midnight on Friday, June 8. In full view of between 20 and 30 customers, police walked into the shop,

identified miners and dragged them off. Mr. Slater was thrown into a police car, his arm badly gashed."

Dramatic impact on economy

The Thatcher government is putting massive resources into defeating the miners. Dave Douglass, delegate to the Yorkshire Area committee of the NUM, explained what this entailed. "The government has spent more than £1 billion to paper over the effects that the strike has had on the economy. The bulk of power stations are coal-fired. They can operate with oil, but very inefficiently, and at three times the cost. This can't go on indefinitely as a certain amount of coal is still needed.

"The government is making a superhuman effort in keeping the steelworks open. This requires circumventing not only the use of British dockers, seamen, drivers, and railway men, but also the widespread solidarity actions of workers all over the world. Australia, Finland, and France are notable examples.

"We are having a very dramatic effect on the economy," Douglass continued. "When you also take account of the police and army operation against our pickets, the cost of neutralizing our action has already cost two and a half times the price of 'winning' the war with Argentina!" he said, referring to Britain's 1982 invasion of the Malvinas Islands.

The capitalist class is playing for high stakes. From the beginning of the strike, the government has denied that it was in any way involved. It was purely a matter for the National Coal Board (NCB) and the Mineworkers, Thatcher claimed.

This "lack of involvement" stretches back before 1979, when the Tories were first elected. Before the Conservative Party election victory the Tories drew up a battle plan, known as the Ribley Report, outlining how a Tory government would prepare for an eventual confrontation with the miners. In 1981 a cabinet level committee of senior civil servants was set up to prepare detailed plans to defeat a miners strike. The committee considered using troops to drive coal trains and the use of scab truck drivers.

The government's actual maneuvering was revealed in letters leaked from the prime minister's office and published in the *Daily Mirror*. These show that the government was willing to make concessions to the rail workers' demands to ensure that they would not join in common cause with the miners. More money has also been found for an 8 percent raise for nurses, despite the target of 3-4 percent for public-sector employees.

The miners' strike is now the longest na-

tional stoppage the British working class has seen since 1926. Then, too, it was the miners who took the lead, holding out for six months against wage cuts. This was even after being abandoned by the Trades Union Congress (TUC), which called off the general strike after nine days.

Appeal for solidarity

The NUM too recognizes the big stakes in today's fight against mine closures. Its answer to British government strike-breaking is to appeal for the maximum solidarity from the rest of the union movement and other British working people.

"We've appealed to each union directly for support," Dave Douglass explained. "To stop the movement of coal by rail, road, or sea. To cut off all supplies and services to scabs who are still working. To extend the days of action, to come on our picket lines, and so on. This is how you work towards a general strike," said Douglass.

The rail workers have come to the fore in giving solidarity to the miners, stopping the movement of coal stocks which resulted in layoffs for rail crews in many cases. This has just been extended to the key Shirebrook Rail Depot, through which coal produced in Nottinghamshire passes.

The 15 percent of miners who have scabbed on the strike are mainly concentrated in the Notts area. The fact that they are still working has been used by conservative union leaders to excuse their failure to back the NUM. Nowhere has this been more damaging than in the steel industry.

Bill Sirs, secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) and a leading member of the TUC, has refused to give more than token support to the miners, pleading that to do more would result in the closing of major steel mills. In recent years, 100,000 jobs have been lost in the steel industry.

Sirs first insisted that the miners allow coal to go to the steel industry, so that blast furnaces would not be damaged through cooling down. It was discovered that the amounts of coal demanded were allowing the British Steel Corp. (BSC) to continue almost normal production. Sirs then claimed that if steel wasn't produced by BSC, their orders would be lost to foreign competition.

Douglass explained the NUM's response: "Having been badly deceived by Bill Sirs we have taken the initiative in stopping everything — all fuel, iron ore, and all other supplies for the steelworks, until we reach an agreement which protects the plant but that stops all production of salable steel."



G.M. Cookson

Tony Benn of Labour Party speaks to June 27 rally for miners.

Instead of joining forces with the miners to fight for jobs, the ISTC leadership has opened the door for the Tory government to shift the blame for the decimation of the steel industry onto the miners strike.

The NUM is changing through the experience of the strike, observed Jack Taylor, Yorkshire area NUM president, at the Yorkshire miners' gala. "Everybody used to say 'the young men are not like us.' We had '72 and '74 [the last two national strikes of the NUM] and we knew what it was about. But the future of this union is in good hands. The young men have come of age in this dispute."

As Douglass explained, "On the picket lines such as at Orgreave Coke Depot we have seen the most magnificent displays of class courage and militancy. The unity in struggle of miners, from different pits, from different regions, on the picket lines, on demonstrations, in the swapping of badges [buttons], is forging a national union through the strike."

All over the country miners' wives, women from mining communities seeing the threat of destruction to those communities, and other women who support this strike are joining together, organizing women's action committees.

Most of the action groups were set up to provide physical support by organizing canteens. But the other need was to counter the capitalist media's biased coverage of the Notts wives who opposed the strike. The action groups wanted to publicly show their support for the miners.

Women making history

As Maureen Douglass, from the Hatfield, Main miners' wives group explained at the May 12 Barnsley demonstration of 12,000 women strike supporters: "What we are doing as women, in this 1984, maybe 1985, miners strike, is making history. We are setting a pattern for the future, for the involvement of women in political struggles, which will show

what a formidable force we can be.

"Without our organized support this strike couldn't win, but we also want the active support of the whole trade union labor movement, and all of us can work to win this support. . . .

"None of us here will be daunted by hardship, no matter what difficulties we face, for certain we will win."

Many hundreds of thousands of trade unionists have also given their support to the miners. TUC regional committees in Scotland, Wales, Yorkshire, the Northwest, Northeast, and Southeast have organized days of action in solidarity with the strike.

Hundreds of thousands of pounds have been collected in workplaces and at rallies and meetings all over Britain. In many factories there are weekly collections. Delegations of trade unionists and members of the union-based Labour Party have been organized to take money, food, and solidarity to the mining communities. For example, from East London, 500 labor movement activists made such a visit to the Kent coalfields.

The Labour Party National Executive has called upon local branches to collect 50 pence per week from every member. Some local government councils under Labour Party control have turned over buildings, and other facilities to collect and distribute food to miners' families.

But the main efforts of Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock have centered on trying to end the dispute. From the beginning, Kinnock has undercut the NUM leadership by concentrating on trying to force the miners union into negotiations. He also supported the government's attempt, in the early stages of the strike, to force a nationwide strike vote to neutralize the more militant miners.

The left wing of the Labour Party, led by Dennis Skinner and Tony Benn, both members of the party's National Executive, however have actively supported the miners' struggle. Speaking at a Yorkshire miners' gala, Skinner

urged Labour-controlled councils to follow the Derbyshire Council's lead in refusing to pay the cost of police operations against the miners and Liverpool's lead in refusing to do business with firms involved in strike-breaking.

NUM President Arthur Scargill has repeatedly called for the Tory government to be replaced by a "Labour government that is as loyal to our class as Thatcher is to hers." Following a breakdown in negotiations, the NUM leadership responded by expanding their demands, adding a 10-point program to the original demand of no pit closures.

A defeat for the miners would give a green light to the Tories to run roughshod over the rest of the working class. The capitalists have made no secret of their objectives: a massive reduction in wages and social spending, in favor of profits.

Stakes for entire working class

Legislation has already been passed to take control of local government council spending and savagely cut it. Further laws attacking trade union rights are currently being drafted. In health, education, and the privatization of nationalized industries — which includes the coal industry — the pattern is the same.

If the miners, the strongest section of the British working class, are left to be defeated, the prospects of anyone else resisting the employers' offensive will be much bleaker. A victory for the miners would be a severe setback to the rulers' plans and would inspire working people all over Britain to fight back. That is what is at stake for the working class.

The NUM has put forward a 10-point program as its basis for ending the strike. It includes the demand that the National Coal Board withdraw the pit mine closure program it announced March 6. The NUM's program includes several points related to expanding the use of coal in British industry.

The union is also demanding "the introduction of a four-day workweek." It argues that "with the advent of new technology," it is possible to create more jobs in the mines rather than cut them. The NUM also calls for "an agreement to substantially increase wages, thus reversing the trend which has, over the past nine years, seen an erosion of wage rates in the mining industry."

The union proposes an early retirement plan allowing miners to retire with full benefits at age 55. Such a plan, the NUM insists, should include "the same terms and conditions applied to men accepting redundancy [layoff]."

Finally the NUM demands that incentive bonus payments be incorporated into base pay rates for all miners. The NCB has used the incentive pay plan to divide the NUM. Many Notts miners who are crossing NUM picket lines receive considerably higher pay than other miners because of the bonus system.

The NUM's program poses a clear alternative to the "profits first" plans of the Thatcher government. The battle shows no signs of ebbing. □

Rail workers back striking miners

Steelworker explains why his union should too

By Clive Turnbull

SHEFFIELD — In the last two weeks, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) and the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) have held their annual conferences. Along with the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), these are the main unions in the Triple Alliance, which was established in January 1981, "in a common campaign aimed at defending the interests of workers in those industries and fighting the policies of the present Government by whatever means are open to them."

At that time, the NUM, NUR, and the ISTC were all dominated by right-wing national officials — Joe (now Lord) Gormley, Sid Weighell, and Bill Sirs, respectively. Other than holding a press conference and publishing some glossy pamphlets, the Alliance took no action — not even a campaign among the members of each union to discuss their common problems. From the outset it was dubbed a "cripple alliance" by many militants, as none of the national union leaders had ever fought against closures in their own industries, let alone fought to defend any other workers' jobs.

Today the situation is vastly different. The miners are in the 17th week of a national strike against pit closures, under the leadership of their new national president, Arthur Scargill. The railworkers of the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF), and the NUR, with its new general secretary, Jimmy Knapp, are the foremost supporters of the miners' fight. Both union leaderships have called for a halt to the movement of coal by rail. In the Nottinghamshire area, where a majority of miners have refused to join the strike, meetings have been organized in the key rail depots to stop the movement of scab coal from the pit heads.

At a meeting in Llandudno, where the NUR is holding its conference, leaders of the NUM and the transport unions decided to step up their actions to make the miners' strike more effective. At the same time the NUR conference voted for measures to compensate the earnings of members suspended by management for refusing to move coal.

While there have been big changes in the NUM and NUR, the ISTC still bears the burden of Bill Sirs as its general secretary. Since the 1980 national steel strike over wages, the steel industry has been greatly cut back, and Sirs has presided over the loss of tens of thousands of ISTC members. The steelworkers' leadership has given only token support to the miners, with a £20,000 donation to the miners' strike fund. Sirs has refused to

mobilize solidarity action, demanding that the steel industry be allowed to work normally. Instead of collaborating with the miners to defend jobs, he is collaborating with the British Steel Corporation (BSC) management in allowing the use of scab coal.

In contrast to the NUR conference, which was addressed by Arthur Scargill, the ISTC leadership invited Bob Scholey, head of BSC, to its conference. Instead of responding to calls for solidarity actions, Sirs proposed talks with the miners, even calling on "the NUM to recognize the precarious state of BSC and the effect should any works suffer irreparable harm of either a mechanical or commercial nature as the result of inadequate fuel supplies."

Steve Pilley, a crafts shop steward at the BSC Rotherham works, has a different view of the situation facing steelworkers.

"This is the big one. If the Tories defeat the miners it will be a massive blow to the whole working class. Thatcher has prepared for this battle with the miners by first defeating, or isolating, other sections of workers, like the steelworkers in 1980.

"Since our 13-week-long pay strike in 1980, we've seen the work force almost halved, with plant after plant closed. We've already had Ian MacGregor [the new head of the National Coal Board], in charge of BSC, creating a 'leaner, but fitter, industry.' It's certainly leaner, you can see what's happening at Rotherham works today, they are knocking large parts of it down.

Threat of closures

"Bill Sirs' excuse for turning his back on the miners was that it would lead to steel works closing," Pilley explained. "But the threats of closure never stop. The latest threat to us, from Scholey, is that if we don't make a profit this year, we'll be closed down. Tomorrow it will be privatization, where we're sold off to the highest bidder, once the plant has been modernized at the taxpayers' expense.

"This is the time we should be uniting with the miners to fight the government," Pilley said. "We should be demanding they stop the steel closures and negotiate a 'Plan for Steel' with us, like the 'Plan for Coal' the miners are after. This is what we need instead of steel works being played off against steel works, each trying to prove how productive they can be, how prepared they are to collaborate with management. All in the mistaken belief that by doing so, their works won't be the ones that are out of a job."

Pilley explained that the ISTC conference showed the ISTC leadership is getting more

like that of a company union. "As Mick McGahey, NUM vice-president, said on television last night, Bill Sirs sounds more like BSC management than a union leader."

"We should be uniting now with the miners against this government," Pilley pointed out, "not waiting until they're defeated. We'll never be in a better position to prevent the continuing threat to steel jobs.

"BSC management is desperate to stop us backing the miners," he said. "Under our wage scheme we have a three-month bonus which means that if the plant is making a profit every worker gets a percentage payment. The only time the bonus is any good is just before the negotiations on next year's bonus agreement. It was 10 percent this year, followed three months later by 2 percent. Now with the miners' strike, management spread a rumor that bonuses will be 15 to 20 percent this time. But of course," he noted, "if we come out in support of the miners we won't get anything. Management backed this up with *Steel News* telling us how good the future is, with the miners as the only dark cloud on the horizon."

Pilley explained that whenever the miners look like they are getting support from a particular sector of the working class, the press and television highlight all the problems facing that sector. "First, we were told rail workers didn't support the miners," he said. "Now that they are, it's the steelworkers that are supposed to not be giving a damn.

Opportunity for real alliance

"In my view," Pilley continued, "we have to support the miners. Get the miners to local steel union meetings to explain their case and the common interest we have in defending jobs. Distribute material from the NUM to every steelworker, recalling what happened to us in 1980, what we felt like when scab lorries crossed our picket lines. This is the opportunity to establish a real triple alliance based on action, not pious statements that aren't worth the paper they are written on. No steelworker should touch scab coal."

It is ridiculous for Bill Sirs to give credence to the Tory propaganda by suggesting that the miners are trying to destroy the steel industry, Pilley said. "Three pits in Yorkshire supply the Scunthorpe works, six pits in South Wales supply Llanwern; if one of those steel works closes then the pits go down with them.

"Bill Sirs has lined up with BSC management and the Tories against the miners. The final question every steelworker has to answer is, who is more likely to defend your jobs when the crunch comes — Thatcher and Scholey or Arthur Scargill and the NUM?" □

South Wales shows solidarity

250,000 participate in strike support activities

By Patricia Neale

[The following article was written by a New Zealand union activist and member of the Socialist Action League who was recently in Britain.]

* * *
SOUTH WALES — On June 12, more than 10,000 people participated in a march in Cardiff in support of Britain's striking coal miners. The march was part of a day of action called by the Wales Trades Union Congress (TUC) in solidarity with the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

David Jenkins, general secretary of the Wales TUC, said 250,000 Welsh workers participated on that day in some kind of strike support activity including workplace meetings, being on the march, or donating their day's wages. This was in defiance of the TUC General Council, which declared the event unconstitutional.

Most significantly, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers at the giant Port Talbot steelworks went on a 24-hour solidarity strike. These and other steelworks have been the scene of clashes, as cops have attacked miners' pickets trying to prevent the steelworks from using scab coke. The announcement that at least a section of the steelworkers had gone out got huge applause.

Railway unions blocked all coal movement into the Llanwern steelworks, and dockers from Cardiff, Barry, and Newport struck for the day.

Seafarers from the *SS Mallin* were on the demonstration following their refusal to touch its cargo of imported coal.

They were joined by a contingent of Black seafarers from the Geest line ships docked at the Cardiff port.

Garment workers from Ebbw Vale also struck for the day.

The biggest support came from the hospital workers. This was in return for the solid support they received from the miners during their 1982 strike. Auxiliary and domestic staff from all the major hospitals in South Wales walked out for the day.

All the miners' lodges from South Wales carried banners on the march. Handmade banners

were carried by miners' wives, many of whom were on the march. In fact, a big section of the march was women, including many of the hospital workers.

There were TUC banners from all the major towns in South Wales.

Rail and transport workers marched as did uniformed bus workers who were on strike for the day. Shop stewards from the Ford auto plant in Swansea were there. So were uniformed firefighters, civil servants, and government workers. There were banners from several Labour Party branches.

A contingent of miners and their wives were there from Leicester and Derbyshire.

Harry Harris, the regional secretary of the General, Municipal, Boilermakers, and Allied Trades Union, reported at the rally that the union's national conference voted to give £1,000 [£1 = US\$1.40] per day to the strike.

Mary Coombs from Maerdy spoke about organizing wives of miners in her village to support the strike.

Australia

Support for British miners

Unions refuse to load coal for Britain

By Dave Deutschmann

SYDNEY — Two representatives of the British National Union of Mineworkers are due to arrive shortly in Australia as guests of the Miners Federation of Australia. The tour, announced in the June 27 issue of the Miners Federation paper, *Common Cause*, is organized to win further support from Australian unions for the British miners' strike.

As well as addressing union meetings across the country, it is also expected that the two British miners will win considerable financial support. Already several Australian unions have given strong support to the British strike, some in the form of work bans in Australia blocking the export of Australian coal to Britain.

This has become a political issue in Australia with coal bosses and governments alike putting pressure on these unions to allow the Australian coal to be shipped out.

Australia and the United States are the major exporters of coal to Britain, with Australia exporting 2.74 million tons of black coal to Britain in 1983. Much of this is from the state of Queensland, where the Miners Federation and the Seamen's Union of Australia initiated national bans on the mining and shipping of any coal to Britain. Already several ships destined

Tony Benn, a leader of the left wing of the Labour Party, said, "We are all in this together. This fight is the same one being waged by the teachers, by the Liverpool Council, by the Black community." Benn was referring to the recent job actions by teachers and to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's attacks on government councils in Liverpool and other cities where these councils are dominated by the Labour Party.

"Miners have learned from the women," said Benn. "And the women are not just supporting the men. They've brought in their skills and strengthened the strike. We've learned what women can do to advance the cause of socialism and justice in this country."

"It's the same battle — Blacks, women, and miners," said Benn. We will win this battle, he concluded, through solidarity.

South Wales NUM president Emlyn Williams stated: "We will not be moved. There is no question but that we are going to win. . . . As far as the miners are concerned there will be no compromise."

Also speaking were Wales TUC general Secretary Jenkins and Rodney Bickerstaffe, general secretary of the National Union of Public Employees. □

for Britain have been held up in Queensland ports because of the union ban on the loading of coal.

According to the June 6 issue of *Common Cause*, the Miners Federation "has advised the coal owners to stockpile coal destined for the British market until the dispute has been resolved, warning that Australian miners will not tolerate being put in a position of 'scabbing' on their British counterparts. The Seamen's Union has also pledged that it will not carry Australian coal bound for Britain."

"Such solidarity is vital if the British miners are to win this decisive battle for their rights, and win they must for their entire future is at stake."

The Miners Federation has also sent messages to the British miners union to assure them no coal will be sent from Australia. British miners are more than aware of the strike-breaking role of these coal imports from Australia and elsewhere. The June 8 march of thousands of striking British miners in London passed by Australia House to protest the use of Australian coal.

The forthcoming tour of Australia by striking miners will provide an opportunity to explain why continued support from unions in this country is essential if the British strike is to be successful. □

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Young Socialists meet

Discuss struggles of workers, Maoris, women

By Elizabeth Stone

PALMERSTON NORTH — Solidarity with the struggles of working people at home and worldwide was the major theme of the ninth national hui (conference) of the Young Socialists, held at a campsite near here on June 2-4.

At the conference the Young Socialists discussed the plans and activities of the organization, as well as participating in numerous educational talks, panel discussions, workshops, and political rallies.

About half of the 84 people who registered for the entire weekend were industrial workers, a quarter were Maoris (the indigenous people of New Zealand) or Pacific islanders, and about 40 percent were women. An additional 25 people attended only part of the conference.

Among the special guests were two young women strikers from Union Carbide in South Auckland, who explained that their fight is on behalf of all workers to demand an end to the national wage freeze and a return to free wage bargaining. As a result of the strike, they said, solidarity among Union Carbide workers has been strengthened. Racial antagonism in the workforce has broken down, and women like themselves have gained greater confidence.

