

# INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

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## *Report From Manila* **Mass Protests Hit Marcos Dictatorship**



**BRITISH  
COAL STRIKE**  
Miners Resist  
Back-to-Work  
Moves

Visit to  
Pit Village

Danish Unions  
Pledge Money  
to Miners

*From Grenada:*  
**Bitter Fruits  
of Revolution's  
Defeat**



# What stand for workers in the Sakharov case?

By Doug Jenness

In January 1980 Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov was seized by government agents of the Soviet secret police in Moscow and banished to the city of Gorky, where he is still confined. He was charged with violating a provision of the criminal code outlawing "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." His wife, Yelena Bonner, was permitted to travel between Gorky and Moscow.

In May of this year, Sakharov reportedly went on a hunger strike to protest the Kremlin's refusal to allow Bonner to travel abroad for medical treatment. Since May she has also been restricted to Gorky. Some accounts say that Bonner may have been tried and convicted in August for "defamation of the Soviet state and social system."

There are two polar opposite standpoints from which to approach the Soviet government's treatment of Sakharov and Bonner — that of the rulers in the capitalist countries and that of the exploited and oppressed classes.

The capitalist press and politicians around the world have seized on the latest developments in this case to step up their anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda. Putting on the mantle of "human rights" champions, they have flooded the media with their concern over the fate of Sakharov and Bonner. The *Washington Post*, a prominent voice of the ruling families in the United States, carried no less than 15 editorials in the first two and a half months after Sakharov's fast began, railing against Moscow's injustice.

French President François Mitterrand and the foreign ministers of Britain, West Germany, and Australia all sharply condemned the Soviet government over Sakharov's situation during their recent visits to Moscow. President Reagan's Republican administration in Washington termed the Kremlin's conduct "inhumane and virtually incomprehensible." Democratic Party politicians also joined this hypocritical chorus.

Yet at the same time, the capitalists turn a deaf ear to the appeals of thousands of political prisoners and torture victims held by capitalist dictatorships in El Salvador, Turkey, South Africa, Chile, and other countries. Their bloody military interventions from Ireland to Chad, from Indochina to Grenada show what "human rights" really means to the imperialist overlords. Their tears are crocodile tears — the tears that large reptile sheds after eating a hearty meal.

By whipping up a campaign against Moscow, they try to puff up their "human rights" image in order to draw attention away from their own bestial and flagrantly unjust policies.

The imperialists' anticommunist tirade is

also part of their ideological offensive to prepare for war. A prime justification for the U.S. military build-up in Central America and the Caribbean is the "Soviet-Cuban" threat to world peace. The aim of imperialist propagandists is to convince more people that communists have no regard for human rights, thus making war against them justifiable and necessary.

Sakharov is a particularly attractive figure for the imperialists to rally around because his procapitalist, proimperialist, and anti-Soviet views have been well-publicized.

For example, a few months after he was exiled, Sakharov managed to get a letter out of the Soviet Union that was published in the June 8, 1980, *New York Times Magazine*. In it he outlined his anti-working-class positions on the major issues in world politics.

Echoing the familiar claims of capitalist politicians and propagandists, Sakharov warned of "covert and overt Soviet expansion in key strategic and economic regions of the world. Southeast Asia (where Vietnam was used as a proxy) and Angola (with Cuba as the proxy), Ethiopia, and Yemen are only some of the examples."

The same article endorsed U.S. aggression against Iran, hailed the Camp David Middle East accords designed to perpetuate the oppression of the Palestinian people, attacked the West European protests against NATO nuclear missiles, and called for the expansion of nuclear power to safeguard against an alleged Soviet threat to world oil supplies.

Such reactionary positions make it clear that Sakharov does not speak for or represent the interests of working people in the Soviet Union or anywhere else in the world.

But, in spite of his anti-working-class views, there is nothing progressive about the attempts of the Soviet government to silence

Sakharov or prevent his views from being heard. Sakharov was not charged with criminal action or organizing sabotage against the Soviet workers state. He was victimized for stating his views.

When Sakharov was banished in 1980, *Intercontinental Press* carried an article pointing out that "by denying Sakharov the right to express his opinions, the Stalinist regime was issuing a warning to every single Soviet citizen that no expression of differences with the government will be tolerated. That is an attack on the rights of the Soviet workers and peasants, not on incorrect political ideas." That statement still applies today.

The treatment of Sakharov and Bonner is part and parcel of the overall repressive policy against the working class that has been carried out for years by the bureaucratic caste that dominates Soviet political life. Among the practices it uses today is the confinement of political dissidents, Marxists as well as procapitalists, in mental hospitals for "psychiatric care" where they are pumped full of drugs. Some unconfirmed reports have stated that after Sakharov began his fast, he was put in a psychiatric hospital and drugged. Whether or not it is true, the report can appear plausible because of the Soviet bureaucracy's well-known use of such methods.

By repressing Sakharov's views, the Soviet government hands the imperialists on a silver platter an opportunity to build Sakharov up, to enhance his reputation, and to increase the prestige of his reactionary views. Its action has weakened the position of the Soviet workers state in its confrontation with imperialism. It in no way helps to advance the struggle of working-class fighters throughout the world.

The treatment of Sakharov and Bonner deserves the condemnation of working-class organizations everywhere. It is necessary for the working class both to expose the hypocrisy and counterrevolutionary aims of the imperialist propaganda campaign and to criticize the Kremlin's attacks on democratic rights. This is the way to help advance the socialist revolution throughout the world and defend the workers state established by the working people of Russia more than 60 years ago. □

## Apartheid 'reform': more bullets

By Ernest Harsch

More than two dozen Black protesters have been cut down by police bullets in South Africa since August 30, in the most brutal crackdown on political unrest in that country in several years.

This bloodletting by the racist apartheid regime has coincided with the inauguration of its new, "reform" constitution, one that has been depicted as granting some rights to sectors of the oppressed Black majority. Although the foundations of white supremacy have not been touched, this purely cosmetic move has been hailed by supporters of the apartheid regime,

in South Africa as well as in Washington and other imperialist capitals, as a "liberalization" away from apartheid, one that justifies continued imperialist backing to the regime in Pretoria.

But the true face of this "reform" was evident in the streets of Sharpeville, Tembisa, Mamelodi, Sebokeng, and a number of other Black townships. Heavily armed riot police equipped with rifles, shotguns, tear gas, and sjamboks (ox-hide whips), and backed up by air force helicopters, moved in with massive force to try to crush a new series of Black protests.

Among the dead were many youths, including at least two aged just six and nine years. The hospital in Sebokeng admitted more than 200 injured Blacks, and after it was filled had to divert other wounded protesters elsewhere.

The mass protests culminated several weeks of sharpening tension and conflict, spurred by new hikes in rents and electricity rates, growing discontent with the racist education system, and opposition to the implementation of the new constitution.

They centered around a number of segregated and impoverished Black townships around the "whites only" cities of Vereeniging, Johannesburg, and Pretoria. One of the townships, Sharpeville, was the site of the infamous massacre in 1960, in which 67 Blacks were killed by police. All of these townships were swept by the massive Black rebellions of 1976, in which more than 600 Blacks were butchered by the apartheid police.

Like the 1976 rebellions, these latest protests were spearheaded by young students, who carried out school boycotts and street demonstrations. But they quickly spread to the population as a whole, as residents joined a "stay-at-home" demonstration — in effect a general strike. As the street mobilizations grew, youths erected barricades to protect themselves from police assaults and vented their anger against government buildings, post offices, and other symbols of apartheid, including stores and homes owned by Black officials working for the apartheid regime.

The key political issue that underlay the initial student actions was rejection of the new constitution. Most Blacks in South Africa see this "reform" as just another version of the regime's longstanding policy of divide-and-rule, which seeks to keep the different sectors of the Black population separate and disunited. Those sectors comprise some 24 million Africans, more than 800,000 Indians, and about 2.8 million Coloureds, who are of mixed ancestry.

The new constitution establishes a tricameral parliament, with separate chambers to represent whites, Coloureds and Indians. Whites remain in overall control, while Africans, who make up the big majority of the total population, have no representation whatsoever. This scheme is clearly intended to entrench white supremacy, while winning the collaboration of a few misleaders from the Coloured and Indian communities.

Apartheid itself remains intact. All Blacks — Africans, Coloureds, and Indians — continue to suffer from discriminatory and oppressive laws that seek to regulate all aspects of their lives, from where they may live to what jobs they may hold, from whom they may marry to where they may be buried. South Africa's jails remain filled with hundreds of political prisoners, including such prominent Black leaders as Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress. Corporations — South African and foreign alike — continue to profit from the superexploitation of Black labor.

The blatant fraud of this new constitution

has met with almost universal rejection from Blacks, as well as from some anti-apartheid whites. Representatives of hundreds of political, trade union, community, and other groups formed a broad coalition in August 1983 to fight the new measures. Known as the United Democratic Front (UDF), it organized rallies and demonstrations to oppose implementation of the constitution. A massive campaign was launched among Coloureds and Indians to boycott the elections to those two chambers of the new parliament.

Other groups, including the outlawed African National Congress, the main liberation

movement, likewise called for a boycott.

Despite the arrest of many top UDF leaders and police attacks on probocott rallies, the immense majority of the Coloured and Indian communities heeded the boycott call. When the elections for the Coloured chamber were held on August 22 and those for the Indian chamber on August 28, only 18 percent of the eligible voters actually cast ballots.

The Black majority has thus made it clear that it will accept nothing short of abolition of the entire apartheid system. At the polls and on the streets, it has responded to the fraudulent reform with a resounding "No!" □

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# Miners resist back-to-work moves

## Dockers mount national strike, labor solidarity grows

By Rich Palser

SHEFFIELD — On returning from holiday in Switzerland on August 27, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher canceled a planned overseas trip in order to be on hand in Britain to direct the government's campaign against the coal miners' strike.

The government's strategy for beating the strike — which began March 12 — is now in trouble. A carefully orchestrated attempt on the part of the National Coal Board (NCB) and the government to mount a back-to-work movement among striking miners in recent weeks has failed. Meanwhile solidarity actions by dockers, who have been refusing to handle coal imports, has now escalated into a national dock strike in defense of rights previously won under the National Dock Labour Scheme.

This, together with preparations by the rail unions for industrial action against cuts in services and job losses in early September, set the scene for the annual meeting of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), which opens September 3. There is growing pressure on the TUC to take some action in support of the miners.

### Growing impact of strike

The National Coal Board's attempts to mount a drift back to work by the striking miners are prompted by the approach of the shorter days and colder weather of autumn, when the miners' strike will have a more obvious impact on the British economy.

The Central Electricity Generating Board and the government would like to play down the impact of the strike. But the board has been forced to admit that power production at Drax, Ferry Bridge, and Eggborough coal-fired power stations has been brought to a halt.

British Alcan, the largest producer of aluminum in Britain, has also been forced to close down two of its three coal-powered generators at Lymemouth power station in Northumberland. The company has been forced to buy power from the Central Electricity Generating Board to maintain production at the Lymemouth aluminum smelter.

In a survey of 200 company directors recently carried out by the Institute of Directors, 22 percent said their business was significantly affected by the miners' strike. Forty percent said their business would be affected by a national dock strike.

Once the increased demand for power begins in autumn and winter, power cuts will become inevitable despite the scabbing at Nottinghamshire and other mines.

One television program recently estimated

that even accepting the National Coal Board's figures for current coal production — which are disputed by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) — measures to limit the use of electricity would have to begin in October and could escalate to imposition of a three-day work week and finally to attempts to move the coal stocks now at pit heads to power stations by the early months of next year.

Moving coal from strike-bound pit heads to power stations would require use of the armed forces as scab labor — which raises the stakes for the government and the unions alike.

### Working scabs harder

It is against this background that the Coal Board has sought to increase production at those pits that are working. Coal Board Chairman Ian MacGregor is now trying to entice the Nottingham miners to end the overtime ban, which began 17 weeks before the strike, when the union rejected a 5.2 percent wage increase offer.

Scab miners have maintained the overtime ban. They claim the national strike call without a national ballot was unconstitutional, but admit that the National Executive of the NUM has full authority to call an overtime ban without a ballot. To abandon the overtime ban would leave them without the fig leaf of constitutionalism to cover their scabbing.

If the ban were ended, not only could production be increased through overtime, but essential safety work now done during the week could be done on weekends — therefore not disrupting production.

To lure the working miners into overturning the ban, which the Coal Board hopes would increase production by 100,000 tons a week, MacGregor has agreed to back-date the 5.2 percent pay increase to last November. This would give immediate lump-sum payments of over £200 [£1 = US\$1.30] to some working miners.

### 'Silver Birch'

But more important for the Coal Board is to mount a back-to-work movement among those on strike before the autumn. Having claimed a steady drift back to work for nearly two months, on August 12 MacGregor forecast a collapse of the strike beginning in Yorkshire — the strongest area of the strike.

Yorkshire will "crack the quickest," MacGregor told the *Sun* newspaper. At the same time the press began dutifully reporting every claim by working miners to be in touch with strikers who wanted to go back. A Notts miner code-named "Silver Birch" was said to be or-

ganizing meetings with strikers in Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland.

"We are going to stand up and be counted," he said, and appealed for £200,000 to mount this campaign.

"Working Miners Committees" and "Wives Committees" were reported being established in Lancashire and Derbyshire as well as Nottinghamshire. The real organization behind the back-to-work campaign was revealed in a leaflet published in the name of the Derbyshire "Working Miners Committee." It said, "Remember, it only takes one phone call to your manager."

The Coal Board is providing transport in coaches or vans protected by wire mesh and massive police escorts, and the police are guarding the homes of scabs.

Up to now, the few hundred strikers who have returned to work have been in areas where large numbers scabbed from the very beginning of the strike. The purpose of MacGregor's new drive was to create small cracks in the areas most solidly behind the strike — thereby forcing the miners to picket their own pits for the first time in the dispute.

### Keeping scabs out

South Wales was tested on August 10 when miner Monty Morgan was challenged by a mass picket from going to work. Morgan is typical of the miners MacGregor is targeting, the older miners who are most susceptible to MacGregor's bait. At 54 years old, Morgan hopes that by scabbing he will be able to cash in on the large lump sum payment offered by the government to those who accept voluntary redundancy [permanent layoff when the government shuts the mine for good].

"I have accepted the fact that I might have to take redundancy now because no one will work with me again," said Morgan. "But my short-term aim is to start a back-to-work movement." After serving the Coal Board well, he hoped to be rewarded with early retirement.

The miners' mass picket turned back the bus Morgan was riding on, when the driver refused to cross the picket line. Other pickets stood outside Morgan's house, and the milkman stopped delivering. Two days later Morgan stopped work.

One strike weapon used by the South Wales NUM has been the withdrawal of safety cover. During the strike some miners are assigned by the NUM to continue to carry out the routine safety work required to avoid mines collapsing, flooding, or catching fire. When Monty Morgan went to work, this safety cover was withdrawn, making it impossible for him or

anyone else to work underground.

The following week this tactic was used to stop the second would-be scab in South Wales. Roy Jones went into Bedwas Colliery only to stop work the next day. "They were going to flood the pit by withdrawal of safety cover," said Jones, "and the whole pit would have gone."

In the same week that South Wales was fighting off their first scab, two miners went to work in the Yorkshire area, at Gascoigne Wood in the Selby Coalfield — where jobs are thought to be more secure. It rapidly became a focus for mass picketing by the Yorkshire miners.

On August 16, 3,000 pickets responded to the baton charges of 1,000 police by throwing stones and clods of earth, delaying the scabs' entry by three hours. Nine police and four pickets were reported injured. A Gascoigne Wood NUM branch committee member responded to press questioning of the pickets' use of stones against the police by explaining that the NUM would be happy to see an end to

the violence through a policy of: "No truncheons, then no bricks."

At Easington Colliery in County Durham, mass picketing successfully kept out one would-be scab for four days. On the fifth day the police managed to bring the scab in by a back entrance — leading to a confrontation between police and pickets that saw management cars overturned and colliery building windows smashed.

At the Silverwood Colliery near Rotherham, pickets built barricades across the approach road using trees, stones, building equipment and materials, and a car. These were set afire when police attempted to escort the one scab in.

Seeing the determination of striking miners to picket any scabs out, MacGregor attempted to use this to turn public opinion against the miners. "If you have people creating riots, somebody's got to be behind it. . . . I am certain the authorities should examine what the position of Mr. Scargill is in this very highly organized orchestration."

NUM President Arthur Scargill has infuriated MacGregor and the press alike by insisting that police are responsible for violence on the picket lines. In an attempt to witch-hunt and divert attention from the police role, NCB officials in South Yorkshire claimed that a "paramilitary group" dressed in military fatigues had appeared on picket lines in Yorkshire.

This type of propaganda campaign by MacGregor has little effect on the mining communities. Having to picket their own pits for the first time in the dispute has led to far greater numbers of miners taking an active part in picketing.

At villages such as Armthorpe, the whole community has experienced first hand police violence and intimidation.

The numbers prepared to scab are too small to offset the longer-term hardening of the strike as a result of these experiences.

#### Dockers strike

But MacGregor's propaganda is not primarily aimed at the miners. While trying to mount a back-to-work movement among the miners themselves, the government and Coal Board were collaborating with the British Steel Corporation to try to roll back the transport union's refusal to handle coal.

These moves have now provoked a national dock strike.

The strike was called by a national meeting of Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) shop stewards on Friday, August 24. It was called in response to the British Steel Corporation's (BSC) docking and unloading of 95,000 tons of imported coal from the Polish ship *Ostia*, at the port of Hunterston in Scotland.

Instead of 75 tugboatmen, who are members of the TGWU, docking the ship, BSC called in a private scab firm. BSC-employed crane drivers then unloaded the vessel without any of the TGWU dockers present. In doing so BSC broke previous union-employer agreements under the National Dock Labour Scheme that prevent other workers from doing the jobs of union dockers.

The coal from the *Ostia* is decisive for keeping BSC's Ravenscraig Steel Works operating at its present 80 percent production levels. The rail unions had stopped coal movement from the Hunterston terminal to Ravenscraig, so BSC used lorry [truck] convoys to break the blockade. The TGWU then imposed a quota of 12,000 tons a week by refusing to unload any more coal at the Hunterston docks.

BSC is now trying to break through this quota. Another ship carrying 90,000 tons of iron ore is being unloaded.

This challenges not only the decision to stop coal. It also challenges the guarantees of jobs for union dockers obtained through the National Dock Labour Scheme. The port authorities have been trying to do this for some time, but the miners' strike has led BSC to force their hand.

BSC's decision to go ahead with berthing

## Visit to a mine village

### Strike supporters organize to feed community

By Marcella Fitzgerald  
and Bridget Elton

AYLESHAM, Kent — Shepherd's pie, carrots, peas, and potatoes, followed by an apple and a packet of crisps [potato chips]. That was the menu the miners' wives were preparing when we visited this coal-mining village at the beginning of August.

The miners' welfare club of Aylesham has been feeding 100 or so children each day during the national coal miners' strike, now in its 25th week. The women told us they have candy, too, but they were saving it for the Gala Against Cruise Missiles the village was planning for the end of August.

Communal kitchens are not new to the women of Aylesham. They organized together to feed the community during the 1972 and 1974 miners' strikes, and their mothers and grandmothers had done the same before that.

Aylesham remembers its history. Many of the miners who came to work here, in the southeastern tip of Britain, when the pits opened in 1927 had walked all the way with their families from coalfields in the Nottingham area — a distance of nearly 200 miles. They had been blacklisted by the Nottingham coal bosses for their participation in the 1926 general strike.

Supporting the community during the current coal strike is done collectively, and though they have had communal kitchens in previous strikes, the extent of collective organization is reaching new levels.

In the kitchen the women are rushing to prepare the daily lunch. Elsewhere in the hall, miners are making up and distributing food

parcels to individuals and families. When they are finished, lunch is ready and the men serve it, first to the children and then to the adults.

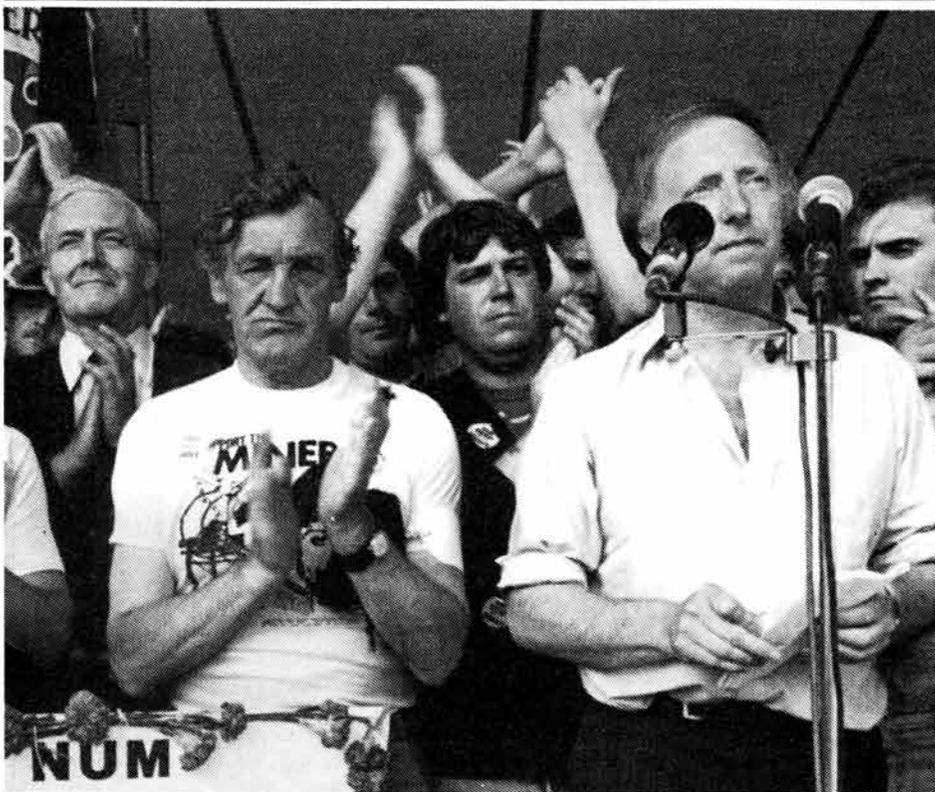
Most of the food served here is donated by the labor movement, but much also comes from local merchants who give boxes of fresh fruit and vegetables. The potatoes come courtesy of the local fish and chips shop — the shop owner even peels them first in his machine.

