

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

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FSLN's Election Campaign Advances Nicaragua Revolution



Candidates Sergio Ramírez and Daniel Ortega with supporters.

Salvadoran FMLN on La Palma talks

**Interview With Philippine
Communist Party Leader**

**U.S. Women's Rights
Under Big Attack**

Women's rights in U.S. under big attack

By Doug Jenness

Women's rights in the United States are now under the sharpest attack leveled at them in at least a decade. Opponents of women's rights have utilized the 1984 elections as an arena for waging a full-scale ideological offensive centered on the right of women to choose whether to bear children, when, and how many.

This has been accompanied by a dramatic increase in the bombing and burning of abortion clinics by right-wing terrorists, and physical harassment of women seeking abortions.

State and federal government restrictions keep mounting on public funds for poor women seeking abortions. In October Congress once again denied funding for abortions for victims of rape or incest, and only 15 states continue to provide state funds for abortion in cases where the life of the woman is not endangered.

The growing attacks on women's rights are intertwined with the outpouring of patriotic flag-waving, religious propaganda, and racism that Democratic and Republican politicians are using to try to divide working people and weaken their resistance both to the even bigger blows the capitalist rulers are preparing against their democratic rights and living standards and to imperialist wars.

Leading the charge against the right of women to control their own bodies are the Catholic Church hierarchy and Protestant Bible-thumpers. From one end of the country to another these men of the cloth have opened the moral floodgates against abortion, denouncing it as "murder."

The most prominent Catholic bishops and cardinals have declared that abortion should be the "key issue" in the presidential elections, and they have done everything they can to make it so.

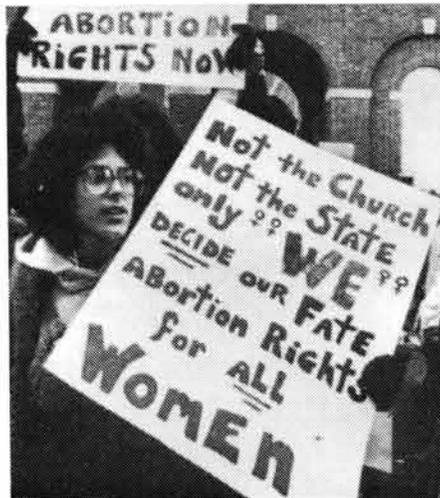
"What do we ask of a candidate or someone already in office?" New York's Archbishop John O'Connor asks. "Nothing more than this: a statement opposing abortion on demand...." he answers. "I am passionately convinced that no need is more crucial than to protect the rights of the unborn."

Joseph Cardinal Bernardin of Chicago declared that politicians "cannot conscientiously ignore the issue or fail to take steps to restrict it."

Fundamentalist Protestant preachers like "Moral Majority" leader Jerry Falwell have also joined the fray.

Reagan opposes abortion rights

The aggressive antiabortion campaign of top church figures has dovetailed with President Ronald Reagan's bid for re-election. "We are



for life and against abortion," Reagan preaches. The plank on abortion in the Republican platform states, "We endorse legislation to make clear that the 14th Amendment's protections apply to unborn children."

The antiabortion forces have also succeeded in putting referenda on the ballot in three states, which, if adopted, would forbid state aid for abortion, except when necessary to save the life of the woman.

Right-wing antiabortion groups have organized squads to disrupt Democratic Party campaign rallies. They have particularly singled out Democratic vice-presidential contender Geraldine Ferraro for their attacks. While the Democratic Party platform, as a maneuver to win support from women's rights leaders, "recognizes reproductive freedom as a fundamental human right," this has not been the theme of the Democrats' campaign.

Ferraro says she opposes abortion on religious grounds because she is a Catholic, but does not favor imposing her views on others. Her approach is similar to that of other liberal Democrats like U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy and New York Governor Mario Cuomo. These three have taken the lead in putting forth the Democrats' position on abortion in the elections. They have received widespread public attention for "criticizing" the Catholic Church hierarchy's appeal for politicians, especially those who are also Catholic, to oppose abortion.

But the heart of these Democrats' "criticism" is to emphasize their moral and religious view that abortion is murder. They say that as long as the majority supports abortion rights and it remains legal, they will not interfere. Cuomo, clearly expressing this standpoint,

stated, "If we are serious about making certain values a part of the public morality, part of the statutes and laws that bind everyone, there must be a public consensus; that's the way laws are made in a democratic society."