Another special guest was Susana Ounei, vice-president of the Kanak Socialist Liberation Party in the French-ruled islands of New Caledonia. She discussed the history of the Kanak people's fight for independence and the increasing collaboration among peoples of the Pacific islands in their anti-imperialist struggles.

She expressed how good she felt about coming to a conference of revolutionaries in New Zealand. She had just completed a successful tour of New Caledonia along with French revolutionary Alain Krivine of the Revolutionary Communist League. She pointed to the need for revolutionaries from all around the world to work more closely together.

Maori rights movement

Anna Preston of the Auckland Young Socialists spoke about the immigration bill now before the parliament. The New Zealand ruling class, like that in the United States and other countries, is attempting to blame immigrant workers for the economic crisis of capitalism. Pacific islanders are becoming an increasingly important component of the New Zealand working class. Preston described the role of New Zealand imperialism throughout the Pacific and discussed the response of the Pacific islanders fighting for independence and struggling to remove imperialist military and nuclear presence from their countries.

Another feature of the conference was a talk by Paul Barcham, a leader of the Maori rights movement in Palmerston North. He evaluated the state of the movement following the very successful 10-day peace walk of about 3,500 Maoris to the small town of Waitangi in February. Waitangi, in the far north of New Zealand, was the site in 1840 of a treaty, between the British government and a few Maori chiefs, that marked the formal assertion of British sovereignty over the country.

Three sessions on women's liberation were held, including a panel discussion entitled "Meat works are for women too." This panel included two women freezing workers who are campaigning for the right to become butchers and Marag Hill, the first woman delegate in the mutton butchers union.

A fundraising rally marked the fifteenth anniversary of *Socialist Action* newspaper. The principal speaker was Russell Johnson, national secretary of the Socialist Action League, who reaffirmed the view the paper proclaimed 15 years ago that "the New Zealand working class can and will make a revolution in this country to end capitalist rule." What is different today, Johnson said, is that large numbers of workers are becoming involved in political protest actions and militant union struggles against the attacks of the bosses.

Two major reports were discussed in the decision-making part of the conference. The first of these was given by the national coordinator of the Young Socialists, Etuale Sua-Filo, on "Muldoon's war on working people — the challenge before the labor movement."

To begin to work out solutions to this war being waged by the ruling class and its Nationalist Party government of Robert Muldoon, Sua-Filo explained, it is necessary to absorb the lessons of working-class struggles both of the past and the present. The best start-

Cuban greetings to conference

The Young Communist League, on behalf of all Cuban youth, would like to express its warm congratulations to the New Zealand Young Socialists as you meet for your national conference.

On this important occasion we reaffirm our solidarity with the struggle you are carrying out against the capitalist offensive at home and abroad, sure that you will achieve new and bigger successes as you implement the decisions you adopt at your conference.

Young Communist League
Havana, Cuba

ing point today, he said, "is to look to and learn from the working class revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean — in Cuba, in Nicaragua, and, until October last year, in Grenada."

By getting out the truth about the revolutions in Central America among our coworkers, "we can also help to raise understanding among a layer of workers in this country about the political lessons that we can learn from the experiences of our class brothers and sisters in Central America — above all about what a workers and farmers government is and how it can be brought to power."

Sua-Filo's report projected Young Socialists' participation in the national parliamentary elections, then expected for November. Shortly after the conference ended, however, the government announced elections would be held July 14. (See article on p. 463.)

Call for Labour government

"Our starting point in the elections is the interests of the working class," Sua-Filo reported. "We reject all the capitalist parties outright and we call for a vote for the Labour Party as the party of the trade unions and working people in the country."

"Giving our full support to the election of a Labour government, however, is not the same thing as supporting the leadership of the party or the political policies that the Labour MPs are putting forward and campaigning around in these elections. The Labour leadership refuses to stand on the side of the unions and the oppressed. Its political program does not reflect the needs and interests of working people, and it doesn't point a road forward," he stated.

The second report, presented by Elaine Edwards, the newly elected national secretary of the Young Socialists, was on the topic, "Fighting back — putting forward the socialist alternative in 1984."

"Unlike the capitalist class," she said, "we don't control TV, radio, and the major newspapers. We don't get our ideas put across in the schools and churches. But we do have our own publications to get out our ideas — our two newspapers, *Socialist Action* and *Rebel*; our magazines, *Intercontinental Press* and *New International*; and our pamphlets and books. The key way we will be explaining the ideas of our election campaign is through the pages of *Socialist Action*. It will be our 'candidate' in the elections," Edwards told the conference.

In addition to participating in the elections, the Young Socialists decided to support a major campaign by Pilot Books to promote the new book *Maurice Bishop Speaks: the Grenada Revolution, 1979-83*. Pilot, the New Zealand distributor of the book, is participating in an international campaign by supporters of the Grenada revolution to get out the truth about the revolution's achievements and the lessons of its defeat.

The conference received written greetings from the Young Socialist Alliance of the United States and the Young Communist League (UJC) of Cuba (see box). □

Struggle for economic development

'Vietnam Courier' editor discusses state and private sectors

[This is the second part of an interview with Hoang Nguyen, editor of the *Vietnam Courier*, given to *Intercontinental Press* editor Steve Clark and *Militant* correspondent Diane Wang last February. The *Vietnam Courier* is a monthly magazine published in several languages for foreign readers. The interview was conducted in English in Hanoi.]

[In the first part of the interview, published in the last issue, Nguyen reviewed Vietnam's recent economic progress, especially in agriculture, and how agricultural and industrial production was reorganized after the war to stimulate greater productivity.]

* * *

Question. The Fifth Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party held in 1982 and subsequent meetings of its Central Committee have referred to the "fierce struggle" between the dynamic leading to socialism and that leading to the reemergence of the bourgeoisie in the south.

Answer. And in the north as well. If you have a relaxation of control, then the new bourgeoisie will emerge again. That is true even in the north, but it is especially true in the south.

Q. In the overall development of agriculture, industry, and trade, what is the relationship between the state, private, and cooperative sectors?

A. In north Vietnam we have only three sectors in the economy. The first is the state sector; the second is the cooperative sector.

The third sector is the individual, petty commodities sector, either in agriculture or as small producers in handicrafts. Especially now there is a stress on family economy,¹ as a complement to the overall socialist economy.

So we have three sectors in all. Our policy is to see to the growth and priority of the state sector, especially in the non-agricultural sector of production.

That means, for instance, all communications and transport are in the hands of the state. You don't have a company of private buses, or even cooperative buses. Everything in the fields of electricity, mining, transport, com-

munications is in the hands of the state. And the main factories, either in light or heavy industry, are also in the hands of the state. So the state has sole control over industry. That is one matter of principle.

In agriculture for the production of rice the predominant system is the system of cooperatives. But then for animal husbandry or for the growing of what we call industrial crops² we set up state farms. For these you must adopt a kind of organization and method of production that is more sophisticated, so it is better that the production process be in the hands of the state, rather than the cooperative.

For the growing of rice, because of the longer tradition of rice plantation, we are confident in the peasants. We organize them, that is all. The state must not nationalize the rice fields; they still belong to the peasants.³ They pool the land together and set up the cooperatives, under the guidance of the state.

For handicrafts and small industry we also adopt the system of cooperatives. In Hanoi, for instance, there are quite a number of handicraft cooperatives. In the cooperatives they join their efforts and obtain help from the state. The state can give them guidance, economic aid, raw materials, technical aid, and an outlet for selling their materials.

That is the system in the north. There is no bourgeoisie. We have the private sector, that is, the small producers, but no capitalists.

In the south, things are a little bit different. We have the three sectors as in the north, but we have to add to it the capitalist sector and the joint state/private sector.

The capitalist sector is still tolerated — in certain branches of activities, not all. We have removed all traces of capitalism in the field of big trade. Big trade formerly was done as capitalist trade. But a few years after liberation we put an end to this system. That means that all big stores in Ho Chi Minh City [formerly Saigon] and other cities were nationalized.

Q. There were reports of large demonstrations in support of taking over the big rice trade.

A. Yes, it was supported by the people, because whenever the big trade is in the hands of the capitalists, the bourgeoisie, they control

the prices, cause the prices to skyrocket. It went against the interest of the workers, the working people. So when the workers saw that big trade was nationalized they were very, very happy. It was a way of stabilizing their conditions of living.

That was in March 1978. It coincided with the Hoa problem, the Chinese problem.⁴ Not all, but most of the big traders at that time were Chinese.

We enforced the new law, nationalizing all big trade. Of course, we still tolerate a certain amount of small traders, small vendors in the streets, as you can see here in the north. But you don't have the big traders, not in the south, and not in the north.

We still allow the capitalist system to function, to cooperate in the fields of industry and production. You may have some factories in the south, or the production of bicycle tires or lamps or some electric appliances, still in the hands of the private capitalists.

But we conclude contracts with them, so that whatever they produce they will send to the state. That way the state can control their activities in a certain way.

The system of taxes also controls them by not allowing them to exploit other workers or the population at large. Of course, a certain amount of exploitation is still there, because capitalism means exploitation. But it is now tolerated for the time being, tolerated so that production can be raised.

An intermediary system between nationalization and the private capitalist sector is the joint private/state sector. That means the state puts some investment into the enterprise and becomes co-master, co-proprietor of the enterprise with the capitalist.

So in the south we have five sectors. In the north we have three sectors.

Q. Will this system continue for a period of time?

A. It took the north about 15 to 20 years to achieve the three-sector system from the five sectors. North Vietnam was liberated in 1954, after the Geneva Agreement. We also had the same system of five sectors in the north after

1. The family economy refers to small handicrafts or agricultural production done by families to supplement their income. On the cooperatives that predominate in agriculture in northern Vietnam, 95 percent of the land is reserved for the cooperative, while the remaining 5 percent of the land is allotted for use by individual families. Peasant families can raise crops or animals on that land to supplement their diet or sell on the market to raise their income.

2. Vietnam's main industrial crops include jute, tobacco, rubber, groundnuts (peanuts), soya, coconut, and tea.

3. Nguyen is referring to land usage, not ownership. In Vietnam peasants cannot be deprived of their right to use the land. However, land cannot be bought or sold.

4. In 1978 China's bureaucratic misleaders began launching attacks against Vietnam to curry favor with Washington. Peking withdrew the technicians it had sent to Vietnam and withdrew its financial aid. It also began a massive propaganda campaign directed at ethnic Chinese (the Hoa people) living in Vietnam, encouraging them to leave Vietnam. While many Vietnamese of Chinese origin did leave Ho Chi Minh City, there remains a large Chinese population there and elsewhere in Vietnam.

1954. But by about 1968 or 1969 we removed the two sectors, the capitalist and joint venture, so that there remain only three sectors.

The same process is to be expected in south Vietnam. Perhaps it will take a little longer or a little shorter, I don't know. But for the time being we have some difference between the north and south.

Q. Private traders still play a substantial role in the rice trade in the south. What are the prospects for uprooting their role?

A. The problem depends on the degree of cooperativization in south Vietnam.

As I explained [in the first part of the interview], only good cooperatives can ensure that the state can procure the rice. If we do not have cooperatives, the state cannot send 100 or 200 agents to each one of the peasants to procure rice. In this circumstance, there is a role for the private merchant.

Now, unfortunately, the proportion of cooperatives in south Vietnam is only about 30 percent of all peasant households, because we have done things very carefully.

In north Vietnam it is perhaps more than 90 percent. In central Vietnam, in the province I said had very good results in agricultural production, it is almost 100 percent cooperativized also.⁵

But in the Mekong Delta we have not obtained the same proportion. The capitalist system is more implanted in south Vietnam. So we have to explain. We have to set up the cooperatives, and those cooperatives must function very well to be an example, to convince the peasants that the cooperative system is better than the private system. It takes some time.

At first we made some errors, after liberation, in 1978-79. We were too impatient in setting up cooperatives, and they did not work very well. They were disbanded by the peasants themselves.

In 1978-79 the failure came in part because of the lack of good cadres, good managers. So those newly set up cooperatives did not work very well. The peasants thought it was not to their benefit to join, so they withdrew. They were free to do so.

Now each cooperative set up becomes consolidated. The peasants who form it must have joined by their own free consent.

Q. Are there economic and social incentives to join the cooperatives?

A. There are especially economic benefits. For instance, you can obtain seeds, fertilizers, etc. from the state. The state cannot give these to each one of the private peasants, so they see

5. According to a spokesperson for Vietnam's ministry of agriculture, one reason cooperativization was achieved more rapidly in central Vietnam is that the land and weather of the region make farming more difficult than in the more fertile region of the Mekong Delta. The advantages of cooperative farming were thus more obvious to peasants in central Vietnam.

the cooperative is better.

And this time we have the new contract system, so the peasants see that it is to their benefit to set up the cooperative. After they have seen that the newly set up cooperatives work better than the private farmers, they join the cooperatives.

Q. Several articles in the Vietnam Courier have pointed to the continuing drive by the capitalist sector in trade and commerce to regain control over the circulation of commodities, especially in the south. To what extent is this still a problem?

A. Our biggest problem now is not the problem of production. We have adopted the system of contracts, not only in agriculture, but also in industry through a piece-work system. It seems to us that production has been raised.

But after goods are produced, you have to distribute and circulate them, to get the goods into the hands of the consumer, the laboring people. Now that is our problem. We have more goods than formerly, but those goods do not always reach the consumer.

The most recent plenums of the Central Committee have dealt mainly with the problem of circulation and distribution of goods. Of course, we still make more efforts to raise production, but after we raise production we have to distribute the products.

I must confess that for the time being the problem has not been solved, so prices are still high. We are not too short on goods in Hanoi or in Ho Chi Minh City, but the goods are still too costly for the workers. That is the problem which must be solved by the state.

The last celebration of Tet [Vietnam's New Year] was very encouraging for us. Tet is an occasion of very big consumption in Vietnam. People buy five or six times more goods than normal.

What is encouraging is that instead of witnessing a very rapid rise of prices, as in the last years, this year we saw more stable prices. I would not say that there was no rise, but much less than last year. And that points to the progress achieved by the state trade sector.

The key to the problem is that the state must control the amount of goods produced by society. We must fight against the speculators, the hoarders, the traffickers. For that we must take economic and administrative measures. And that is being done now by our state.

It takes years; it is not a very easy task at all. But it seems to me that we have made some progress.

The state must control the goods and the monetary mass, the currency. For some time now there has been a certain amount of inflation.⁶ We may issue money. But then the

6. Tran Phuong, deputy chairman in charge of economic planning, recently told journalists that inflation had been running about 50 percent on the free market. This applies only to commodities on the free market. Vietnam rations nine basic necessities such as rice, meat, salt, and fish sauce, so that they are

money is absorbed by speculators, and even the state does not have enough money in its own hands. This is very dangerous. For the last few years we still have had this problem. Now more progress has been made.

We have devised several ways. A new tax system was imposed, so that we can absorb the extra profits by speculators in trade and in industry.

We also have to improve the state savings system. We offer higher rates of interest to those who make deposits in the banks. And more recently we put out a system of public loans, bonds to build socialism, we say.

As far as goods are concerned, we have also made progress, especially in agriculture, in rice. As I explained, we modified the price system so that we have been able to collect 3.6 million tons of rice this year, whereas a few years ago we were only able to procure one-sixth that amount.

We also put out very strict regulations for the production units, for the factories, to keep very tight control upon the goods produced in the factory. The traffickers and speculators are very cunning people; they are even able to buy some influential persons in the factories. Instead of giving the products to the state, they may deliver them to the traffickers. That is leakage of goods to the free market.

We have to fight against all those things. It is a very hard struggle, because it is an economic struggle, not political. But if we are not careful, then it may become political.

What happened in the last Tet festival testified to the fact that the state trade sector has made big progress. It means the state has control over many more goods than last year. It means deliveries of products produced by factories to the state has been enforced. It means the price system is now better than before, so that it is more attractive for producers to sell to the state and not to the private bourgeois traffickers.

Q. So, overall, this has had the impact of helping to stabilize and slowly improve the living standards of the average person?

A. That's right. Now we must admit that there are still big differences in our everyday life because of the high prices, but it seems to me that the rate of increase in prices has been slowed down a little bit.

Q. Up to now we have been talking about economic problems that are more or less under the control of the people of Vietnam. But of course the framework in which Vietnam is trying to solve its economic problems is important too. The U.S. government has spearheaded an economic boycott against Vietnam, has refused to pay the \$3.5 billion in reconstruction aid that it promised, and urges on continued military attacks against Vietnam.

In addition, Vietnam is trying to rebuild the available at low fixed prices for workers. The free market price for rice, for example, can be as much as 80 times the ration price.



Diane Wang/IP

Market in Ho Chi Minh City.

country after 100 years of colonialism and 40 years of war against French and U.S. imperialism. What has been the impact of that long war on Vietnam's economy?

A. We have more and more realized the impact of the wars on the economic life of Vietnam. It is something we had not thoroughly realized at the end of the war, but now with the passing of years we have realized that impact was very strong indeed.

It is not only the destruction.⁷ Of course there is destruction, but most of the wounds of war have been healed already. But you have other aspects.

The mentality of the people in south Vietnam, for instance, is a consequence of the war. How do we explain, the exodus of people from south Vietnam to foreign countries? Far less people are now leaving than formerly, but how do we explain the exodus, the "boat people"?

One thing is that the major part of them were of Chinese stock. That is one thing, a political factor. But then some Vietnamese people of Vietnamese stock also left.

Why? Because of their mentality. They

7. During the U.S. war, bombers dropped about three times the tonnage of explosives used during World War II, leaving some 25 million bomb craters.

In south Vietnam 9,000 out of 15,000 hamlets were damaged or destroyed, and 10 million people driven from their villages. In the north, all industrial installations, roads, and railway bridges were repeatedly bombed. Three industrial cities were completely razed.

The U.S. war left behind at least 150,000 tons of unexploded bombs. In 1975-76 in Quang Tri province alone nearly 900,000 bombs were unearthed. In Quang Nam-Da Nang province there were 3,700 casualties from unexploded bombs over the course of three years.

In addition, U.S. chemical warfare destroyed 40 to 45 percent of the forests in southern Vietnam.

were used to a certain kind of life, very easy life, life sustained by American aid, which brings a kind of consumer society, not only to the upper classes, but to the middle classes as well, especially in the cities. Some people were very afraid of the shortage of gadget commodities.

The country is free now, but the country has to live on its own, and it is very hard. Some people were so used to the easy life that they had to leave the country for a better life, they thought.

For instance, in agricultural production, in north Vietnam we did not have enough money to buy such things as chemical fertilizers, so we rely mainly on the preparation of manure. Or in hydraulics we mainly dig our canals with our own hands.

In south Vietnam they had dollars for imported fertilizers. They would just dig a well with a drill and set to work with a gasoline-powered pump to have water easily. But now we don't have dollars, so we have to use the methods of north Vietnam. And it is hard.

It is hard to be independent. Independence will create an easy life, but only after years of strenuous effort, not just now. People are not prepared for that. They have to be prepared for a life of independence. They have made much progress, but it is a problem.

These psychological aspects are an aftermath of war, a consequence.

In addition, there is what we have not achieved during the years of the war. Because of our concentration on military aspects, we have not been used to, have not been made to understand, the other aspects of life. Why did we sometimes make mistakes and errors in economic management? Because during the war we could not concentrate on the economy. Nowadays we have drawn lessons from our own failures and have made progress. I consider that, too, a consequence of war.

The other countries of Southeast Asia or the

third world have benefited from the scientific and technical revolution. But only now can we introduce the achievements of the new revolution into our own system and economy. That is also one of the handicaps given to us by the war.

Q. The continuing military pressures orchestrated by Washington, such as the Chinese invasion in 1979, have been a continued barrier to concentrating on economic questions.

A. After the liberation of south Vietnam and reunification of the whole country, we expected that we would enjoy peace. But there came the new policy of China, worked out in collusion with Washington. And again we are in a state of half-war and half-peace, not a very stable peace.

At the same time we are building our country. But we have to keep an army, and it is still too big for our population, I should say. But we have no alternative.

We also have to keep some troops in Kampuchea to help the Kampuchean people and also to defend our own security. So we don't have any alternatives.

That diverts our money and human resources from our economic efforts.

Q. What is the role of foreign aid and assistance from the Soviet Union, from other workers states, and from capitalist countries?

A. Were it not for the assistance of socialist countries, the difficulties we have to face would be much, much greater. The assistance from the socialist system, especially from the Soviet Union, has made our problems much easier.⁸

For capital construction, for instance, we have lots of projects being built with the help of the Soviet Union. That is one of the guarantees for our future.