Meanwhile, a team of striking miners works every day in the woods felling trees and cutting logs. In the evening they deliver the firewood to members of the village, most of whom need it for heating water. They particularly see to it that retired people, whose free coal has been stopped during the strike, get enough fuel.

Other members of the community, both men and women, are away on solidarity tours, speaking to union and Labour Party branches. These tours are vital to keeping the food and money coming in. Still others are away picketing at other mines.

The local pit here is one of those marked for closure by the National Coal Board. Preventing such closures is the central demand of the miners union in this strike. If the strike is lost, this community will be destroyed. But the people of Aylesham are completely behind the strike, and like miners and their families elsewhere in the country, they are determined to win.

Money hardly ever changes hands here, yet everyone is kept fed and supplied with the basic necessities of life, and as winter comes, if the strike is still on, they will be kept warm as well. □



G. M. Cookson

NUM leader Arthur Scargill addresses miners rally in London, June 27.

the *Ostia* was undoubtedly taken after consultation with the National Coal Board and the cabinet committee set up by Thatcher to defeat the strike. It was taken in the hope that some docks would continue working despite the national strike call. During the 11-day national dock strike called over the same issue in July, ports such as Dover, which are not covered by the National Dock Labour Scheme, went back to work after private lorry owners physically threatened the dock workers.

Government minister Tom King has led a propaganda campaign, claiming that this strike is not over the defense of the dockers union and job gains, but simply to give "added muscle to Mr. Scargill and the militants of the miners union."

He added "I wonder how many dockers are really willing to be used in this way?"

Some success has been scored by the Tories. The Dover and Felixstowe dockers have voted not to strike. Immingham and Grimsby docks voted not to join the strike, were then picketed out, and then voted again to work.

The capitalist press has boosted every voice of opposition to the strike, hoping to influence the ports where meetings were still to be held. Many figures in the bureaucracy of the Transport and General Workers Union would love to call the strike off if they could blame the ranks for not wanting to strike.

But there has been a firm response by the most militant ports. Scotland's 12 ports covered by the National Dock Labour Scheme came out from the start. Merseyside and Hull docks followed. By August 30, all ports in

Wales had stopped work, as did the major ports of Southampton, Bristol, and Tilbury.

The rail unions have promised to respect any dockers' picket lines — crucial at large container freight terminals such as Felixstowe — and flying pickets have yet to be dispatched.

At stake for the dockers unions in this dispute is more than just the right of 24 dockers at Hunterston to guaranteed work. The employers and government are out to defeat the miners in order to inflict a decisive defeat on the unions and prove that resistance is impossible. Any past guarantees won by the dockers will be under attack immediately if the government succeeds in defeating the miners.

#### Strike is political fight

The miners' strike has, however, become far more than just a dispute between the miners and the Coal Board.

When the miners began their strike they saw their fight as one for the trade union principle of protecting the right to work.

The Thatcher government's response has been to make it into a political fight — a test of strength with the trade union movement, which can either lead to further assaults against working people or the collapse of Thatcher's government strategy, and therefore her government.

This escalation of the stakes has prompted some debate in capitalist circles over Thatcher's running of the strike-breaking operation. In response to the dock strike, Liberal Party leader David Steel called on the government to use its laws against "secondary action"

to fine the transport union.

The Institute of Directors survey also showed that the majority of corporate directors wanted to see the National Coal Board and the British Steel Corporation use the government's laws against secondary action.

Some leaders of the Labour Party have responded to the escalating stakes by distancing themselves from the miners' strike.

Deputy Leader Roy Hattersley, speaking at a meeting of the General, Municipal, Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union on August 23 said, "God knows I want to see an end to the heartless incompetence of Margaret Thatcher. But she has to be defeated in a general election.

"If we pretend that we can bring her down by direct action, we deceive ourselves and delude our comrades, and we forfeit the support of millions of our fellow citizens. . . .

"We have to make it equally clear that we have no truck with violence in any form, and above all acts of personal intimidation against families and property of individuals, however strongly we may disagree with their actions. . . . A strike with a political as distinct from an industrial aim would never succeed or deserve to succeed."

#### Pressures on TUC

This fear of the political issues involved in the strike also threatens to divide the Trades Union Congress down the middle when it opens in Brighton on September 3. On the agenda are a number of resolutions on the miners' strike. One from the National Union of Railwaymen called for a £0.10 a week levy of all union members to support the miners. Another from the train drivers union called for no crossing of any NUM picket line. A third from the National Union of Seamen called for no movement of coal by nonunion labor or the armed forces, and refusal to work with such coal.

This would particularly affect the power workers, whose leader, Frank Chapple of the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunications, and Plumbing Union, has made it plain his union intends to scab.

In a television interview, Chapple referred to Arthur Scargill as a "raging egomaniac" on a "religious — in this case, Marxist — crusade."

Chapple's union's motion to the conference attacks "acts of violence undermining peaceful picketing."

On August 20, the TUC finance and general purposes committee decided to approach the NUM to try to get advance agreement on what should go before the congress. With the NUM now openly seeking the support of the congress, TUC leaders want a say in how the strike is run in return for any assistance provided.

Gavin Laird, general secretary of the engineering union, spelled this out: "If an affiliate, be it the NGA [National Graphical Association] or the NUM or any other union, wishes to involve the movement and receive total support, then there must be total involve-

ment of the [TUC] General Council."

The miners had experience with such TUC "support" in the 1926 general strike. When the TUC leaders were finally forced by rank-and-file pressure to call a general strike, they quickly made a deal with the government behind the miners' backs lest the strike become political and result in the fall of the Tory government.

More recent experience of the printers union (NGA) at Warrington — where mass union picketing was denounced as illegal by the TUC — and at GCHQ Communications Center — where the TUC failed to call strike action in defense of the right to join a union — led the miners to have no confidence in the TUC's ability to lead their struggle.

Having brought down the Tory government of Prime Minister Edward Heath through their 1974 strike, the miners are not expected to shrink from the political implications of their action.

For this reason the NUM had put off meeting the TUC General Council until the last minute so as to build maximum support within the trade unions for decisive action and not just words by the TUC to back the strike. Miners from around the country organized coaches to lobby the congress. They were in no mood for a compromise resolution that did not stand by the trade-union principle of no crossing of picket lines, and that gave verbal support at the expense of NUM control of the strike.

As Arthur Scargill has put it, "as we go to congress we begin to realize the possibility of winning more and more support from the wider movement, the kind of support that the railwaymen, the seamen, and the dockers are now giving. If that support is turned into reality at the TUC, we shall win this dispute sooner rather than later."

#### Joint resolution

Faced with this pressure, on the eve of the congress the TUC General Council agreed with the miners union to put the following statement before the congress:

1. To support the NUM's objectives of saving pits, jobs, and mining communities;
2. A concerted campaign to raise money to alleviate hardship in the coalfields and to maintain the union financially;
3. To make the dispute more effective by:
  - a) not moving coal or coke, or oil substitutes for coal or coke, across NUM official picket lines, or using such materials taken across NUM official picket lines;
  - b) not using oil which is substituted for coal.

"The NUM acknowledges that practical implementation of these points will need detailed discussions with the General Council and agreement with unions who would be directly concerned. The General Council calls for a fresh commitment of all to an expanding coal industry. The General Council calls on the NCB to resume negotiations immediately with the NUM to resolve this damaging and costly dispute in line with the plan for coal."

The plan for coal was a joint union-govern-

ment agreement drawn up under the last Labour government.

This is a tremendous boost for the strike, as it will place even greater pressure on the other

unions to respect picket lines and block scab coal, and it opens the way for a united working-class offensive against the Thatcher government. □

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## Denmark

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# Workers back British miners

## Give one hour's wage a week to support strike

By Frede Jakobsen

[The following article, along with several others on the British miners' strike, appeared in the August 16–22 issue of *Klassekampen*, the weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (Socialistisk Arbejderparti — SAP), the Danish section of the Fourth International. *Klassekampen* is published in Copenhagen.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The British coal miners are now receiving financial solidarity from Danish workers. A National Fund Campaign was begun on a hot summer evening by 75 representatives of Copenhagen union locals, union federations, workplaces, and workers' parties. Before the meeting at the Warehouse and Clerical Workers Union headquarters was over, more than 40,000 kroner [Kr.1 = US\$0.10 or £0.07] had been pledged for the striking miners.

The most applause of the evening went to Lone Christensen, who came with pledges of 30,000 kroner from the executive committee of the Brewery Workers Union. But several thousand kroner were also contributed as first payments from other workplaces and unions — B&W-Øen, Club 8 of F.L. Schmidt, LFS, Metal [Danish Union of Metal Workers] in Køge, and Copenhagen's stage workers.

Twenty-four representatives from the capital area endorsed the invitation to the meeting — among them two union chairmen: Preben Mortensen, Brewery Workers Union; and Bent Moos, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union. The invitation was a direct result of the initiative that the SAP took in the middle of July. To get the fund campaign underway quickly, the SAP invited all workers' parties and their youth organizations. But already at the first meeting, where besides the SAP the VS [Left Socialists], DKP-ML [Danish Communist Party–Marxist-Leninist], and SUF [Socialist Youth League] participated, it was decided to turn the initiative over to a group of official representatives. The 24 invited representatives spanned the breadth of political parties: the Social Democrats; SF [Socialist League], DKP [Danish Communist Party], VS Faelles Kurs [Left Socialist Common Course], DKP-ML, and SAP.

Workplaces, union locals, union federations, workers parties, youth organizations,

and support committees are able to join the National Fund Campaign. The initiative quickly spread to other cities — Århus, Roskilde, Odense, and Vejle, and even wider.

#### Give an hour's wage once a week

Subscription lists, support buttons, and leaflets are clearly evident. A member of the National Fund Campaign's secretariat, shop steward Finn Jensen, who works at B&W-Diesel, is in Great Britain to gather information to use in the solidarity work.

In every workplace club, cooperative club, union federation, union local, and in the LO [Denmark's central union federation], the task is now to get the support committees for the British coal miners recognized. An important slogan for the fund drive that ought to be taken up and organized around in every single workplace: An hour's wage once a week to the mine workers!

The National Fund Campaign is attempting to organize a tour of Danish workplaces by representatives from the British mine workers union soon.

#### The struggle against Thatcher and Schlüter

Throughout the country, solidarity with the British coal miners' strike must be taken up. Because the struggle in Great Britain can have big significance for the struggle against [Danish Prime Minister Poul] Schlüter here in this country. As it was stated in the declaration from the founding meeting of the National Fund Campaign:

"The struggle that coal miners in Great Britain are now conducting, has decisive significance not only for the British working class. It also has great meaning for workers in the entire world who are struggling against their governments' layoff and cutback policies."

#### Every single penny to the strike

Every single penny that is sent in for the strike will go to the British mine workers. The money will be apportioned in agreement with the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers).

The funds used for leaflets and subscription lists, etc. will not be taken from the fund. They will be obtained through extra contributions from the clubs and union locals. Already 1,000 kroner has been received for this purpose from both the Warehouse and Clerical Workers Union and the BT Club in Copenhagen. □

# British coal miners visit Belfast

*Find same fight against police, Thatcher government*

By Jon Lozibond

BELFAST — Shock, then anger, was the dominant reaction of British trade unionists who visited nationalist areas in this Northern Ireland city August 10–12. Among the delegation were more than a dozen striking coal miners.

"If ordinary people in Britain knew what goes on in Ireland, the British troops would be out," said Guy, a striking miner from South Yorkshire.

Paul, a miner from Lancashire, said, "what hit me first was the dereliction and the police and army presence. I've never seen anything like it."

From the police security checks and computer filing of personal details on the unionists when they boarded the ferry in Britain, to the constant presence of armed British troops prowling Belfast's Falls Road, to the army's forts placed in nationalist areas of the city, these British workers quickly learned that legal and human rights won in Britain do not apply in Northern Ireland.

The trade unionists took part in the August 12 march through West Belfast marking the 13th anniversary of the introduction of internment without trial in Northern Ireland. They witnessed firsthand the assault by the Royal Ulster Constabulary and British army on the demonstration, which left one nationalist dead and dozens seriously injured. (See *IP*, Sept. 3, 1984.)

Wayne, from the South Yorkshire coal pits, said, "I'm ashamed to be British after what I've seen today. It was British people in the army shooting into a crowd that hadn't done anything, and killing people. The British army and the RUC are the aggressors."

"On the march we saw that if there was an isolated incident in one specific place, the bastards did not go for that place. They went for everyone. They fired point-blank into the crowd," recalled Steve, a miner from Lancashire. "Like with our strike," Steve added, "if the police aren't there, it's peaceful."

If the miners were outraged by the role of the British army, they were warmed by the support for the miners' strike among the nationalist community.

"On the march the crowds along the side of the Falls Road were shouting 'up the miners!' and 'victory to the miners' as we passed," Guy told me. "We're allies with the nationalist people because we're both fighting Thatcher. There are no doubts in my mind that the people we met were solid behind the miners' strike."

Paul, from Lancashire, added: "They support the miners and want us to win. Not be-



Unsuccessful attempt to revive Sean Downes, killed by a plastic bullet, August 12.

cause they know all the issues, or the facts and figures, but because they've seen us on television fighting the police and Maggie Thatcher."

During their stay in Belfast, the British trade unionists were housed in the nationalist ghettos of Andersonstown, Ballymurphy, Divis Flats, and the Ardoyne.

The miners from South Yorkshire stayed in the Ardoyne, a nationalist ghetto of about 8,000 people in North Belfast, surrounded by pro-British, loyalist neighborhoods. Many Ardoyne residents rarely leave their own streets for fear of loyalist attacks.

In the past, loyalist snipers have opened fire on the Ardoyne from derelict terraced housing in a neighboring loyalist area.

Three British army observation posts have been carefully situated in the Ardoyne to ensure surveillance of virtually all the streets.

"The Ardoyne," said South Yorkshire miner Arthur, "is like an open prison, where people are surrounded with nowhere to go."

Wayne added: "Every day they face the enemy on the streets. Doors are kicked in by soldiers and police. Living standards are very poor. The residents throw bricks at the army because the army terrorizes them and because they want to free Ireland. It's their way of fighting back."

"When you watch television at home," added Guy, "it's always the Catholics who are made to look like the aggressors when in fact they are really the oppressed. If people at home saw what we've seen here, there'd be a reaction, like when people watched television and saw that unarmed coal picket being battered by riot police at Orgreave."

The trade-union delegation attended workshops on various aspects of life in the six counties of Northern Ireland. After learning of the

juryless show trials used to put nationalists in prison solely on the testimony of paid informers, Ken from Lancashire commented, "The legal system in Northern Ireland is a load of crap! Jail without trial on the word of a paid perjurer! Is this British justice?"

Arthur added: "Imprisonment for crimes committed is one thing, but imprisonment without trial is something entirely different and that's what is going on now."

The British trade unionists also learned about the role of trade unions in Northern Ireland, the connection of Irish culture to resistance to British rule, women in the community, and the political positions of Sinn Féin and People's Democracy, two organizations working for the end of British rule and reunification of Ireland.

"What struck me," said Wayne, "was the community work and community relations of Sinn Féin. The way they look after the women whose husbands are in prison — it's like the miners getting food parcels from other trade unionists."

Wayne added: "Apart from what we can do at home, Sinn Féin are the only hope for the nationalist community."

"The Trades Union Congress should send lots of delegations to Belfast to see what it's like," a Lancashire miner told me. "When the British government makes laws for Northern Ireland, those laws eventually apply to the mainland as well."

"In Belfast you have cameras, listening posts, bastards with guns walking all over the place, police oppression, unemployment."

"In Britain now," he continued, "the police are making the coal pits into fortresses with cameras and surveillance equipment, like the forts we saw in West Belfast. They're videotaping pickets and picking them up later. These are all methods that have been worked out in Northern Ireland."

In Paul's view, "as working people in Britain see all the media lies and distortions about the miners' strike, some are beginning to realize that we've all been misled for years about Ireland too. The newspapers do the same job on them that they do on us."

"Any trade unionist worried about the future of our country," Paul concluded, "should go to Northern Ireland. With what is happening in the miners' strike and the growing unemployment, we can see the future of our own country in Northern Ireland."

"But in England, Scotland, and Wales it won't be Republican against Loyalist. It will be the working class against the ruling class. That's what we are building up to." □

# Mass protests hit Marcos regime

Manila brought to virtual standstill August 21

By Deb Shnookal

MANILA — Despite President Ferdinand Marcos' declaration that August 21 was to be a normal working day, Manila came to a virtual standstill as a crowd estimated from 500,000 to 2 million flocked to the Luneta Park to commemorate the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino a year ago. Most schools and many offices were closed, and anti-Marcos protesters were showered with confetti as they marched through the city streets.

Yellow ribbons fluttered from the jeepneys (Jeeps converted into busses), private cars, and lampposts, and street vendors wore yellow headbands. Yellow balloons and yellow T-shirts with Aquino's portrait filled the streets. Yellow has come to symbolize Aquino, since "Tie a Yellow Ribbon" was the theme song of his return last year.

The protest had an almost festive air. Realizing it was powerless to prevent the rally, the Supreme Court granted permission for the rally to be held, but insisted that the "no permit — no rally" law would be maintained. By denying rally permits, the Marcos administration gives the police the green light to brutally attack demonstrators. An anti-Marcos rally in Manila August 12 was broken up by police with tear gas, truncheons, and fire hoses.

The Manila papers on August 21 gave detailed descriptions of police preparations — tear gas, plastic shields, and fiberglass "itch" bullets — in an effort to deter people from attending the rally. Checkpoints were set up around the city supposedly to prevent "subversives" from joining the march. About 10,000 Metro Manila police were placed on red alert for the day.

However, at the rally itself, the cops were noticeably absent. Only a single helicopter circled above the massive crowd.

The rally was organized by the August 21 Commemorative Committee and was addressed by a broad range of speakers, including many opposition senators; Aquino's widow, Corazon; and brother, Agapito ("Butz") Aquino. Among the crowd were some quite well-dressed people. The speeches were interspersed with the singing of nationalist songs and cultural presentations by various national minority groups.

Earlier in the day the archbishop of Manila, Cardinal Jaime Sin, had presented a memorial mass for Aquino that was attended by most of the leading opposition figures. In his homily, Archbishop Sin called for forgiveness on both sides. "We must be reconciled through an act of forgiveness," he said.

Marchers converged on the Quirino Stadium in Luneta Park from several points in the city. They carried union banners, such as the bank employees', red flags of the KMU (May First Movement), and the banners of women's and student groups. Many of the slogans assailed U.S. support for Marcos and demanded the release of the political prisoners. Yellow T-shirts with Aquino's portrait were everywhere.

One young child wore a yellow T-shirt that read, "I am mortgaged to the IMF," emphasizing the Philippines' huge \$22 billion foreign debt.

Three women students at the rally explained that Aquino, since his assassination, has become a symbol of the anti-Marcos movement. On his grave today is a placard that reads, "One Ninoy died, a million Ninoy's came alive." Ninoy is Aquino's nickname.

"Ninoy has become the rallying point for all Filipinos who have for a long time been dissatisfied with the Marcos regime," explained Nancy, a masters student in comparative literature at the University of the Philippines. "It was the drama of the event [Aquino's murder] that brought the Filipinos together," she said. "People also began to realize that if the government — or whoever is responsible for the murder — could do this to a prominent person, how then will they treat the common people?"

Aquino, a bourgeois opposition leader, was gunned down at Manila International Airport on Aug. 21, 1983, when returning from the United States on what he described as a mission of "unity and reconciliation." Many saw him as an alternative president to Marcos. Aquino was shot while surrounded by security guards, and the alleged assassin was himself immediately shot dead.

The board of inquiry into Aquino's assassination, led by Justice Corazon Agrava, has become a national joke in the Philippines. It is said that the 52 million Filipinos know who is responsible for Aquino's death — the only exceptions are the five members of the Agrava board.

The publication of the board's findings has now been delayed until the end of August in the hope of avoiding further popular protest. The board's sittings have been marked by bizarre incidents such as the one where Marcos' wife, Imelda, appeared to give evidence on Nov. 3, 1983. Justice Agrava insisted that everyone present — board members, lawyers, journalists, and so on — rise and sing "Happy Birthday" to the "First Lady."

The government's evidence has included such things as a blatantly doctored videotape of the assassination provided by a government-

run television station.

José, another student, told this reporter that Aquino's role had been "overpublicized." He said the assassination was simply "part of the overall scheme by Marcos to decapitate the mass movement, like the 'salvaging' of militants by death squads that takes place all the time." This "salvaging" bears remarkable resemblance to the actions of death squads in El Salvador.