The logic of the Ferraro-Cuomo-Kennedy approach is to say, "I think abortion is murder and I wish more people recognized that too, so that it could be outlawed. Until the laws are changed, however, I won't get in the way of people who murder innocent, unborn children. That's their choice."

This stance is hardly designed to win support for the right of women to choose abortion. Rather than defending abortion rights, it is part of the campaign to attack them. In practice, both the Democrats and the Republicans have supported legislation imposing more restrictions on the right of women to obtain abortions.

The reactionary character of Ferraro's views is further revealed by her explanation of why she has voted for some federal funding for abortions. "The cost of putting an unwanted child through the system far outweighs the costs of funding abortion on demand," she stated.

This argument reeks of the racist approach of population-control schemers and those who advocate the forced sterilization of Black and Puerto Rican women. It has nothing to do with women's rights.

Women's rights leaders support Democrats

Unfortunately many labor and women's rights leaders present the Mondale-Ferraro ticket as a step forward in advancing the struggle of women. Both the National Organization for Women and the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the principal women's rights organizations in the United States, have made their central focus campaigning for the Democratic ticket.

They argue that Mondale and Ferraro, in contrast to Reagan, support abortion rights. Yet they generally do not emphasize the abortion issue in order to avoid embarrassing the Democratic standardbearers.

Many in the left have also capitulated on the abortion fight, which is the cutting edge of the ruling-class offensive against women's rights.

The *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party, for example, carried a column in its September 21 issue affirming that "Ms. Ferraro's position on abortions is a principled, democratic position." Alongside this apology for the capitalist candidate, the CP mouthpiece ran excerpts from a speech given by Governor Cuomo at Notre Dame University on the subject, "Religious Belief and Public Morality: A Catholic Governor's Perspective." The CP has pulled out all the stops for the Democratic ticket, and even recently began sporting red, white, and blue colors on its front page.

An article in the October 3 *Guardian*, a radical weekly published in New York, openly praised Ferraro's record on abortion. It hailed Governor Cuomo's "prochoice position" and his Notre Dame speech as the "strongest, most

articulate statement on abortion yet made by a Catholic politician." The *Guardian*, for the first time in a presidential race, has openly endorsed the Democratic ticket.

The only presidential ticket in the election that has consistently defended the right to abortion is that of the Socialist Workers Party. SWP candidates Mel Mason and Andrea González demand repeal of all local and federal laws restricting the right to legal, safe abortion. They say, restore all the funds the Democrats and Republicans cut off for abortions and expand those funds to others requiring government medical assistance. They call for vigorous prosecution of the terrorists who are bombing and ransacking abortion clinics.

Preparing to reverse gains

The torrent of antiabortion propaganda does not flow from a big victory scored by the capitalist rulers against women's rights. Rather it is part of the preparations being put into motion to launch a fight to reverse the gains women have won in the past 15 years. With the rise of the women's liberation movement in the late 1960s, women have gained considerable self-confidence and much higher expectations. Through their struggle they have forced the U.S. Supreme Court to recognize their legal right to choose abortion and have broken into areas of society previously closed to them. They have fought their way into jobs that were traditionally considered off limits to women.

These achievements, like those of Blacks, have helped undermine sexist and racist prejudices in the working class as a whole, thus strengthening the struggle against the capitalist employers. Polls, for example, show that a majority in the United States supports abortion rights.

As the capitalist rulers press, with greater and greater intensity, their drive to squeeze more profits out of the working class, they must try to break the unions. To do this they must pit worker against worker and deal a blow to the self-confidence of workers. This will require reversing the conquests not only of the labor movement but of the civil rights and women's rights struggles.

The ruling-class ideological campaign is aimed at convincing both men and women that a woman's place is in the home, that the family, not the government, should bear the cost of child care.

Precondition for liberation

Their fire is particularly aimed at abortion because the right of women to control their own bodies, to choose whether or not to bear children, is recognized by millions of women as an elementary precondition for their liberation. Without reproductive rights there can be no independence or equality in education and employment.

By cloaking the issue in religious and moral terms, the capitalist rulers and their ideological sharpshooters attempt to divert the issue away from women's rights. They play on religious

and moral views held by many people to confuse and disorient them on a key question of women's rights. By saying the issue is the "rights" of the unborn, they try to sucker people into a pointless, hairsplitting argument about the exact moment when human life begins. This is a total diversion from the real issue: the right of women to control their own bodies, which is a necessity to be truly free.