When finished, the big hydro-electric works at Hoa Binh on the Black River, for example, will give us 1.92 million kilowatts of electricity. It will be one of the biggest projects in Southeast Asia.

In a number of years we will have enough cement even to export. We have cement factories from the Soviet Union. There are also some by some western countries, Denmark and France. Among the other non-socialist countries, I would have to mention India in

8. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Tran Phuong, deputy chairman in charge of economic planning, said that Soviet aid during 1976-80 amounted to the equivalent of \$1.45 billion. Since 1981 loans from the Soviet Union and other workers states have amounted to more than \$213.7 million with only a 2 percent rate of interest.

In addition, it has been reported that the Dutch government has contributed about \$12 million in reconstruction aid and \$35 million in medical aid, while Swedish aid has been \$40 million a year. The governments of Belgium, Denmark, France, Japan, and Norway are all reported to have aid programs as well.

particular, which is really a friend who gives us assistance.

Q. Turning to another topic, in the United States Vietnam is portrayed as a totalitarian regime. How would you answer Vietnam's enemies on that charge?

A. In the west what you have as a democratic system is, I think, a vote once every two, three, or four years. You elect a national assembly, a parliament, houses, senators, and so on. And then in between the votes you leave everything to them. It is really difficult to control what they are doing for you or not. And apart from that vote I don't know whether you enjoy any other rights.

The difference between Vietnam and most of the countries of the west is that apart from the elections to the national assembly, which take place every four years, we have a number of other elections in our everyday life.

Of course, we also have our own system of deputies, members of parliament, and so on. The discussion has to be followed by the people, and after electing their own representatives to the national assembly, people follow the work done by these members of parliament and keep contact with them, more or less in the same way as in the west.

But a major difference is that in Vietnam they enjoy democratic rights at the grassroots level too.

That means in a factory, for instance, they have what we call their trade union. The trade union representative takes part in the decisions taken by the leadership of the factory concerning the welfare or rights of the workers, problems of promotion, salary, etc. The constitution of Vietnam says that the director must be in consultation with the trade union leaders. So that is political rights at the grassroots level.

There are elections of the trade union, which participates in the factory's decision-making. The plan of production in the factory is to be put to discussion by the workers. And it is required that once every half year there must be a general meeting of the workers of the factory to discuss things and elicit criticism of the director of the factory, whether he is good or competent. And they propose to the authorities removal of the director if the director is too bad.

So these kinds of democratic rights are enjoyed by the workers, by every working man and woman in Vietnam at the grassroots level.

Of course, above the grassroots level you have the district, the province, and the people's assemblies. But I want to stress the existence of the political rights down to the grassroots level, which is something much closer to the worker than higher things of the state or even the province.

Q. In summary, then, you are confident about Vietnam's prospects in the coming years?

A. I think there are lots of misunderstandings about Vietnam. As far as the economy is concerned, I think that the enemies of Viet-

nam, especially those who are in power in Peking or in Washington, think that perhaps Vietnam will collapse at some time because of the pressure put on it by such big countries as China or the United States. They call it "bleeding Vietnam white."

But after four or five years now of this policy, what is the situation in Vietnam? After all, Vietnam has survived, and more than survived. We've made some progress.

We've achieved self-sufficiency in cereals. We will be able to solve such problems as energy, building materials, communications, and so on.

We have the training of cadres, of which we may be very proud, the technicians, the high level of culture of the Vietnamese peasants and working people. That is something which you

can find very rarely in third world countries.

The sanitary and health systems of Vietnam ensure that everybody will be looked after. Even in the remotest corner of the country there are dispensaries, infirmaries, hospitals.

We have schools, kindergartens, daycare centers. The schools of Vietnam are not very beautiful, but at least we have schools.

We request of you, our friends in the west, to give us assistance in terms of school laboratories, equipment for hospitals, things like that.

These are all examples of the social progress we have made although we are poor. Our infrastructure is still rudimentary in terms of economy. But in terms of culture, education, and health care, it's not too bad. It is not too bad. □

Korean 747 was spy plane

New evidence bared by British magazine

By Will Reissner

The latest issue of the British publication *Defence Attaché* presents new evidence that the Korean Air Line 747 jet shot down by Soviet air defense forces last September was involved in an ultra-sophisticated spying mission. The magazine, which is widely read within the British Ministry of Defence, is described by officials there as a "sober and responsible publication."

The author, writing under the pseudonym P.Q. Mann, contends that KAL flight 007 was part of a coordinated U.S. intelligence operation involving the space shuttle, spy satellites, and military aircraft to gather data on the workings of the full range of Soviet air defenses.

According to *Defence Attaché* editor Rupert Pengeley, "Mann" is well known to the editor but "for professional reasons must remain anonymous."

After minutely examining the movements of the space shuttle, a U.S. satellite, and the U.S. RC-135 electronic reconnaissance plane that passed near KAL flight 007 the night it was shot down, Mann concludes that the shuttle, the RC-135, and a U.S. Ferret-D spy satellite were all ideally placed for a coordinated intelligence collection effort.

The mission of the Korean Air Line flight, Mann charges, was to "turn on" Soviet air defense systems so that the ensuing radar and radio emissions could be recorded.

The Ferret-D electronic data-gathering satellite made a pass over the KAL 747 as it first entered Soviet airspace over the Kamchatka peninsula and a second time when it continued over Sakhalin Island.

In addition, the launching of space shuttle mission STS-8 from Cape Canaveral, Florida, was delayed 36 hours, which placed the shuttle "a discreet distance" from the KAL 007 flightpath, but "amply close to involve the

shuttle in its [military] command, control and communications role in the conducting of the extended intelligence operation. . . ."

The role of the RC-135 air force plane can be explained by two earlier cases when military planes were shot down after "straying" into East German air space on flights timed to coincide with passes by spy satellites.

Mann argues that for U.S. intelligence agencies to gather data not only about Soviet radar, but about the entire Soviet command and communications networks linking military headquarters in Moscow to local commands and installations, the East German experience showed that "they could not achieve their aims with a military aircraft. Equally, they would not achieve their aims with a manifestly civilian aircraft" because the Soviets would never turn on "all manner of military radar and electronics" for a civilian plane.

That is why, according to Mann, the U.S. Air Force RC-135 revealed itself to the Soviets as a military plane, and then passed close to the KAL 747 just as the airliner was turning in toward Soviet territory. This was intended, Mann contends, to convince Soviet defense that the military plane was approaching Soviet airspace when in fact it was not.

"It was a dummy-selling tactic," Mann writes, "creating the possibility that a military aircraft was flying in to cross the borders of the Soviet Union. Subsequent identification as a civilian aircraft would offer protection against the otherwise imminent attack." The Pentagon, he speculates, did not bargain on the airliner being shot down.

In fact, the Soviet air defense system never did identify the KAL 747 as a civilian craft, and 269 people died as a result of this intelligence charade. Undoubtedly the Pentagon sees this as a small price to pay for such high quality electronic data. □

Independence Front calls boycotts

Opposes French bill on colonial status

By Will Reissner

On the nickel-rich Pacific island of New Caledonia, one of France's most important remaining colonies, the native Kanak people are waging an important political struggle for independence. The fight is being led by a five-party Independence Front, which won the votes of 83 percent of the Kanak population in the 1982 elections for the colonial Territorial Assembly.

Incensed by a recent betrayal of their struggle by the Socialist Party-Communist Party coalition government in Paris, the Independence Front called for a boycott of the June 17 European parliament elections in New Caledonia as well as the up-coming elections for the Territorial Assembly. In the June 17 voting, more than 59 percent of the registered voters abstained, compared with 34 percent in the 1981 EEC election.

The boycotts are in protest of a bill passed by the National Assembly in Paris on May 29 that was introduced by Georges Lemoine, Socialist Party minister of overseas territories and departments.

Passed by a 327 to 160 margin, the Lemoine bill puts off a referendum on New Caledonia's independence to 1989. The Assembly also rejected an amendment that would prevent temporary residents from France from taking part in the voting on independence.

Following the National Assembly vote, the only Kanak member of that body, Roch Pidjot of the Independence Front, broke with the Socialist parliamentary caucus in protest. He had allied with that body in June 1981, after the election of Socialist Party candidate François Mitterrand as France's president. Mitterrand and the SP had expressed support for New Caledonia's independence before coming to power.

New Caledonia was seized by the French in 1853. The Kanaks, a Melanesian people, were brutally expelled from the fertile west coast of the island in the 1870s. Since then they have lived on reservations and in traditional villages

on the narrow east coast. The mountainous interior is scarred by the gigantic open-pit mines that make the island the world's second largest nickel producer.

For more than a century, successive French governments have fostered settlement on New Caledonia to offset the Kanak population. As a result, today Kanaks make up slightly less than half the 130,000 inhabitants.

About 35 percent of the population is French, while the remainder is made up of the descendants of the large numbers of laborers brought in by the French from their colonies in Indochina, Fiji, and other Pacific islands.

During the nineteenth century the French used New Caledonia as a prison island. Many convicts, including thousands of people arrested after the defeat of the Paris Commune and opponents of French colonialism in Algeria, were shipped off to New Caledonia.

A large segment of the French population, however, consists of transients such as government functionaries, soldiers, and technicians on short-term contracts.

For the Kanak population, French colonial rule has been a history of brutality and oppression. Driven off their lands, and deprived of the vote until 1946, the Kanaks have lived in poverty and degradation. Even today there is not a single Kanak doctor, very few wage workers, and only six Kanak secondary school teachers.

The traditional attitude of French governments was summed up in a 1972 letter from rightist Prime Minister Pierre Messmer to his colonial minister.

Messmer wrote: "New Caledonia ... is probably the last nonindependent tropical territory in the world to which a developed country can have its residents emigrate. We must seize this last 'chance' ... to create one more French-speaking country."

Messmer warned that "the French presence in this territory cannot be threatened, save in a world war, except by nationalist demands of the natives, eventually supported by other

Communities in the Pacific."

He argued that "the massive immigration of French citizens, from the mother country or from the overseas departments, especially from [the Indian Ocean island of] Réunion, should make it possible to avoid this danger by maintaining or improving the numerical relationship of the communities. In the long run, the native nationalist demand cannot be limited unless the demographic mass of the non-Oceanian population is a majority."

The Independence Front bitterly opposes the Lemoine law on New Caledonia's future. By postponing the date of the referendum on independence to 1989, the bill enables the French population to keep rising in the interim. In addition, legislative elections will take place in France in 1986. If the right-wing parties win a majority in the National Assembly at that time, they could change the law completely.

The Lemoine bill allows all French citizens to vote in the referendum, no matter how little time they have been in New Caledonia, thereby stacking the deck against the pro-independence Kanak population.

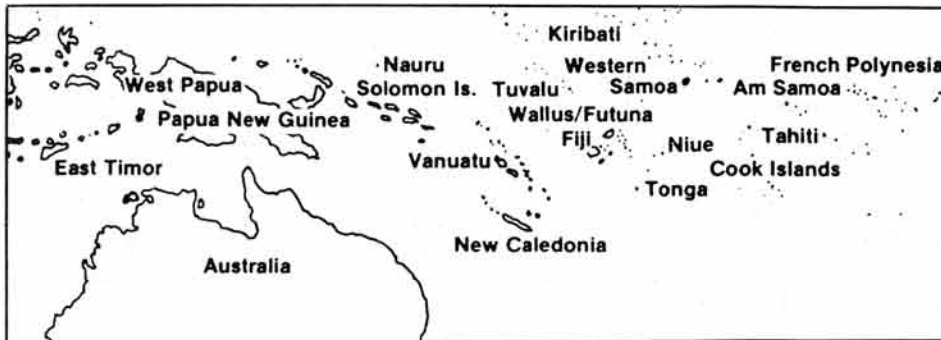
The Independence Front had proposed that the in-coming Territorial Assembly, to be elected by September 1984 at the latest, set itself up as a Constituent Assembly to prepare for independence by September 24, 1985, the anniversary of the establishment of colonial rule.

The Front also called for voting to be limited to those with one parent born on New Caledonia. This would give the vote not only to Kanaks, but to what the Independence Front describes as "victims of France's colonial history in New Caledonia" — the descendants of the convicts, the Communards, and deportees from Algeria and other former French colonies.

The independence movement in New Caledonia has grown considerably in recent years, especially since the 1980 independence of the nearby island nation of Vanuatu (formerly the joint French-British colony of New Hebrides). The Independence Front calls for "Kanak socialist independence within a Melanesian federation."

While the French Socialist and Communist parties have stabbed the Kanak independence struggle in the back, the Kanak people have received the support of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), the French section of the Fourth International.

In May, LCR leader Alain Krivine toured the island, meeting with Independence Front members and supporters and pledging the LCR's support for New Caledonia's freedom. □



Foreign debt payments suspended

Workers win first round in fight against imperialist banks

By Marcelo Zugadi

BUENOS AIRES — The Bolivian government's May 31 decision to indefinitely suspend payments on its foreign debt ended a major confrontation between the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) and imperialism, in this case acting under the guise of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The tug-of-war between the two had kept the country on the brink of large-scale violence for two months. The outcome, whose repercussions will be felt throughout the Southern Cone of Latin America, appears to end the first round of a fight that is not yet over, one in which the government of Bolivian President Hernán Siles Zuazo hopes, with little chance of success, to act as referee.

The May 31 announcement that the government was temporarily suspending payments of principal and interest on its foreign debt came after nearly two months of constant strikes and demonstrations and after three days of meetings between representatives of the government and the COB to hammer out the details. The government also agreed to a 130 percent increase in the minimum wage.

The fact that the workers in the COB and the government have different interpretations of the agreement raises the specter of new conflicts in the not too distant future. But for the moment they agree that the suspension of payments involves the debt to private international banks, amounting to \$1 billion out of a total foreign debt that has risen to about \$5 billion.

President Siles Zuazo also announced that, in line with the agreement signed with COB leader Juan Lechín, the debt will be renegotiated in concert with other Latin American countries and no more than 25 percent of Bolivia's export revenues will be used for debt repayment.

Setback for IMF, government

This decision was a big setback for the IMF, and not just because it goes directly against the IMF's plans for cutting wages and forcing an economic recession. The Bolivian workers' ability to force President Siles to accept their solution had immediate repercussions on neighboring governments, none of which have any hope of repaying their own foreign loan commitments.

But the announcement of the unilateral moratorium on repayments also marked a political defeat for the government. For months the government had tried in vain to implement the economic plan dictated by the IMF.

To obtain a November 1983 IMF credit of \$550 million, the government had devalued the Bolivian peso by 60 percent and raised the

price of services and basic foodstuffs by between 80 percent and 200 percent.

The COB responded then with a 24-hour general strike, followed by demonstrations and work stoppages until an agreement was signed between the government and the workers federation in late January 1984.

That agreement, which included wage increases of 57 percent and a four-month freeze in the price of seven basic food items, succeeded in preventing the application of the plan agreed to with the IMF, but it was not enough to satisfy the workers' needs.

In addition, the government did not comply with the agreed-upon price ceilings for foods. As a result, on February 17 the COB called on the president to comply with the agreement within 72 hours or face a 48-hour general strike, followed by an open-ended general strike if no agreement was reached.

Peasants demand fair prices

The fragility of the government's authority was highlighted by the fact that barely five minutes before the deadline, the government approved 16 decrees implementing the terms of the January agreement with the COB. Meanwhile, peasants in the departments of La Paz and Santa Cruz blocked roads and railroads, demanding fair prices for their products.

While the COB was applying its pressure, the Confederation of Private Enterprise had mounted its own campaign against the govern-

ment's dealings with the COB. Businessmen shut down industrial, commercial, and banking activities throughout the country on February 6 and 7 to demand "a coherent economic policy, worked out with the forces engaged in production."

Torn by the pressures from all sides and facing mounting rumors of a coup, the government began a new round of discussions with the IMF in April. These negotiations led to the imposition of an April 13 "package" inspired by the IMF, which included a 75 percent devaluation of the peso, raising the price of one U.S. dollar from 500 pesos to 2,000 pesos.

In addition, gasoline prices were raised 400 percent, basic food prices went up 500 percent, and transportation fares rose 200 percent.

The La Paz daily *Presencia* reported the opinion of tin miners in Oruro Province regarding the April 13 package: "The government has turned its back on us. We workers, who fought to restore democracy, are now the main victims of its inappropriate measures."

Spontaneous demonstrations against the IMF-imposed "package" took place throughout the country and culminated on April 17 in marches called by the COB in the major cities.

The executive committee of the COB called a national 48-hour work stoppage and then another for 72 hours, as demonstrations and hunger strikes spread.

The economic shock treatment that Siles intended to apply ran into a brick wall. In fact, its only result was to sharply aggravate the eco-

New strike wrests more gains

Leaders of the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) announced July 8 the suspension of an open-ended general strike that had begun four days earlier and involved miners, factory workers, bank tellers, teachers, and public employees.

The four-day work stoppage was aimed at forcing the regime of President Hernán Siles Zuazo to comply with commitments it had made to the workers movement at the end of May. The strike was called off after the government agreed to continue food-price subsidies, formalize the suspension of debt payments to private foreign banks, and make retroactive to the month of April a 130-percent wage increase promised earlier.

COB Executive Committee member Filemón Escobar termed the results of the

general strike "a political victory for the working class."

This latest round of the ongoing tug-of-war between the Siles regime and the trade unions came a week after the failure of a coup attempt by extreme-rightist sectors of the military, police, and two capitalist political parties. Siles himself was kidnapped and held at gunpoint for 10 hours on June 30 by officers claiming to have the support of the U.S. embassy.

The plot fell apart after U.S. ambassador Edwin Corr made a series of telephone calls to top officials disavowing any attempt to bring down Siles. In subsequent days some 100 persons were jailed in connection with the foiled coup, including two ex-cabinet officials and several officers of the U.S.-sponsored "antinarcotics" unit known as the Leopards.

economic crisis. According to recent estimates, the annual inflation rate is now 1,000 percent, and could climb to 2,000 percent unless the trend is turned around. Last year prices rose 328 percent.

The other Bolivian economic indicators confirm the gravity of the situation. In the last three years, per capita gross domestic product has fallen 22.4 percent. Unemployment is approaching the 30 percent level, and the budget deficit is soaring.

Political instability

In addition to its lack of control over the economy and its inability to work out a recovery plan, the government is wracked by political instability.

President Siles came to power in 1982 at the head of the Democratic and People's Unity (UDP) coalition. The UDP was composed of Siles's Left Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNRI), the Communist Party, and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). Vice-president Jaime Paz Zamora is a principal leader of the MIR.

In his 20 months in office, Siles Zuazo has weathered seven cabinet crises. In January 1983 the MIR withdrew from the government, and Vice-president Paz Zamora began using his post to conspire against Siles.

With the MIR functioning in the opposition, and with the Communist Party — which heads the ministries of labor and mining — simultaneously backing the government's actions and participating in the workers struggles, the UDP was in practice reduced to Siles' own MNRI.

In an attempt to strengthen his base of support, President Siles tried to set up a cogovernment scheme with the COB in August 1983, which quickly broke down. In December he set up a National Convergence, which also failed.

By that time former dictator Gen. Hugo Banzer was telling the Buenos Aires daily *La Prensa* that Siles had only three alternatives: to bring the MIR back into the government, to resign in favor of Vice-president Paz Zamora, or to call elections for 1984.

Between January and April a coup seemed imminent. Only the determined attitude of the workers federation held back the military. In late February the COB declared a state of emergency, announcing that "opposition politicians are knocking on the doors of the barracks." The COB communiqué alluded to Hugo Banzer, Victor Paz Estenssoro of the Historic MNR, and Vice-president Paz Zamora himself, although none were mentioned by name.

Siles chose to bring the MIR back into the government in April 1984. But this move did not gain him the political strength needed to impose the IMF's economic plan. Instead, the MIR itself split. Walter Delgado, who had been named minister of urban affairs on April 11, resigned the very next day and denounced the IMF economic package that was put into effect April 13.

The Delgado-led "Workers and Masses Front" faction of the MIR went into opposition and denounced the cabinet shuffling as a maneuver dictated by the U.S. embassy.

After a month of strikes and mobilizations against the April 13 "package," President Siles resorted to force on May 17. In a speech to the whole country, Siles denounced the "lack of control and excesses of some union leaders, whose actions do not correspond to the people's conception of democracy and who are generating a malaise in society that makes it impossible to apply any recovery program and threatens the democratic process itself." Only hours before the president spoke, the military command had circulated a declaration asserting its determination to assume "defense of public peace and internal security at an opportune moment and without any hesitation."