One of Nancy's friends, Carmelina, explained, "Salvaging is the mass execution of suspected 'subversives.' It has included teachers and doctors. The killers are never discovered. The doctors are the ones who go to the provinces and work with the people, and so they are immediately suspect as NPA [New People's Army] sympathizers."

Another group of people at the rally had come from Aklan, on the island of Panay. There were many banners that indicated people had come from all over the Philippines to join the protest. Rallies were also held in Cebu, Baguio, Zamboanga, Angeles, and other urban centers. Armando, from Aklan, stressed the importance of the campaign for human rights. "In every province there are political prisoners," he said, "and the killing of innocent civilians is rampant in the countryside."

He said the economic demands were also vitally important. "There is a real economic crisis in the Philippines," he said. He explained that rising prices of farming materials such as fertilizer have hit the peasants very hard.

The rally ended with the unveiling of two statues of Aquino, and then people peacefully dispersed, causing chaos in Manila's streets. Further protests are planned for September 21, the 12th anniversary of the declaration of martial law in 1972.

The year since Aquino's death has been marked by a rising mass movement and stepped-up repression. Twelve people were killed in protests in August and September last year.

José assured that "the Filipinos have matured with a year of struggle. I want the world to know," he continued, "especially the United States, which is the lifeblood of the Marcos dictatorship, that there is no democracy in the Philippines. The United States must realize," he added, "that their influence is coming to an end." □

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# Interview with socialist shipbuilder

## *Workers fight to save jobs, preserve union solidarity*

[The following is an interview with Lars Erlandsson, a worker at the Kockums shipyard in Malmö, Sweden's third largest city. Erlandsson is a member of the Socialist Party, Swedish section of the Fourth International, and has worked in the shipyard for four years.]

[The interview was given to *Intercontinental Press* in New York in August.]

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*Question.* Could you tell us a little about the shipyard where you work? What is the nature of the work force there? How does the yard fit into the national economic situation in Sweden?

*Answer.* There are about 4,500 workers in the Kockums shipyard in Malmö. Three thousand of these are blue-collar workers; the rest are white collar. The shipbuilding industry has long been one of Sweden's biggest export industries, although its rank in the economy has been declining in recent years.

A number of capitalist shipyards were closed down in the 1970's, in Göteborg and in a smaller town closer to Malmö. The production crisis hit shipbuilding very hard in Sweden. This resulted in very heavy attacks on the shipyard workers, trying to reduce the output of the yards. My shipyard plans to reduce production of civilian ships by 20 percent by 1985.

This has resulted in a discussion over how the reduction will take place and how it will affect the work force.

Most of Kockums' production now is civilian, but about 10 percent is building submarines for the Swedish navy. There is also a lot of talk about getting orders for submarines from other countries, especially NATO countries, and possibly doubling military output.

*Q.* Is there a serious threat of layoffs and reduction in the work force?

A. It has been a threat since about 1977. If it had not been for the unions, there would probably have been many laid off by now.

The first attack was in 1977. The workers answered this with a big demonstration in Malmö, with great support from other workers in the city; about 50,000 were in the demonstration. The result of the demonstration was that the shipyard was nationalized by the government. The other big shipyards were already nationalized.

The fight for jobs has been the major issue of concern to shipyard workers. This is part of a national struggle. Miners, textile workers, steelworkers as well as shipyard workers have been under attack. This is especially true in the

nationalized industries. The ruling class is going after these workers first. So there have been struggles in a lot of different industries and a lot of different cities in Sweden. Workers gain experience from each other in these struggles. They follow closely what workers in other areas are going through.

But, of course, the fight really begins in earnest when it is your company, your jobs that are attacked. That's the way it has been. During the government of bourgeois parties, from 1976 to 1982, the fight for jobs was also politically directed against the government. A lot of workers thought getting rid of that government would be at least a start toward solving the problem of jobs. So the strikes, especially in the nationalized industries, were politicized. Workers called on the government to stop the layoffs.

In that situation it was easier to get political discussions on the need for another government.

*Q.* Did the workers' attitude toward the government's responsibility for layoffs change after the Social Democrats were put back into office in 1982?

A. They are just getting the experience of having a Social Democratic government in a period of deepening crisis. The workers don't just rely on the government. They are fighting. For example, the government decided to reduce the production in the nationalized shipyards by 20 percent. It was hard for the workers to swallow that because they had just elected this government. But the union is trying to implement this 20 percent reduction by paying the older workers to retire early, at 60. Some workers could get more pay by accepting this offer than by staying on the job.

*Q.* Has the idea of a shorter workweek been discussed? What was the impact of the recent strike in West Germany?

A. Support for that idea has been growing all the time. Workers are for it; why shouldn't they be? Working six hours a day — everybody is for that. But it is a question of the unions. The Swedish unions are not for it. The Danish and German unions are, but not the Swedish — not the national union leadership.

This is partly because of the union leadership's ties to the Social Democratic Party and partly because the unemployment rate in Sweden has not risen as high as in Denmark, Germany, and Britain. So they are not pressed so very hard. The official rate is about 5 percent, but we have figured the actual total, counting women and young people who have never

been able to get a job, is about half a million, that is, over 11 percent of the work force.

*Q.* What experiences have you and other Socialist Party members had in discussing revolutionary politics in the workplace and in the unions?

A. The main thing we have been involved in is the fight to save jobs. We have tried to get discussions going about what a real workers government would do to save jobs. Such as nationalizing the big banks and security companies to get control of the economy, to enable the shipyard to get loans at low interest. We advocate the government trading more with the workers states and the semicolonial countries and to give those countries loans from the nationalized banks.

We advocate shortening working hours to six hours a day with no reduction in wages. And we have done different kinds of solidarity with struggles of other workers.

*Q.* What were some of the more important specific struggles, and how did workers in the shipyard respond to them?

A. There was a strike at a cement plant — only about 20 workers were involved — but it was owned by a bigger company that had an office in Malmö, near the shipyard. So we put out a leaflet calling for a picket at the offices. The picket line was small, but it was covered by the media. And, of course, we tried to get the union officials to take a stand in favor of the strikers.

*Q.* What kind of things do you do to take your socialist propaganda work to your co-workers in the shipyard?

A. Of course we sell our paper, *Internationalen*, and we try to write articles for the paper from the shipyard and get articles from other shipyards, from workers who face similar problems. When we have a situation where the workers could be mobilized, we put out a leaflet to help to build that mobilization. For example the big demonstration for jobs in 1977. Then more recently there was another attack on jobs at the shipyard. The government was on a campaign saying the shipyard didn't have any orders. The rumors began that there would be big layoffs and that the government was trying to shut down the shipyard. The workers felt very threatened.

The union officials did not do anything, not even what they were asked to do by the union meeting. As the situation reached a crisis, some of the left-wing Social Democrats called

for a meeting at lunch time. We put out a leaflet in the name of the Socialist Party calling on workers to attend this meeting. We explained that the union hadn't done anything and that every worker should go to the meeting.

So this resulted in a united-front demonstration in a city square. We had our own banners calling for an end to the government of the bourgeois parties and for the six-hour work day without a reduction in wages.

*Q. What is the level of interest in your newspaper among shipyard workers? How many copies do you sell there in an average week?*

A. There are quite a lot of workers who are interested in getting the paper sometimes, but you don't sell them a copy every week. We sell a few subscriptions. It varies a lot. Some weeks we don't sell any. It depends on the level of discussion in the shipyard. But we probably average about five papers a week. I've sold to about 20 different workers in my section of the yard. They all know I am a revolutionary socialist. I was a candidate in the last parliamentary election, in 1982.

During my campaign, the most common questions from coworkers were whether I thought I could win and whether I would be taking votes away from the Social Democratic Party. They wanted to know how my campaign would help us get the bourgeois parties out of the government. If a party does not get at least 4 percent of the vote nationally, they don't get any seats in the parliament, so the Social Democrats were telling the workers not to throw away their votes.

Since the election, there has been a change in the main topics of discussion even though there is still the threat of losing jobs. The bourgeoisie has taken up other campaigns, and the workers have to respond to them. I'm thinking about campaigns against the Soviet Union and rumors about Soviet submarines in Swedish waters.

There was an accident back in 1981 in which one Soviet submarine did run aground in Swedish waters. So they are using that incident to build up nationalism among the workers. They are asking for the collaboration of the Social Democrats and the "eurocommunist" Left Communist Party (VPK) to accuse the Soviet Union of threatening Swedish security and asking the Soviet Union not to cross the Swedish border.

This is the thing that has been most discussed recently.

*Q. Were many of the workers influenced by this chauvinist campaign by Sweden's capitalist rulers?*

A. None of the papers, including the social democratic and the Left Communist Party papers, told the truth to the workers. It was a big campaign. The bourgeoisie used everything they could to convince the workers that the Soviet Union was really their enemy. So in the beginning, it was the workers who were influ-



enced by this campaign who were most vocal in the shipyard. Other workers who may have been skeptical just kept quiet. So what you heard was a very few right-wing workers trying to bring this into political discussions, arguing that the Soviet Union is the enemy of the Swedish workers.

I was the only one in my group who argued against this. I explained that the 1981 incident was just an accident, and not an attack on Sweden. Most workers would listen to me. Later one of the workers came up to me to say he supported my position.

*Q. Is there much interest in the war in Central America, and what are the workers' attitudes toward the revolutions there?*

A. There hasn't been too much activity in the shipyard on that. Maybe it is because we are building submarines, so the union leadership is very afraid of that kind of solidarity. Because solidarity with the Central American revolutions also implies fighting against building submarines for NATO.

In other parts of Sweden workers and their unions have done much more. Collecting tools and sending them to Nicaragua; sending machines and workers to teach their use. Even the Social Democratic Party and the unions are supporting these things. For instance they were buying oil lamps for the Nicaraguan literacy campaign. And the youth group of the Social Democrats is raising funds for a school for young Sandinistas.

The Socialist Party is supporting these efforts. We are also helping representatives of the Salvadoran FMLN-FDR and of the Nicaraguan government to get out to the unions, to the workers. But in my union, the leaders rejected a motion from our comrades to do solidarity work and to take a position against U.S. policy. The local union leadership does not want this kind of solidarity. They argued that the union is officially opposed to all kinds of violence, so there was no need to take a position on the war. That's how they always argued. They finally made a statement that was merely sent to the government, asking it not to support U.S. intervention. But they didn't

want to do any public, active solidarity work.

*Q. Why does the local leadership oppose doing even things that the national union and the Social Democratic Party support?*

A. That's something we have to figure out. Maybe it's because of the submarines. The union leadership is collaborating with the management of the shipyard, thinking that is the way to save jobs. So they don't want to be too radical. This is natural for a reformist union leadership in a place that's building military ships.

*Q. How did the contract negotiations earlier this year develop in the shipyard?*

A. Workers all around the country had high expectations for a wage raise because profits are rising. Every worker knows about this. Even the shipbuilding industry, which has generally been in decline, had a good year. Furthermore, in the 1983 contracts, the blue-collar workers got less of a raise than the white-collar workers. So they were expecting to get more this year.

The local union leadership in the shipyard demanded a 15 percent wage increase. Similar demands were being put forward all around the country.

The ruling class approached the national negotiations between the unions and the employers' league by attacking the very idea of national negotiations. At the same time they tried to increase the gap between the highest- and lowest-paid workers. This was all designed to split the workers. The social democratic government did not argue against these attacks on the unions. Instead they told the workers to keep their demands down to about 4 percent for the sake of the national economy. The government promised the workers to try to keep inflation at the same level. But already inflation was past that level.

*Q. What was the outcome of the negotiations?*

A. The workers on the average were able to save their wages compared with inflation. But it differs from one place to another, based on the militancy of the workers. For instance, iron miners in the north and shipyard workers in Göteborg went on short strikes during the negotiations. This sort of thing happened in a lot of places. In my yard, there was a two-hour strike. A couple of hundred workers went up to the office to confront the management over wage and vacation demands.

So wages were defended on the average, but there were some other results. One victory was that the iron miners defeated a plan to split the union by introducing a bonus system. But in other areas the bosses were able to split workers more. Many local union leaderships were unable to stop the attacks. A lot of them, like in my yard, argue like the employers. For instance, they would say there is only so much money, you have to decide how you want to

divide it up. They accept the deepening of the divisions among workers.

The national union leadership accepted a splitting up of the workers, too. They agreed to allow contracts to expire at different times next year, so the traditional national negotiations will be broken up. We don't know exactly how this will turn out since the government is still discussing it. The national union leaders would like to collaborate even more with the employers, but without the national negotiations there would be no real role for them, so they can't go too far.

*Q. How were you, as a member of the Socialist Party, involved in the discussions around the contract?*

A. We concentrated on three things. We opposed all schemes to increase wage differentials, such as the bonus system that pays some workers more for higher productivity. You can compare this to what has happened in Britain with the coal miners. There the only substantial opposition to the present strike is in areas

where high bonuses were being paid. You can see how important it is to act against this kind of thing. Traditionally wage differentials in Sweden have been quite small.

We also campaigned for a wage increase that would not only keep up with inflation, but also make up for what the workers lost in the previous year in relation to the white-collar workers, foremen, teachers, etc. We supported the demand for 15 percent.

The third thing was that we tried to get out information about the struggles and demands of workers in other industries. Party members in various workplaces wrote articles for our paper. Workers were interested in following these struggles, which were not well reported in the bourgeois media. They were interested to see if the miners could really win the 20 percent raise they were demanding, or if the steelworkers could get an additional 1,500 kroner [Kr.1 = US\$0.12] per month.

One day I was able to sell nine copies of *Internationalen* before work and during a break based on its coverage of these developments. □

the Balangoda 18, however, reveals that . . . it could be extremely dangerous for a group of workmen to gather to obtain advice for their industrial relations problems."

The defense committee fact sheet explains the events of June 15 and the conditions on the Rye Estate that led up to them.

In April, 24 plantation workers had been fired for their participation in a strike. Some of them were able to regain their jobs, but management refused to pay them their back wages. Upali Cooray, a labor lawyer from Colombo, was invited to come to Balangoda to discuss this problem and other grievances of the workers.

On June 15 Cooray met with about eight of the workers at the home of R.D. Somapala, which also houses the Sinhala-Tamil Friendship Association, established by plantation workers to promote harmony between the two nationalities and to provide recreational facilities for the youth of the area. The others present that evening were not involved in the discussions.

The workers raised problems of the company refusing to pay some workers for days they had worked. Workers were sometimes given more work than they could possibly do in a day, and when it was not completed they received no pay for that day. They also discussed the company's attempts to prevent them from joining the union of their choice.

At about 7:15 p.m. a police officer, dressed in civilian clothes, burst into the house brandishing a revolver. The cop ordered everyone out of the house and confiscated all the newspapers and magazines that were there.

After being taken to the Balangoda police station, the 18 were searched and repeatedly threatened by police officials. Cooray was handcuffed to a windowsill all night to prevent him from sleeping. Fifteen of the others were locked in a room only 10 by 4 feet.

Although they were denied the right to have any visitors, a supervisor from the plantation came to the police station that night and was seen talking with the cop who had arrested them. The management of the Rye Estate continued to harass other workers who attempted to help the 18 and their families. One worker was approached by two thugs in a company Jeep who said the superintendent told them to break his legs because he had distributed money to the families of the men while they were in jail.

The Balangoda 18 Defense Committee concludes that the case reveals how the emergency regulations are "used to restrict and suppress democratic liberties and the manner in which the Police are acting hand in glove with the Estate Superintendent to suppress plantation workers, terrorize them and deny them basic human rights."

The committee asks for international protests to be sent to President J.R. Jayewardene, President's House, Colombo, Sri Lanka. Financial contributions and copies of protest messages should be sent to the Balangoda 18 Defense Committee at 53 Rajamalwate Rd., Colombo 15, Sri Lanka. □

## Sri Lanka

# Plantation workers arrested

## Emergency laws used against 'unauthorized meeting'

By Steve Craine

Emergency "antiterrorist" laws originally enacted by the Sri Lankan government to repress the Tamil minority are also being used to harass and intimidate workers' organizations.

On June 15, 14 plantation workers at the Rye Estate, along with their lawyer, Upali Cooray, and three others, were arrested at the Sinhala-Tamil Friendship House in Balangoda while discussing the workers' grievances and other union matters. They are charged with holding an unauthorized meeting. They were held incommunicado for 24 hours, and bail was not set for almost four weeks.

Although most of those arrested are Tamils, they were interrogated in Sinhalese, the majority language of Sri Lanka, and when bail was finally granted, the magistrate stipulated that only Sinhalese people would be acceptable as bondsmen. After their release the workers were questioned by police about their union activities in the presence of the superintendent of the plantation.

A defense committee has been established for the "Balangoda 18." It is requesting letters of protest to be sent to members of parliament, trade unionists, and Sri Lankan president, J.R. Jayewardene.

The committee has published a fact sheet on the case to explain the issues involved in this case for civil liberties in Sri Lanka. "The Government has always claimed," it states, "that

the State of Emergency is necessary to deal with the problem of Terrorism and that Emergency powers will not be used to suppress legitimate political activities. The case of



Tamil tea picker.

# Socialists map antiwar strategy

## 32nd national convention of Socialist Workers Party

By Ernest Harsch

How to combat the war being waged today by U.S. imperialism against the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean was a central theme of the Socialist Workers Party's 32nd National Convention and Educational and Activists Conference, held in Oberlin, Ohio, August 4-9.

"In many ways this is an antiwar convention, a convention which will organize our party to respond to the war," Malik Miah, a national cochairman of the SWP, declared in a speech on the opening night welcoming the conference participants.

"The drive by imperialism toward regional war to counter the extension of the socialist revolution in our hemisphere marks everything we do today in building our party," Miah said. "It shapes all our activities. It's the framework in which we carry out all our political work — in the unions, in Black organizations, Puerto Rican organizations, Chicano organizations, and farmers' organizations. It's the framework in which politics takes place."

The target of this imperialist war — the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean — was examined in more detail in a talk that same night by Cindy Jaquith, who, along with Miah, is an editor of the socialist newsweekly *Militant*.

Jaquith described the advances for working people in the region over the past year: the economic and social gains made by the Cuban revolution, as well as the increased arming of the Cuban people in response to Washington's threats and provocations; the deepening of the revolutionary process in Nicaragua, under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front; the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran people against the U.S.-backed dictatorship.

She also noted the one big setback in the region: the overthrow of the workers and farmers government in Grenada by a Stalinist faction led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, which opened the way for the invasion and occupation of that island by thousands of U.S. troops.

With this invasion — the first direct use of U.S. combat troops in the Americas since 1965 — Washington hopes to set a precedent, Jaquith pointed out. It would like to repeat in Nicaragua what it did in Grenada.

Because Central America and the Caribbean are where the socialist revolution is being extended today, Jaquith said, they are at the center of the world class struggle. That is why Washington is waging a war to halt these struggles, a war aimed at overturning all the revolu-

tions in the region. Jaquith emphasized that a serious attempt to accomplish that goal will inevitably mean the use of U.S. ground troops in a regional war that will engulf all of Central America and will bring massive casualties.

### Role of industrial workers

Both Miah and Jaquith stressed the key force in the antiwar movement that will arise to oppose this new U.S. aggression: the industrial working class. This will be different from the movement against the war in Vietnam, which grew up outside the organized labor movement. The change is because the ruling-class offensive against the industrial unions and the emerging resistance to that offensive by the ranks has put the industrial unions at the center of U.S. politics today.

The effort in recent years by the SWP to root itself in the industrial trade unions has placed the party in a better position to become part of this process, to reach the most militant and class-conscious fighters who will emerge in the course of the coming battles.

The extent to which the party has been successful in its turn to industry was revealed by the fact that a majority of the more than 1,000 participants at the convention were industrial workers. Sixty-one percent of the elected delegates were industrial workers, with 49 percent in the nine industrial unions that the SWP focuses its work in.

Bringing the fight against the war into the labor movement was a key part of the discussions in the fraction meetings of party members in these unions, which were held during the course of the convention.

It was also discussed at a workshop on the SWP's campaign against U.S. intervention, which was attended by several hundred people. Barry Sheppard, a national cochairman of the SWP, presented a report on behalf of the Political Committee of the party outlining the main lines of this campaign.

### Workers' tours to Nicaragua

A key element of the antiwar work of SWP members in the unions will be to try to get co-workers to join organized tours to Nicaragua, Sheppard reported. This will help provide a focus for party members in their discussions with other unionists about the stakes for U.S. working people in the war in Central America and the Caribbean. It will also help explain the example that Nicaragua and Cuba provide for the kind of advances that can be made when working people run society.

In addition to the workers' tours to Nicaragua, SWP members are helping to build U.S. tours of Nicaraguan and Salvadoran unionists

and others, organize regular sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at factory gates, and participate in the activities of the various antiwar and solidarity coalitions and committees that exist around the country.

As it takes part in these activities and formations, Sheppard pointed out, the SWP has something important to contribute — its political perspective as a party of communist workers. Its members will explain why Washington is at war in the region and how that war is interconnected with the class struggle within the United States. They will explain what kind of antiwar movement can and must be built, and try to inspire other antiwar activists with the belief that it is possible to actively involve the union movement and rank-and-file workers today in the fight against the war, as a precursor of the kind of mass-based working-class antiwar movement that will develop as the war escalates.

At the same time, socialist workers can play an important role in helping draw workers, the union movement, and the key allies of the working class — Blacks, Latinos, women, and family farmers — into the fight against war, Sheppard said.

This point was made by Miah as well. "It is our responsibility and obligation to do whatever we can to turn the growing antiwar sentiment within the working class into active opposition. Sentiment alone will not stop the war. It must be turned into *action* against the ruling class."