Some women's rights leaders mistakenly say the terrorist attacks against abortion clinics are merely acts of desperation by those frustrated by the wide support shown for abortion

rights. But this is not true. This campaign of intimidation goes hand in hand with the ideological campaign designed to create a movement that can roll back the gains that women have made.

Women's rights fighters, however, are not going to give up and let the capitalists reverse what they have won. A hard fight remains to be fought. But in this fight the Democratic Party "defenders" of abortion rights cannot be counted on. It will require the independent mobilization of the labor movement and women's rights and civil rights fighters. □

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FSLN campaign advances the revolution

Boycott by proimperialist parties fails to stop elections

By Ernest Harsch

In the midst of a war to defend the revolution against U.S.-backed mercenary bands, the Nicaraguan masses are preparing to go to the polls.

The campaigning will officially close on October 31, ending a three-month period of election rallies, media presentations, debates, and pamphleteering by a half-dozen political parties. A few days later, on November 4, voters will cast their ballots for candidates for president, vice-president, and the 90 deputies of the new National Assembly.

From all indications, the big majority will vote for the candidates of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). By doing so, they will once again register their massive support for the deep-going revolution initiated more than five years ago, when the FSLN led the Nicaraguan masses in a popular insurrection that toppled the Somoza tyranny and brought the workers and peasants to power.

From the beginning, the FSLN has explained that these elections are not to decide which class holds political power — that was settled in July 1979 when the workers and peasants government was established. Rather, the elections are to strengthen and institutionalize the political power of the working masses and to increase their active involvement in making and administering political decisions in the country.

Toward this end, the Sandinistas have used their campaign to deepen class consciousness among workers and peasants and increase their self-confidence. The FSLN's campaign program, called the "Plan of Struggle," outlines the tasks of working people in defending and advancing their revolution, emphasizing the number one task of military defense against U.S. aggression.*

Stressing that the workers and peasants, through their own organizations and their vanguard party, are the guarantee of the revolution's future, Sandinista campaigners have sought to combat the myths of bourgeois electoralism, the notion that social change comes about through elections and other forms of parliamentary activity, rather than class struggle.

Taking up this point at a recent FSLN campaign rally sponsored by poultry workers, Sandinista leader Víctor Tirado said, "elections never solved any economic problems anywhere." They are simply "one more form of

struggle in the process of revolutionary transformation."

Tirado told the rally that Nicaragua's workers must "redouble their efforts in their production centers at this moment of aggression and the threat of an invasion. . . . It is the workers themselves who will be able to maintain, consolidate, and economically develop the revolution."

The U.S. imperialists have been on a concerted campaign to sabotage the elections ever since they were called. Recognizing that these elections will further consolidate the workers and peasants government and expose the imperialist charge that Nicaragua is a "totalitarian" state, the U.S. government has stepped up its military aggression.

The armed attacks into Nicaragua by counterrevolutionary (*contra*) forces, armed, trained, and directed by Washington, have exacted a heavy toll in lives and scarce resources. Speaking before the United Nations on October 2, Commander Daniel Ortega — the FSLN's candidate for president — warned that a dangerous new escalation of the U.S.-imposed war is on the agenda.

Several FSLN candidates have been kidnapped by *contra* bands. The mercenaries have gunned down election board workers. Some campaign rallies have taken place within earshot of fighting between mercenary forces and Nicaraguan troops and militia volunteers.

U.S. officials have repeatedly demanded that the elections be postponed. Several capitalist parties in Nicaragua have been encouraged by Washington to boycott the elections and falsely charge undemocratic practices by the Nicaraguan government and election commission.

Election procedures

Despite all these threats, provocations, and difficulties, the election campaign has proceeded. More than 1.5 million Nicaraguans registered to vote, well over the 1.2 million that had been expected to sign up.

The government has taken numerous measures to ensure that all parties have been able to publicize their views. The Supreme Electoral Council has been responsible for allocating paper, ink, and fuel to each participating party, as well as 9 million córdobas (about US\$900,000) to help cover expenses. The parties were also allowed to receive supplemental financing from abroad.