In his speech, Siles announced a wage increase of 100 percent (the COB had demanded 200 percent), but asserted that "trade-union anarchy and illegal actions must stop; the government will fully assume its mission of governing because it is time to reestablish the rule of law."

The following day the president ordered the police to occupy the Central Bank, the state petroleum company, and the National Television Company. "It seems Siles has decided to govern with a pistol held to the heads of the majority," COB leader Lechín stated.

Strikes continue

Despite the government's harder line, the strikes and demonstrations continued. Ten days after his speech, Siles warned that "you can hear the sabers rattling." But the next day, May 28, Siles met with Lechín and began the three days of talks that led to the suspension of payments on the foreign debt and the 130 percent wage increase.

The scales had tipped back in favor of the COB. But the workers did not feel the result was a sufficiently solid victory. When the COB met to hear a report on the agreement with the government, the gathering ended abruptly with Lechín leaving the meeting hall. The veteran union leader stated he was leaving because when he reported on the accord with the president, "the COB top leadership was described as sell-outs and bunglers and this was greeted with applause."

The clash of positions in the workers federation and Lechín's difficult situation rang a serious warning bell for the government, which, despite its retreat, is still looking for a way to accommodate the demands of international finance capital. Vice-president Jaime Paz Zamora clearly expressed the government's tactic a few days later in an article in the daily *La Nación*, published in Buenos Aires, where the Bolivian events are being followed with great nervousness: "The government has one interpretation of the agreement and the COB has another. This agreement forms part of the 'fuzzy' accords through which the relationship between the govern-

ment and the COB has been worked out in the past."

But the time for "fuzzy" accords seems to have passed. The criticisms made of the COB leaders have raised the question of changing the composition of the working-class leadership, as Lechín himself admitted when he left the assembly: "An attitude of lack of confidence was expressed toward the commission that negotiated the change in economic policy with the government. As a result, from now on the COB Executive Committee will limit itself solely to its function of preparing for the National Workers Congress next July 23."

'Road of dialogue and moderation'

In fact, for some months the COB leadership has been acting as a brake on the social struggles. To defend the democratic government against the threat of a coup, Lechín and the Communist Party have chosen the "road of dialogue and moderation." This policy has then been transmitted from the powerful miners federation into the rest of the workers movement, and has continually sidestepped the growing and widespread demand for an all-out general strike that has been raised since last November.

But the "moderation" of the top layers of the COB does not reflect the desires and activities of the ranks.

One indication of the high level of consciousness and combativity was provided by the workers at the Central Bank, who responded to Siles' April 13 package by limiting their work to handling wage payments and refusing to implement the 75 percent devaluation of the peso.

The fact that the service unions have acted more forcefully than the traditionally militant tin miners does not reflect a change in attitude among the miners, who have long been the vanguard of the Bolivian workers movement. Rather it reflects the fact that the union-political apparatus that is integrated into the government has a much heavier weight in the miners union.

At the Twentieth Congress of the miners federation, held in mid-April, those who have taken the lead in defending the Siles government against the workers' demands paid a heavy political price. The Communist Party lost one-third of its posts on the executive committee of the federation (dropping from 27 to 18). Juan Lechín himself was the target of strong criticisms leveled by some Trotskyist delegates, although he was reelected to the post of executive secretary, which he has held since 1944.

But the incidents that caused Lechín to walk out of the COB assembly on May 30 show that his previous role as the arbitrator and cohesive force of the Bolivian workers movement is also being questioned.

Lechín himself has laid out in quite precise terms the dilemma he cannot solve: "The Bolivian workers movement finds itself at a serious crossroad. On the one hand we want to defend the democratic process won by the workers and the people. On the other hand we have to

protest at the top of our lungs against the starvation measures, against the government's economic package" (*Presencia*, April 26).

These words, taken together with President Siles' admission that the workers struggles "make it impossible to apply any recovery program," are an exact reflection of the general framework of the Bolivian political situation.

The present government is the broadest and most democratic government possible within the framework of a capitalist regime. It is made up of the most progressive-minded bourgeois forces and two Communist Party ministers. It came to power enjoying a popular consensus and was supported by the reformist leadership of the workers movement.

Yet this government has no alternative but to try to implement recovery plans that are in direct contradiction to the immediate needs of

the workers and the people, and it ends up using force against the workers movement to implement that program.

The leadership of the workers federation, in turn, acts as a "moderator" and yields to the government's demands until the ranks sweep beyond it, forcing it to either assume the leadership of the mobilization or be replaced.

Meanwhile, the left parties have been unable to present another alternative. Leaving aside the CP, which is Siles' only real base of support, and the MIR, which is seeking power in alliance with rightist sectors, the other parties, despite their more or less correct positions, are not in a position on their own to unify the workers movement behind a revolutionary proposal and channel the growing anger of the masses toward taking power.

The COB therefore remains the only force

recognized by the workers as a whole, the only center of alternative power with the possibility of resolving the crisis in favor of the workers and the people.

Unable to confront the COB head on, the government ministers and even U.S. Ambassador Edwin Corr himself have rushed to meet with the COB leadership. By raising the specter of a coup, they are trying to win the COB's agreement to collaborate in repressing the most advanced sectors of the workers movement. In fact, their aim is to divide the workers federation.

Therefore the July 23 COB congress will determine not only the composition of the COB leadership, but also the future of the revolutionary upsurge now taking place in Bolivia, which is keeping the governments of the Southern Cone on edge. □

El Salvador

Duarte regime masks bigger U.S. role

Army offensives fail to erase FMLN's gains

By Fred Murphy

Since Christian Democrat José Napoleón Duarte was installed as president of El Salvador on June 1, the Reagan administration has pointed to the "democratic" nature of this regime as a reason to give it more military aid. And with full bipartisan support Congress is obliging him.

Duarte was chosen president in a two-round election carefully orchestrated by the U.S. State Department and the Salvadoran military. Excluded from any participation were the country's real opposition forces, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), despite their control of one-third of Salvadoran territory. The main candidate opposing Duarte was ex-Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, an ultrarightist responsible for organizing many of the death-squad killings that have taken thousands of civilian lives.

D'Aubuisson's candidacy helped Washington pass Duarte off as a progressive-minded democrat fighting "extremism of the left and right." To ensure Duarte's victory, the Central Intelligence Agency funneled hundreds of thousands of dollars through the Christian Democratic Party of West Germany into Duarte's campaign.

Even before Duarte's inauguration, he was given a triumphal reception in Washington. The White House arranged meetings for him with Congress and the capitalist news media. The latter boosted Duarte's image as "a strong, courageous, and combative democrat," while Congressional Democrats and Republicans united to vote \$62 million more in aid to the Salvadoran military.

"Washington has not seen such a performance [as Duarte's] since the shah of Iran," *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen commented May 26 following Duarte's visit. Unlike the shah, Duarte "was elected," Cohen said, but in a country "where political involvement is limited to an obligatory trek to the polls. Duarte or no Duarte, El Salvador remains a desperately poor country where the disparities in wealth are extreme, where true power is possessed by a tiny elite — where a couple of hundred years of history has ignited a civil war."

Indeed, Duarte's first few weeks in office have already shown that his new role differs little from the one he played as part of the then-ruling military-civilian junta in 1980-82: to provide a "democratic" fig leaf for the armed forces high command as it continues to wage a war of terror, with massive U.S. support, against Salvadoran working people.

Duarte's speech at the inaugural ceremonies in San Salvador — delivered with 24 top officers seated to his right — was laced with praise for the armed forces. He claimed the military had taken a "firm and decided position" to respect "the popular will," and called on Salvadorans to work "together with the armed forces to defend democracy."

State of siege

Elections notwithstanding, there is no democracy in El Salvador. The country remains under martial law, just as it has been ever since the junta decreed a state of siege in March 1980. Labor strikes are banned as "subversive," public demonstrations prohibited, collective bargaining outlawed, and wages fro-

zen. Dozens of political prisoners — those few activists fortunate enough to escape the death squads — remain in the country's jails.

Such dictatorial rule is what the workers and peasants of El Salvador have been fighting to end under the leadership of the FMLN and FDR. But Duarte's speech echoed Reagan in claiming that the FMLN "has invaded our country, and its actions are directed from abroad" by Nicaragua, Cuba, and the Soviet Union. He repeated his demand that the rebels lay down their arms before any negotiations toward a political solution of the conflict can be held — a thinly disguised call for unconditional surrender.

Duarte also claimed he would "control abuses of authority and extremist violence, the death squads, and all problems of injustice." Before he took office, the military high command transferred to diplomatic posts outside the country several colonels whose role in organizing death squads had become publicly known. Later news reports played up Duarte's appointment of Col. Reynaldo López Nuila to the new post of vice-minister of public security as the opening move in a drive to bring an end to death-squad killings.

Sources cited in the May 8 *Christian Science Monitor*, however, said that López Nuila himself organized death squads as head of the National Police. Another death-squad organizer, Col. Adolfo Onecifero Blandón, remains in the post of army chief of staff. In that capacity, he oversees two general staff departments involved in torture activities. The two terror departments were originally controlled by Gen. Rafael Flores Lima, now vice-minister of defense.

Duarte has also reappointed as his defense minister Gen. Eugenio Vides Casanova. An official U.S. report has pointed to Vides' role in covering up the involvement of his brother and other high military officers in the December 1980 slaying by National Guardsmen of four U.S. churchwomen. Vides headed the National Guard at the time of the killings. Duarte has declared that he will not "investigate anything" in that case.

Duarte had been given a stern warning even before winning the second round of the elections that the military hierarchy would not tolerate any attempt to "change the organic structure of the armed forces." That was the wording of a memorandum drawn up by a special commission of seven officers appointed by the Defense Ministry.

D'Aubuisson welcomed

The narrow limits of the supposed clean-up of the death squads were also evident in the kid-glove treatment Washington gave the defeated rightist candidate D'Aubuisson following the elections. Despite knowledge of a plot by D'Aubuisson's gang to assassinate the U.S. ambassador in retaliation for the CIA's aid to Duarte, the State Department promptly extended a visa to the terror chief to visit the United States. During the last week of June D'Aubuisson was feted in Washington by a dozen or more senators with close ties to the Reagan administration.

As part of the current facelift operation, the regime ended almost four years of military occupation of the National University in San Salvador. In June 1980 the campus had been invaded and ransacked by troops who killed 30 students and wounded hundreds. The National Guard staged a ceremony on May 22 and turned the university back over to its rector, Miguel Angel Parada. Parada found some \$24 million in damage after the Guard units withdrew. He said he would hold Duarte responsible for the wreckage since he was a member of the junta that first ordered the seizure of the campus.

Pentagon conducts spy flights

The elections and the accompanying cosmetic measures have been used by Washington and the Salvadoran regime to try to divert attention from a major step-up in direct U.S. military involvement in the country's civil war. Like the mounting CIA attacks on Nicaragua, this escalation has been conducted under the cover of so-called joint military maneuvers in Honduras.

The Reagan administration claims to be adhering to its announced limit of 55 U.S. military advisers in El Salvador. These personnel play a key role in the war's day-to-day conduct. According to the March 29 *Washington Post*, these advisers "often stay in brigade headquarters to assist provincial commanders in organizing staff, deploying forces, and training recruits."

But the advisers represent only a fraction of the hundreds of Pentagon personnel with a di-

rect role in the Salvadoran conflict (not to mention an untold number of CIA agents and U.S.-hired mercenaries).

Besides the officially designated "advisers," U.S. armed forces members inside El Salvador include 11 staff personnel assigned to assist the advisers, 26 assigned to the defense attaché's office at the U.S. embassy in San Salvador, 20 U.S. Marine guards, and 23 army medics who care for Salvadoran army casualties. A further 170 U.S. troops, mostly Green Berets, are involved in training Salvadoran soldiers at the new U.S. base in Puerto Castilla, Honduras. And some 300 army pilots, maintenance personnel, and intelligence officers have been operating from Palmerola Air Base in Honduras.

The latter unit, the 224th Military Intelligence Battalion, has been conducting reconnaissance flights with OV-1 Mohawk and C-130 spy planes over areas of El Salvador controlled by the guerrillas of the FMLN. Using heat-seeking radar and listening devices capable of monitoring the FMLN's walkie-talkies, the U.S. planes have been guiding Salvadoran air force bombing raids and helping the army as it attempts to recover some of the extensive territory lost to the FMLN during the latter's Sept.-Dec. 1983 offensive.

Aerial bombing hits civilians

Workers and peasants have borne the brunt of the aerial attacks. "We don't think these attacks are aimed at the guerrillas," an FMLN fighter in the Guazapa Volcano area north of San Salvador told *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Chris Hedges in early April. "The enemy always bombs population centers, and we never concentrate in these locations. We suspect the plan is to demoralize and disrupt the life of the civilians here so that they are either killed or forced out of our zone of control."

The *Monitor* correspondent also found that napalm and white phosphorus have been used extensively by the air force in the Guazapa area.

As in past ground offensives by the Salvadoran army, the FMLN has pulled back in face of recent drives in Usulután, San Miguel, and Morazán provinces and avoided pitched battles, concentrating instead on training its forces and consolidating its political support in the areas where its presence has gone unchallenged by the army.

In a few parts of the country where it has won considerable popular support and has been the de facto government for months, the FMLN military forces have sought recently to conscript young men in a limited way.

In a July 3 interview with the press in Mexico City, five members of the FDR's political and diplomatic commission described their policy. According to a report in the July 4 *New York Times* Ana Guadalupe Martínez, a senior FMLN commander, explained that in order to counter the government's drive to force thousands of young men into the army and

thus keep them from joining the guerrillas, the rebel forces have initiated conscription in a few villages. "Young people can be taken by the army, go into exile or join the rebel troops," Martínez explained. "These are the choices in the countryside. So what we do is to take young people, including some who are not with us. Those who do not want to stay with us can go." Martínez added that the rebels are only recruiting in this way where they have popular support and the people are afraid of army retribution if they decide to fight with the rebels.

'The boys will be back'

The foreign press was treated to an army-sponsored show on June 20 after 3,000 troops re-entered the town of Perquín in the northern part of Morazán Province. The FMLN had held Perquín since its late-1983 offensive, but chose not to engage the big army deployment sent to retake the town. According to the June 22 *Washington Post*, "Salvadoran officers acknowledged that they could not afford to keep enough troops here to hold Perquín permanently and hoped only to return more frequently than in the past." The *Post* correspondent noted that the army had "failed to catch the guerrillas in force or to inflict heavy casualties on them."

A Catholic bishop was flown into Perquín for a ceremony inaugurating two new army battalions. While he blessed the units' flags, an elderly woman confided to the *Post* reporter, referring to the guerrillas, "The boys took everything with them. They'll be back when the army leaves."

While large army units have been conducting operations in northern Morazán and San Miguel in an effort to disrupt the FMLN's supply lines, the rebels have reestablished their presence in the central provinces of San Vicente and Usulután. Those rich agricultural areas had been the scene in earlier months of the army's highly publicized "National Plan" to force the FMLN out permanently.

"A year after the ambitious plan began with the sweep of San Vicente by 6,000 troops, the guerrillas are stationed throughout the two provinces," correspondent Chris Norton reported in the June 27-July 10 issue of the U.S. newspaper *In These Times*. "In fact, the guerrillas are the *de facto* government in many places."

On June 28 the FMLN demonstrated its continued ability to deal heavy blows to the regime's armed forces. In a pre-dawn attack, 400 or more fighters routed army defenders from Cerrón Grande, the country's biggest hydroelectric dam, on the Lempa River between Chalatenango and Cabañas provinces. Troops sent in by land to retake the strategic installation ran into FMLN ambushes on several different roads and suffered heavy casualties. Only when 900 paratroopers were brought in by helicopter did the guerrillas withdraw, leaving the army with 60 dead, including a captain and two officer cadets.

The Salvadoran army's longstanding inabil-

ity to inflict any comparable setbacks on the FMLN — despite the huge quantities of U.S. weaponry it has received — points up the necessity of Washington's preparations to introduce thousands of its own troops into the Salvadoran war.

Central to this preparation is the intense U.S. buildup in neighboring Honduras. The Pentagon has stationed at Palmerola Air Base a 1,200-member headquarters unit known as Joint Task Force Alpha. According to the June 9 *Nation*, this unit "is a self-contained combat control team fully able to direct a battle force of tens of thousands of troops."

FDR, FMLN respond to Duarte

The installation of President Duarte in El Salvador likewise forms an integral part of Washington's war preparations. Duarte alluded to this in his inaugural speech, declaring that to achieve "the great objective of peace" he would not hesitate to uphold "the legitimate right of self-defense" and appeal for "international solidarity."

In so doing, the FDR and FMLN noted in a joint statement issued in Managua on June 6, Duarte had "thereby established the political and juridical pretext to which his government will resort in order to justify massive and direct U.S. intervention in El Salvador when the revolutionary victory is inevitable."

The FDR and FMLN had taken the occasion of Duarte's inauguration to reiterate their standing offer to open "a real dialogue with the Salvadoran government, leading toward a negotiated political solution to achieve peace, independence, and democracy," as a May 27 FDR statement put it.

But the U.S. escalation and the bombing went on unabated, and the political prisoners remained in jail. Rather than moving toward the "national dialogue" he had claimed to favor during the election campaign, Duarte began probing for divisions between the leaders of the FDR who come from political currents other than the FMLN and the commanders of the rebel forces in the field. "The political sectors of the left," Duarte claimed in his inaugural speech, "are subordinated to the guerrilla-military sector." He demanded that the "political" leaders "demonstrate their hegemony over the armed sectors."

The joint FDR-FMLN statement issued June 6 replied that no such division between "political" and "military" sectors existed and that all of the proposals for dialogue had been made by both organizations acting together. "The one who has problems" on this score is Duarte, the statement added, "since other sectors of the government, the oligarchy, and the Armed Forces do not want him to engage in dialogue nor will they allow him to." The statement told Duarte he should "convoke a meeting for tomorrow morning and he will see if we are divided, but at the same time he should demonstrate that he has full control over the Salvadoran army."

Especially important opportunities are open-

ing up for the revolutionary forces as the urban working class mounts new struggles. Workers have increasingly defied the state of siege in recent months with strikes and other actions. More than 10,000 public employees halted work in February and March to demand wage increases. Three thousand workers took to the streets on May Day to condemn the elections as "a farce and a mockery of the people."

At the end of May, postal workers struck throughout the country and were joined by workers in two cement factories and at the Ministry of Finance. As of the first week in July the postal workers were still out. Teachers and workers in the government pension system won wage increases after threatening to walk off their jobs.

Other unions and organizations have issued statements voicing their demands. The Coffee

Industry Trade Union (SI-CAFE) demanded on June 12 that Duarte protect trade-union rights, lift the state of siege, and release all political prisoners. Also in early June, the Union of University Workers and Employees (SETUS) called for the punishment of those responsible for the murder of ex-university rector Félix Ulloa and the sacking of the university campus.

On June 8, some 200 women from the Committee of Mothers of Political Prisoners and Disappeared staged a demonstration outside Duarte's presidential palace. They presented documentation on the cases of 5,000 missing persons and demanded that their whereabouts be clarified. They also called for the release of all political prisoners, acceptance of the FDR and FMLN's call for a dialogue, and a halt to U.S. intervention. □

DOCUMENTS

FMLN hits U.S. intervention

Calls on Salvadoran working people to continue fight

[The following message was issued in El Salvador by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) General Command on May 25. The translation from Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The FMLN General Command, in line with the highest proposals of all the democratic and national forces, states:

That the war unleashed in our country by some aggressive circles in the United States, who have failed in their aim of strangling the Salvadoran people's struggle for national and democratic rights, is reaching new, more open, and wider levels of intervention, drawing all of Central America into a conflict whose consequences cannot be predicted.

Therefore, the FMLN and the FDR have repeatedly expressed and developed in a practical and constructive manner our revolutionary-democratic task of seeking the path of a real, just, and lasting political solution.

However, all our efforts for a dialogue over the past four years have invariably run up against an essentially militaristic and obstinate policy from the administration of President Ronald Reagan.

Mr. Duarte's new turn

Recently, as the result of a decision and a well-organized plan from Washington, Mr. Duarte was promoted as the favored candidate for the presidency.

The Central Intelligence Agency allocated one million dollars to Mr. Duarte's campaign.

It was [U.S.] Ambassador [Thomas] Pickering who announced the results of the first round of the elections.