What can actually be done today on this score is modest, Sheppard stated. But it is extremely important preparatory work.

### The war at home

The connection between the U.S. war in Central America and the ruling-class offensive against workers and farmers within the United States was highlighted in several other reports to the convention, as were the political tasks facing U.S. communist workers.

The reports were based on two documents that had been discussed in every SWP branch in the months preceding the convention: a draft political resolution submitted by the Political Committee, and a report entitled, "For a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States," which had been adopted by the SWP's National Committee in March 1982.

Based on those discussions, delegates had been elected from every branch. The delegates, in turn, discussed the documents and reports at the convention itself. Both resolutions were adopted unanimously by the delegates.

As part of this, the delegates voted to change the SWP's governmental slogan for the United

States from "For a workers government" to "For a workers and farmers government." In addition, they voted to include the following sentence in the SWP's constitution:

"The purpose of the party shall be to educate and organize the working class in order to establish a workers' and farmers' government, which will abolish capitalism in the United States and join in the worldwide struggle for socialism."

The twin themes of the fight against the war in Central America and the war against the living standards and organizations of U.S. working people also ran through many of the presentations, classes, and workshops that were held in conjunction with the convention sessions.

They likewise featured in the rally of nearly 1,000 supporters of the SWP presidential campaign, which was held on the last day of the gathering. That rally was addressed by Mel Mason, the SWP candidate for president of the United States, and Andrea González, the vice-presidential candidate. Ken Morgan, a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party; Laura Garza, one of the youth coordinators of the Mason-González campaign; and

Clare Fraenzl, a member of the United Mineworkers of America who recently toured the British coalfields in support of the strikers there, also spoke.

#### International guests

Support for the British miners' strike was evident throughout the convention. Two striking British miners and one of their wives, an activist in the Nottinghamshire women's strike support group, were among the international guests at Oberlin. When they were introduced, the convention and conference participants responded with ovations and chants.

Altogether there were 83 international guests from 10 countries.

"The perspective of building a proletarian party is not just important for us in the United States," Miah pointed out in his welcoming address. "Preparing to respond to the imperialist war is the responsibility of the *international* working class. It's true for all revolutionaries. Whatever country you may be in, you need to organize your party along the lines of opposing the austerity drive and opposing U.S. imperialist war in Central America and the Caribbean, which is the center of world politics." □

ments of the early years of the Comintern — the Communist International — are joint ventures to which the RWL is proud to have assigned leading members.

We will be organizing public meetings for Mel Mason and Andrea González and our candidates during our election campaign. Together we will get out the truth about Nicaragua and we will explain the need for a government of our class and its allies. We will encourage all those inspired by this perspective to join with us in building our international movement.

*Greetings presented by a representative of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International.*

One of the points at your convention has been defense of the Central American revolutions and, in that context, drawing the lessons of the overthrow of the Grenada revolution. New Zealand's rulers have also been drawing some lessons from this.

When Reagan's forces invaded Grenada last year, the government of Robert Muldoon supported that invasion. He also said his government's aim in the South Pacific was to prevent the duplication in New Zealand's backyard of any more Grenadas.

His words took on deeper significance with the establishment of a special military strike force, equipped and trained for combat in the Pacific islands. These forces have already carried out a practice invasion on one of New Zealand's offshore islands.

New Zealand's rulers have understood well the example a small island like Grenada was providing the struggles of the Pacific island peoples.

It is an example for the people of New Caledonia and Tahiti struggling against French colonialism. For the West Papuans who are waging a liberation war to overthrow the Indonesian dictatorship. For Vanuatu which has recently freed itself from British and French rule. And for the other island people faced with French, British, Australian, U.S., and New Zealand imperialism.

These vanguard fighters of the Pacific have been increasingly looking to the revolutions of Grenada, Central America, and Cuba.

New Zealand's rulers have long regarded themselves as the cops of the South Pacific. But their imperialist interests have driven them to war far beyond that region — in Vietnam, Malaya, Korea, the Mideast, and the Malvinas.

And when the U.S. invasion of Grenada occurred last year, Muldoon offered to send forces to that country before he was even asked.

There is no doubt they will want to be part of the coming war in Central America.

The Socialist Action League has always fought and campaigned against these wars, from Vietnam to Central America. And right now we are conducting a special campaign to distribute the book *Maurice Bishop Speaks* to independence fighters in the Pacific and van-

## Greetings to SWP convention

### *International guests spotlight struggles worldwide*

[From its founding, the Socialist Workers Party has insisted that the fight for socialism can be effectively advanced only on an international basis. With that conviction, it has always placed a top priority on developing cooperation with anticapitalist fighters in other countries.

[A highlight of the party's 1984 convention was the attendance of 83 visitors from 10 countries.

[These international guests attended convention sessions open to nondelegates and participated in classes, workshops, and meetings of socialist trade unionists. Several led workshops and classes relating to their own countries, including a class by British socialists on the current mineworkers strike there.

[The following are excerpts from greetings to the convention by official representatives of various organizations, including sections and sympathizing groups of the Fourth International, a revolutionary socialist organization founded in 1938.

[In addition there were guests from Australia, Puerto Rico, Sweden, Britain, and Mexico.]

\* \* \*

*Greetings presented by a representative of the Revolutionary Workers League, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.*

The comrades here from our section — from English Canada and Quebec — feel ourselves a genuine part of this convention. It is a truly

internationalist gathering both in composition and in program and perspective.

We are here as revolutionary Marxists — industrial workers facing the same questions, projecting the same campaign, as you are discussing here this week.

The bourgeoisie in Canada have called federal elections for September 4, and we, like you, are running socialist workers as candidates. We too are placing at the center of our program the need to fight for a workers and farmers government. Our candidates are explaining that we won't get such a government by sharpening our pencils and putting a scratch on our ballots, however carefully it is done. It will be workers and their allies who will establish such a government through struggle.

We in the Revolutionary Workers League and you comrades of the SWP have the task of combating together the divisions sown by the ruling class among North American workers.

One of the bosses' favorite tools is protectionism. Not only does it pit North American workers against our brothers and sisters in the underdeveloped countries. But we are also told in English Canada and Quebec that protectionism is a must to stop U.S. steelworkers, garment workers, and auto workers from snatching up our jobs.

Because your party and ours share a common course and a common goal, we have been working together on some joint projects. Both the publication of the new theoretical magazine, *New International*, and the docu-

guard workers in New Zealand.

Already it is being read in New Caledonia, Tonga, Fiji, and the Philippines.

You will be pleased to hear that Muldoon's government was thrown out by the workers of New Zealand when they mobilized to elect a Labour government.

This election took place in the context of an intense ruling-class offensive, especially in the last two years, which have seen wages frozen and antiunion laws introduced.

In the face of this onslaught, the union leadership did nothing but retreat. However, from the start of this year a political fightback began to take shape. A fightback spearheaded mainly by young Maori workers. Maoris are the oppressed indigenous people of New Zealand.

In January, several thousand Maoris participated in a week-long march to demand an end to racist discrimination. These same young Maori workers have been at the forefront of a series of strikes against Muldoon's antiunion laws.

The Socialist Action League was formed 15 years ago by a group of young workers and students who were inspired by the role of the Fourth International in defending the Vietnamese revolution.

As we move into the new war [in Central America] we realize again how important and indispensable the International is.

Once more, vanguard fighters the world over face the overriding responsibility to defend revolutions from imperialism.

*Greetings presented by a representative of the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic. The Socialist Bloc was formed as a result of a recent fusion of several left groups in that country.*

The Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic is fighting for the establishment of a popular revolutionary government made up of the working class and the peasantry.

This period is characterized by the deepest economic crisis of the bourgeois government in the Dominican Republic. This is a moment where the political and social crisis, together with the development of the workers and popular movements and the developing unity of the forces of revolution, are placing us in a pre-revolutionary situation.

The Socialist Bloc and the Dominican Left Front are continuing the glorious road of the victorious Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions, as well as the road of revolutionary armed struggle being taken by the comrades of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. The Socialist Bloc's central goal is the establishment of a popular revolutionary government of the workers and peasants.

We are convinced that in the very bowels of imperialism you are building a revolutionary party which will lead the struggle of the workers and farmers toward taking power and building socialism in the United States. Yours is a profoundly internationalist socialist party, as shown by your fraternal solidarity with the

Socialist Bloc, the Dominican Left Front, and the entire Dominican people.

*The following are excerpts from a message sent to the convention from Abe Weisburd and Chan Bun Han for the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos.*

We commend the Socialist Workers Party, and its publications, the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press*, for their selfless and tireless support to the struggles of the people and governments of the three socialist Indochinese countries — Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos.

The SWP and its publications have set an example for the rest of the country by their unflinching support for the Indochinese countries against U.S. imperialism, against the misleaders of China, against the right-wing Thai ruling circle, and against the bloody genocidal Pol Pot forces and their counterrevolutionary allies.

We also thank the SWP for its cooperation in the current campaign to "Oust the Pol Pot Coalition and to seat the legitimate government of Kampuchea in the United Nations."

The Solidarity Committee concentrates its efforts on support to the Indochinese peoples' struggle for peace, freedom, and socialism, and also takes part in supporting the peoples' struggles in Central America, the Caribbean, in southern Africa, and in the Mideast, and the struggles at home against racism, sexism, and oppression.

*The following telegram was received from Don Rojas. Rojas was press secretary to the late Grenadian revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop.*

Best wishes for a successful conference. Keep up excellent Grenada support. Solidarity.

Don Rojas

*Greetings presented by a representative of People's Democracy, the Irish affiliate of the Fourth International.*

I would like to use this occasion to thank, on behalf of our entire organization, the comrades of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance for sending your presidential candidate, Mel Mason, to our country. He came in May of this year to take part in meetings and demonstrations that were organized in opposition to Reagan's visit to Ireland and that were in solidarity with the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean in their mighty and determined battle against U.S. imperialism.

Despite jailings, intimidation, and murder by both the British ruling class and the Irish ruling class, the Irish people remain resolute, determined, and self-confident in their struggle for self-determination and economic justice.

We heartily support and welcome into this fight the British coal miners in their battle with the British ruling class and the Thatcher government.

Workers throughout Ireland are rooting for the coal miners.

The ongoing fight against the British presence in our country is merging today with the struggles of workers in defense of their jobs and living standards. In the last couple of years we have seen quite a number of factory occupations. Under the impact of the economic crisis, factories have been shut down and workers thrown onto the dole [unemployment] heap. The workers have responded to these attacks. They've responded militantly.

This militancy being displayed by workers makes us confident that as the struggles continue, as workers draw the lessons of their battles, they begin to see that they as a class are the only class that can lead the fight to free our country from imperialism and build a secure future for our people — a socialist future.

*Greetings by a leader of the Militant Socialist Organization of Iceland, a sympathizing group of the Fourth International.*

I see the Socialist Workers Party as a leading party in the International. We learned about the turn to the working class from the SWP. The SWP is not retreating from the turn today, but deepening it. Our conception of the character of the [revolutionary] party and its organizational norms are taken from your tradition.

But you are also leading on another level. You have taught us the magnificent significance of the new revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean. The significance of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada before the defeat is not just that they were new revolutions. No, the main point about these revolutions is to learn from them, to understand their importance for Marxist theory and program.

The relations between the SWP and the Militant Socialist Organization in Iceland have been warm, friendly, and full of respect. Your leaders have visited our country. This has great importance for us.

Can you imagine how important it is for us that *Intercontinental Press* publishes articles about our country and party? This gives us great moral and political support. Maybe more support than you realize. It creates the basis for discussing our problems with fellow revolutionaries in other countries.

The SWP is an internationalist party. You have discovered the great thing about the world revolution. No matter how small a country is, its working class, its revolutionary party, can contribute to the world revolution. Look at Grenada and the Central American countries. These are small countries on a world scale. But the revolution is big and powerful in every sense. □

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# Rising mass movement confronts U.S.

*Trade unions lead fight against militarization, austerity*

## By Fred Murphy

U.S. imperialism's drive to turn Honduras into its main military bastion in Central America has begun to be challenged in mass protests by the country's workers and peasants. Rising opposition to the presence of U.S. troops, advisers, and military bases on Honduran soil is intertwined with discontent brought on by a deep and persistent economic crisis.

Since late March, tens of thousands of Hondurans have taken part in rallies and demonstrations called by the country's main trade unions and peasant organizations. These actions have demanded an end to the U.S. military presence and to war moves against Nicaragua, clarification of the fate of more than 100 "disappeared" activists, the release of political prisoners and of peasants jailed as "terrorists" for taking part in land seizures, the resumption of a long-stalled agrarian reform program, and suspension of tax increases and other austerity measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

The protest actions have included a May Day rally in the capital, Tegucigalpa, that brought out between 60,000 and 100,000 workers; marches of 15,000 on March 22 and April 5 protesting the kidnapping of a union leader; and demonstrations of 50,000 and 30,000 on May 29 and June 10. The latter were called to protest tax measures the regime had decreed in late May, but demands for U.S. military withdrawal also figured prominently. Both these actions involved not only trade unions but several bourgeois opposition parties as well.

Facing the threat of a countrywide general strike on June 20, President Roberto Suazo Córdoba suspended the tax increases and withdrew a plan to force public employees to buy government bonds.

Another trade-union march against U.S. military intervention took place July 27 in Tegucigalpa.

## Land occupations

There has also been a marked revival of the peasant movement in recent months. More than 50 organized land occupations have taken place since the beginning of the year, in face of the government's refusal to proceed with land-distribution measures begun under a military regime in the early 1970s. In May, 300 peasants seized the offices of the National Agrarian Institute (INA) in Comayagua and forced the ouster of the INA's regional director.

Security forces acting on the INA's orders have forcibly ejected hundreds of peasants from occupied land. Hundreds more have been

jailed under Decree 33, an "antiterrorist" law. In some cases landowners have put up violent resistance to the occupations, killing at least four peasants so far this year.

"They're forcing us to go to the mountains," said Marcial Caballero, head of the National Union of Campesinos (UNC). "We're not guerrillas, but if people keep being beaten and jailed, they're leaving us just one alternative."

Students have also mobilized against U.S. intervention. When a U.S. army truck injured a student near the university in Tegucigalpa on May 21, 200 students quickly gathered, pulled the U.S. soldiers out of the truck, overturned it, and set it ablaze.

## Poverty and economic crisis

Underlying the mounting social unrest in Honduras is a severe economic crisis that began in 1981. Its onset coincided with the elections that restored a civilian regime after two decades of nearly continual military rule.

Honduras is, after Haiti, the poorest country in the Americas. Seventy-two percent of the population suffers from some form of malnutrition. Life expectancy at birth is only 53 years, and infant mortality stands at 117 per

1,000 live births. More than half the adult population is illiterate. Sixty-two percent of the population of 4 million lives in the countryside, including an estimated 65,000 landless families.

This condition of chronic poverty for the Honduran people — resulting from imperialist oppression — has grown worse in the 1980s. Like other Latin American countries, Honduras faces low prices and reduced demand for its principal exports — coffee, bananas, beef, and timber — combined with high prices for imported petroleum, industrial inputs, and manufactured goods. Faced with acute balance-of-payments problems, President Suazo Córdoba began his term in office with a series of austerity measures that placed the burden of the crisis squarely on the backs of the poor.

## Costly U.S. role

The state budget was cut by 10 percent across the board and taxes were hiked. Utility rates were raised and public employees' wages were frozen. Price subsidies for basic foodstuffs were eliminated. Land reform and related programs to aid small farmers ground to a near halt.



May Day demonstration, Tegucigalpa.

Honduras Update

The regime's financial crisis was exacerbated in 1983 by the massive increase of U.S. military activity in Honduras. Arms purchases mounted while social spending continued to be cut. Despite stepped-up U.S. aid, Honduras had to absorb \$25 million in construction costs for the new U.S. bases and pay a \$10 million fuel bill for the joint military maneuvers.

In an internal memorandum last year, the Central Bank of Honduras pointed to the need to deal blows to the labor movement. "The period in which it was relatively easy to hit disorganized groups had already ended in 1982," it said. "If the economy requires further adjustments they will tend to affect the organized sectors."

Gen. Gustavo Álvarez Martínez, installed as armed forces commander when Suazo took over the presidency, began a policy of paramilitary repression designed to head off popular opposition to the austerity measures. Álvarez's methods were similar to those applied by the Argentine junta in the 1970s. Political "disappearances," previously almost unheard-of in Honduras, took more than 100 victims during the first two years of the Suazo-Álvarez regime. Parallel to the stepped-up repression, bureaucratic currents with close ties to the CIA-backed American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) wrested greater control over the trade unions and peasant organizations.

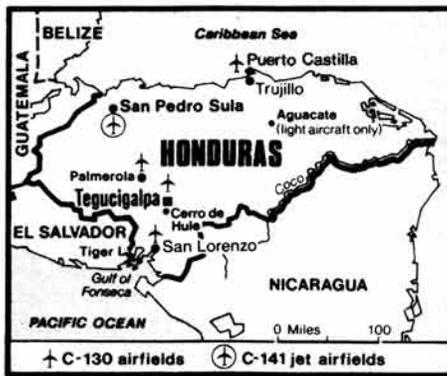
Though temporarily stunned by the severity of the crisis and disoriented by the repressive moves of a regime they had voted for as an alternative to military rule, the workers and peasants sought ways to fight back. The turning point came on March 18 of this year when a unit of General Álvarez's kidnappers seized Rolando Vindel, head of the Workers Union of the National Electric Energy Corporation (STENEE). The union immediately launched a strike, which was followed four days later by the first in the series of mass demonstrations initiated by the United Workers Federation of Honduras (FUTH), of which the STENEE is a member.\*

#### Regime isolated

The mounting popular resistance has caused most of the country's bourgeois political forces to take their distance from President Suazo's regime. The National Party, Innovation and Unity Party, Christian Democratic Party, and a faction of the ruling Liberal Party called the Revolutionary Democratic Liberal Movement all denounced the regime in a May 30 statement for subordinating itself to U.S. military intervention, dividing and attacking popular organizations, and debasing the constitution.

*Tiempo*, one of the country's leading

\*The FUTH, whose leadership is influenced by the Honduran Communist Party, is one of three union federations in the country. The other two are the General Workers Federation (CGT), with close ties to the Christian Democratic Party, and the Confederation of Honduran Workers (CTH), whose officialdom receives much support from the AIFLD and the bureaucracy of the U.S. AFL-CIO.



Map shows sites of U.S. military installations. Radar and communications bases have been set up at Cerro de Hule and Tiger Island. Salvadoran and Honduran troops are trained at Puerto Castilla.

dailies, warned in an editorial in late June that "the worst thing that can happen to a government is isolation, and that is precisely what has happened to the so-called government of the revolution of hard work and honesty." The editorial contrasted the current situation with the broad consensus of support Suazo had enjoyed upon election in 1981. "Today," *Tiempo* said, the government "is being seriously questioned by all sectors of the country. . . ."

The armed forces hierarchy has taken some steps to defuse the discontent. On March 31, an internal coup organized by air force commander Gen. Walter López Reyes forced the resignation and exile of Gen. Álvarez and his top aides. As chief of the armed forces, Álvarez was the figure most closely identified with the repression and U.S. intervention.

The new high command made a series of cosmetic moves and statements, pledging to investigate human-rights abuses, reduce military spending, and take what General López called a "more prudent and less confrontationalist" approach to relations with Nicaragua. The military also made known that it was seeking to drive a harder bargain with Washington over further military collaboration and aid to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries that operate from Honduras.

#### Seeking a better deal

"If we're going to sell ourselves, we might as well get well paid for it," a Honduran politician told the *Christian Science Monitor* in July. In pressing for changes in the U.S.-Honduran military treaty of 1954, Honduran officials seek preferred status for the country's exports to the United States, increased economic aid, and a big increase in the proportion of Honduran troops trained at the Pentagon's Regional Military Training Center (CREM) set up last year at Puerto Castilla, Honduras. (Many Honduran officers reportedly resent the fact that thousands of Salvadoran soldiers have been trained at the CREM; the two countries fought a brief border war in 1969 in which the Honduran army was badly defeated.)

In early July, press reports from Honduras

even asserted that the military had ordered the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the U.S.-armed and -financed counterrevolutionary group, to close down its command center, training facilities, and a hospital in Honduras. This move was said to have resulted from concern that the U.S. Congress was going to cut off all funding for the FDN, leaving Honduras holding the bag. "What am I going to do with 12,000 fighters here?" General López was widely quoted as asking.

A July 7 report from Tegucigalpa by *New York Times* correspondent Lydia Chavez helped to clarify what was really involved. "Honduran officials," she wrote, "seemed unsure of their new hard-line stance against the contras. A conversation with one high-ranking military official was typical of the confusion."

"The colonel first said flatly that the exiles had been told to move all of their operations outside Honduras. In the next breath he explained that they could move them closer to the border with Nicaragua, and no one would know they were there. Finally, he said, even he was sympathetic to their cause."

"The Nicaraguan exiles living in Honduras seemed bewildered by the fuss over their operation and said they had not received any orders to move from Honduras. . . ."

"At the rebel [FDN] headquarters, a block from the United States Embassy, operations seemed to be in full swing."

#### No end to Pentagon's presence

This episode pointed up the narrow limits of the alleged rift between Tegucigalpa and Washington. The Nicaraguan mercenaries continue to operate from Honduras, and the extensive U.S. military installations remain in place. A further set of joint military maneuvers was held in late July, part of a new series that is to last through the end of 1984. Relations with Washington, said army chief of staff Col. Efraín González in early August, "are better than ever."