The government set aside 30 minutes of television time and 45 minutes of public radio time for each party per week. In addition, parties had the right to buy as much time as they

wanted on private radio stations (of which there are 40), with each of the stations, except those belonging to religious organizations, required by law to make a minimum of five minutes a day available to each party.

All the parties running in the elections have held rallies and other campaign events in various towns, villages, and rural areas. Those opposing the FSLN have been free to express their criticisms.

Washington's 'noncandidate'

A number of the capitalist parties still functioning within Nicaragua have become ever more open in their alignment with the U.S.-organized counterrevolutionary war. They have sought to undermine the legitimacy of the elections, in order to facilitate and justify U.S. aggression.

The main parties that have played this role are the Social Christian Party, the Liberal Constitutional Party, and the Social Democratic Party. All belong to the so-called Democratic Coordinating Committee, known as the *Coordinadora*, which is dominated by the Supreme Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), the main organization of the Nicaraguan capitalist class.

Officially, the three parties maintained that they were willing to run in the elections — but only on condition that the government provide sufficient "democratic guarantees." They nominated as their presidential candidate Arturo Cruz, who served as Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States for a period after the revolution, then quit. He is currently an official of the Inter-American Development Bank and has lived in Washington since 1981.

Cruz and his backers, however, had no intention of actually running. For one reason, they are politically very isolated within Nicaragua, and the vote would clearly expose their lack of popular support. For another, their participation would make it more difficult for Washington to claim that the elections are unrepresentative.

This conscious maneuver toward excluding themselves was evident in the conditions that the parties raised for their participation in the campaign, which essentially boiled down to the demand that the Sandinistas abandon power *before* the elections are held.

When Cruz visited Nicaragua in late July, he raised as a condition the holding of a dialogue between the Nicaraguan government and the CIA's mercenary army based in Honduras and Costa Rica. (The two main *contra* groups, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force [FDN] and the Democratic Revolutionary Al-

* The introduction to the FSLN's "Plan of Struggle," which was presented in a speech by Daniel Ortega, appeared in the September 3 *Intercontinental Press*. The remainder of the document's text was printed in the October 1 issue.

liance [ARDE], openly declared their support for Cruz's candidacy.)

While rejecting these absurd conditions, the Sandinistas offered numerous procedural concessions to make it clear they were not the ones preventing participation by Cruz or any of the Coordinadora parties in the elections.

Because of the refusal of the Coordinadora to register its candidates, the National Council of Political Parties had ruled on August 22 that the three Coordinadora parties had lost their legal status, thus barring them from holding outdoor rallies. On September 21, the FSLN proposed that the three parties have their legal status restored and that the candidate registration period be reopened. Cruz rejected the offer outright.

New talks between the Sandinista leaders and Cruz were then held, both in Managua and in Brazil. The Sandinistas again offered to extend the registration date and to provide Cruz with additional radio and television time. They even offered to postpone the elections entirely if the FDN and ARDE laid down their arms by October 25. Cruz and the other Coordinadora representatives still refused, and the talks ended.

"We have never dealt with a serious negotiator, only with a group of persons interested in destabilizing the electoral process and opening the door to an intervention," declared Sergio Ramírez, the FSLN's vice-presidential candidate.

The stance of Cruz and the Coordinadora parties was dictated from Washington. Some details of this were revealed in a report in the October 21 *New York Times*, which cited as its source various unnamed "senior Administration officials."

According to these officials, Enrique Bolaños Geyer and other COSEP leaders met with CIA officials in Washington and San José, Costa Rica, during the spring and summer to discuss the elections. According to the *Times*:

Since May, when American policy toward the election was formed, the Administration has wanted the opposition candidate, Arturo José Cruz, either not to enter the race or, if he did, to withdraw before the election, claiming the conditions were unfair, the officials said.

"The Administration never contemplated letting Cruz stay in the race," one official said, "because then the Sandinistas could justifiably claim that the elections were legitimate, making it much harder for the United States to oppose the Nicaraguan Government."

PLI joins boycott

A few capitalist parties, however, chose to register candidates for the elections and to publicly campaign, at least initially. They echoed some of the same charges as the Coordinadora parties and expressed in various ways their opposition to the course of the Nicaraguan revolution.