And after the second round, President Reagan did not even wait for the official fig-

ures before rushing to congratulate Mr. Duarte.

Meanwhile, the elements close to the White House view Napoleón Duarte as "the best advocate" to sell the Reagan administration's war policy to Congress. They also view him as one more resource in their reelection plans.

Despite all this, Duarte's election was full of irregularities and behind-the-scenes aspects, and this could not be covered up.

In light of these realities, Mr. Duarte will be the first officeholder who will not be president of all of El Salvador, because he was not elected in the whole country and will not have control over the whole national territory. From partial elections a partial government has arisen, since it will govern only two-thirds of the whole country.

Moreover, in those zones that the FMLN does not yet control, the president-elect will have to carry out a big theatrical effort because the real power remains in the hands of the oligarchy, the armed forces, and the Reagan administration.

The realities lead to this prediction: this government will get itself all tangled up by adopting poses of false "autonomy" at the same time that the foreign tutelage of the Reagan administration will be forced to reveal itself.

It will make a show of reforms, without reforming anything basically.

However, two very clear and well-defined options still present themselves to Mr. Duarte, and he will have to take up one of them:

1. Either, as part of his present policy, Duarte will end up losing any remaining sense of shame over his growing subordination to the Pentagon's plans and will offer himself as a cover for the entrance of occupation troops;
2. Or he will accept the national starting

point of a real negotiated solution.

Despite the narrow limits of the dependent government presided over by Duarte, and especially despite the negative attitudes he has always maintained against the efforts that we in the FMLN-FDR have made for a political solution, the FMLN General Command does not dismiss the possibility that at some point Mr. Duarte may opt for the national road, the path of a legitimate democratic solution through real dialogue without preconditions, which we have put forward.

The proposals of our Fronts are presented in hopes of making a dynamic and flexible contribution to the establishment of an alternative solution.

In any event, the FMLN states its position is to receive and seriously consider any counter-proposal that may come from the government headed by Mr. Duarte.

At the same time we raise the banners of the national and other demands of our people that have been brought together in the platform of the Provisional Government of Broad Participation.

We believe that a favorable and necessary climate for a dialogue and for real peace negotiations would be one in which visible steps are taken to fulfill our people's most deep-felt aspirations, which are contained in a whole array of national and people's demands such as:

A. No more direct U.S. participation in the development of the war.

B. Immediate cessation of the bombing of the civilian population.

C. No more political prisoners, deaths, or disappearances.

FMLN call to the people

The General Command reaffirms that we will move forward in the struggle and that the struggle continues, and we call on the workers, employees, professionals, and all sectors of society among our people, as well as on the militia and guerrilla troops and army to:

- Intensify the preparations for confronting the intervention and achieving the people's victory.

- Expand the struggle for the economic, social, and political demands of all the people.

- Actively support the democratic-revolutionary and patriotic efforts to open the dialogue and the negotiated solution.

It is now up to Duarte's government to take a clear position on the efforts by all the democratic and revolutionary sectors in El Salvador, as well as other democratic forces in the world, to find real solutions.

For a political solution, for peace, independence, and democracy!

No to the intervention!

United to fight until the final victory!

Revolution or death! We will win!

For the FMLN Command:

Commander Fermán Cienfuegos, Commander Shafik Handal, Commander Leonel González, Commander Joaquín Villalobos, Commander Roberto Roca

Afghanistan

CIA aid to rebels bared

Rightists getting arms, equipment, intelligence

By Will Reissner

The CIA is spending about \$75 million a year to supply weapons and equipment to rightist forces operating against the government of Afghanistan, according to a report in the June 11 *Time* magazine. Shipments of equipment reach the rightists every few days, the U.S. news magazine stated.

The U.S. flow of aid to Afghan rebels began shortly after the April 1978 revolt that overthrew the government of Mohammad Daud Khan. President Carter increased the arms flow substantially after Soviet troops entered Afghanistan in 1979, and a further escalation of CIA support took place after the election of President Reagan.

Following Reagan's victory, the CIA began recruiting Afghans in the United States and Western Europe to expand the supply network, *Time* reported. One hundred Afghans were sent for nine months of training at CIA schools around the United States and went into the field in early 1982.

Thirty of these agents were sent to Saudi Arabia to expand the network handling shipments of weapons to the Afghan guerrillas. The Saudi monarchy itself has been a staunch supporter of the Afghan rebels. Early this year Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah told Afghan rebels in Pakistan that "your struggle is a jihad [holy war] because you have taken up arms in defense of Islam. We will continue to assist you as we did in the past."

The Egyptian government has also been an important conduit for the U.S.-financed arms program, as President Anwar Sadat acknowledged shortly before his death in 1981.

The majority of the newly recruited and trained CIA agents, however, were sent to Pakistan, where the principal Afghan counter-revolutionary groups are based.

Time reported that in Pakistan "the CIA has for three decades run a topnotch network of agents and safe houses. 'The CIA archives on Pakistan are perhaps the best in the world,' a Western diplomat notes."

The diplomat added that "when the CIA pipeline first moved in, there wasn't a path into or out of Afghanistan that they didn't have mapped down to every physical detail."

The CIA has taken special pains, however, to avoid directly linking the supply operation to Pakistan's military dictator, Gen. Zia ul-Haq. Zia's martial law regime, reported Stuart Schaar in the June 14 *New York Times*, "is becoming more repressive and isolated as internal challenges mount, raising the specter of an eventual uprising to overthrow him."

Zia must also worry about the presence of

some 10,000 Pakistani dissidents in Afghanistan, including 6,000 battle-hardened Baluchi guerrillas who have taken refuge there.

"We're going to keep Zia's hands clean," CIA director William Casey told a top aide early on," according to *Time's* story.

In return, Zia's government looks the other way in order not to discover any clandestine arms shipments. "A special arrangement allows vessels transporting food or medicine for Afghan refugees in Pakistan to be unloaded quickly and waved onto waiting trucks without going through normal customs procedures," the article explained, adding that "the Afghans probably make use of this system to send along their arms."

In addition to providing weapons and equipment, the CIA provides the Afghan guerrillas with intelligence about the plans of Afghan and Soviet troops.

An elaborate communications network has been established for that purpose. "Upon receiving intelligence," *Time* reported, "intermediaries in Oman and Saudi Arabia relay messages eastward to Afghan agents in Pakistan and westward to CIA headquarters in Langley, Va."

Three weeks before the recent Soviet offensive against guerrillas in the Panjshir Valley, U.S. spy satellites detected the preparations and warned the rightists of the impending attack.

The CIA also provided the rebels with large quantities of land mines to be used against Soviet tanks during the offensive, and supplied more than 40 portable radio transmitters.

The land mines, *Time* reported, were collected at U.S. army ordnance depots in the United States and West Germany. Before being rushed to a CIA installation in Stuttgart, West Germany, the U.S. markings on the mines were erased.

From Stuttgart, a CIA crew airlifted the land mines to a secret airfield in Oman, on the Persian Gulf. From there they were loaded onto ships bound for Pakistan and then driven to Afghanistan.

The Pakistani regime itself has also been the recipient of considerable aid from the U.S. government. This year Washington plans to boost aid to Gen. Zia's regime to \$3.2 billion, half of which is military aid.

Particularly since the overthrow of the shah of Iran in 1979, Pakistani troops have been viewed by Washington as a key prop for pro-imperialist regimes in the Middle East.

More than 20,000 Pakistani troops are in Saudi Arabia, helping to prop up the rightist monarchy there. Pakistani soldiers are also found in the Persian Gulf emirates. □

700 at rally to launch new party

Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement continues struggle

By Ernest Harsch

ST. GEORGE'S — "Now we have a party to represent us."

That comment was widespread among the more than 700 Grenadians who turned out for a rally to launch a new revolutionary party, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), on May 27.

The party is named after Grenada's late prime minister and revolutionary leader, who, along with other key leaders, was murdered in

Ernest Harsch, managing editor of *IP*, and Mac Warren, correspondent for the *Militant*, a socialist weekly published in New York, made a 10-day reporting trip to Grenada at the end of June and early July. They interviewed political leaders and working people about the situation there since Prime Minister Maurice Bishop's government was overthrown last October and U.S. troops occupied the island.

a counterrevolutionary coup in October 1983. That coup opened the way for the subsequent massive U.S. invasion of this eastern Caribbean island, less than a week later.

The rally in St. Mark's, in northwestern Grenada, was the largest such political gathering on Grenada since those events. It marked an important shift in the spirit and mood of at least a section of the Grenadian population, which is beginning to overcome the widespread shock and political disorientation ushered in by Bishop's murder and the U.S. invasion.

The rally, which was also called to mark African Liberation Day and Bishop's 40th birthday, was addressed by Kendrick Radix and George Louison, two key supporters of Bishop and members of the overthrown People's Revolutionary Government (PRG). Also present on the platform was Alimenta Bishop, the late prime minister's mother, who received a tremendous ovation from the crowd when she was introduced.

In his speech, Radix, who is the chairperson of the MBPM's Steering Committee, announced the formation of the new party. He declared, "We are launching this movement, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, to continue the great works Maurice started and the cause he gave his life for."

Bold challenge

In a country that is still occupied by hundreds of U.S. and Caribbean troops, the MBPM's emergence represents a bold political challenge to Washington and its regional allies. At a time when they are seeking to wipe

away the surviving gains of the Grenada revolution, the MBPM has come out openly for withdrawal of the foreign occupation forces and the continuation of the progressive social measures and programs that were inaugurated under the PRG.

In a July 2 interview with *Intercontinental Press*, George Louison, who is also a spokesperson for the party, explained, "The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement carries as its central program the question of national sovereignty and independence. By that we mean the withdrawal of all foreign forces. We mean no foreign military bases in our country. We mean a total end to the occupation of Grenada."

Making the same point that Radix did in his May 27 speech, Louison explained that a second element of the MBPM's struggle is "to carry on the work of Maurice Bishop and ensure that the main core of the program for people's participation, for people's democracy, for ensuring the quality of life of the people of Grenada are continued. We stand for the people's participation and for the building of mass organizations."

It is because of this orientation that the U.S. embassy, its local puppet administration, and various Grenadian counterrevolutionary individuals and organizations are hostile to the new party. They fear that it will provide a political focus to those who are resisting U.S. imperialism's efforts to reimpose its domination over the Grenadian people.

That hostility has taken numerous forms, including a bombing at Radix's house, the deportation of his foreign-born wife, efforts to hamper the publication of the party's newspaper, *Indies Times*, and harassment and intimidation of party supporters and activists.

Newspaper and manifesto

Despite such acts of repression, members of the MBPM have been active around the country in seeking to build support for the new revolutionary party. This has involved meetings — individually or in small groups — with people who were known in the past for their staunch support for the PRG and its policies.

It has involved publishing the party's weekly newspaper, *Indies Times*, which describes itself as "the organ of the poor, the oppressed and exploited masses of our country." Running from 8 to 12 pages each issue, it contains local news, including coverage of the new government's attacks on working people's rights and international news, from the struggle in Central America to the British coal miners' strike. In addition, *Indies Times* prints features, political analysis and commentary, in-

vestigative reports, and sports news.

Although in recent weeks there has been a decline in its press run, due to technical difficulties, *Indies Times* has had a significant political impact on this island. Before the Department of Information and National Security barred the newspaper's publication on the presses of the government-owned West Indian Publishing Company in early May, *Indies Times* had attained a circulation of 2,500 copies a week, not an insignificant number in a country of just 110,000 people.

By comparison, the U.S.-funded *Grenadian Voice*, which originally published some 10,000 copies immediately after the U.S. invasion, has now dropped to a press run of just 2,700. Its actual circulation is lower.

Indies Times is both hawked on the streets and distributed through networks of party supporters. About 30 percent of the circulation is here in the capital, and 70 percent throughout the rest of the country.

Party's program

In mid-June, the MBPM also published its manifesto, a detailed 24 page statement that outlines the party's proposals for all sectors of the economy, for education and health care, for the building of mass organizations, and for the attainment of Grenada's full sovereignty and independence. Although 5,000 copies were printed, half have already been distributed in just the first two weeks after it came off the presses. It is estimated that a second printing will soon be necessary.

"Today," the manifesto explains, "the many programmes Bishop and his Party developed for the workers, farmers, youth, women, students and all sections of the Grenadian people have either been crushed, made dormant or scaled down. Now poverty, unemployment and suffering have returned to the life of the ordinary Grenadian like the old days.

"The ideas, policies and programmes that Bishop put forward still hold the key to real development and progress in Grenada. More than ever before, the people are crying out for a Party that can bring jobs, food, a decent standard of living, and build a genuinely independent and democratic society, based firmly on the will of the Grenadian people.

"'Never be defeated.'

"We believe that these words of Maurice Bishop carry the message our people now need. Even in the most difficult and painful times we have to pick up the pieces and seek to rebuild."

Since the U.S. invasion, Washington has been maintaining its rule through the Interim Advisory Council, headed by Nicholas

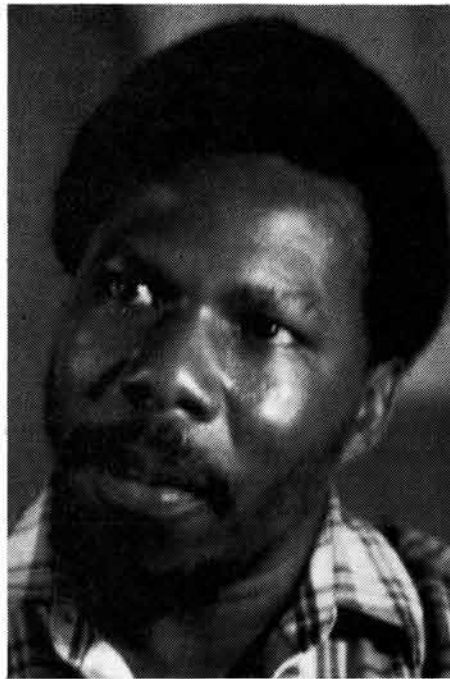
Brathwaite and appointed by Governor-General Paul Scoon, who is the British queen's representative on the island. But the council, which functions as a de facto government, has little political authority, either within Grenada or abroad. The real power here is the U.S. embassy and military command.

Elections

In an effort to provide a cover for and legitimize its renewed political domination over Grenada, the U.S. authorities are pushing for general elections by the end of the year. The U.S. occupation and the attacks on the rights of working people have encouraged the revival of several old bourgeois parties and the formation of a number of new ones. Though campaigning has not yet officially begun, some parties are already maneuvering to line up backers and candidates, holding small indoor gatherings, and building up their organizations.

The MBPM has not yet decided whether it will field candidates in the election. As George Louison explained, the party's participation in the elections would depend on its ability to pull together a full leadership team, the level of support it could expect to muster, its preparation of a program (already outlined to a great extent in the manifesto), and the "existence of a proper election machinery that would give a chance for some kind of positive participation."

Serious questions have been raised about the fairness of any elections held under the U.S. occupation. The U.S. authorities obviously favor several of the bourgeois parties and have placed numerous obstacles in the path of the MBPM. Moreover, people in the electoral administration who are suspected of harboring



Mohammed Oliver-Militant

GEORGE LOUISON

sympathies for supporters of Bishop are being weeded out.

One reflection of this came in late June, when Brathwaite dismissed Ronica Alfred from her post as assistant supervisor of elections. According to a report in the June 23 *Grenadian Voice*, she was fired "for security reasons." An MBPM activist explained to me that Ronica Alfred had been a former secretary to Kendrick Radix.

In his interview with *Intercontinental Press*, George Louison explained that the MBPM has

close political links with its predecessor, the the New Jewel Movement (NJM), which was founded in 1973. Those links are reflected in the MBPM's program, which draws on the NJM's 1973 party manifesto and on the policies implemented by the NJM when it was in power. They are reflected in its identification with Bishop, Unison Whiteman, and other slain NJM leaders (Bishop and Whiteman were the joint coordinating secretaries of the NJM when it was first launched). And they are reflected in its current leadership (both Radix and Louison were founders of the NJM as well).

Explaining PRG's overthrow

Louison also explained that the MBPM includes *only* those former members and supporters of the NJM who remained loyal to Bishop and the PRG during the October coup engineered by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. There is a section of former NJM members, Louison said, "who are not involved in any way in the MBPM. Because of the ideological and political line they followed in October, they cannot lift the banner of Maurice Bishop. They cannot lift the banner because they now do not stand for the same things that we stand for. They represent an ultraleft clique that destroyed the revolution."

Louison pointed out that one of the things MBPM activists are seeking to clarify in their discussions with potential supporters is what happened in October 1983 and who was responsible for it.

"There is still confusion about exactly what went wrong," he said. "Even for the most sophisticated minds, there are still problems in grappling with the theoretical, ideological, and practical dimensions of the events of October."

If there is still confusion among those who are inclined toward the MBPM, that is even more true for working people in general. Because of the extreme brutality of the Coard clique — which massacred dozens of pro-Bishop demonstrators and imposed a round-the-clock, shoot-on-sight curfew on the entire population — most Grenadians at first welcomed the U.S. invasion. "My life was at stake," one restaurant worker told me.

While hailing the ouster of Coard's military regime, however, most Grenadians continue to hold Bishop in high regard and support the programs and policies instituted by the PRG under Bishop's leadership. Washington's real goal of crushing the gains working people had won under the Grenada revolution was not immediately apparent. But as time goes by, it is becoming clearer to more and more people.

The U.S.-installed Interim Advisory Council has abolished numerous programs such as the Centre for Popular Education (for teaching adult literacy) and free milk distribution. It has gutted the National Cooperative Development Agency, which provided assistance to farming cooperatives. It has turned four large state-run farms back to their former owners, and floated proposals to bring back some of the antistrike laws from the days of the Eric Gairy dictator-

Grenada pamphlet in Spanish

Pathfinder Press in New York has just published an 84-page pamphlet, *La Revolución Granadina 1979-83, Discursos de Maurice Bishop y Fidel Castro* ("The Grenada Revolution 1979-83, Speeches of Maurice Bishop and Fidel Castro"). The pamphlet includes a Spanish translation of Bishop's June 1983 speech at Hunter College in New York and Castro's speech at the funeral of Cuban construction workers killed in the U.S. invasion of Grenada. It also includes an article by Steve Clark, a leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, on the Grenadian workers and farmers government and its overthrow that originally appeared as the introduction to the Pathfinder Press book, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*.

The translations of these three items are taken from the biweekly revolutionary socialist news magazine, *Perspectiva Mundial*, published in New York. The pamphlet is available for \$2.00, plus 75 cents for postage and handling, from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

As Clark's article points out, "Bishop's own words are the best available record of the accomplishments and inspiring perspectives of that revolution, which for four and a half years marched arm in arm with revolutionary Nicaragua and Cuba."

Bishop's New York speech summarized the gains of the revolution he led as prime minister and the attempts of U.S. imperialism to frustrate the work of the revolutionary Grenadian people. In this speech Bishop pointed out, as he often did especially to U.S. audiences, that Washington feared the example of the Grenada revolution especially because Grenada is a Black and English-speaking country and thus able to communicate directly to the oppressed masses in the United States.

With the publication of this pamphlet, Bishop's words are now accessible to another key component of the U.S. working class, as well as to Spanish speakers throughout the Caribbean and Central America. □

ship and to weaken workers' trade-union rights. All this has encouraged Grenada's employers to violate union contracts, fire militant workers, and take back gains the workers had won during the revolution. Unemployment has jumped from 12 percent at the time of the PRG's overthrow to some 30 percent today.

While Grenadian workers and farmers have suffered a big blow with the overthrow of their government, they retain some of their organizations, such as the trade unions, and have begun to resist these attacks. In the process, the negative role of Washington has become more apparent to many of them.

One worker, who favored the U.S. invasion, nevertheless commented that the U.S. presence had its "negative side." He was concerned that the U.S. occupation would bring greater U.S. control over the Grenadian economy and society.

Two young women walking along the docks were overheard saying, "This is no rescue. This is an occupation. They'll never leave."

At the same time, supporters of Bishop are becoming bolder. T-shirts with Bishop's photo and the slogan "Maurice Bishop, his spirit lives," are much more common now than pro-U.S. T-shirts.

Attacks on Bishop supporters

In this context the MBPM can play a central political role. That is what the authorities fear and that is what they are determined to keep from happening. The attacks against Radix are particularly ominous.