Nonetheless, the fact that Honduras' pro-U.S., anti-Nicaraguan rulers have found themselves obliged to foster the contrary impression indicates the kind of pressure they are feeling from the Honduran masses. Sharper confrontations will be on the agenda as working people grasp that nothing fundamental has changed. □

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# Fidel Castro speaks on July 26

*'Just as we are willing to fight and die, we have no fear of talks'*

[The following is the second half of Fidel Castro's July 26 speech in Cienfuegos, Cuba, marking the 31st anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Garrison — the opening battle of the Cuban Revolution.

[In the first part of the speech, Castro reviewed the economic progress of the city and province of Cienfuegos, pointing to many major industrial projects, particularly an oil refinery and a nuclear power plant, that are now under construction. The nuclear plant, which was announced five years ago, will eventually include four reactors with a capacity of 417,000 kilowatts each. When fully operational, the power plant should save Cuba 2.4 million tons of fuel oil each year. Castro emphasized the extra expenses that are being taken to minimize the hazards of accidents at the plant.

[Castro also noted the large number of schools and hospitals that have been built in the province. The current health budget for Cienfuegos Province alone, with 3.4 percent of Cuba's population, exceeds the annual health expenditures of the Batista regime for the entire country prior to the revolution, he pointed out.

["There has not only been industrial development," Castro said, "there has been parallel social development. In other countries, in the capitalist countries of the Third World, transnationals or private capital invest in factories but build no housing for the workers, no recreation center, no hospital or school. This is why at times there is a growth in the economy but no real development.

["In keeping with our socialist ideas, so different from those of capitalism, special attention is paid to human and social development, because the economy exists and is developed not to enrich private enterprise but rather to benefit the people and all the workers of the country."

[Castro explained that the revolution "inherited from capitalism a situation of great inequality, not only social inequality but regional inequality as well . . . and we still haven't managed to overcome that problem wholly, although we're working hard in that direction." He went on to list many major development projects in all parts of the country.

[Cuba's commodity production rose by 4.4 percent in the first half of 1983 and by 9.9 percent in the first half of this year, Castro said. He pointed to a 7 percent increase in productivity as a major contributor to this growth, explaining that the increase represented the equivalent of the output of an additional 127,000 workers.

[Cuba's advances in education have laid the basis for increased worker productivity, Castro

explained. "In the same way, we must improve our administrative methods in every field; it is a science that develops. We must acquire that knowledge, develop it, and apply it!" he said.

["We shouldn't think that because our cause is more just, our system superior and more humane in every sense, that we already possess all the knowledge and all the experience. No! We have advanced, indeed, a great deal. From that large percentage of illiterates and semiliterates we had, to already be achieving a 6th grade and then a 9th grade education for all workers is clearly an advance. But we began very much behind, very far behind, and that ground must be gained as we have gained it so far. I am of the conviction that whatever goal we set for ourselves, we will achieve. We will achieve it!"

[The text of the speech is taken from the August 5 issue of the English-language *Granma Weekly Review*.]

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The country has advanced. And the achievements we are pointing out have the merit of being gained at a time of a profound world economic crisis, and at a time when, unfortunately, the price of sugar has dropped to 4.4 cents, in comparison to last year's average 8.58.

I would like my compatriots to think about the significance of a price of 4.4 cents. In



Harry Ring/Militant

Cuban sugar mill.

terms of the current purchasing power of the dollar, its value equals that of a half cent in 1932 in the midst of the worst world economic crisis that had occurred until now. It was the time of most hunger our country has suffered; it coincided with Machado's government. That is the equivalent of the current price of sugar.

What would our country's situation be without the Revolution, without the socialist system, without equitable distribution, without the economic ties our country has developed with the socialist community? What would it be? (APPLAUSE) We can thus appreciate what it means for us to have fair prices guaranteed for the majority of our exports, fair prices for our imports, long-term credits for all kinds of development and facilities. What would become of our country today with ten million inhabitants and a world sugar price equivalent to that of 1932 and a fairly small quota on the markets? This clearly involves difficulties, but our circumstances are so different when we analyze the panorama of our country and compare it with the rest of the world.

That's why when the imperialists say that if we want to live in peace we should break our ties with the socialist community, we say: those ties will never be broken! (APPLAUSE) Not only because of our principles, that's the main reason, because of a question of elementary gratitude, but also because those ties have been fundamental to our socioeconomic development over these years, and they are decisive for our future development.

We are already working on and have advanced a great deal in drawing up the next five-year plan; we have also advanced in developing the long-term plan up to the year 2000. We have the basic ideas regarding the fields we are going to develop during those years: what socioeconomic development will consist of, how many industries, how much will be invested in agriculture, in mining, in transportation, in hospitals, schools, etc.

We are discussing our cooperation plans with the socialist countries. By now, all our cadres have much more experience, as do our ministries and our planning agencies. This experience must be put to good use. That's why we try to do things increasingly better and can make less excuses if they turn out badly.

But what is occurring, for example, in the Third World? What is occurring in Latin America; what is the situation? In 1983 the economy of Latin America declined 3.3 percent; it had also declined in 1982. Imports to Latin America dropped by 20 percent in 1982 and by 29 percent in 1983. That is, in two years imports dropped by more than 40 percent. Imagine the restrictions this implies for the economies of those countries and the con-

sequences, the privations, the poverty. And the international credit agencies controlled by imperialism demand more deprivation, more unemployment, less expenditures: less expenditures in schools, less expenditures in hospitals, fewer food subsidies. This is why there are such serious problems.

In recent months our neighbor Santo Domingo experienced a social explosion as a consequence of the measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund: they devalued the money; they doubled or tripled prices; and that caused such a hard blow to the people's economic situation that an explosion was virtually provoked, an insurrection of the masses with more than 50 dead! Some say that the victims of the repression numbered more than 100. When this happens they send the soldiers into the streets, and the police, to fire on the people. That is the capitalist system; that is the capitalist and imperialist method. Ah, but not a word is spoken. They massacred dozens of people there. The information monopolies barely mentioned that; they were silent. Those were the consequences of the measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund. That's why many Latin American governments are rebelling against the IMF, with whom they are forced to negotiate. This institution establishes draconian conditions for the granting of loans and resources in these crisis situations. For this reason the International Monetary Fund has gained such a bad reputation. That's the reason for the condemnation, the protest of all Third World countries against this institution. But that more than 40 percent drop in imports in two years . . . you have to imagine what that means for countries that already have many employment problems. About 40 percent of the labor force of the Latin American countries is unemployed or underemployed. We are all aware of the health and educational situation, etc., the slums, the poverty, the infant mortality rates, etc.

And what is responsible for this crisis? Unequal terms of trade: they must pay more and more for the products they import and must sell the products they export more and more cheaply — conditions imposed on the Third World by the developed capitalist countries. For every article that comes from there, one has to pay for the high salaries, the technology, the waste and military expenditures, etc. Increasingly less can be bought with what is sold. The industrialized countries' protectionist measures which obstruct the trade of the Third World countries; the huge foreign debt; the extremely high interest rates; the exploitation by the transnational enterprises and by foreign capital; the flight of capital; apart from organizational and administrative factors and, in many cases, corruption; plus the international economic crisis are other factors.

Thus we can make points of comparison. I speak of the whole of Latin America, some are in worse straits, others less so. So, for example, what happened in 1981, 1982, 1983, these crisis years? Adding together these three years, in Latin America as a whole — taking into ac-



Castro addresses Cienfuegos rally.

count that the economy grew slightly in 1981, and declined in 1982 and 1983 — the economy declined 3.2 percent. The U.S. economy, which rose slightly in 1981, declined in 1982, and again rose in 1983, grew 3.5 percent during those three years as a whole. In those years — 1981, 1982, and 1983 — Western Europe as a whole only grew by 1.3 percent. During that same period — 1981, 1982, and 1983 — Cuba's gross social product grew by 21 percent; it rose each year and as a whole by 21 percent. (APPLAUSE)

This is the reality; those are the figures. They can close their eyes; they can scream, stamp their feet, distort — for in the United States there are a number of official specialists who analyze Cuba's economy and deny everything: the figures, the data, what you see here in Cienfuegos, to give an example. But that's the way it is, thanks to our relations with the socialist camp and despite the crisis, which affects us, because clearly a price of four cents on the world market is not the same as 15 for the sugar we export to this market. That's the situation.

Latin America owes 350,000 million dollars. Every percentage point increase in the interest rate means 2,000 to 3,000 million dollars more to pay just for a simple change in the interest rate. This is because many of the loans granted by foreign banks were arranged with variable, not fixed, interest rates. The Economic Commission for Latin America, which is a UN agency, states that the current Latin American crisis is the worst in the last 50 years. I don't think it could have been worse 50 years ago because then they didn't owe what they owe now — 350,000 million.

We maintain that what's involved is a crisis of the socioeconomic system imposed on Latin America by imperialism. That's what is really at the root. What can they promise for the future?

Sometimes democracy is mentioned; imperialism speaks of democracy in Latin America. What the hell kind of democracy is that? Democracy of the starving, the exploited, the ill, the uneducated, of countries where women must prostitute themselves in order to live; where the children must beg; where gambling

and drugs are constantly on the rise; where a so-called representative democratic government emerges which is like a shooting star and doesn't solve anything nor can it solve any problem. Then come the military dictatorships of the right: they murder, torture, kill, and cause people to disappear. And they are taught all that by imperialism: techniques to torture effectively, how to cause people to disappear, how to sow terror. They speak of democracy when what they mean is pure capitalism, the domination of monopolies, exploitation of the peoples by the monopolies, by the oligarchy, by the capitalists. That's what they offer; that's what they call democracy: a system of hunger, poverty, and underdevelopment in addition to exploitation through loans, by transnational enterprises, and through unequal trade. That's what they call democracy. And what do they solve; what have they solved?

Of course, any country is much better off with one of those so-called representative democratic governments than the repressive bloodthirsty regimes, although they all repress the people in one way or another. But the system doesn't solve anything; I say this and repeat it: the system does not solve anything; the system can't solve anything! (APPLAUSE) And imperialism brags about the democratic regimes which unleash horses, soldiers, police, and prowl cars to massacre the people when they can no longer stand hunger!

What future can they offer in terms of economic development, employment, education, health, and culture? What can they offer those peoples for the world of tomorrow? We said here today that a 9th grade education isn't enough and we must continue to study and train. The question to be answered is what do they offer the peoples and what solutions do they offer? At this rate, in 100 years they will be much worse off than now and more backward vis-à-vis the developed countries — that is, if such a system can last 100 years more.

Our peoples can't waste a minute in starting to work hard for the future and in preparing for the future, as we have been doing in the last 25 years. We can't waste a minute; we have used our time well, but we realize it isn't enough; we see that we have a long way to go, we understand we still have a lot to do.

What will these peoples say, what will the Latin American masses say? What does imperialism offer them, what do the demagogues offer them? That is the question to be answered, and that is what we must ask imperialism: what does this democracy you speak of mean? We have experienced another form of freedom and another form of true democracy and how different they are! (CHANTING OF SLOGANS AND PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

What is happening in the world today? What is happening in the economic and social field? The United States emerged from World War II unscathed. Not a single square kilometer of its territory was witness to war; the war was fought in Europe and in Asia, chiefly on Soviet territory. You should see the destruction of

thousands of towns and cities, which led to the death of many many millions. The world was devastated by the war. The economy of the United States grew during the war, and that country became the leading economic and financial power in the world. Its transnational companies expanded and developed all over the world and now they are powerful institutions that control technology, markets, and financial resources.

The international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were organized to cater to the interests of the United States and fell under its absolute control. The dollar became the universal currency and circulated everywhere. If we could manage to have the peso circulate everywhere, we could solve our foreign exchange problem. They were able to do it because of their leading position in the world economic and financial field. Previously they had tens of millions in gold reserves. It was claimed that 35 dollars could be exchanged for an ounce of gold; but they printed and spent and there was no longer gold backing, so they renounced the gold standard. Dollars could no longer be exchanged for gold in the U.S. Treasury.

Using these advantages, the United States is trying to reactivate its economy and pull it out of the crisis at the expense of the rest of the world. Thus, it has raised tariff barriers and has established all sorts of restrictions on imports of products which could compete with its own, while raising interest rates. Thus, it has pulled in financial resources in large amounts from all over the world. Such interest rates are both deliberate U.S. policy and, in part, a result of the huge budget deficits in the United States during the last few years.

The high interest rates attract enormous sums of money; not only do they charge more money for loans, they pull in large sums from the Third World and from capitalist countries allied to the United States. Thus, the U.S. economy, which has stagnated over recent years, grew very slightly in 1981, declined in 1982, and in 1983 grew by 3.4 percent. In the first half of 1984, it grew by over 8 percent; whereas, as I said, that of Latin America declined by 3.3 percent in 1983, and the region will probably experience negative growth in 1984. Western Europe only grew by 1 percent in 1983, a ridiculous figure which barely covers population growth, and it is expected to grow somewhat in 1984. This explains the unemployment there: more than 30 million are unemployed in the capitalist countries. But the United States drains resources from all those countries. It is limiting their possibilities for growth and is hampering the ability of its own allies to overcome the crisis.

Many economists feel that the present U.S. economic growth is temporary because its foundation is very fragile, and the methods they are using to overcome the crisis will seriously compromise the future of their economy. In spite of the 1983 and 1984 economic growth, the United States still has more than 8

million unemployed; 16 percent of young people are unemployed; and 44 percent of Black youths are unemployed. That's the situation.

But there is more. We said the interest rates were partly linked to the budget deficits.

They've had huge deficits. But where are the resources invested? Where is the money that gives rise to the deficits? Does it by chance go to develop the economy or to promote scientific research to create new industrial technology and develop labor productivity? Is it invested in research to cure certain diseases which plague humanity, to promote better health and longer life, to improve the environment and protect nature? No! Is it invested in hospitals, in schools, in assisting the elderly and children, in protecting the poorest sector of the population? No! It is invested in a huge arms program, with the undeniable intention and idea of upsetting the existing balance of forces in the world and establishing U.S. military supremacy, not only in terms of nuclear weapons but conventional weapons as well. Thus, old battleships are being put back into service and modernized, such as the one which shelled Lebanon. All the old battleships are being put back into service, modernized, and armed. Rapid Deployment Forces, which can intervene anywhere in the world in a matter of days or hours, are being set up. New and increasingly dangerous and deadly weapons systems are being developed. There is talk of space weapons and even of what has come to be known as star wars.

In 1983, the U.S. military budget was 238,000 million dollars. In the following fiscal year it was greatly increased. They approved a 238,000-million-dollar arms budget and estimated a budget deficit of 195,000 million, which will probably be more — some people think it will be more — that is, the deficit is nearly equal to military spending.

Thus, in recent years the world economy has experienced two great disasters, both stemming from the military adventures of the United States, from the bellicose policy of the United States. This is a fact. The first was the Vietnam War. This war cost hundreds of thousands of millions of dollars, hundreds of thousands of millions! But the money didn't come from taxes, which were too unpopular, and that war became increasingly unpopular. Where did the money to pay for the Vietnam War come from? It came from printing bills which they spread all over the world — I already explained that the dollar had become the international currency. They bought, traded and invested, and the dollars were subsequently greatly devalued, giving rise to a tremendous wave of inflation. This was one of the main causes of the inflation which affected the world economy so seriously. We can say a large-scale swindle was pulled off in the Vietnam War period, when they printed money to finance the war and then the money was devalued.

Now, with the interest rates mechanism, they are forcing the world economy — exclud-

ing the socialist countries, of course — to pay for, to finance, the arms race in the United States. This is the truth; the governments know it but don't say so. European governments know it, they shout or protest silently, every so often they say something at meetings, but they can't do anything about it. This policy has not only affected Latin America and the Third World, it has also hit the capitalist countries of Europe. As a result, not only is there a grave economic crisis, there is a political crisis in the world, a situation of growing tension and great danger of war.

Who is to blame for this? Not the socialist countries. How can they blame the socialist countries for this situation? Socialist countries have no interest in war, the arms race, or arms manufacturing, since the socialist system has no need of any of this. It does have great needs and possibilities in the economic and social field; it needs resources to invest in development. We ourselves speak about how much housing and other things we still need and which we have been unable to solve as yet. Socialist countries aren't interested in the arms race; the big arms manufacturers in the Western capitalist world do have a stake in it because they are the ones that make the biggest profits. In fact, one of the ways used to fight unemployment in these countries is to develop arms manufacturing. The socialist countries are not to blame for this state of affairs.

In all its statements and the speeches of its leaders the Soviet Union itself has raised the need for talks and negotiations, the need to prevent the arms race and reduce the danger of war. Nevertheless, the tension increases considerably more as a result of the deployment of strategic nuclear weapons on the borders of the socialist camp. There is tension in Europe, in the Middle East, in Central America, in southern Africa.

The USSR has clearly proposed to start talks in September on the issue of space weapons to prevent an uncontrolled race in this field. It has made a proposal to hold very concrete talks on this issue in September. It has said it will resume talks on nuclear weapons as soon as the NATO measures, which most certainly gave rise to the suspension of the talks, are rectified.

In Central America, the Salvadoran revolutionaries have expressed their willingness to hold talks without prior conditions to seek a negotiated political solution to the problem of El Salvador. They took the initiative and have reiterated their willingness to undertake such talks.

In Nicaragua the Sandinista Front has expressed its willingness to hold talks and work for a negotiated political solution. There has been contact, and it is in the preliminary stages of talks with the United States.

In the case of Cuba there is something new, the Jackson visit to our country, which was well received by our people, who are hard to fool. They know a lot and can tell a demagogic politician, a charlatan, from a serious, honest, and brave man of convictions, which was how they viewed Jackson and which was my view

as well; in his speech at the San Francisco Democratic Convention, Jackson continued to advocate peace. As a result of that visit, and on the basis of a bipartisan consensus in the United States, talks have started between representatives of the Cuban and U.S. governments in New York on matters of migration and other related questions of interest to both sides.

We are ready to continue these talks in a serious manner, with the gravity, maturity, valor, and sense of responsibility that are characteristic of our Revolution. (APPLAUSE) Those who know Cuba and our Party and people know we are serious and not prone to lying or deceitful maneuvering. (APPLAUSE)

Jackson brought a message of peace on behalf of major sectors of the U.S. people. He did not represent the government, we cannot say he represented U.S. society as a whole, but he did represent an important sector. He represented a spirit of peace, a constructive spirit, opposed to the arms race, advocating a reduction of the war danger and a quest for political solutions in Central America. He delivered a message of peace, and we are responsive to that type of gesture. Nobody will ever get anything from our country by force; with gestures of peace, approaches can be made and talks can be held with our country.

We will always give serious consideration to anything which can ease tension in our area and the rest of the world; anything which reduces the danger of war madness. We are even willing to help in the search for a political solution to Namibian independence, an important problem in southern Africa, which should be based on UN Resolution 435. We are aware of our responsibilities to our people and humanity as a whole; that is our duty as socialists, as revolutionaries.

In the world today there are two absolutely different social and political systems: capitalism and socialism. Neither can impose social change on the other by force without being destroyed in the attempt. Nor was the idea of imposing social change on another country ever part of socialist thought, regardless of what the ignorant slanderers and promoters of intrigue may claim. Lenin, who was a realist, a man of convictions, a man of peace, was the first to proclaim as a basic principle the need for peaceful coexistence between different social systems.

On the contrary, history shows that the idea of crushing revolutions by force was always part of the philosophy and thinking of imperialism and all reactionary systems throughout history. This was demonstrated by the French Revolution, invaded by neighboring reactionary states who opposed the idea of a republic and bourgeois democracy and advocated the divine power of the monarchy. It was demonstrated by the October Revolution in 1917, in the old empire of the czars, the first socialist Revolution, which was attacked and its territory invaded by numerous capitalist powers, and then attacked again by the fascists in World War II, with the messianic idea of de-



Soviet-made tractors unloaded in Havana.

stroying socialism. It was demonstrated by the Chinese Revolution and the efforts made by imperialism and the Western countries to prevent it and uphold the feudal and reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime. It was demonstrated by imperialist efforts to crush the Vietnamese Revolution.

It was demonstrated in Cuba, in Guatemala with the Arbenz Revolution, in Santo Domingo with the Caamaño Revolution, in Grenada with the Bishop Revolution. It is being demonstrated now in Nicaragua, with the Sandinista Revolution and the efforts to crush it by force, and in El Salvador, where imperialism provides military advice, provides large sums of money and weapons, and threatens to intervene to drown the revolutionary movement in a bloodbath, while rejecting any possibility of a negotiated political solution. In its time, even the Revolution in the United States for independence came under attack by British colonialists. That is what history shows.

However, those who think the socialist community can be made to capitulate or surrender are mistaken. Those who think any revolutionary people, any truly revolutionary movement, can be made to capitulate are mistaken.

Our country has undergone the experience of these years. According to that same law of history, ever since the outset of the Revolution we have faced blockade, threats, attacks, sabotage, counterrevolutionary bands, mercenary invasions, etc. We cannot forget the repeated efforts to assassinate leaders of the Revolution in violation of the most elementary norms of international law and morality. However, it has all been in vain.

It isn't easy for a small country such as ours to oppose such a powerful and aggressive neighbor, but neither is it easy for the mighty neighbor to fight against a small but brave, intelligent, worthy, and united people as ours. (APPLAUSE)

This senseless policy must cease

(APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FIDEL, FIDEL, GIVE THE YANKEES HELL!") and many conscientious people in the United States feel the same way.