The Independent Liberal Party (PLI), which was originally founded in 1946 by dissidents from Somoza's Liberal Party, nominated as its



Sergio Ramírez (left) and Daniel Ortega campaigning to explain FSLN's "Plan of Struggle."

presidential candidate Virgilio Godoy Reyes. He had served in the revolutionary government as minister of labor for more than four years. Although Godoy claimed to be a supporter of the July 1979 revolution, his party's capitalist line has come increasingly into conflict with the revolution's course toward consolidating the political power of the workers and farmers. Originally part of the Patriotic Revolutionary Front, a coalition that also included the FSLN, Nicaraguan Socialist Party, and People's Social Christian Party, the PLI pulled out in February 1984.

At first, the PLI chose to take part in the campaign, but announced October 21 it was withdrawing from the elections, claiming that it faced unfair restrictions on its ability to campaign. Yet this was contradicted by the PLI's own failure to use the 9 million córdobas that was offered to all the parties.

During the period when it did campaign, the PLI attempted to take its distance from Cruz and the Coordinadora parties, referring to Cruz as the "supreme representative of the counter-revolution in both the north and the south."

Yet at the same time, the PLI revealed its true sympathies by campaigning *against* the measures the Sandinistas have adopted to combat the contra forces. Godoy called for a lifting of the national state of emergency and said that if the PLI took power it would "demilitarize the country."

Godoy has also expressed his hostility to advisers from Cuba and other workers states. He echoed the imperialist claims that Nicaragua has become "a country impoverished and invaded by thousands of Cubans, hundreds of Russians and a large number of experts from Germany. All these foreigners have been brought in to persecute and repress Nicaraguans."

PCD: for a 'civic insurrection'

The Democratic Conservative Party (PCD), another capitalist formation, has touched on many of the same themes that the PLI did.

PCD presidential candidate Clemente Guido has charged that the current government is "full of foreigners" and has accused the FSLN of "wanting to send our food, cotton, beef and other products behind the iron curtain." He has

pledged to break off all diplomatic and trade relations with the workers states.

The PCD has praised the "brilliant methods of government" of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as an example of the policies that the PCD hopes to adopt, and Guido has vowed to "exterminate the devastating Marxist-Leninist cancer that is threatening Nicaragua."

According to Guido, the only way to end the war against Nicaragua is to oust the current government. If the FSLN remains in power, he said, "Mr. Reagan, or any other Reagan who becomes president of the United States, will continue the war. First of all, because they object that the FSLN hasn't been elected by popular vote and second, because the Sandinistas are Marxist Leninists. . . . If the PCD wins the elections, these conditions would disappear. . . ."

What is necessary, PCD leader Eduardo Molina declared at a rally in San Rafael del Sur, is a "civic insurrection to kick the Sandinista Front out of power." At the same rally, Guido said this insurrection would lead to a "revolution of abundance, without rationing and with dollars."

PPSC: 'We must fight totalitarianism'

The People's Social Christian Party (PPSC) has put forward Mauricio Díaz as its candidate for president.

Díaz has criticized those parties abstaining from the elections, stating, "We must fight totalitarianism by employing all our forces, but within a legal framework." According to Díaz, the PPSC seeks "to build a socialist society with Christian inspiration." The party's motto is "Christians to power."

PPSC candidates have criticized the agrarian reform program as ineffective and have decried the "heavy Cuban influence" in Nicaragua. The party calls for replacement of the mass-based Sandinista Defense Committees with vaguely defined neighborhood councils.

While maintaining that it supports the participation of the population as a whole in defending the country against U.S. aggression, it has demanded an end to military conscription.

At a September rally in Sébaco, in the department of Matagalpa, Díaz criticized an an-

nouncement by Defense Minister Humberto Ortega that Nicaragua had a right to obtain jet fighters to defend the country. "Why MIG airplanes?" Díaz asked. "It would be better to buy tractors, and toys for our children."

At the same rally, Díaz demanded the release of Father Amado Peña, who was arrested after having been caught transporting plastic explosives given to him by contra forces.

PSN's 'tactical differences'

Three small groups that call themselves Marxist are also running against the FSLN.

The oldest of these is the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), which was founded in 1944. From its inception, the PSN has traditionally had close ties with the Soviet leadership.

A number of key founders of the FSLN broke from the PSN in the 1960s over the party's policy of class collaboration with the Somoza dictatorship and its opposition to armed struggle. In the period leading up to the 1979 insurrection, however, the PSN split, and a significant wing took part in the overthrow of the Somoza regime and soon fused with the FSLN. Today's PSN is the wing of the old party that did not take part in the insurrection and has maintained its separate existence. It also leads a small labor federation, the General Workers Federation-Independent (CGT-I), which remains outside the FSLN-led Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) to which the majority of Nicaragua's workers belong.