Early on the morning of June 1, just five days after the MBPM was launched at the rally in St. Mark's, a powerful explosion rocked the home of Kendrick Radix. A bomb, with steel shrapnel fragments, had been detonated outside, causing some damage and leaving a small crater. Although Radix's home is just 200 yards from the residence of Governor-General Paul Scoon — it is thus in one of the most heavily policed parts of the country — no soldiers or police came to investigate the explosion, until Radix himself called the police later that morning.

Three weeks after the bombing, on June 22, Radix was returning to Grenada from a trip abroad, accompanied by his wife, Shaiba. At Pearl's Airport, Shaiba Radix, who was born in Guyana and worked in Grenada from 1979 to 1984, was insulted by the immigration officers, bundled onto a plane, and unceremoniously deported. Kendrick Radix himself was assaulted by the police, detained by U.S. troops and Grenadian police, and taken before Commissioner of Police Murvin Holder (from Barbados), who made insulting remarks about Radix's marriage.

A statement by the MBPM condemned Shaiba Radix's deportation. "The Radix incident," the statement pointed out, "comes at a time of increased repression and psychological warfare against the Grenadian people. This is nothing short of a return to the Gairy days of assaults and beatings in broad daylight of peaceful citizens in a general disregard for the law."

These attacks on the MBPM are part of a broader effort to intimidate the population and build up a new repressive apparatus.

Several hundred U.S. troops and an equivalent number of troops from six Caribbean states — called the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force (CPF) — are still stationed here. Jeeps filled with armed troops are frequently seen patrolling the streets of this city, especially along the docks, where many unemployed youths tend to congregate. A visit by this reporter to Bishop's former residence found it occupied by Caribbean troops, most of them Jamaicans. It is now the headquarters for the CPF.

Political activists are still occasionally detained for questioning. And U.S. and Caribbean troops carry out raids on houses, ostensibly in search of weapons. For example, Norris Marshall, who had been named Farmer of the Year in 1982, had his house in Clozier raided in mid-May by 15 foreign troops. Scores of villagers gathered around to protest the raid.

Some youths have reported being beaten and maltreated during such raids. At least one youth is known to have been killed by a policeman in St. Andrew.

A program is now under way to build up the

Grenada Police Force to some 600 members. This follows a purge of Bishop supporters from the police. Dozens of Grenadian police are undergoing training in Barbados, and 30 returned to Grenada from there in early June after completing their courses.

In addition, an elite force, known as the Special Security Unit, is being established. It will comprise some 80 members trained by military instructors from the United States, Britain, and Barbados. This paramilitary unit will deal with "subversion and antidemocratic activities." In Grenada today, those are code words for any expressions of opposition to the U.S. occupation and the policies of Washington's local allies.

The MBPM clearly has the potential to build up an important base of support here. But it also confronts the full power of U.S. imperialism. As the party seeks to lead the Grenadian people in struggles for their rights and to win back Grenada's national sovereignty, it will increasingly come into conflict with that power.

In that fight, it needs the solidarity of workers and farmers throughout the world. The MBPM's struggle against the U.S. occupation is a struggle that is in the interest of all working people. □

Dominican Republic

'IMF out of the country!'

Big rally opens Socialist Bloc convention

By Martín Koppel

SANTO DOMINGO — In the face of continuing arrests and other government attacks against the Dominican revolutionary movement, the Socialist Bloc held a large public rally here June 28 to open its first national convention. The resounding success of the rally was a big blow to the attempts by President Salvador Jorge Blanco's regime to intimidate Dominican workers and farmers and carry out the economic austerity plan ordered by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In the weeks leading up to the congress, hundreds of activists and leaders of left organizations had been jailed. The Socialist Bloc made a special push to build the convention as broadly as possible, inviting a wide range of organizations and leaders.

An important component of the gathering was the participation of many international guests, who came to express solidarity with the Socialist Bloc and the Dominican struggle against U.S. imperialist domination. Among these was Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president.

Around 1,000 people jammed the hall where the rally was held. The militant crowd was overwhelmingly young, made up of workers, peasants, students, and other fighters. As the

speakers and international guests filed onto the platform, the hall broke out into chants of "IMF Out of the Country!" "The Only Road is Socialism!" and "April, April, April, We're going to do it again!"

April is charged with political significance here. In early 1965 a popular armed insurrection shook the Dominican Republic. This led to an April invasion and occupation of that country by 40,000 U.S. marines, who crushed the revolt only after weeks of fighting.

And in April of this year, Dominican working people launched a massive rebellion against the government's acceptance of new IMF demands, which resulted in up to 100 percent increases in prices for basic consumer goods and drastic cuts in government food subsidies. The masses threw up barricades in the streets, forced the police back into their headquarters, and bravely confronted the army, which killed 60 and wounded 200 unarmed demonstrators.

The whole atmosphere of the rally was marked by the revolutionary traditions and continuity of workers and farmers in the Dominican Republic and internationally. Slides were shown depicting heroes of different revolutionary struggles. The biggest applause was evoked by scenes of the Cuban

and Nicaraguan revolutions, and by the picture of Col. Francisco Caamaño, the main leader of the 1965 Dominican rebellion.

Growing unity

The speakers referred to the presence in the audience of several generations of revolutionary fighters and leaders.

Another theme of the opening rally was the growing unity among left and revolutionary forces in the Dominican Republic. The Socialist Bloc itself came about through a fusion of three parties, the Communist Workers Nucleus, Socialist Workers Movement, and Socialist Party.

In turn, the Socialist Bloc, together with the Dominican Communist Party (PCD), the Dominican Workers Party (PTD), and other forces, have formed the Dominican Left Front (FID) in order to collaborate on activities where there is common agreement.

One sign of this growing collaboration was the fact that the Communist Party offered its national headquarters to the Socialist Bloc for its rally in an act of solidarity with the convention.

Socialist Bloc Political Committee member Octavio Rivera, who chaired the rally, introduced the special guests at the rally, who included the main leaders of all the parties in the Dominican Left Front, as well as leaders of the General Workers Federation and Independent Peasants Movement, the country's major trade union and peasant organizations respectively.

But the working-class solidarity expressed at the rally spilled well beyond the borders of the Dominican Republic. Greetings were sent from revolutionary organizations in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Puerto Rico, and Palestine. Dominican authorities tried to disrupt this solidarity by not allowing the representatives of the Cuban Communist Party and the Sandinista National Liberation Front to enter the country and attend the gathering.

Speech by González

However, the broad international representation was an important victory for the socialist convention. This was recognized by the audience, who gave a huge ovation to U.S. socialist Andrea González when she got up to speak.

González pointed out in her greetings to the rally that she was speaking not only as a U.S. worker, "but also as a Puerto Rican woman, a victim of U.S. imperialist aggression, like the Dominican people, who have suffered U.S. invasion and occupation." The audience responded with chants of "Death to the Yankee invader!"

González stressed that workers, small farmers, and the oppressed nationalities in the United States share common interests with the Dominican people, as well as a common enemy: imperialism.

"In reality there exist two Americas: an America of the U.S. imperialists, their government, and their parties — the Democrats and Republicans — and *our* America of the working class, the farmers, and the oppressed."

Today, she said, the world working class is winning victories, especially in Central America and the Caribbean. The crowd cheered her mention of Cuba as an example of revolutionary working-class leadership.

"All oppressed peoples are learning the lessons of the need for revolutionary unity." Dominican revolutionaries, she said, "are giving an example of this unity."

She stressed the importance of U.S. work-



Mohammed Oliver/Militant

Socialist Bloc member Octavio Rivera chaired rally.

ing-class solidarity with the struggle against imperialism, especially in Central America and the Caribbean. It is this kind of international solidarity that can "prepare the way for a revolution against U.S. imperialism in its own back yard, in the United States of America," she declared, to strong applause.

These themes were reiterated by other international guests, who included representatives from the Socialist Revolution Group of Martinique and Guadeloupe, the Revolutionary Workers Party of Panama, the Revolutionary Communist League and the Communist Movement of Spain, and the Socialist Workers Party of Switzerland.

The central part of the rally was a speech given by Rafael "Fafa" Taveras, general secretary of the Socialist Bloc. He began by stressing that the Dominican Republic is undergoing the worst economic crisis of its history. The governing Dominican Revolutionary Party, he said, has no solutions for working people; it just tells working people they must accept the IMF's demands. Among "all the other bourgeois currents," he said "none has a different alternative from the IMF."

Because the Dominican people have rejected the government's economic policy with mass mobilizations, a crackdown on democratic rights has been unleashed. The Socialist Bloc has used every possible avenue to mobilize working people against the attacks and to put forward a political perspective, as shown by the holding of the public rally in the midst of the growing repression.

Several convention delegates, in fact, had

come straight to the rally from prison; others were still in jail.

Taveras posed some questions: "Is a revolution possible for this political generation? Is it possible to make another revolution in this area against U.S. imperialism?"

Taveras pointed to last April's rebellion here, noting the determination to struggle that the people showed and continue to show, the level of organization in this country, the level of consciousness of the revolutionary movement. "It is not naive to think," said Taveras, "that we are marching towards a definitive moment," one that could become "clearly pre-revolutionary."

Taveras said, "This political generation can say confidently that the taking of power is a possibility."

He pointed out that the imperialists, in spite of their defeat of Grenada and their stepped up military intervention in the region, "have been unable to crush the Salvadoran revolutionaries, have been unable to hold back the steady advance of the Sandinista revolution, and have been unable to destroy the resistance in Guatemala."

Revolutionary forces in the region are forging "the greatest unity that has ever been witnessed," he said. "Among the very people of the United States," he continued, those forces "capable of going beyond their borders to strengthen the current of continental unity against the imperialist government are advancing."

Taveras declared this is a great historical period for revolutionaries who, "on the crest of a revolutionary wave, will come to power in more than one country in the Caribbean."

Forging revolutionary vanguard

In the Dominican Republic, Taveras stressed, the unity of revolutionary forces, represented by the Socialist Bloc and the FID, will lead to the fusion of forces within the FID and beyond the FID.

The creation of a real revolutionary vanguard, he concluded, requires a "unity that will allow us to work in a single leadership [and in] one party. And I believe that the left has sufficient resources in the labor movement, the peasants' movement . . . to build the revolutionary leadership capable of leading this country to a showdown for political power."

This idea was greeted with chants of "April, April, April, We are going to do it again!"

Organizers of the Socialist Bloc opening rally told González they saw it as a big success and an important step forward in the building of a revolutionary workers party in the Dominican Republic.

The event received widespread publicity in most of the press here. Many articles noted the participation of the U. S. socialist candidate in the rally and the impact of her presence. One paper said, "The Socialist Bloc said that González's visit 'is of great importance since it shows that the U.S. and Dominican people want the workers and oppressed to be the ones who rule in the interests of the masses of people.'" □

Socialists evaluate progress

Project new steps to build working-class party

By Malik Miah

REYKJAVÍK — The 36th convention of the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL — Icelandic sympathizing group of the Fourth International) took place here June 30–July 1. The convention heard reports on the political situation in Iceland, the entry of the RCL into the People's Alliance, and a balance sheet on a split earlier this year in the organization. The convention also adopted new statutes, a new name — Militant Socialist Organization — and elected a new Central Committee.

Iceland is in an economic crisis. The capitalist class here, as in other advanced capitalist countries, is attempting to force the workers and farmers to pay the price for their crisis. Már Gudmundsson, who gave the political report, explained that this offensive of the employers is leading to new thinking in the working class. He pointed to the example of the decision of the largest industrial union in the country — Icelandic General and Transport Workers Federation (composed mainly of unskilled workers) — to reject the wage proposal agreed to by the Icelandic Employers Federation (VSI) and the Icelandic Federation of Labor (ASÍ). Of the 58,000 members in the ASÍ, 23,000 are in the unskilled workers federation. Iceland has 230,000 people.

Gudmundsson explained that the shift in political thinking among the ranks of the unions is in response to the austerity policies of the employers and government. In early 1983 the inflation rate, partly due to the devaluation of the króna, reached 130 percent. This led the newly installed coalition government of the two major bourgeois parties — the Independent Party and the Progressive Party — to ban for two years the price indexation of wages (escalator clauses). This resulted in a major cut in real wages.

The new wage settlement proposed by the top labor officialdom and the employers in February maintains this freeze on cost-of-living wage increases even though the inflation rate is still in double digits. The offer was for a basic wage increase of only 13.6 percent between February 1984 and April 1985.

Gudmundsson explained that this situation has led a layer of workers to challenge the policies of the top union leadership. An example was a mass meeting of the unskilled federation that considered the contract proposal. Pétur Tyrfingsson, a leader of the RCL and a member of the unskilled federation, spoke at the meeting. He urged workers to reject the contract, which they did by an overwhelming majority.

The changes taking place in the Icelandic working class, explained Sigurlaug Gunnlaugsdóttir, are the reason the RCL decided to

enter the People's Alliance at the beginning of the year. The People's Alliance is the largest workers party in Iceland. Until last year it was part of a coalition government with the Progressive Party and a section of the Independent Party. Now that it is outside the government and feeling the pressure from workers to fight back against the austerity, the People's Alliance leadership has made a leftward shift in its speeches and actions. It is now more openly critical of the government's policies.

For instance, the day after the RCL's convention, on July 2, a united front rally of the major workers parties and opposition groups was held in the center of Reykjavík. More than 700 people attended. The central leader of the People's Alliance, the former prime minister, called on workers to stand up and fight for their rights.

This leftward shift is leading more young workers and women to join the People's Alliance. There are more political discussions, too, on international issues such as Central America, Cuba, and U.S. imperialism's policies in general. There is strong opposition to the huge U.S.-run NATO base on the island.

Gunnlaugsdóttir explained that the People's Alliance leadership openly urged the RCL to join — even as a group if they liked. The RCL decided to join as individuals and was allowed to keep its own publication, *Neisti* ("Spark") and carry out public activities in its own name. Three issues have appeared since the RCL members joined the People's Alliance.

Youth and women's sections

RCL members are active in local branches especially in the youth section of the party. The youth section, relatively inactive for a long time, became reactivated last year.

There is also a revitalized women's section of the People's Alliance. While there are many middle-class women in the People's Alliance, more working-class women are getting involved. In Iceland there are two women's unions and a women's party with representatives in parliament. A big concern is improving the wages and working conditions of women especially in the fishing industry.

The opportunities to discuss revolutionary socialist politics in the People's Alliance are reflected in the fact that the RCL has been able to organize a well-attended discussion group.

These limited experiences confirm the importance of the turn to the People's Alliance, Gunnlaugsdóttir explained. She stressed that to build a revolutionary party in Iceland, socialists at this time have to orient to the major workers parties. In addition, they must be in the industrial unions that are connected to either the People's Alliance or the smaller So-

cial Democratic Party.

The RCL has a modest fraction in the unskilled federation and plans to get some members hired in the fishing industry — the heart of Iceland's economy. Most jobs in the fish processing plants are very low paid. The big majority of workers are women. The convention reaffirmed the need to get jobs in this industry.

Leninist organizational principles

Pétur Tyrfingsson gave the report on the recent split in the RCL. A minority walked out of the party in late January because they opposed the direction the organization was heading.

Tyrfingsson explained that the split was fundamentally over three questions: the RCL's turn to industry, its turn to the People's Alliance, and its decision to establish Leninist organizational principles.

He explained that while the minority claimed to support getting members into industry, they refused to agree to any of the adjustments necessary to carry this out. Others in the minority strongly opposed joining the People's Alliance on the grounds that it is a reformist party. The issue of organizational norms was raised because many in the minority were opposed to the democratically elected leadership bodies directing both the internal and external political activity of members. They preferred more loose organizational structures.

Tyrfingsson explained that one reason for the divisions in the organization was the history of the RCL. The RCL originated as a youth section of the old Socialist Party (the pro-Moscow Stalinist Party) in 1938. The Socialist Party later fused with a split from the Social Democratic Party in 1968 to form the People's Alliance. At that time the RCL separated from the People's Alliance and became an independent group.

In the 1960s and early 1970s most Icelandic radicals at one time or another had been members of the RCL — known to many simply as Fylkingin (the League). But by 1975 revolutionary socialists had become a majority and won the group to affiliate to the Fourth International.

Nevertheless many of the political and non-proletarian organizational methods of the group remained. A case in point was the fact that until a year ago the editorial board of the paper functioned semi-independently of the Central Committee. This led to many political conflicts.

Tyrfingsson explained that the decision to make the turn to industry and later to the People's Alliance required adopting Leninist organizational norms. This the minority objected to strongly.

The decision of the convention to adopt new statutes and change the name of the group was tied to this proletarianization process. The name change, it was stated, is also necessary because many workers still identify the RCL with its ultraleft past.

A new Central Committee of seven was also elected, and Tyrfingsson was elected chairman of the organization. □

Karl Radek on the Zimmerwald Left

Document from first book of a series on Communist International

At the end of July, the first book of a multi-volume series documenting the origins and first five years of the Communist International (Comintern) will come off the press. With this volume, *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International; Documents: 1907-1916 — The Preparatory Years*, Monad Press launches a major publishing project that will take at least several years to complete.

This gigantic undertaking by the New York-based publisher is comparable in scope to the publication by Pathfinder Press in the 1970s of the 14-volume *Trotsky Writings: 1929-1940* series. Pathfinder Press will be the distributor for the new series on the Comintern.

The goal is to make available in English the principal debates and resolutions of the international socialist movement that directly relate to the origins of the Comintern and to the debates and resolutions of the Comintern from its founding in 1919 through 1923.

This documentary record will enable revolutionary Marxist workers to reconquer a rich and invaluable part of our political heritage thus deepening our capacity to meet the big challenges we face today.

This political record is presently available in English only in a fragmentary form. Therefore, a big part of the task is hunting down the documents, most of which can be found in German or Russian, and translating them for publication. More than 40 collaborators in Canada, Germany, the United States, and other countries have been involved so far in the process of researching documents, translating them, and checking the translations.

Of the material in the first volume on the preparatory years more than 40 percent will appear in English for the first time and about a quarter of it is either totally out of print or not readily accessible in English. Except for the selections from Lenin, all the documents previously available in English will appear in this volume with new, improved translations.

Among the documents appearing in this volume for the first time in English are articles by revolutionary leaders Nikolai Bukharin, Leon Trotsky, and Gregory Zinoviev of Russia; Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg of Germany; and Karl Radek of Poland.

Also appearing for the first time in English are discussions from the 1907 congress of the Second International held in Stuttgart, Germany, and of the conference of socialist internationalists that met in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, in September 1915.

The Zimmerwald conference brought together 42 delegates from 12 countries. It was the first international socialist conference after

the outbreak of World War I attended by representatives of the internationalist minorities in Germany, France, Sweden, and Norway who, by coming, acted against the decisions of their official parties.

The conference and the manifesto it adopted were significant because they represented a



KARL RADEK

step toward an ideological and organizational break with the opportunism and social chauvinism of the majority of leaders in the Second International. However, the conference was divided over whether to make a clean and unambiguous break with the social chauvinists. A minority current, the Zimmerwald Left led by Lenin, was formed, which presented a draft resolution and manifesto for discussion and vote. These were rejected by the majority. The Left then worked to help improve the manifesto that was adopted. They voted for it as a step forward, while continuing to criticize its inconsistencies in opposing the chauvinists.

Following the conference, the Zimmerwald Left established a bureau composed of Russian Bolsheviks V.I. Lenin and Gregory Zinoviev and Polish Social Democrat Karl Radek. They undertook an active correspondence and distributed the Left resolution and manifesto as widely as possible. The Zimmerwald Left, by fighting for a consistent revolutionary internationalist policy and for an unequivocal break with the outright social chauvinists and with the centrists who would not break with the

chauvinists, helped lay the programmatic basis for the Comintern.

Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International for the first time brings together in English all the documents of the Zimmerwald Left. One of these documents, which has not appeared in English before, is an editorial written by Radek. We are reprinting it below (copyright © 1984 and reprinted by permission of Monad Press). It was published originally in a small publication of the Zimmerwald Left, *Internationale Flugblätter (International Leaflets)*, which appeared in three languages. It contained the Zimmerwald Left resolution and manifesto. Radek's editorial served to introduce the Zimmerwald Left to left socialists in Western Europe.

The Zimmerwald Left

By Karl Radek

In September 1915 a conference was held in Zimmerwald of Socialist parties, trade unions, and groups from Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Poland, Latvia, Bulgaria, Romania, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden to discuss the struggle against the war. It published a unanimously adopted *manifesto* and a declaration of solidarity with those victimized in the revolutionary struggle against the war, and established an *International Socialist Committee in Bern*, which is to maintain the ties among the affiliated parties and unify their struggle against the war. Since then the Independent Labour Party of England, the Socialist Party of Portugal, the Federation of Haute-Vienne [of the Socialist Party] in France, and other organizations have joined in endorsing the conference resolutions.