The danger to our country, however, cannot be underestimated, which is why we have had to undertake huge efforts to strengthen our defenses during all these years, and especially during the last few years in which imperialist threats and aggressiveness against our country have increased. Are we warlike? No, we are not, nor can we be. Do we by chance want to spend money on arms and devote the energies of thousands of capable young cadres to this purpose? No, we have many other important things in which we can invest our energy and effort! Do we want a war? No, we do not. We will fight a war only if it is imposed on us.

We are revolutionaries with firm convictions and we will never renounce our ideas and convictions. (APPLAUSE) Some things are sacred: independence, the sovereignty of the country, its revolutionary principles, its political and social system, and its right to build a future. These are things we will never give up and those who try to destroy them will have to fight us. (APPLAUSE)

We threaten nobody, nor can we. It is laughable to hear imperialist spokesmen claim that El Salvador is a threat to the United States, that Nicaragua is a threat to the United States, or that Cuba is a threat to the United States; it is laughable because it is absurd and materially impossible in the military field. All our effort is a defense effort and I repeat clearly that anyone who tries to destroy those values will have to fight us and we will know how to defend ourselves; (APPLAUSE) the aggressor will have to pay a very high price and not reach his goal in the end.

We neither over- nor underestimate our forces.

Just as we are willing to fight and die, we have no fear of talks and discussion. (APPLAUSE) Some imperialist ideologues

claim we need this dispute to unite the people and uphold the spirit of the Revolution. That is ridiculous and absurd! What has united the people and given rise to infinite enthusiasm is precisely the Revolution and its work, the material, social, moral, and cultural achievements. We do not need the danger of war to uphold unity and enthusiasm since the work of the Revolution itself is a sufficiently fine source of inspiration as to deserve every atom of our energy and enthusiasm. (APPLAUSE)

We speak and think seriously. I repeat, the dangers cannot be underestimated and, I repeat, we neither over- nor underestimate our forces. In the face of attacks and threats, we have strengthened our forces and we are now undoubtedly much stronger than three years ago. (APPLAUSE) Our armed forces have made an extraordinary effort to increase the combat readiness of troops, cadre training, greater firepower, and the assimilation of new weapons. The Territorial Troop Militia was created: (APPLAUSE) half a million new fighters, men and women, were organized, trained, and armed in record time. Last year, on the 26th of July, we said that because of the tension and threats, we would organize, train, and arm another half million and now we can say the goal has been reached! (APPLAUSE) We have half a million more fighters and the weapons for them. Many thousands of cadres have been and are being trained; the total number of the Territorial Troop Militia, including the reserves, comes to 1.2 million men and women, which greatly increases the potential of regular armed forces units.

Ideas and concepts of national defense and people's war have been developed. Every inch of our country has been studied; plans and ideas on what must be done are ready; every province, municipality, and corner of the country has its mission. The plans for coping with any variant of an attack on our country have been prepared in detail.

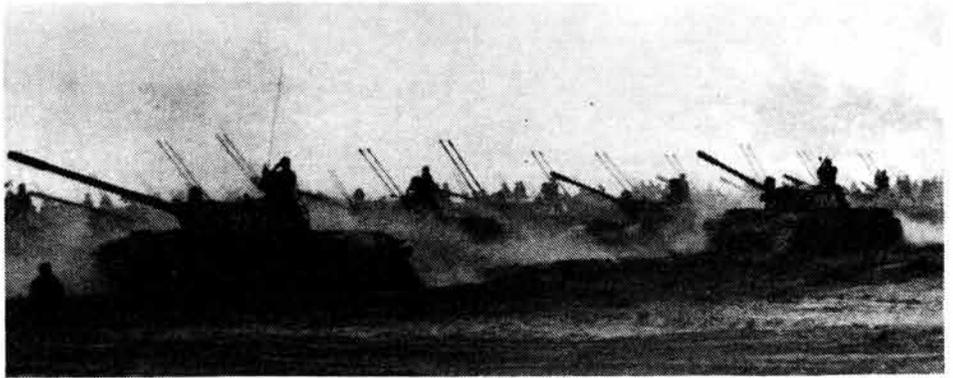
And we continue to prepare.

Work in fortifications continues. A total of 18,000 men and 3,500 machines are working permanently, preparing the terrain for the defense of the entire country — 18,000! To give you an idea of the effort involved, 15 percent of the prefabricated concrete sections made in our country are destined for the defense system. (APPLAUSE)

Party, state, and People's Power cadres have completed training courses and systematically continue to be prepared in the event of attack.

Perhaps the imperialists like seeing us go to all this effort and investing major material and human resources in our defense because this may affect our economic and social development. Of course, it would be much better to invest this effort, these machines, the cement, and the steel in other activities! But the figures I mentioned, the success we are having in Cienfuegos and the rest of the country attest to our people's capacity to grow in taking on tasks and duties.

In spite of the defense effort, we have been



Cuban military maneuvers: "We will know how to defend ourselves."

very successful, to such an extent that we occupy a privileged position in regard to Latin America. The Party, the people, have fulfilled their mission; the 6th and 8th Plenums of the Central Committee and the measures taken by the Executive Committee have boosted all the activities, and this is why we have been able to succeed on both fronts.

We are strong — and our enemies had better understand this — because we have been able to develop, organize, and deploy an enormous potential of revolutionary mass energy.

Today our country has not only an experienced armed forces; it has also a Party of 482,000 members and candidate members, (APPLAUSE) a Young Communist League of 588,000 members, (APPLAUSE) 2,666,000 workers in the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions, (APPLAUSE) 2,692,000 women in the Federation of Cuban Women, (APPLAUSE) 201,000 peasants in the National Association of Small Farmers, (APPLAUSE) 6,100,000 members of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, (APPLAUSE) 450,000 university and intermediate education students in the Federation of University Students and the Federation of Students in Intermediate Education, (APPLAUSE) and 1,889,000 Pioneers. (APPLAUSE) Our people are organized and constitute a tremendous force.

Only a socialist revolution, in which all the means of production and social service belong to the people and can be placed at the service of development or at the service of defense, only a socialist revolution, fully supported by the people, fully identified with it and united, can create the defense potential our country now has! This is something that cannot be underestimated. We also have a highly developed political culture and a profound revolutionary awareness. (APPLAUSE)

The factors I have mentioned did not exist prior to the Revolution, they did not exist when we were fighting for our liberation or immediately following our victory. They have developed in the last 25 years of Revolution. We also possess a profound internationalist awareness, and hundreds of thousands of Cubans have fulfilled internationalist missions! (APPLAUSE)

These are not mere words. Our fighters, our

doctors, our construction workers, our teachers constitute the best proof. They can pass any test and carry out any mission, no matter how difficult they may be. And this is the spirit in which our people have been and are being educated. (APPLAUSE)

We have many sacred things to defend, the work we have done, our future, a life that is superior to that of other peoples in this hemisphere, whose present is similar to our past. Who could ever force us to return to the past? (APPLAUSE AND CRIES OF "NOBODY!" FOLLOWED BY SHOUTS OF "CUBA SI, YANKEES NO!")

We have many more valuable things, even more sacred than our own lives, because the Revolution, which has given us dignity, progress, and justice, constitutes our very life. (APPLAUSE)

Today we pay tribute to the memory of those who gave their lives to make possible our present: those who died in Moncada and Bayamo; those who died on the 5th of September; those who died fighting against the counterrevolutionary bandits in the Escambray or fighting on the sands of Playa Girón or giving their lives anonymously, fighting against enemy agents; those who died gloriously and heroically while fulfilling an internationalist mission. (APPLAUSE) And I venture to say that they would be proud of the extraordinary change that has taken place in our country, proud of the impressive work of the Revolution, a Revolution that is indestructible because it is not built solely on the wealth and material goods we have created but also the consciousness and values that have taken root in the minds and the hearts of a people. (APPLAUSE) As they would have been proud of this work in which they believed and for which they fought and died, so we feel sure that we will carry it forward and defend it to our last breath, to our last drop of blood.

Patria o Muerte!

Venceremos!

(OVATION)

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# Bitter fruits of revolution's defeat

*U.S.-led offensive targets gains of working people*

By Ernest Harsch

ST. GEORGE'S — On the main road leading south from this city, there is a slogan painted on a gate near the Technological Institute: "The spirit of March 13 must live."

That slogan reflects the determination of revolutionary activists here to keep alive the political legacy of March 13, 1979: the victorious popular insurrection that swept away the capitalist government headed by dictator Eric Gairy and that brought to power a workers and farmers government. For four and a half years, that government led Grenada's toilers in a revolutionary struggle against imperialist domination, economic backwardness, and social injustice. It provided a stirring example to working people throughout the Caribbean.

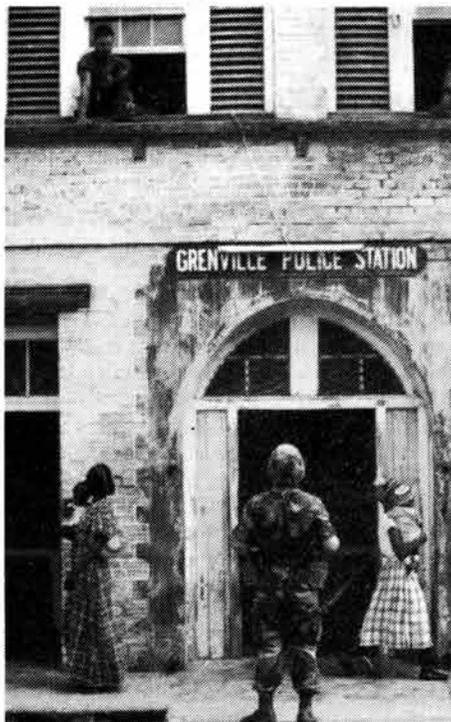
But the slogan also reflects today's bitter reality: What is left of the revolution is primarily its "spirit" — its political heritage and example. The People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop is gone. Most of the mass organizations were shattered by the PRG's overthrow and the subsequent U.S. invasion. Many of the PRG's social programs have now been dismantled or are under attack.

The loss of the Bishop government has been an enormous blow not only to the workers and farmers of Grenada, but also to working and oppressed peoples throughout the region and beyond. One of the fronts of the advancing socialist revolution in the Americas has been turned back. Imperialism has gained a new beachhead in the Caribbean, and has been politically strengthened in its drive against the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions and against the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran masses.

## Confusion over invasion

The price that Grenadian working people are paying for this defeat — and the reactionary role of U.S. imperialism in it — was not immediately apparent to many of them. That was because of the way the revolution was overthrown — from within.

A secret faction led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, and based on a section of the army's officer corps and of the ruling New Jewel Movement (NJM), carried out a counter-revolutionary coup against the PRG in October 1983. These traitors to the revolution — who falsely portrayed themselves as "Marxist-Leninists" — murdered Bishop and other top leaders, massacred demonstrators, and terrorized the population as a whole through a shoot-on-sight curfew that lasted for four full days. Coard's misnamed Revolutionary Military Council had no popular support; many considered it worse than the Gairy dictatorship.



U.S. soldiers at Grenville Police Station, where a 13-year-old youth was shot to death on August 21.

Washington, which had been preparing for an invasion of Grenada since the inception of the revolution, saw its opportunity to strike. Knowing that the masses had been physically — and politically — disarmed by the Coard clique, the White House launched its massive invasion of the island on October 25. Within several days, the invaders succeeded in crushing armed resistance by Cuban construction workers (who were here to help build the new international airport) and by valiant, but disorganized, Grenadian fighters.

With the end of that resistance, Grenada became an occupied country.

Most Grenadians initially welcomed the invasion. They saw it as a "rescue" from the Coard tyranny. "I never thought I'd cheer foreign troops," one restaurant worker told me. "But my life was at stake."

A big majority of the Grenadian population continues to support the programs and policies of the PRG and views Bishop as one of the greatest heroes Grenada has ever produced. But for a time their relief at the ouster of the hated Coard regime served to obscure Washington's real goal: to roll back the surviving gains of the revolution and impose a new neocolonial regime.

As the U.S. occupation forces have pressed ahead with these aims, the initial illusions in Washington's role have begun to dissipate, leading to resentment, anger, suspicion, and, among some, a renewed determination to struggle.

## Rebuilding the capitalist state

Once it had militarily secured the island, Washington immediately set about the task of installing a new capitalist government and rebuilding other sectors of the capitalist state apparatus that had been destroyed or undermined by the four and a half years of the revolution.

The first step in this process came shortly after the invasion when Governor General Paul Scoon appointed a provisional cabinet, called the Interim Advisory Council. Headed by Nicholas Brathwaite, the council has tried to present itself as a government of "nonpolitical" technocrats and administrators. Many of its members had lived abroad for years and had held no previous governmental positions, either under the Gairy regime or the PRG.

However Brathwaite seeks to portray it, the government is far from being "nonpolitical." It has a political program: to stamp out the last vestiges of the Grenada revolution. In seeking to implement that program, it acts on behalf of the U.S. imperialists and their local allies — the hotel owners, merchants, big landowners, and businessmen — *against* the interests of Grenada's vast majority, the workers and farmers.

But in doing so, the Interim Advisory Council confronts a serious problem. It wields little political authority among the masses of Grenadians. Conversations with various people here in the capital found a general attitude of indifference, cynicism, and lack of confidence in the new government. "Who are they? What can they do?" a young office worker commented.

The government itself is quite well aware of its poor image. Nicholas Brathwaite began his New Year's radio address by declaring, "Many of you do not know me. Some of you have never even heard my voice. . . . This lack of knowledge of a person could sometimes cause doubts and uncertainties about the kind of leadership which he will provide. Moreover, you are likely to miss the flair, rhetoric, charisma and dynamism of previous leaders. In a sense, though, this might be an advantage in the present situation of our country. Because you are unlikely to have high expectations, there is less likelihood of disappointment."

In an effort to provide a gloss to its local Grenadian administration, the U.S. embassy is pushing for general elections by the end of the

year and has encouraged the emergence of a number of bourgeois parties. Some of them, like Gairy's Grenada United Labour Party and former Prime Minister Herbert Blaize's Grenada National Party, are old parties that are now reorganizing. Others, such as the National Democratic Party, the Grenada Democratic Movement, and the Christian Democratic Party, are new.

Some have already begun to hold political gatherings. Gairy, for instance, organizes "prayer" meetings at his home every Sunday morning. At a recent one, on July 1, some 100 people turned out.

The U.S. authorities have provided encouragement and money to several of these parties from behind the scenes. According to Kendrick Radix, a former minister of justice in the PRG and a key supporter of Bishop, Washington "is financing and supporting what they call the 'centrist parties' which they hope will give legitimacy for the invasion of Grenada and serve and promote the interests of imperialism" (Interview in the July 8 Cuban weekly *Granma*).

For the moment, however, these bourgeois parties confront the same problem that the Interim Advisory Council faces: widespread support for the policies of the PRG and for Bishop. Except for painting a few anti-Bishop slogans under cover of night, none of them has yet felt bold enough to publicly attack Bishop. They attempt to hide their real aims, and some even claim that they favor maintaining many of the PRG's programs.

Of all the bourgeois parties, the National Democratic Party (NDP) of George Brizan has tried the most to wrap itself in the mantle of Bishop. Brizan often describes himself as a "social democrat," and has pledged to maintain many of the PRG's social programs and economic projects. A poster of Bishop is tacked up at the party's headquarters here in the capital.

But few have been taken in by Brizan's game. A slogan painted just a few blocks from the NDP's headquarters proclaims, "NDP — New Downpressers."

Another institution that Brathwaite and the U.S. embassy are trying to bolster is the capitalist court system. At the moment, their main vehicle for enhancing the courts' authority is the trial of Coard and his key collaborators, who have been charged with the murder of Bishop and others on Oct. 19, 1983. The preliminary hearings in the case began in late June, and 19 defendants have now been ordered to stand trial.

By moving against the Coard clique in this way, the authorities are seeking to take advantage of the widespread hatred of these butchers and traitors to the revolution. Hardly anyone would be upset if they were sentenced to long prison terms — or worse.

But the purpose of the present trial — conducted by die-hard opponents of the revolution — is not to try Coard for his real crime: betrayal of the working people of Grenada. Only the Grenadian people themselves could do

that. Rather, it is to advance Washington's propaganda aims. By portraying Coard and his collaborators as "hard-core Marxists," the authorities are trying to whip up anticommunist sentiments and to discredit the ideals that Bishop fought for.

The trial is also intended to bolster the false image of the capitalist courts as impartial dispensers of "justice," standing above social classes. This will only enhance the ability of the rulers to use the courts to go after genuine revolutionaries and class-struggle fighters.

#### The real power

The low standing of the Brathwaite administration in the eyes of the Grenadian population has hampered its attacks against the surviving gains of the revolution. But it has not stopped them. Fundamentally, the authority of the new capitalist government does not rest on the support of the population, but on the direct backing of the U.S. occupation forces. The U.S. embassy and the U.S. military headquarters are the real centers of power on this island.

Some 300 U.S. troops, in the uniforms of military police, are still on Grenada. They are accompanied by an equal number of troops from other Caribbean countries, primarily from Jamaica.

U.S. and Caribbean troops, with weapons at the ready, often patrol through the streets of St. George's and other areas of the country. Military transport planes routinely land and take off from the still uncompleted international airport at Point Salines. The Grenada Beach Hotel (formerly the Holiday Inn) has been converted into the U.S. military command and the main base for the U.S. troops. It is surrounded by barbed wire and its perimeters are illuminated at night by floodlights. Helicopters regularly take off on patrol from a nearby pad.

There has been no fighting on Grenada since October. So this constant military activity is

intended largely as a show of force, to remind Grenadians who the real rulers of the country now are.

U.S. officials have been vague about how long the troops will remain here, but they have obviously settled in for an extended stay. Brathwaite has publicly stated that he would like the U.S. troops to remain for at least two or three more years, making it clear that he views their presence as necessary to stave off further struggles by working people. Referring to political activists who uphold the ideas of Bishop and the PRG, he declared in an interview in July, "These people continue to talk in terms of another revolution. As a result of this, one needs a deterrent force. And that is what I consider the American presence here to be."

In the meantime, a new Grenadian repressive apparatus is being constructed.

Immediately following the invasion, the People's Revolutionary Army and the People's Militia were totally disbanded. The police force, which played a subordinate role during the years of the revolution, was purged of Bishop supporters and reorganized. It is now under the command of a commissioner of police from neighboring Barbados, and its members are receiving training on Barbados by British instructors.

Brathwaite has set a goal of building up the strength of the regular police force to about 650 men. That would be considerably larger than the police forces of other nearby islands with comparable populations, such as St. Lucia, St. Vincent, or Dominica.

In addition to the regular police, an elite force called the Special Security Unit is projected. It is to be trained by instructors from the U.S. Special Forces (Green Berets) in counterinsurgency and paramilitary techniques.

As during the days of the Gairy regime, the police have again become an armed force sep-

## U.S. soldier guns down Grenadian youth

In the first such incident since the end of the fighting in October 1983, a Grenadian youth was shot and killed August 21 by a U.S. soldier. The youth, Ernest John, was just 13 years old and had been a student at the Anglican school in Grenville, in eastern Grenada.

According to a spokesperson for the Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19, 1983, Foundation in St. George's, Grenada, who spoke with *Intercontinental Press* by telephone, there were several eyewitnesses to the shooting. The witnesses said that on the afternoon of August 21 several youths were around the Grenville police station, which is one of the headquarters for the U.S. occupation forces, when they heard two shots. Ernest John burst out of the back door of the police station, ran some 30 feet, and fell dead. A white U.S. soldier, with a name tag that

read "Peter," then walked out of the station and holstered his .45 caliber pistol.

Neither the U.S. authorities nor the Grenadian government have taken any action against the soldier. The U.S. embassy claimed that the youth had been shot accidentally, while the soldier was cleaning his gun. The U.S. officials gave no explanation of how the soldier shot twice "accidentally."

In yet another act of repression, on August 23 Grenadian police burst into the home of Kendrick Radix, the chairperson of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement. The police claimed that they were searching for arms and ammunition.

The raid, however, came one day after Radix filed a suit in Grenada's High Court demanding that his Guyanese-born wife, who was earlier deported from Grenada, be recognized as a Grenadian citizen.

arate from the people and ranged against them. Their purpose is to repress and intimidate. Several youths have already been shot and killed by trigger-happy cops — something that never happened during the years of the revolution.

#### **Gains under attack**

The U.S. occupation forces and the new capitalist government have launched a broad offensive against the progressive measures that the working people of Grenada had won under the PRG.

One area where this has been most striking is in employment. The PRG, under Bishop's leadership, set a high priority on ending the staggering jobless rate that Grenada inherited from the days of the Gairy regime. During its time in power, the PRG created up to 5,000 new jobs through numerous state enterprises and projects, reducing the unemployment rate from some 50 percent to about 12 percent. It projected eliminating unemployment entirely within a few more years.

Now this policy has been turned around. Shortly after the invasion, many state-run enterprises were shut down or scaled back. The Sandino prefabricated housing plant was closed down and its entire work force was dismissed. The asphalt plant was shut down. Some 600 workers were laid off from the international airport and related projects. Some agricultural estates have gotten rid of workers. The Youth Employment Programme was scrapped.

Private employers have been emboldened by this drive and have also begun dismissing workers.

On top of all this, the dismantling of the People's Revolutionary Army and People's Militia have left hundreds of other Grenadians without jobs.

Unemployment in Grenada has consequently jumped to at least 33 percent — according to the official figures. Privately, some U.S. and Grenadian officials admit that it may be as high as 50 or 60 percent.

Numerous other social programs have been gutted:

- The PRG's free distribution of milk to children has been halted.
- The Centre for Popular Education, which sought to combat illiteracy by organizing volunteers to teach adult literacy classes, has been closed down.
- The National In-Service Teacher Education Programme (NISTEP), through which primary school teachers received further training while they continued to conduct classes, is to be abolished as of August. Moreover, the Ministry of Education has announced that the 227 teachers who passed their final exams under NISTEP last August would not have their status upgraded to that of qualified teachers.
- Medical care has been disrupted by the expulsion of the Cuban doctors and dentists who provided their services to the people of Grenada during the period of the revolution.

Some U.S. medical personnel have been brought in to replace them, but they lack the same sensitivity to the needs of the Grenadians that the Cubans showed. Unlike the Cubans, who readily agreed to live in the countryside, no U.S. personnel have been willing to do so.

• The Marketing and National Importing Board (MNIB) has been essentially wrecked. Under the PRG, the MNIB held a monopoly on the importation of certain basic goods, such as sugar, milk, rice, cement, and fertilizer. This eliminated the big merchants who previously imported these goods, and thus helped to keep their prices down. Profits earned by the MNIB were used to finance other government ventures and to provide aid to small farmers. Following the invasion, however, a new Board of Directors was appointed, chaired by George Brizan (the leader of the National Democratic Party). It relinquished the MNIB's import monopolies and reduced it to a simple distribution agency for the large private importers. The big merchants thus once again control the trade in most basic goods.

• The National Transportation Service, which was built up under the PRG with a fleet of new buses, has announced that it will now cancel "nonprofitable" trips. This has encouraged some private bus owners to sharply hike their fares.

• Women, who made important advances in rights, organization, and consciousness during the revolution, have also suffered greatly from the overthrow of the PRG. The National Women's Organisation has collapsed. The high rate of unemployment has forced some women into prostitution. Sexual harassment on the job, which was outlawed under the PRG, is once more making a comeback. Other gains, like equal pay for equal work and paid maternity leave for women workers, are likewise under attack.

#### **Small farmers lose out**

Most Grenadians live on the land, either as small farmers or farm laborers. In the PRG, they for the first time had a government that genuinely represented their interests. It sought to improve the conditions of working farmers, organize farm workers into unions, and boost agricultural production in general.

The new government gives lip service to the importance of agriculture in the Grenadian economy, but its policies run counter to the interests of the vast majority of farmers. Instead, those policies benefit the tiny class of big landowners.

A centerpiece of the PRG's land reform program had been the Land Development and Utilisation Act, which enabled the government to take out compulsory 10-year leases on idle and underutilized estates. These farms were organized as cooperatives, providing jobs for unemployed youths. Significant resources were invested in them to increase production, primarily of food products that could be used locally.

Since the invasion, however, the Interim Advisory Council has followed a policy of re-

turning these estates to the control of their original owners.

Four such estates have already been returned: the Belvedere, River Antoine, Minorca, and Baillies Bacolet estates. These are some of the largest farms on the entire island.

The owners have come out considerably ahead. When their estates were taken over by the PRG, they were largely unused or run down. Their value and productivity has been greatly increased as a result of the PRG's investments — more than EC\$70,000 [EC\$1 = US\$0.38] in the case of the Belvedere estate alone. But in getting back control of the estates, the owners have not had to pay any compensation to the current government.

For the agricultural workers, the handing back of the farms has meant arbitrary dismissals. Some 60 workers have been fired from the Belvedere estate, and others from the River Antoine and Minorca farms. Workers have also been fired from farms still under government control.

Meanwhile, Grenada's 10,000 or so small farmers have suffered from a steady decline in government programs and assistance.

The National Cooperative Development Agency (NACDA), set up in 1980 by the PRG to provide easy loans, training, and technical assistance to agricultural, fishing, and handicraft cooperatives, has been dissolved as a statutory body. It has now been made part of the Ministry of Social and Community Affairs and can no longer raise its own funds from government and foreign agencies or private banks. This will make it impossible for the NACDA to make loans directly to cooperatives and will considerably reduce the services it can provide.

The Agency for Rural Transformation, which had channeled assistance to cooperatives, women's groups, and other organizations in the countryside, has been shut down.

Prior to the invasion, small farmers who did not actually own the land they worked could get loans from the government-owned Grenada Development Bank (GDB) as long as they had a contract with the Marketing and National Importing Board. Following the invasion, a new Board of Directors was appointed to the GDB. It abandoned this policy. Only those farmers who can produce land titles are now eligible for loans.

The system of feeder roads built by the PRG to make it easier for farmers to transport their goods to market has been allowed to deteriorate. Many of these gravel roads have been washed out by heavy rains and have not been restored.

A number of domestic and foreign markets that small farmers relied on to sell their vegetable and fruit crops have been cut off since the invasion. The state-run Agro-Industries plant, which processed locally-grown fruits and vegetables for domestic consumption and export, has been shut down. Trade links with importers in Trinidad have been severed, and personnel responsible for coordinating the mar-

keting of Grenadian agricultural goods to Britain have been fired.

Even those farmers who have been able to find markets for their crops are receiving among the lowest prices for their goods in Grenada's history.

### Workers under the gun

Among the few representative organizations that working people have left since the overthrow of the revolution are the trade unions. For that reason, they have become central targets of the U.S.-led offensive.

This has been true since the first days of the U.S. occupation. Many union leaders and activists were briefly detained and "interrogated" by U.S. military personnel at the Point Salines detention center. Files were opened on them, and they were warned not to engage in political activities after their release. The vehicles of the Trade Union Council (which includes all of Grenada's unions) were seized by U.S. troops and its newspaper, *Workers Voice*, was forced to shut down.

Those unions that were most closely identified with the revolution suffered the greatest harassment. For instance, the offices of the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union (CIWU) and the Bank and General Workers Union (BGWU), which share the same building on Lucas Street, were broken into earlier this year; their files were rifled and some documents were stolen.

Since then, the drive against the unions has taken on a broader character. The attacks have come from four main sources, all of them acting in concert: the employers, the Interim Advisory Council, a section of the old trade-union bureaucracy, and the CIA.

Grenada's employers, who were bound by numerous measures protecting the rights of workers during the period of the PRG, now see an opportunity to strike back. With the backing of the government and the U.S. occupation authorities, they are moving, step by step, to whittle away at the power of the unions and to reimpose their own prerogatives.

Taking advantage of Grenada's current high unemployment rate, the bosses have found it easier to fire or dismiss employees on the flimsiest of pretexts, often singling out union militants for special victimization. In some cases the unions have been able to block such firings, but in many they have not.

The manager of a clothing boutique here in the capital fired two workers; when the union (the CIWU) tried to arrange a meeting to discuss this and other issues, the manager refused to attend, declaring, "The union is dead."

A worker at the Thomas Pharmacy was fired in January. Her case was particularly notable, since she had been fired once before, in 1981, and had been rehired following a strike by the rest of the work force.

According to a CIWU member at the Nutmeg restaurant, a kitchen worker there was fired several months ago. She explained to me that the union intervened to try to save the worker's job, "but the management was hard



Larry Johnston/Socialist Voice

Member of an agricultural cooperative during period of revolution. Under U.S. occupation, assistance to cooperatives has been drastically reduced.

and wouldn't rehire him. They're feeling bolder now."

Grenada Breweries, the Marketing and National Importing Board, and other institutions and companies have threatened layoffs. Distributors Supermarket briefly shut down in April, dismissed its workers, and then reopened with some new employees. The CIWU, which represents the workers there, charged that this was a blatant attempt to break the union.

Many employers have attempted to impose a wage freeze on their workers or have resisted negotiating new contracts after the old ones have expired. This has been the case at the Coca Cola plant, the Grenada Cooperative Nutmeg Association, and other workplaces. The government itself has demanded that teachers forego any salary negotiations for at least a year, a demand that was rejected at the Grenada Union of Teachers (GUT) annual conference in April.

The management of the Bata shoe store is pressing its workers (organized by the CIWU) to make a whole series of concessions, including a reduction in vacation time, an increase in the workweek, a bare 5 percent wage increase, and the scrapping of a profit-sharing clause in the existing contract that was won under the PRG.

The government itself has generally adopted a lower profile. Some members of the Interim Advisory Council, such as Patrick Emmanuel, have even attempted to maintain a "friend of labor" pose.

But the government's real attitude toward the unions was made absolutely clear by Labour Commissioner Percival Louison, who

sent a letter to all the unions on May 11. In it, he stated that the Interim Advisory Council was considering proposals to reintroduce the Essential Services Act, an antistrike law adopted by the Gairy regime in 1978 and repealed the following year after the triumph of the revolution. Other proposals to amend the Trade Union Recognition Act threaten to weaken the unions' ability to win and retain official recognition in the workplaces and to collect all the union dues they are entitled to.

### CIA 'unionists'

Some of the most serious attacks on the unions have come from agents of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) and from Grenadian union bureaucrats trained by the AIFLD. The institute is a CIA front organization that includes officials of the U.S. AFL-CIO union federation on its board of directors.

During the period of the revolution, the AIFLD sought to destabilize the PRG by encouraging proimperialist union officials, like those in the leadership of the Seamen's and Waterfront Workers Union (SWWU), to actively oppose the government. It also tried to undermine those union leaderships that supported the PRG.

Today, the goal of the AIFLD, acting through its own employees and through the SWWU officials, is to house-break the Grenadian union movement in order to end resistance to the antilabor drive and to help stabilize imperialist domination over the country.

The basis for this operation was laid shortly after the U.S. invasion. A U.S. government inter-agency team visited Grenada Nov. 17-19, 1983. Providing the framework for subsequent slanders of militant unionists as anti-democratic or as foreign agents, the team's report charged that "only two, perhaps three, of the unions have in the past functioned in a manner that can be called democratic. The leadership of other unions was radical in the extreme, composed of thugs and highly polished Soviet bloc-trained polemicists."

The team also recommended that AIFLD "should take the lead in restructuring and training the unions as quickly as possible."

An AIFLD office has now been set up in Grenada, headed by one Charles Wood. It has a budget of some \$400,000, no small amount for a country of this size.

The AIFLD's chief Grenadian agent is Osborne Baptiste. A former member of the CIWU, he has been especially active in slandering the leaderships of the CIWU, BGWU, and a few other unions. Baptiste has visited numerous workplaces on the island, asking for the names of union Executive Committee members, spreading stories about misappropriation of funds, and seeking to break members away from the more militant unions.

In January, Baptiste was expelled from the CIWU during a meeting of some 150 union members. He was chased out amid chants of "CIA! CIA!"

Since then, Baptiste has been especially ac-

tive in the countryside, visiting many of the agricultural estates. He has announced the formation of a new agricultural workers union.

In this, Baptiste has benefited from the virtual collapse of the Agricultural and General Workers Union (AGWU), which had been formed during the revolution and had been headed by revolutionary leader Fitzroy Bain (who was murdered during the October coup). One CIWU official, in an interview with *Intercontinental Press*, blamed the union's decline on the "default" of the leadership that succeeded Bain.

Gairy has also been seeking to make inroads among agricultural workers, through efforts to revive his Grenada Manual and Mental Workers Union (which collapsed in 1979 with the overthrow of his regime). In the estimate of another CIWU leader, however, the AIFLD's activities in the countryside pose more of an immediate threat to the workers movement than do Gairy's.

Parallel to the AIFLD's operations, and in close collaboration with it, the SWWU leadership has launched its own drive against the more militant unions. It has spread slanders about revolutionaries active in those unions, concluded secret agreements with management personnel in enterprises organized by its political rivals, and launched raiding operations against their memberships.

SWWU leader Eric Pierre, backed up by various government officials, waged a propaganda campaign against the leadership of the Grenada Union of Teachers (GUT) shortly after the invasion, charging that the union had fallen under the control of "Communist-trained thugs." Several GUT leaders were forced to resign as a result.

The SWWU also crushed the BGWU branch on the waterfront, which during the period of the revolution had succeeded in organizing a section of the dockworkers. The SWWU then displaced the BGWU branches at the Spice Island Inn, De Caul's garment factory, and the Grenada Beach Hotel. Other establishments organized by the BGWU have likewise been slated for SWWU "poaching."

While the BGWU and the CIWU have been the main targets of the overall offensive against the union movement, workers in other unions have felt the impact as well. The political atmosphere in Grenada today, under the dark cloud of the U.S. occupation, has served to strengthen the position of the more conservative union leaders. It makes it more difficult for those who supported the revolution to continue waging militant struggles on behalf of their members and of the working class as a whole.

The reverses suffered by the Grenadian workers movement have led to a degree of demoralization. This was evident in this year's May Day celebration, which was marked by a low turnout and lack of enthusiasm.

Participation in the action was just a quarter of what it was in 1983, when the PRG was still in power. The AGWU, which had won an award in 1983 for mobilizing the largest

number of workers for May Day, was totally absent this time.

Except for the AGWU, however, all the unions participated. The workers observed a minute of silence in memory of slain unionists and revolutionaries Fitzroy Bain and Vincent Noel. While some union leaders spoke, so did a government minister and a representative of the AIFLD.

An editorial in the May 12 *Indies Times*, which is published by surviving leaders of the Grenada revolution, noted the reasons for the lack of enthusiasm among the participants in the May Day action: "Thousands of workers are reeling under the burden of unemployment and could only have spent the day wondering where the next dollar will come from. Equally many workers would have been worrying whether they are next to join such ranks. They see employers flexing their muscles more and more and threatening to roll back every one of their hard won gains.

"Their Trade Unions [are] being virtually pushed aside in the anti-Union onslaught now taking place."

#### **A neocolonial economy**

During the revolution, Bishop's PRG made important strides in developing Grenada's economy in the interests of the workers and farmers. Though capitalist relations of production still predominated, measures were adopted to lessen Grenada's dependence on the imperialist market, shield working people from the impact of the world capitalist economic crisis, develop an important state-controlled sector of the economy, restrict the prerogatives of the capitalists, and take initial steps toward national economic planning, with significant public discussion and participation in deciding economic priorities.

Today, the program of the imperialist counterrevolution is to reverse all this. The economy is being restructured along neocolonial lines to serve the interests of the big merchants, businessmen, and landowners, as well as those of their senior imperialist partners.

The state-run enterprises are being systematically dismantled or sold off to private interests. Few Grenadians have enough capital to buy and develop these properties, so U.S. and other imperialist investors are moving in to acquire an even more dominant position.

For example, Robert Dressler, the mayor of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, is helping to promote a plan to build a 250-bed hotel on the site of Bishop's former official residence, with U.S. government financial assistance. Many Grenadians believe that there are plans to include a gambling casino as part of this project.

Another group of U.S. investors, led by an official of Totalbank, has made a bid to purchase the government-owned Grenada Bank of Commerce.

The Grenada Beach Hotel, the largest existing hotel on the island, will also go up for sale — if the U.S. troops who now occupy it ever leave.

In extolling Grenada's virtues for the for-

eign investor, U.S. businessmen and officials have pointed to its "stability" since the invasion, the existence of a "pro-American" government, and the low cost of labor.

A report in the July 29 *New York Times* noted that the Reagan administration "is highlighting the availability of a young, English-speaking workforce at a wage of \$4.50 a day — still high compared with Haiti's \$3 daily wage, but a bargain compared with pay scales in Central America, the Far East and other traditional centers of inexpensive labor. And the United States is offering potential investors subsidized financing for new factories."

The Interim Advisory Council is planning to rewrite the investment code adopted by the PRG to provide longer tax holidays for foreign investors — up to 20 years — and to waive foreign exchange taxes when profits are remitted overseas. It is likewise considering a proposal that foreign investors be given the right to not recognize any trade unions for the first few years after they begin their operations.

The Reagan administration has outlined plans to provide some \$57 million in "aid" to Grenada over the next two years. Some of it is earmarked for repairing the damage caused by the U.S. invasion (although the total cost of damages is estimated at some \$100 million). Some of it is allotted for road building, farming, education, small business assistance, and health care. The largest single allocation is for completion of the international airport.

This economic assistance is presented as a "humanitarian" gesture on the part of the U.S. government. But its real purpose is to bolster capitalist business and trade in Grenada and to strengthen U.S. domination over the island. Within this context, finishing the international airport is intended to deepen Grenada's dependence on imperialism — the very opposite of what the PRG hoped to achieve when it initiated the airport project.

No matter how much U.S. "aid" is poured into Grenada, it will not fundamentally improve the social position or alleviate the suffering of Grenada's working people. Washington's "Operation Bootstrap" in Puerto Rico launched after World War II — a program carried out on a much grander scale than anything in Grenada today — has not ended the exploitation or impoverishment of the Puerto Rican people.

The many social ills that are fostered by imperialist economic domination — and that existed under the Gairy regime — have already resurfaced in Grenada and are getting worse: high unemployment, prostitution, crime, and the use of drugs. Social inequalities are getting sharper once more.

#### **A political education**

All these attacks on the legacy of the Grenada revolution and on the rights and living conditions of working people have been a political education for the Grenadian masses. Many welcomed the U.S. invasion as a "rescue" mission. But now some of them are beginning to see, concretely, that it was no res-

cue at all. They are learning more about the true nature of U.S. imperialism.

This has been reinforced by direct contact with the U.S. occupation forces. In their dealings with the Grenadian population, which is overwhelmingly Black, many U.S. troops have displayed arrogant attitudes and racist prejudices. Grenadian women complain of

oppose the U.S. occupation.

A key element in this willingness to resist is the survival of a layer of the revolutionary vanguard.

Much of the central leadership team around Bishop is dead. Others who looked to Bishop have become politically demoralized. But some revolutionaries are still active, and are



Grenadians fleeing from Fort Rupert on Oct. 19, 1983, following army attack on demonstration, in which Maurice Bishop and others were murdered by the Coard clique. The shock of this counterrevolutionary coup, and the subsequent U.S. invasion, has begun to wear off.

sexual harassment by U.S. and Caribbean troops.

Popular attitudes toward the United States and the U.S. occupation have thus begun to shift noticeably compared to the weeks immediately following the invasion.

Pro-U.S. T-shirts are now few and far between. U.S. visitors are sometimes greeted with a healthy suspicion that they may be connected with the U.S. government, army, or CIA.

Kendrick Radix, in his *Granma* interview, observed, "The early pictures that showed smiling people, waving hands, welcoming the invaders are to be seen in that psychological climate that existed then. As a matter of fact, this doesn't exist anymore, it's a thing of the past, as people feel the occupation and control, the unemployment, the lack of social facilities, the sense of despair and collapse, the lack of true democracy."

While there is still confusion about what led to the overthrow of the Grenada revolution and about Washington's precise political and economic goals, the shock of the October events has begun to wear off. This has led, at least among a section of the population, to a renewed interest in politics.

This is expressed partially in a more public identification with the revolution. T-shirts with a picture of Maurice Bishop and the slogan, "Maurice Bishop — His Spirit Lives" can often be seen on the streets.

It is also expressed in a greater willingness among the most class-conscious Grenadians to resist the attacks against them and to openly

trying to pick up the pieces. They function within two main arenas: the trade unions and the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement.

Among the three unions that were most closely identified with the revolution — the AGWU, BGWU, and CIWU — the latter two are still functioning.

The Bank and General Workers Union has lost some ground to the employers and to the reactionary leadership of the dockworkers union, but it is putting up a fight. In fact, in April it scored a notable victory when it concluded a new three-year contract with the Grenada Cooperative Banana Society, following some tough negotiations. The contract provided for a 70 percent wage increase, cumulative over three years, to the lowest paid workers, while the rest of the workers received significant pay hikes as well. The agreement also retained the principle of equal pay for equal work, paid maternity leave for women workers, and other provisions first won under the PRG.

The Commercial and Industrial Workers Union, which is led by supporters of Bishop, has been the most successful in standing up to the antilabor offensive. The CIWU has been able to maintain the same membership (about 655) that it had before the overthrow of the revolution. This is no small feat under the present circumstances.

The union represents workers in 39 workplaces, most of them in the private sector. It has made new proposals, is currently engaged in negotiations, or has recently concluded agreements in 17 of these enterprises.

The CIWU has also been able to function within the Trade Union Council (TUC) to isolate the AIFLD operatives and to beat back some of the government's attacks.

The TUC almost collapsed after the U.S. invasion. But on March 31, officers were elected to a new Management Committee of the TUC, at a convention involving representatives from the CIWU, BGWU, GUT, SWWU, Public Workers Union (PWU), Technical and Allied Workers Union (TAWU), and the Taxi Owners and Drivers Association. Basil Harford of the PWU was elected president of the TUC, and Anslem De Bourg of the CIWU was chosen one of the two vice-presidents. The SWWU won no top TUC positions.

One of the TUC's first acts was to condemn the activities of the AIFLD's Osborne Baptist. Five of the unions (CIWU, BGWU, PWU, GUT, and TAWU) signed a statement in the name of the TUC. They "unhesitatingly denounced the activities of Baptist and call on all workers to be on the look out for those who will try to divide the Labour Unions by using slander or any other method."

A few months later, in June, the TUC also rejected the government's threats to reintroduce Gairy's antistrike legislation and to weaken the power of the unions. Given the Interim Advisory Council's general lack of political authority among the Grenadian population, the TUC's rejection will make it difficult for the government to try to enact such blatantly antiunion measures at this time.

In an interview with *Intercontinental Press*, one top CIWU leader pointed out that the workers can make some headway, even under these difficult circumstances, "if they have a leadership that will really stand in the interests of the workers."