The Zimmerwald conference initiated the *reconstruction* of the International and the *resumption of the struggle* for the interests of the working class and for socialism. While we are pleased with this development, we cannot help but point out to the international working class that this initial step *was made very timidly*. It gives us no grounds for confidence that the majority of conference participants are conscious of what *must follow this first step*.

Official representatives of the biggest parties of the International, the German and French parties, were absent from the conference. Only oppositional minorities from these countries were represented. The International Socialist Bureau, primarily charged and obligated to lead the struggle against the war, was absent. Why? The manifesto of the Zimmerwald conference says that these forces "disregarded" the commitments undertaken at the

Stuttgart, Copenhagen, and Basel congresses.¹ Furthermore, they "gave up the class struggle," approved war credits, "placed themselves in various ways at the disposal of the governments for the most diverse services," and "delivered up Socialist ministers as hostages." And that puts it very mildly indeed.

The war represents the harshest form of exploitation and oppression of the working class. In the munitions factories the working day is being lengthened and the pace of the work increased without limit. Everywhere the capitalists hire women and reduce wages while food prices increase enormously. Democratic rights such as freedom of the press, of assembly, and of association are surrendered to the most brutal military dictatorship. Capital is no longer content with the workers' sweat; it demands their blood. Anyone who suspends the class struggle under such conditions and takes "responsibility for the war" is a *traitor who has abandoned the working class in face of the enemy, indeed, handed it over to the enemy*—regardless of the high-sounding phrases used to sweeten this abandonment of the class struggle. It was *politically necessary* to say this openly so that the workers could know *that there can be no peace with those who advocate the policy of holding out to the end.*

Why did the majority of the Socialist leaders ally with capital against the working class? Why do they demand that the proletariat hold out in a war in which millions lose their lives for the sake of the capitalists' profits? This question forces itself on every worker. Unless it is answered, the struggle cannot be carried out. The Zimmerwald Manifesto fails to provide an answer.

The onset of capitalism's stormy upsurge of the 1890s brought a period of high employment, filling the labor aristocracy with illusions about the peaceful evolution of national and world politics. *Opportunism and reformism* represented in part the interests of the labor aristocracy and in part the endeavors of the bourgeois intelligentsia to reconcile the proletariat with capital. Within the working class opportunism systematically fostered illusions of a peaceful growing-over into socialism. This made it harder for workers to recognize the signs of the times expressed in the ever-worsening inflation, the lack of progress in social policy, the attacks on democratic rights, the uninterrupted arms race, the repeated instances of imperialist conflicts, and the growing danger of war.

Opportunism also made it more difficult for workers to recognize that these new conditions required more militant tactics. The struggle against the newly dawning epoch of imperialism was limited to weak attempts at international protest. And these were not even capable of overcoming the *nationalist limita-*

tions of the leading layers of the working class, although capital's international interpenetration and the migration of workers had laid the basis for international tactics. Instead of counteracting the narrow horizons of the working class, opportunism reinforced them. It worked systematically to reduce the significance of international solidarity in the eyes of the working class (the fight against the one-day strike on May Day),² opposed every attempt at international revolutionary actions, and transformed the International into an empty phrase for holiday occasions.

Opportunism also sought to nip in the bud any movement of revolutionary action. We need only recall its opposition to the mass suffrage demonstrations and the idea of the mass strike in Germany or the resistance to the stormy strike movement in England.³ The German opportunists attempted to wangle some reforms from the government in return for restraining such activity. The English trade unionists also tried to paralyze the strike movement before it grew into a revolutionary mass struggle by wheeling and dealing with the bourgeoisie for peaceful arbitration.

The opportunists hoped their betrayal of socialism in the war would wring new concessions from the bourgeoisie. The labor aristocracy was also supposed to get a share in the imperialist booty (income derived from the colonies and from domination of world markets) through higher wages and certain rights. Even if this were possible, it would be at the expense of the broadest layers of the people both at home and abroad. But this was of no concern to the opportunists. They now step forward as *social patriots*, who proclaim "defense of the fatherland" in order to mask their traitorous alliance with their own bourgeoisie, which subjugates alien peoples.

The Zimmerwald conference was not able to explain all this to the working class. No matter how much it condemned the consequences of such politics, it still had not decided to break from them, clearly and resolutely. To lash out at the politics of opportunism would have entailed such a break, and the *counterposition of a clear revolutionary policy*, as outlined in our resolution. The Zimmerwald conference did not say, and say clearly, what had to be said about the past, the shameful present, or the future. Why? The *majority of the conference* consisted of two groups. First, comrades who, while they opposed the politics of social patriotism, still wanted at all costs to avoid a split

2. One-day strikes to celebrate May 1, the international workers' holiday, had become a tradition among militant workers. Opportunist leaders of the German trade unions moved before the war to end these strikes, and the issue became a point of confrontation between right and left wings in the German party and the International.

3. British miners launched a general strike in 1912 for a guaranteed minimum wage. One million workers eventually participated, and much of British industry was brought to a standstill. With the help of right-wing union leaders, the government secured an end to the struggle with minimal concessions.

with the big Socialist parties. They remain confused about the profound nature of the international collapse and maintain hopes that these parties as a whole can be won to socialism. Second, the majority included comrades who understood the necessity of a revolutionary policy. But considering that the disenchantment of the working class is just beginning, they thought it premature to proclaim the great objectives of our struggle and the paths of revolutionary action that lead to them. The first group did not want a revolutionary struggle. The second either did not yet understand its necessity or else thought that it was premature.

The representatives of the Central Committee of Russian Social Democracy, the Regional Executive Committee of the Polish and Lithuanian Social Democracy, the Central Committee of the Latvian Social Democracy, a part of the German revolutionary Social Democrats, the revolutionary Social Democrats of Sweden and Norway, and a part of the Swiss delegation emerged as the *left at Zimmerwald*. They presented the conference with a draft resolution and a call to action and demanded a clear revolutionary policy along these lines. In answer to those who hesitated, who thought that a revolutionary policy was premature, they said that if we call on the workers to conduct an implacable, proletarian class struggle for peace and socialism, as the Zimmerwald Manifesto does; if we tell them that there is no sacrifice too great, then we must tell them *how this struggle is to be conducted*. Otherwise the social patriots will cry out: *Words without content! Impotent, stale phrases!* And they will be able in this way to *discourage* the awakening workers.

It may yet be a long time before the broad masses, bled white by the war, recover and renew the struggle. We can shorten this time, however, by explaining to the most conscious workers why the International collapsed, how they have to struggle, for what goals they must appeal to other workers, and how they must organize the struggle under conditions of military rule.

The more difficult the situation, the clearer must be the politics of socialism. It is never too early to tell workers their true situation.

To those who have not yet understood the profound nature of the collapse and the necessity of stepping up the struggle, the Zimmerwald Left said: "If you do not take the trouble to understand the dreadful lessons of the war, then your calls to struggle amount only to yearning for peace. The Scheidemanns, Renaudels, Plekhanovs, and Hyndmans⁴ will brand you as starry-eyed dreamers for peace, and rightly so. These agents of the bourgeoisie will take those who still hope they can be won over and wrap them around their little fingers, making them share the responsibility for their criminal policies."

4. Philipp Scheidemann, Pierre Renaudel, Georgi Plekhanov, and Henry Hyndman were prominent Social Democrats in the Second International who took chauvinist positions when World War I broke out in 1914. — IP

1. The Stuttgart, Germany (1907); Copenhagen, Denmark (1910); and Basel, Switzerland (1912) congresses of the Second International adopted resolutions stating that should war break out, workers should utilize the war crisis to rouse the masses in a struggle to end capitalist rule. — IP

The left wing remained a minority. Only four members of the majority supported the left's draft resolution, submitted by eight delegates,⁵ by calling for its submission to the editing commission. By a vote of nineteen to twelve, the conference decided that it was not yet time to adopt clear guidelines for proletarian politics. The left attempted to improve the majority manifesto, but with only limited success. In spite of this, the left decided to vote for the manifesto for the following reasons. It would be doctrinaire and sectarian to separate ourselves from forces that are beginning, to some extent, to struggle against social patriotism in their countries while they fend off furious attacks from the social patriots. Their conduct justifies hopes they will draw the political conclusions from the struggle. The Zimmerwald Left voted for the manifesto, but differentiated itself from the text's weaknesses and half measures by making the following declaration for the minutes:

"We are not fully satisfied with the conference manifesto. It contains no characterization of opportunism — either when open or when disguised with radical phrases — which not only bears the main responsibility for the International's disintegration, but perpetuates that state of affairs. It contains no clear characterization of the methods of struggle against the war. As before, in the press of the International and in its meetings, we will argue for a firm Marxist position on the tasks of the proletariat in the epoch of imperialism. We are voting for the manifesto because we see it as a *call to struggle* and because we want to march forward in this struggle arm in arm with the other sections of the International."

Part of our predictions have already come true. The German social patriots scoff at the manifesto in their leading organ, *Internationale Korrespondenz* (International Correspondence), published by the trade union commission and used by most of the social-patriotic press, and in an article by Wilhelm Kolb in *Die Neue Zeit*. "You who preach so glibly of peace, how will you fight for it?" they mockingly ask. But at the same time the German party Executive Committee warns in a secret circular against the International Union of Socialist Youth Organizations' appeal summoning the proletarian youth vanguard to revolutionary struggle. They laugh at vague aspirations for peace, but take fright at calls to revolutionary struggle. For the servants of reaction are men of action. Pleas for peace go unheard. But every underground organization that spreads the idea of revolutionary struggle, every street demonstration, every hunger re-

volt, and every strike deals blows to the war cabal.

What do the social patriots say to the protestations by Zimmerwald conference organizers that they intend no break with social patriotism? The German and French party executive committees scream about a split! Hypocrites! It is the social patriots whose policies split the international proletariat. But they are right when they explain that you cannot at the same time both oppose social patriotism and work with it. Just as the Second International could not establish itself without breaking from *anarchism*, which rejected the parliamentary struggle, the *Third International will not be able to set up its line of battle without decisively breaking from social patriotism*. That is what we learn from the social patriots' howls of accusation, and it is necessary to take these lessons to heart.

Within the international framework laid down at Zimmerwald, on the basis of the parties affiliated to the Bern Commission and of the Zimmerwald Manifesto, it is necessary to support every revolutionary mass action and to energetically take up the *work of theoretical clarification* and of building an *underground organization*. To do this, the broadest layers of class conscious workers must above all *clearly grasp the goals and methods* of our struggle both during the war and after. We are publishing the *resolution* and the *draft proposal for the call to action* of the Zimmerwald Left. We are calling on the workers to make these the basis for *discussion* and urging them to approach other opponents of social patriotism who have different views and clearly put forward their ideas. The question of the proletarian methods of struggle *cannot be confined to small conferences of leaders*. The liberation of the working class can only be accomplished

through its own efforts! So now you must discuss how this is to be achieved.

We do not want to create the illusion that we are a powerful and homogeneous force. We represent a section of the international proletariat that is only gradually awakening. But, despite the obstacle of censorship, the voices that reach us every day from the warring countries show that the layer of internationalists that thinks and wants to act as we do is larger than we believed. With every day this layer will grow until it has become a great combative army. For the positions that we advocate and the means of struggle that we recommend to the proletariat are not miraculous potions we have invented. Rather they are points of view that will develop in the proletariat under the impact of the war's consequences, the growing burdens, the heightening social antagonisms, and the strengthening of reaction.

In spite of the social patriots' cries that there can be no international revolutionary movement during the war, we see political strikes in Russia, demonstrations against the high cost of living in Germany, strikes in England and Italy. These are only beginnings, it is true, but with the support of revolutionary forces they can develop into a mass struggle of the proletariat against the war and capitalism. The social patriots' blindness toward these facts only proves that they are afraid of them. They cry out that the revolution is impossible only so that they will not have to support its initial stages. But neither the treacherous phrases of the social patriots nor persecution by the state will succeed. Denounced today as revolutionary illusions, our slogans will become tomorrow the common property of the class-conscious proletariat within a growing revolutionary movement and the banner it carries into battle. □

Zeth Höglund: pioneer communist

Swedish member of Left Zimmerwald and Comintern

[The following article appeared under the headline, "The pioneer who changed sides," in the April 26 issue of *Internationalen*, the weekly newspaper of the Socialist Party, Swedish section of the Fourth International. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

By Kjell Östberg

Zeth Höglund — for 50 years one of the Swedish labor movement's most controversial and legendary figures. On April 29, it will be 100 years since he was born.

For nearly 20 years [1904–24] Zeth Höglund stood at the forefront of building revolutionary socialism in Sweden. He was consistently there as a leader: in the struggle against militarism and war; in the defense of the Marx-

ist program and against opportunism and class collaborationism; in the building of a revolutionary workers party and a new international on the ruins of the collapsed Second International.

And then . . . after his break with the Communist International (Comintern) in 1924, it was only a couple of years before the walls crashed down on Zeth Höglund, and he went back into the Social Democratic Party.

The price of his admission was to write a biography of Branting,¹ who, totally unlike

5. The eight delegates at the Zimmerwald conference who were part of the Left were V.I. Lenin and Gregory Zinoviev, Bolsheviks, Russia; Karl Radek, Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania, opposition; Jan Berzin, Latvian Social Democrats; Julian Borchardt, *Lichtstrahlen*, Germany; Zeth Höglund and Ture Nerman, Social Democratic Youth League of Sweden and Norway; and Fritz Platten, Switzerland. — IP

1. Karl Branting (1860–1925) was a long-time leader of the Swedish Social Democrats and editor of its central organ. He was in the right wing of the social democracy and became chairman of the Second International in 1919. He later became Sweden's prime minister.

Zeth, symbolized the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia who sold out social democracy's revolutionary past in exchange for class collaborationism and government posts.

Having gone beyond all sense of shame, two years after Zeth had left his place on the Executive Committee of the Communist International, he would write the following about Swedish socialism's number one gravedigger [Branting]:

"When he is compared with Gustav Vasa,² this is not rhetorical exaggeration: in a new Sweden, in a democratic and socialist Sweden, his memory will be illuminated in the same clear light that bathes the Swedish independence established by the great king."

Who was the man behind this evolution?

Cherished little brother

Zeth Höglund was born April 29, 1884, in Göteborg. The family already had nine daughters. "For a long time I was naturally spoiled by my sisters for whom I always remained their little brother," wrote Zeth in his memoir, *Memory in the Torchlight*.

The home was petty bourgeois. Previously his father had been a relatively well-to-do leather dealer. But by the time of Zeth's birth, he made his living as a shoemaker. The home was marked by the liberalism of the late 1880s; the father was active in the free church as well as the temperance movement. Early on, Zeth came into contact with the third young people's movement, and in 1904 he built the first branch of the Social Democratic Youth Federation in Göteborg.

He was soon employed at Göteborg's Social Democratic newspaper, *Ny Tid* ["New Age"]. At the same time he quickly became a leading figure in the national youth federation. That important chapter of the Social Democratic Youth Federation history in Sweden, up to the party split in 1917, has already been related several times in *Internationalen*.

The best and most militant of Sweden's youth in the period around the First World War were found there. The federation led a hard and relentless struggle against both the bourgeoisie and the opportunist tendencies in the labor movement. This organization's work was a model for the entire workers movement.

Entire generation

The unique activity the federation carried out was, of course, not the work of a single man. It was built by tens of thousands, active throughout the entire country. Its members and leaders dominated the Swedish workers movement for a whole generation — some as Social Democrats, others as fighting socialists. It was, in the final analysis, a reflection of the intensity of the class struggle that raged in Sweden in those years.

And yet, there was one man who frequently took decisive initiative and wrote articles that aroused attention and occasionally a storm; a

2. Gustav Vasa, king of Sweden (1523–60). Under his reign big steps were made in establishing a strong Swedish national state.



ZETH HÖGLUND

debater who formulated the sharpest replies and more than once made listeners respond, or made them furious; one who could orient himself more easily than most people in the developing class struggle, nationally and internationally — Zeth Höglund.

Jailed for antimilitarism

As early as 1905, he stood in the leadership of the youth struggle against war. During the union crisis³ he was one of the coauthors of the famous brochure, "Down with Arms," that was distributed by the hundreds of thousands to soldiers and youth around the country. It stated:

"It is absolutely clear that Sweden's working youth are inspired by the idea that in the event of a mobilization, it is their duty to refuse to report under the flag, knowing full well that if weapons are to be aimed at anyone, they should not be aimed against Norwegians; and finally, we urge workers and farmers around the country to organize mass meetings in order to discuss what should be done in this situation."

Zeth Höglund was sentenced to eight months in prison for advocating disobedience and mutiny. It was not the last time his struggle against militarism and war led to jail. In the midst of the First World War he took the initiative for the famous 1916 workers peace congress. It became a powerful mobilization of all the forces that wanted to prevent Swedish participation in the First World War. For this activity Zeth was sentenced to one year in prison and in addition was removed as a Riksdag [parliament] member.

Zeth Höglund was the Youth Federation's representative to the legendary 1915 Zimmer-

3. Between 1814 and 1905 Norway was in a union under Swedish rule. In 1905 the Norwegian parliament voted to break away, and the Swedish government threatened military action to force the Norwegians back into the union. However, stiff resistance from the Swedish working class helped prevent this, and Norway won its full independence.

wald Conference. There, in the midst of the shooting war, representatives of sections of the international workers movement who had not capitulated to the bourgeoisie met and laid the foundation for the coming Third, communist, International.⁴

'The Storm Bell'

In 1908 Zeth became editor of the newly begun weekly newspaper, *Stormklockan* ["The Storm Bell"] around which all the leading socialist writers — political and cultural — soon gathered. From there they led the struggle against rightist Branting's reformist degeneration. The sharpest pen belonged to Zeth himself.

That pen could be heard in the famous 1910 article, "Sleep Until Death," which aroused unprecedented attention within the entire workers movement. Zeth wrote that while the bourgeoisie is on the offensive, "the party leadership sits with folded arms, uselessly and pointlessly dreaming of a mandate in the first chamber of the Riksdag, but otherwise without any ideas . . . letting the party drift." To attempt to push on only resulted in beating one's head against a wall of stone-hard bureaucracy, apathy, pettiness, and cliquism.

When the Social Democratic Party split in 1917 Zeth Höglund became one of the obvious leaders of the newly established Left Socialist Party. When the party in 1921 changed its name to the Swedish Communist Party (Swedish section of the Third International), Höglund became the SKP's first chairman.

It was under his leadership that the Communist Party in Sweden was created and that Leninism was introduced and the programmatic foundation laid for the revolutionary workers movement in this country.

Lenin and Zeth

But to apply the Comintern's theses and resolutions to the politics of the Swedish class struggle was a difficult process. And Zeth's strength did not lie in political theory.

Lenin followed his development to some degree during the First World War. Through Alexandra Kollontai's mediating hand, Lenin was informed about the international developments and attempted to draw Zeth closer to the Bolsheviks' positions.⁵

4. An international conference of socialists opposed to the national chauvinism of the majority of the Second International was held in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, in September 1915. At the conference a minority of delegates led by Lenin established the Zimmerwald Left which presented its own manifesto and resolution. Höglund was one of eight delegates who were part of the Zimmerwald Left, which helped lay the programmatic basis for the Communist International formed in 1919 (see article on page 457).

5. Alexandra Kollontai was a Russian Social Democrat who was a Menshevik before 1914 and joined the Bolsheviks in 1915. She lived in exile in Sweden for part of the war, where she corresponded with Lenin and helped to win Left Social Democrats in Scandinavia to the Zimmerwald Left.

Repeatedly Lenin pointed to Höglund's and the Swedish Youth Federation's actions during the war as exemplary. For example, in the book, *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, Lenin pointed out how Zeth had used his Riksdag vote to promote peace activity as an example for socialists.⁶

But Lenin was by no means blind to Zeth's weaknesses, especially in the theoretical arena: "He is only a sentimental, naive antimilitarist" who must choose civil war or remain with the opportunists and the chauvinists, Lenin wrote in 1914. He pointed out one of Höglund's biggest political defects: a tendency toward pacifism and the inability to see the need for the working class to arm itself.⁷

Rapid degeneration

For a long time Zeth Höglund advanced the revolutionary process in a class struggle direction. But when the class struggle, especially after 1923, went into a period of stagnation, when imperialism's pressure on the Soviet Union increased, and when it became clear that the Social Democrats in Sweden could not be defeated in short order, he buckled.