He also stressed that such a leadership "needs not just a national perspective, but also an international perspective. Our struggle is not just a national struggle." International solidarity, the CIWU leader said, will be particularly important. He explained that the CIWU hoped to build up links with unionists in the United States, Canada, and other countries.

#### New party

Other revolutionaries are active in trying to build the new party, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM). Its official launching was announced on May 27, at a rally of 700 in St. Andrew's called to mark African Liberation Day and Maurice Bishop's 40th birthday.\*

The party is publicly led by Kendrick Radix, who is chairperson of its steering committee, and George Louison, the former minister of agriculture in the PRG. Louison also heads the Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19, 1983, Foundation, an organization dedicated to keeping alive the memory of Bishop and his

\* For more details on the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, see the news report in the July 23 issue of *Intercontinental Press* and the interview with George Louison and the MBPM Manifesto in the August 6 issue.

comrades.

*Indies Times*, which began publishing several weeks before the party was actually launched, is now being printed as the party's weekly newspaper. The fact that *Indies Times*, in its first four issues, attained the highest circulation of any newspaper in Grenada indicates the extent of interest in and potential support for the new party. (Government harassment and technical difficulties subsequently forced a reduction in the paper's press run.)

Using the newspaper and the MBPM's political manifesto, which was issued in mid-June, party activists are holding discussions with former NJM members and other supporters of the revolution. They are seeking to organize them around support for the program and policies of the Bishop leadership and opposition to the U.S. invasion and occupation. They are trying to clarify the reasons for the overthrow of the PRG and the counterrevolutionary character of the Coard coup.

These discussions and organizing efforts are still in their initial stages, and much remains to be done, including clarification among party activists and supporters about what strategy to pursue under the boot of the U.S. occupation.

Nevertheless, the very launching of the party has been an important first step in breaking through the political disorientation that followed the overthrow of the PRG and the U.S. invasion. It provides a *political* vehicle through which the resistance to the U.S. occupation and the attacks of the new government can be expressed.

Radix, in his *Granma* interview, stated that with the founding of the party and the publication of its newspaper, "we will look forward to expressing and developing our people's self-confidence, hope and determination to blaze a new chapter in the affairs of our nation. This will not be easy, by any means, but it will be

done."

The prospects facing Grenadian revolutionaries today are difficult ones.

As in the days of the Gairy dictatorship, they are again confronted with the task of leading the Grenadian masses in revolutionary struggle toward the overthrow of a capitalist government and the conquest of political power by the workers and farmers.

In many respects, they can benefit from the experience of the Grenada revolution to advance this process. The political education and class consciousness of the Grenadian toilers was greatly increased by the four and a half years of the PRG. Everyone in Grenada knows, firsthand, what a workers and farmers government can accomplish, even in a small country at the doorstep of the mightiest imperialist power in the world.

This example, and the continued identification with the aims of the revolution among many Grenadians, makes it easier for the revolutionaries in the MBPM, the trade unions, and other organizations to explain what they are fighting for.

It has also forced the U.S. authorities and their local allies to move more slowly against those gains of the revolution that still remain, as well as to put forward a facade of democracy. That gives class-struggle fighters valuable time in which to organize and to openly take their message to the masses. It likewise provides them with political openings that they can take advantage of, such as using the elections as a platform from which to express their views.

But Grenada remains an occupied country. Hundreds of U.S. and Caribbean troops are still stationed on the island, and more could be quickly rushed in if the need arose. A new Grenadian repressive apparatus is being built, one that will be considerably larger than anything

Gairy had at his disposal. In addition, Washington is seeking to build up a new Caribbean intervention army, composed of troops from various islands, that can be used throughout the region to try to stamp out popular struggles.

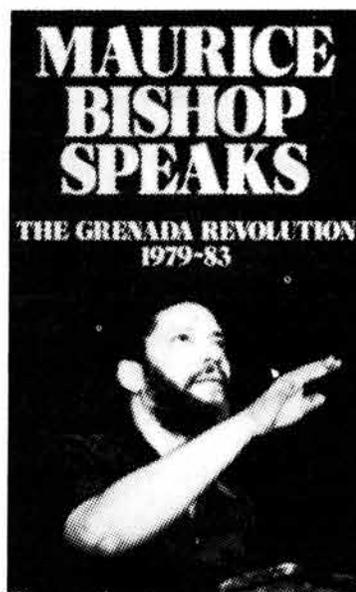
A young activist of the MBPM, in a discussion with this reporter, commented, "Things are much more difficult than in the Gairy days. Now we have imperialist troops right in our country."

If the authorities feel sufficiently threatened, they will not hesitate to discard their democratic mask. There are already ominous signs of that: new press restrictions, including efforts to halt publication of *Indies Times*; a bomb attack on Radix's home just a few days after the MBPM was launched; the deportation of Radix's Guyanese-born wife; and the tapping of the MBPM leaders' phones.

Worse may be in store. Radix has noted that the U.S. authorities will use the most extreme measures to stop another government like Bishop's from coming to power, including the physical elimination of those who advocate such a course.

Washington is certainly determined to prevent a repetition of the 1979 revolution. As the U.S. imperialists deepen their military intervention against the advancing revolutions in Central America, they cannot afford to allow the Grenadian "giant" — as Fidel Castro referred to the revolution here — to reemerge.

But despite the heavy weight of the U.S. occupation, the working people of Grenada will rise up once again, as they have throughout Grenada's long and rebellious history. The brutal reality of imperialist domination and plunder will inevitably prompt them to new revolutionary struggles. Today's resistance against the unfolding imperialist counterrevolution is but a foretaste of what will come. □



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## U.S. socialist tours island

*Offers solidarity to the independence struggle*

By Manolo Coss

[Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president of the United States, toured Puerto Rico for one week at the end of July. She participated in two proindependence rallies and met with trade unionists and leaders of political organizations. She visited fishermen in Vieques, a small island east of the main Puerto Rican island, who are fighting against U.S. naval gunnery practice and "war games" on their island.

[The following article on González's trip appeared in the July 27–August 2 issue of *Claridad*, weekly newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), published in San Juan. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

Although the Democratic and Republican parties monopolize the attention of the major news media in their campaigns for the U.S. presidency, other parties, on the left, are participating in the elections.

Both the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party of the United States have their own candidates for president and vice-president.

The SWP's vice-presidential candidate, Andrea González, is visiting Puerto Rico "to gather information about the current situation and to offer solidarity to the Puerto Rican independence struggle."

This young woman, 32 years old, born in Brooklyn to Puerto Rican parents, describes her campaign as one of "educating and mobilizing the working class and the oppressed and exploited in the United States."

"Our message is that the two big parties belong to the bosses — that they both govern on behalf of the bourgeoisie and against the working class and the dispossessed," González says.

The central issue in her campaign is U.S. aggression against the peoples of Central America.

"The U.S. people, in their great majority, are opposed to military intervention in Central America," she affirms. "Our task is to explain what's behind such intervention and to build solidarity with the peoples of that region."

According to the vice-presidential candidate, the socialist campaign is also demanding desegregation, bilingual education, affirmative action to provide jobs and housing for minorities, and a halt to deportations of undocumented workers.

González says that the bill recently put forward to make English the sole language of the United States "is a racist law that seeks to put

an end to bilingual education programs and to the patriotic nationalism of Latin American communities in the United States. In practice, they want to declare that speaking Spanish is a crime. They want to go back to the way it was when I was in school, when the teacher washed our mouths out with soap if he heard us speaking Spanish."

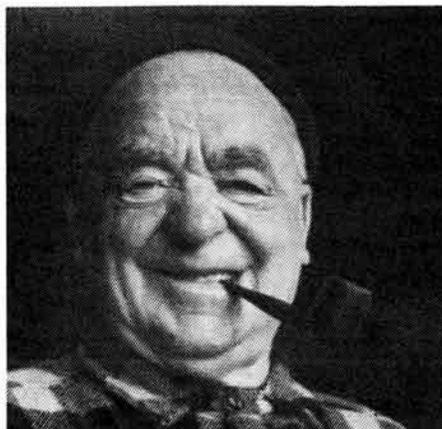
Commenting on the difficulties her party has faced in putting its candidates on the ballot, Andrea noted that the SWP had been able to do so in 26 states and the District of Columbia "despite all the obstacles they put in our way." She said the party had collected 250,000 signatures in the state of California [in 1982], far surpassing the 125,000 required for ballot status. "Despite this, they used illegal methods to invalidate our petitions. Elections in the United States are free only for the capitalist parties."

## Feature on Carl Skoglund celebrates his contributions

This year marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of Carl Skoglund, a founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States and of the Fourth International. To celebrate this occasion the August issue of *International Socialist Review*, the monthly supplement of the *Militant* newspaper published in New York, carried an eight-page feature article by Doug Jenness, editor of *Intercontinental Press*.

Jenness describes Skoglund's life, from his birth in Sweden on April 7, 1884, to his death in the United States on Dec. 11, 1960.

Skoglund, born and raised in an isolated



CARL SKOGLUND

Aware of the limitations imposed on the organizations of the left, González says that the important thing about her campaign is to bring its message to "thousands of workers, who, whether they vote for us or not, are affected by a call for social struggle."

One of the aims of González's visit is to cut through the disinformation the people of the United States have been subjected to regarding events in Puerto Rico.

"The big news media spread the idea that no one in Puerto Rico is opposed to colonialism and militarization. They never report on the activities of the independence movement," she said.

As an example, Andrea cited the recent demonstrations in Puerto Rico against the U.S. invasion of Grenada and against militarization. These received no coverage from the U.S. press.

The young González, who tells us with pride and joy that she still has family in Mayagüez, Cayey, and San Juan, insists that her mission is to forge an awareness among the U.S. workers of their right to build a better, socialist society in the United States. "It is a long, hard struggle, but like workers all over the world, we will win." □

rural area, was part of an entire generation of young people whose lives were transformed by the coming of the industrial revolution to Sweden. When he was 12 his father died, and Carl had to go to work in a recently-built paper pulp mill. During his employment at the mill, he became involved in many labor struggles, including the massive general strike of 1909. He was drafted into the army in 1905, the year of large-scale protests among workers and soldiers against the Swedish government's threatened invasion of Norway. In this caldron of political protest Skoglund became a revolutionary socialist. As a result of his activities he was blacklisted by the employing class, so he emigrated to the United States in 1911 in search of work.

He soon became a leader of the Scandinavian Socialist Federation (SSF) and the Socialist Party (SP) in Minneapolis, Minnesota. In 1916 he was assigned to be the Minneapolis correspondent for *Svenska Socialisten* ("Swedish Socialist"), the SSF's Swedish-language weekly. In his articles Carl attempted to convince SSF members to take party organization seriously and to develop a professional approach to party building.

Carl worked many jobs during his first years in the United States, including as a harvest hand and as a sawyer in a lumber camp. In 1916 he was hired by Pullman Co., the railroad passenger-coach maker. He helped organize a union there and was chairman of the local

strike committee during the rail strikes of 1919 and 1922.

During World War I Skoglund argued that the working class should not support either of the warring imperialist camps but rather deepen its struggle against capitalist rule in its own country.

When the October 1917 revolution occurred in Russia, Carl was an immediate supporter. In 1919 he became a founding member of the Communist Party and a leader of the party in the Minneapolis area.

In November 1928, Carl and about 30 leaders and members of the Communist Party in Minnesota were expelled for raising questions about the expulsion of James Cannon and other national party leaders who had declared their support for the faction in the Communist International led by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky. At the time Carl was the trade union director of the CP's Minnesota district, the third largest in the country.

In May 1929, Carl was a founder of the Communist League of America, which was determined to defend Bolshevik-Leninism abandoned by the Communist Party. He was elected to its national committee.

In 1934 Carl was a central leader of the Minneapolis Teamster strikes, one of the key battles that helped lay the basis for the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). During the 1930s he remained a key leader of Teamsters Local 544, which organized truck drivers throughout the Midwest. Carl served as president of Local 544 from 1938-40.

In 1938 he participated in the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party and was elected to its national committee. In the same year the Fourth International was established, and Carl was one of three SWP leaders elected to its International Executive Committee.

Skoglund was one of 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544 who were imprisoned for up to 13 months for op-

posing World War II.

From his release in early 1945 until his death, Carl was constantly under the threat of being deported. At one point in 1954 he was placed on a ship bound for Sweden. But defense efforts won his release 10 minutes before the ship was to sail.

Jenness' article quotes from a 1951 letter by Cannon, then SWP national secretary, to a Swedish Trotskyist explaining the importance for the labor movement of the fight against Skoglund's deportation.

The remarkable story of Carl's life as a revolutionary communist fighter and teacher is a powerful example for revolutionists in all countries. It is well worth studying.

Copies of the August *ISR* with the article "Carl Skoglund: example for communist workers" can be obtained for \$1.00 per copy, including postage, by writing to: The *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y., 10014. □

## DOCUMENTS

# PRT's policy in Mexican elections

## *Urges united electoral slate of the left*

[We are reprinting here two items from the July 23-August 6 issue of *Bandera Socialista*, the fortnightly newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International. The first is an editorial calling for a campaign to change the election laws so as to make possible a united electoral slate of the Mexican left in the federal elections to be held in 1985. The second is a statement by the PRT and other left groups in the northern state of Sonora.

[Accompanying the latter statement, *Bandera Socialista* also published a letter from the Sonora Regional Committee of the PRT to the Sonora State Congress of the Unified Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM).<sup>1</sup> The letter proposed to the PSUM that "we present ourselves in a united way in the coming elections, with a common platform that would leave aside points of disagreement and place emphasis on what unites us with regard to the workers' demands, with each organization being free to publicize particular aspects of its program. We propose registering single candidates for all the posts to be popularly elected. . . ."

[The PRT's letter to the PSUM congress closed with the slogans, "Long live the State Congress of the PSUM! The united left will never be defeated! The people united will never be defeated!"

[The introduction to the Sonora statement is

by *Bandera Socialista*; the translations and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The government is making thorough preparations for facing the 1985 elections. The campaign the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)<sup>2</sup> is waging to build its Twelfth National Assembly has the aim of healing the rifts that have come about in the government's main political instrument — particularly those arising in clashes with the Congress of Labor (CT) and the Mexican Workers Confederation (CTM).<sup>3</sup>

The debate opened on the role of businessmen in the PRI is likewise aimed at regaining the confidence of a sector of the bosses that had sought refuge in the National Action Party (PAN).<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the granting of legal recognition to the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution (PARM)<sup>5</sup> represents a further effort to regain the support of sectors that had been drifting toward other parties.

On a different level, legal recognition of the

Mexican Workers Party (PMT)<sup>6</sup> is something the government seeks to utilize as one more spur to disunity among the left. This is possible owing to a series of legal obstacles, contained in the Federal Law on Political Organizations and Electoral Processes (LFOPPE), that block the formation of an overall left coalition in the electoral sphere.

The government is betting on achieving disunity on the left. This is one of the main political problems we face from this moment on, since it will be a key factor in the 1985 electoral process.

Working people find themselves beset by the impact of the bosses' austerity policy. Social discontent is immense. Many sectors are on the brink of explosion. But all this does not translate automatically into class consciousness, popular organization, or independent struggle. Instead, it has been translated into retreat and fear, or else caution in the search for alternatives.

Many workers who speak out openly against the bosses' austerity in their unions, farming cooperatives, communities, neighborhoods, or workplaces still have not decided to opt for the alternatives we parties of the left present when it comes time to define themselves politically. The first thing they observe is the great division that reigns in our ranks. That discourages them. In turning away from the PRI, many

2. The PRI is Mexico's ruling party.

3. The Congress of Labor is the umbrella organization of Mexican trade unions. It includes the Mexican Workers Confederation, whose bureaucracy is linked to the ruling PRI. It also includes various independent union federations.

4. The National Action Party is a right-wing capitalist party.

5. The PARM is a tiny bourgeois party that has traditionally served as an officially sponsored "opposition" party for Mexico's rulers.

6. The PMT is a petty-bourgeois nationalist party founded in 1974 by some of the leaders of the 1968 student uprising in Mexico.

1. The PSUM was formed in 1981 through the fusion of the Mexican Communist Party with several smaller reformist groups.

have chosen to orient themselves electorally toward the PAN.

This is why the LFOPPE, with its antidemocratic character, is being utilized to ensure that the left remains divided in the elections. This would be not only serious but a real tragedy for the struggle of working people in our country and for the left itself.

Progress toward unity has been expressed in the agreements established in principle between our party and the Unified Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM) for participating in the elections in the state of México and in single-candidate federal election districts in 1985. This is important. It does not solve the problem, however, but only poses it.

Our party proposes to the PSUM and the PMT that we carry out a real campaign to change the provisions of the LFOPPE that restrict or prohibit the formation of a coalition of the left. We have to mobilize from this moment on and explain to the masses and to public opinion that the government is the one responsible for the left's failure to present itself in a united fashion in the elections, and that the law should be changed to prevent such maneuvers.

We must not limit our aim to securing what unity is possible within the framework of the current law, but instead struggle to achieve the unity *that we need* in order to put before the mass movement and the broadest sections of our country's toiling population a credible and solid independent class alternative.

If we achieve unity of the left in the 1985 elections we will be taking a qualitative leap in the class struggle, thereby strengthening enormously the proletarian and peasant struggle. This is not merely an electoral aim or some tactic to preserve our legal standing. It is not simply a question of adding up forces, but of multiplying resources and opportunities to provide the alternative working people need.

We must therefore exert our best efforts to achieve unity of the left, fighting for the elimination of the restrictions imposed by the law and at the same time concretizing agreements among the organizations and gaining the incorporation of new forces.

There lies our challenge. If we are not able to rise to the circumstances and fail to act with sufficient political maturity, the government and the right wing will be the only ones to benefit. □

fraternal political discussion aimed at encouraging the broadest unity of the left and working people, in order to present a single front in the electoral contest that will take place in our state in July 1985. An important part of this united front would be the participation of the Unified Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM) in this unitary process. We therefore publicly make a fraternal call on the PSUM to join the discussions and joint activities we are carrying out to encourage this perspective of electoral unity in 1985.

To the people of Sonora, we say: There have not been nor will there be solutions to our grave problems so long as we do not decide to organize ourselves and struggle independently of the government and the bosses' parties like the PRI and the PAN.

The PRI has already shown during the 60 years it has held power whose interests it represents and defends — those of the big bourgeoisie that exploits our people. What's more, the PRI is directly responsible for the government's policies of hunger and lack of democracy.

On the other hand, the PAN has been capitalizing on popular discontent with the PRI government. But the PAN likewise does not represent the interests of the workers and peasants. To the contrary, it is the party of the most reactionary, pro-Yankee sectors of businessmen that are challenging the PRI for leadership of the country — not to fundamentally resolve the grave problems we working people suffer, but rather to impose their plans for an oligarchic, proimperialist government that would put an end to the historic social and political conquests that our people have achieved through their struggles.

Neither the PRI nor the PAN should be supported by the people in the coming elections. They are not the alternative for the working people of the cities and countryside; they are the political expressions of the class enemy.

The alternative for our people lies with the left, that is, with the organizations that honestly and resolutely press for a revolutionary change that would finish once and for all with poverty, injustice, and exploitation.

Among the left organizations there exists a broad convergence of opinions that must be given shape in a programmatic electoral platform that will be publicized in the elections. This will include the demands felt most strongly by the exploited and oppressed population. It will take up all the struggles of the workers, the peasants, the shantytown dwellers, and all other sectors allied in the struggle against capital.

People of Sonora: do not support or vote for the parties of the bosses and the government. Support and participate in the united electoral front of the working people and the left parties that we are building.

Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT)  
Revolutionary People's Movement (MRP)  
Socialist Current (CS)  
Socialist Workers Party (POS)

## Call for unity in Sonora vote

*PRT, other groups appeal to PSUM*

The perspective of building a united front of the left and the mass movement for participation in the elections — something that various organizations are pressing for throughout the country — has registered important gains in the state of Sonora.

The Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), the Revolutionary People's Movement (MRP), the Socialist Current (CS), and the Socialist Workers Party (POS) have signed the following manifesto calling for the construction of an electoral front for the 1985 elections.

Particularly important is the call for the Unified Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM) to join in this unitary action of the Sonoran left.

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At present, our country is going through one of the worst economic crises in its entire history. The policy that [President] Miguel de la Madrid's government has implemented in order to "get out of the crisis" has been based on deepening the exploitation, poverty, and lack of democracy under which our people suffer. The so-called austerity policy has meant nothing for working people but rising unemployment, low wages, high living costs, scarcity of housing and services, and so on. Added to this is the increasingly despotic repression of popular movements.

In response, discontent among broad sectors of the masses has been generalized and expressed in many different forms, from the out-

break of strikes (as in July 1983), work stoppages, marches, rallies, and so on, to the placards of protest displayed by the official labor federations on May Day. These strengthened participation in the [May Day] march by democratic and independent contingents. Such discontent has also been shown in actions like the First National Citizens' Strike last October 18, the National Peasant March on April 10, the mobilizations by the National Coordinating Committee of Education Workers (CNTE), and other no less significant ones, which have brought out hundreds of thousands of persons in an open break with the regime's policies.

This situation obliges all democratic and revolutionary forces to step up efforts to achieve the broadest and most combative popular unity, so as to permit progress toward creating the conditions for overthrowing the current capitalist regime and replacing it by a more just and egalitarian one — socialist society.

In face of the gigantic events taking place in our country and in the state of Sonora, it is important that the left organizations, in alliance with independent sectors of the masses, act in a coordinated and unified way against the PRI and the government, as well as against other rightist, proimperialist parties like the National Action Party (PAN) and the Mexican Democratic Party (PDM). In this spirit, the undersigned organizations have begun a process of