This is not the place to write the SKP's early history. It is clear that in 1924 the Stalinization of the Comintern had also begun, and the leadership's actions were not free from bureaucratic manipulation. Perhaps a big portion of the many thousands of members who quit the party in connection with the split of Höglund's group in 1924, could have been saved.

Once out of the SKP, Zeth Höglund swiftly degenerated. In 1926 he was back in the Social Democratic Party and in full retreat with the writing of his ingratiating biography of Branting. In 1928 he was elected to the party's Central Committee and became a Riksdag representative. He was connected to the Social Democratic newspaper, *Socialdemokraten* ["The Social Democrat"] and became its editor-in-chief. In 1940 he became finance commissioner in Stockholm. [Höglund died in 1956.]

Höglund's time in the Social Democracy was full of tactical maneuvers, intrigues, and factionalism. Obviously he sought governmental as well as party leadership posts.

But his archrival for 40 years, Per Albin

Hansson, successfully held him in check and assigned him to second-rate tasks.

Not the first

Late in the summer of 1924, the International's leader, [Gregory] Zinoviev, said about Zeth Höglund:

"Every time I talk with him or listen to him from the podium I think: What an intelligent fellow! How much should he and could he

give, not only to a small country like Sweden, but also to the entire Comintern. And he gave up only out of weakness."

But intelligence and leadership abilities are not enough. If one's confidence in the working class's own creative capacity to improve society through revolutionary struggle wavers, it dies when the struggle goes into periods of stagnation and retreat. Höglund was neither the first nor the last to confirm this rule. □

EEC vote boycotted in Martinique

By G.K. Newey

Some 200 opponents of French rule in the Caribbean island of Martinique joined in a call for a boycott of the June 17 elections to the European parliament.

In a statement signed by the 200, they called for "transforming the spontaneous indifference [to the elections] into an act of conscious opposition to the colonialist integration of the Antilles into Europe."

They also called for a campaign of "information, education, and mobilization for effective ties between the working masses of Martinique and those of our natural environment, which is not Europe but the Caribbean basin."

Révolution Socialiste, the weekly newspaper of the Socialist Revolution Group (GRS), Antilles section of the Fourth International, reported in its June 2 issue that the GRS took the initiative of organizing the boycott.

In the June 17 voting, 70 percent of the registered voters in Martinique abstained, while another 8 percent cast blank or void ballots. This compares with a 51.7 percent abstention

rate in the 1981 election.

The June 2 *Révolution Socialiste* also reported on the May 22 founding of a new left-wing organization in Martinique, the Communist Party for Independence and Socialism (PCIS).

The PCIS was organized by proindependence forces who had been members of the Communist Party of Martinique but were fed up with the CPM's support for autonomy rather than independence for the colony.

Révolution Socialiste described the founding of the PCIS as "unquestionably a step forward for the emancipation movement," and a reflection of the growing discredit of the CPM's autonomy policy, particularly since 1981, when the French Socialist and Communist parties formed a coalition government in France without fundamentally changing the situation in Martinique.

The newspaper added that it remains to be seen whether the establishment of the PCIS "is also a step in the building of the revolutionary workers party that the masses need." □

Deaths mount in Turkey prisons

At least 10 Turkish political prisoners have died on hunger strikes in Metris and Sagmalcilar military prisons since the beginning of June. Hundreds more prisoners are taking part in the hunger strike. Most are members of Dev Sol (Revolutionary Left) or the Turkey Revolutionary Communist League (TIKB).

The identities of five of the dead have been announced by Turkish military authorities — Fatih Okutulmus, Abdullah Meral, Haydar Basbug, and Sermet Parken, all of whom died between June 15 and 18, and Hasan Telei, who died June 23.

The hunger strike began April 11 in protest against brutal prison conditions and the widespread use of the death penalty and for treatment as political prisoners. Since the Turkish military coup in 1980, as many as 100,000 people have been arrested for political offenses. The Turkish government has rejected the demands of the hunger strikers.

Until the first deaths took place, the Turkish regime denied any hunger strike was occurring. Since then it has claimed that the fast is

part of an elaborate plot to discredit Turkey internationally.

This is the second mass hunger strike in Turkish prisons since the 1980 coup. In mid-1983, 11 political prisoners starved themselves to death.

Because Turkey is a member of the imperialist NATO military alliance and is a key U.S. ally in the Middle East, the brutal repression in that country has received little attention in Western Europe and the United States.

Supporters of democratic rights in Turkey fear that many more prisoners may die because of the lack of international pressure and have called for an international campaign to save the lives of the hunger strikers.

Telegrams should be sent to President Kenan Evren, Cumhurbaskanligi, Ankara, Turkey; and to General Necdet Oztorun, Martial Law Commander, Istanbul, Turkey.

Copies of protests should be sent to the Committee for the Defense of Democratic and Human Rights in Turkey, Librairie La Breche, 9 rue de Tunis, 75011 Paris, France. □

6. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 65.

7. The reference is to a private letter Lenin sent to A.G. Shlyapnikov in October 1914 (*CW* Vol. 35, pp. 167-169).

In a letter to Kollontai in May 1915, Lenin wrote: "Can one praise and find correct the position of the Left Scandinavian Social Democrats who reject the arming of the people? I argued about this with Höglund in 1910 and tried hard to prove to him that this was not Leftism, nor revolutionism, but simply the philistinism of petty-bourgeois provincials" (*CW*, Vol. 35, p. 189).

Lenin also criticized positions of Höglund and the Swedish, Norwegian, and Swiss Left Social Democrats in his 1916 articles, "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution" and "The 'Disarmament' Slogan" (*CW*, Vol. 23, pp. 77-87, 94-104).

Canadian RWL opens campaign

Calls for workers and farmers government in Ottawa

By Margaret Manwaring

[The following article appeared in the June 25 issue of *Socialist Voice*, a fortnightly newspaper published in Montreal that reflects the views of the Revolutionary Workers League—Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire, Canadian section of the Fourth International. The article has been slightly edited to update it.]

* * *

MONTREAL — The Revolutionary Workers League—Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (RWL-LOR) has nominated five candidates to launch its campaign for the coming federal elections. The candidates are Montreal garment worker Michel Dugré; CN [Canadian National railroad] apprentice-machinist Katy LeRougetel, also from Montreal; Vancouver woodworker Bill Burgess; Bonnie Geddes, a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 2858 in Toronto; and Larry Johnston, of USWA Local 1005 in Hamilton.

The coming weeks will see the socialist candidates at plant gates, on picket lines, in meetings of unions, women, and Québécois, and amongst farmers, youth, and the unemployed. Teams of the RWL, its youth committees, and their supporters will use the campaign both as a tool of support to all those in struggle and as a tribune to discuss the current crisis and socialist solutions to it.

In announcing their candidacies, the socialists explained that their campaign adopts as its own the slogan of Arthur Scargill, a leader of the heroic striking miners in Britain: "We need a government as loyal to our class as [Prime Minister] Thatcher is to hers."

Here in Canada we need just such a government. The socialist workers explain that it is not only necessary, but possible for working people to provide a real alternative to the parties of the bosses in the federal election. It's possible if the organizations of working people in Canada and Quebec act together, if union leaders in Quebec and the NDP [New Democratic Party, the labor party] in English Canada put up a common, pan-Canadian slate of candidates in the election.

Basing itself on organizing and mobilizing workers in struggle, such a militant slate would fight to form a government of workers and farmers in Ottawa.

The socialist candidates emphasize that this approach is necessary to genuinely challenge the political power of the bosses and to overcome the national division in the cross-country working class between English Canada and Quebec.

Trade unions can take the first steps along this road by acting on the decision of the Cana-



Dean Peoples/IP

August 1983 rally against antilabor policies of British Columbia government.

dian Labour Congress in building a cross-country campaign for jobs for all, for a 35-hour work week.

System in crisis

Today the imperialist system — the domination of the whole world by a small handful of rich and powerful men — is in full crisis. The people of Central and South America, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia are in revolt, fighting to free themselves from conditions of total misery. The response of rulers like Reagan, Thatcher, and [former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre] Trudeau? Imperialist war to crush these revolutionary movements.

European workers are also in struggle. British miners and West German and French steel and auto workers are refusing to foot the bill for a bankrupt system.

Workers in Canada and Quebec are also up against one of the most difficult crises many of them have ever faced. Unemployment touches almost every working-class family. Wages are eaten away by inflation. Crushed by the banks, small farmers are being driven from their homes.

Health care, education, community and women's services, fought for and won in the past, are being ravaged.

Those already oppressed get it the worst. Trudeau's constitutional blow against Quebec, the unending federal attacks against Quebec's law protecting the French language, the racist campaign against Franco-Manitobans — all

these are designed to rob those who speak French of the few gains they had won through long struggles — or wanted to win.

We're told there's an economic "recovery." The profits of the banks and corporations *have* recovered. But we haven't.

The bosses' golden rule is simple: divide in order to maintain their rule.

That's why they work to deepen racist and sexist prejudices. Like the lie that immigrants cause unemployment. Or that women seeking decent jobs are "stealing a man's job."

It's all accompanied by growing restrictions on democratic and union rights, whether it's the brutal antiunion laws against Quebec public sector unions or the changes to the British Columbia labor code.

In short, the stakes are very high for working people in the coming period.

That is the big picture the socialist candidates want to discuss during the elections, to promote a dialogue on the real situation facing working people, and the need for a class-struggle response.

None of these questions saw the light of day at the recent Liberal Party convention-carnival. To hear the speeches of Trudeau, [John] Turner, or [Jean] Chrétien,* it's the Liberal government that's the foremost defender of

*Turner was elected Liberal Party leader at the convention and succeeded Trudeau as Prime Minister on June 30. Chrétien, the energy minister, was his closest contender for the leadership. — IP

"the little guy," of social services and democratic rights.

How quickly they would have us forget that it's this very same Liberal government that brought us record unemployment, wage controls, drastic cuts in social services, and all the rest.

Whether it's headed by Trudeau, Turner, or [Progressive Conservative Party leader Brian] Mulroney, the federal government will remain a government of the corporations and the rich, loyal to the boss class, and an enemy of our class, the working class.

An NDP-Quebec labor government

The RWL candidates explain that the most important issue in the federal elections is the need to advance a serious overall perspective to oust the representatives of the boss government from political power, and to replace them with a government of workers and working farmers.

Such a government will only come about through massive struggles like the one waged by British Columbia workers last year. With the unions in the lead, British Columbia's Solidarity Coalition forged a solid alliance between different groups of workers and the oppressed.

Applied on a federal level, such a strategy must take as its starting point the unity of Quebec and English Canadian workers — a unity that can only be built on the basis of full support to Quebec's struggle for national independence in its struggle against national oppression. Without such support there will be no unity.

Struggles like those of the Quebec public sector and British Columbia workers as well as the fight for the 35-hour work week all point the way forward. They testify to workers' refusal to have the capitalist economic crisis resolved over our dead bodies. They allow workers to feel our collective, mobilized strength.

But these struggles also show that strictly union battles are not enough. Working people need a political party based on the unions that can defend and extend past gains.

In English Canada the New Democratic Party represents an important step forward on this level. Based on the unions in English Canada, allied with farmers, the NDP allows workers to act independently of the bosses in the political arena.

That's why the RWL candidates believe it's important that working people belong to the NDP and vote for it in English Canada. The RWL candidates will campaign for the NDP in English Canada during the elections.

But the RWL candidates also point out that the NDP, as it is today, is not an adequate solution. It does not have a program that goes to the root of the capitalist economic crisis and thus offers no durable solutions for working people. And its anti-Quebec positions have made it a barrier to the unity that must be built between English Canadian workers and the Québécois.

That's why the RWL believes workers must

wage a battle within the NDP to equip it with the fighting socialist program that's needed.

Because of its hostility to the national struggle, the NDP scarcely exists in Quebec. It is not based on the Quebec unions or struggles of the Quebec working class. Québécois thus confront the federal government in the elections without a political party to defend them. René Lévesque's Parti Québécois (PQ) made a halfhearted attempt to launch a federal party — the Parti Nationaliste (Nationalist Party — PN). Like the PQ, the PN poses as being "favorably disposed" to workers. But neither the PQ nor the PN are based on and accountable to the Quebec union movement. The PQ is retreating more and more under pressure from the bosses and the federal government. And — weak to begin with — the PN continues to lose steam.

It's only the strength of the organized labor movement that can impart real muscle to the struggle of the Québécois. Quebec unions have to build their own political party, an independent labor party.

The RWL candidates call upon the Quebec labor leaders to break from their policy of political abstentionism and present labor candidates in the elections. In this way a concrete advance can be made towards building a working-class political party in Quebec.

The RWL candidates explain that the only way for all workers, small farmers, and the Québécois to emerge from the crisis intact is to

unite and wage a common struggle for government, for political power.

British Columbia's Solidarity Coalition, the working women fighting to unionize Eaton's and The Bay, the unemployed youth who occupied government offices in Quebec — all these fighters show that what's lacking is not the will to struggle.

What's needed is a clear perspective capable of advancing these separate struggles into a common overall fight against and to replace the common enemy, the federal government in Ottawa.

"It's to advance *this* perspective that we're running in the elections," explain Burgess, Dugré, LeRougetel, Geddes, and Johnston. "Not one other candidate will address these crucial questions.

"As an integral part of this course, we will campaign against the U.S. war in Central America and against Canadian government support to it. We will build solidarity with the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cuba, and Grenada.

"We will actively defend women's rights, above all the right to abortion and to decent, unionized jobs.

We will defend the union and democratic rights that are under attack.

"And we will campaign for a government of workers and farmers, a government that can take the steps to put an end to the entire system of war and misery that is capitalism." □

New Zealand election called

Socialists urge vote for Labour Party

[The following editorial was inserted as a special supplement in the June 15 issue of *Socialist Action*, an Auckland fortnightly newspaper which reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International. The announcement of early elections by the National Party government of Robert Muldoon came after the paper was already in press.]

* * *

Muldoon's announcement of a July 14 snap general election has placed a big challenge before the labour movement and all working people.

But it is also a big opportunity — a chance to act to put an end to this anti-worker National Party government, and to put a Labour government in office.

Since its re-election two and a half years ago, the Muldoon government has been carrying out a vicious assault on the rights and living standards of working people.

Workers' wages have been frozen and real incomes eroded. Trade union organisation has been under intense attack through legislation,

the courts and government-supported employer assaults. Health, education, and the social welfare system have been systematically run down.

Women, Maoris, and Pacific Islanders have been special victims of these anti-worker attacks, which have been accompanied by stepped-up racism and sexism. Many working farmers, too, have come to find their livelihoods under threat.

War abroad

As Muldoon's war against working people at home has deepened, so too has the government's commitment to the imperialist war being waged against the national liberation struggles of working people in the impoverished semi-colonial countries — like Iran and Nicaragua.

National is preparing to send new generations of New Zealand youth to fight and die in these wars.

The government's backing for the recent United States invasion of Grenada was accompanied by its own military preparations for Grenada-style invasions in the Pacific region.

Muldoon's offensive against working

people at home and abroad is not just a product of mismanagement and evil politicians. It is rooted in the deep crisis of the capitalist economic system in New Zealand and worldwide.

Big business employers

Muldoon and the National Party have acted in the interests of the big business employers they represent to make workers and working farmers bear the burden of this economic crisis. They have sought to divide working people and weaken the trade unions in order to undermine our ability to resist these attacks.

Many workers have come to recognise that what is needed to begin to turn this situation around is to stand up to Muldoon head on. National, the party of the bosses, needs to be thrown out of government and replaced by Labour, the party based on the trade unions.

To achieve that requires united action by the trade unions and the entire labour movement. It requires solidarity among workers throughout the country. And it requires the unions and Labour Party standing on the side of women, Maoris, Pacific Islanders, and others who are specially oppressed and victimised in this society.

Workers' struggles

Recent months have seen thousands of unionists engaged in determined struggles to defend their interests — like the Wellington cleaners and the Union Carbide workers fighting the wage freeze, and the workers at Marsden Point defending trade union organisation.

Working people have been involved in political struggles as well — like the thousands of Maoris who took part in the hikoi [peace walk] to protest against the Waitangi Day* celebrations; Pacific Islanders who have been speaking out against the racist Immigration Bill; and women seeking to put an end to rape and sexist violence.

All too often, however, the Labour Party leaders in parliament have refused to support these struggles. Rather they have spoken out against workers taking action.

This leadership default has helped to make the National Party and the bosses more confident. It is no accident that Muldoon called the snap general election immediately after his government had successfully forced the striking Marsden Point workers back to work without any opposition by the Labour MPs and the top union officials.

Opportunity to hit back

But in calling the snap election, Muldoon has given all working people the opportunity to demonstrate that they stand opposed to the actions and policies of the National government.

What is needed is for workers themselves to step forward and make their power felt in this election.

*The treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 between the British government and some Maori chiefs, marked the formal assertion of British sovereignty over New Zealand.

The Federation of Labour and Combined State Unions should take the lead in seeking to mobilise the working class, and to reach out to working farmers, women, Maoris, Pacific Islanders, and youth, in order to organise a massive repudiation of National at the polls through electing a Labour government on a big majority.

Class conscious workers can help to advance this course of action. They can organise meetings and other activities to bring the election discussions into every factory, office and worksite. And they can organise to have their unions go out and actively campaign for a Labour victory.

Strengthening struggles

By acting decisively in these elections to put a Labour government in office, the working class can help to strengthen its position for all the struggles that lie ahead.

DOCUMENTS

Youth support Nicaragua

Joint declaration of Nicaraguan, European youth groups

[The following is a joint declaration of the Sandinista Youth—July 19 (JS-19) of Nicaragua and the Revolutionary Socialist Youth (JSR) of Switzerland. It was signed by the JSR and by Alvaro Porta, a member of the JS-19 national leadership, and Lautaro Sandino, a member of the JS-19's commission for international relations.

[The declaration was published at the conclusion of a recent European tour by the Sandinista youth representatives, organized by youth organizations and newspapers in solidarity with the Fourth International, including the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) of France, the Young Socialist Group (JGS/SJW) of Belgium, *Rebel* of the Netherlands, *Roter Maulwurf* ("Red Mole") of West Germany, *Rivoluzione* of Italy, and supporters of *Revolution* in Britain.]

* * *

The Sandinista people's revolution has brought big social and political advances to the people of Nicaragua, particularly young people. The big literacy campaign, the agrarian reform, the progress in the fields of health and education, the preparation of democratic elections, the recognition given to young people — demonstrated in the lowering of the political age of majority to 16 — and the active collaboration of the workers, the peasants, women, and young people in building a new society are striking illustrations of this revolution.

The FSLN and the Sandinista Youth—July 19 are the political vanguard leading the construction of a new society in Nicaragua. The Sandinista people's revolution is an example

This is the perspective that *Socialist Action* will be putting forward in these elections. We will be reminding readers of the crimes of the Muldoon government and explaining why it needs to be overthrown. And we will be campaigning for the election of a Labour government.

In order to help get out these ideas, *Socialist Action* will be coming out weekly during the election period leading up to July 14, and members of the Young Socialists and Socialist Action League will be organising a special drive to get the paper into the hands of as many workers as possible.

We call on all our readers who share this view of what is needed in this snap election to help us in this special campaign.

- For solidarity among working people to throw out Muldoon!
- For united action to elect a Labour government on July 14!

and beacon of hope for the oppressed and exploited people of Central America and all over the world.

The U.S. imperialists and their allies want to stop the liberation of the Central American peoples and destroy the Sandinista revolution at any cost. They are organizing, financing, and initiating sabotage of production, carrying out attacks and massacres against the Nicaraguan population. In fact, they are preparing for a direct invasion of Nicaragua. This should be an alarm signal to the Central American solidarity movement, and should prompt us to step up our support. We should convince young people in every country of the need to act in support of the Nicaraguan people.

The youth organizations in political solidarity with the Fourth International undertake to support the Sandinista Youth and the Sandinista people's revolution politically, morally, and materially with all the forces at their disposal. The proposal for a European campaign for photographic equipment for the Nicaraguan youth paper *Los Muchachos* (print run 40,000 copies) is a material proof of this support.

In the present situation it is absolutely vital to give unconditional support to the Sandinista revolution and to build a broad united front of all political forces against U.S. intervention in Central America. This is a task for revolutionaries throughout the world.

- Long live international solidarity!
- Long live the heroic struggle of the Central American peoples!
- Stop Yankee intervention in Central America!