The PSN's candidate for president is Domingo Sánchez Salgado, a founding member of the party.

The main campaign slogan of the party is, "For the democratization of the revolution." While claiming to have only "tactical differences" with the ruling FSLN, the PSN campaign has focused on accusing the Sandinistas of "bureaucracy," "inefficiency," and "corruption."

Critical of the land reform program, PSN candidate Sánchez says "the priority given to the cooperative sector" in agriculture is "contradictory . . . because campesinos want individual ownership rights to their land."

The PSN candidates have also criticized the housing shortage, blaming it on the Ministry of Housing. They have charged that the food distribution system is poorly organized and have complained about a lack of production incentives for private enterprise.

At a rally in León in late September, the PSN candidates presented a peace program which they called an "intermediate alternative" between that of the FSLN and the rightist parties. Sánchez, referring to the imperialists, declared that "if they come with bullets, we'll fight them with bullets; but if we can do it civilly, that's how we should fight them."

MAP-ML: 'Abolish private property'

The Popular Action Movement-Marxist-Leninist (MAP-ML) was founded in 1972 by radical students and took part in the 1979 insurrection. It was officially recognized as a

legal party last year and was recently allocated a representative on the Council of State, as was its trade union arm, the Frente Obrero (Workers Front).

MAP-ML presidential candidate Isidro Téllez explained that the MAP-ML's goal "has been to create a working class party in order to take power and install a government of workers and campesinos."

The MAP-ML maintains that the FSLN's course is essentially bourgeois.

Commenting on the government's economic policies, Téllez stated, "Our party has always been critical of the mixed economy project, because it has actually benefited large landowners, at the cost of the working class." He added, "The economic policy is the only Sandinista Front policy we oppose; we've always agreed with the Revolution and the priority given to defending it."

In the MAP-ML's platform of struggle, Téllez explained, "our main proposal is to abolish private property."

PCN runs in 'undemocratic' elections

The Communist Party of Nicaragua (PCN) emerged from a split in the PSN in 1967. Prior to the revolution, it attacked the Sandinistas as "adventurers" and "provocateurs" and opposed the armed struggle against the Somoza dictatorship. After the revolution, it presented itself as the true communist vanguard and called for a new, "socialist" revolution against the FSLN, which it characterized as "bourgeois nationalist."

The PCN, through its trade-union arm, the Confederation of Trade-Union Action and Unification (CAUS), was involved in the first years of the revolution in a number of strikes in nationalized enterprises.

The PCN portrays the elections as a diversion from the military defense of the country and in the interests of "U.S. imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and local reactionary forces." Nevertheless, it is running Allan Zambrana for president, as well as candidates for other positions.

The PCN has also presented the electoral process as undemocratic, claiming that the FSLN has an unfair advantage in the elections, charging delays in its receipt of the 22 tons of paper allocated to it by the Supreme Electoral Council, and accusing the FSLN of holding rallies at the same time as PCN events in order to draw participants away from them.

"If this situation persists," Zambrana warned, "the Communist Party will be forced to reconsider its participation in the elections, because with these abuses, the necessary climate of freedoms doesn't exist."

Another theme of the PCN campaign has been to criticize the Sandinistas' agrarian reform program, which it calls "bourgeois."

Sandinistas get out message

The FSLN candidates and campaign supporters have participated in hundreds of rallies, marches, and discussions to explain the party's revolutionary program, in particular the need to defend the conquests of the workers and

farmers from imperialist aggression.

Besides running Ortega and Ramírez for president and vice-president, the FSLN has put up 180 candidates for the full and alternate seats to the National Assembly. The slate reflects the main social classes and sectors involved in the revolution: workers, farmers, women, and youth. Some were nominated directly by mass organizations. Among the candidates are also some professionals, ranchers, merchants, and one market vendor.

On September 1, some 70,000 FSLN members and supporters traveled to different parts of the country to begin a direct, door-to-door campaign. Brigades of activists were organized to explain the FSLN's 23-point "Plan of Struggle" to as many people as possible over the remaining two months of the campaign.

"The people will discover that our program is not a demagogic electoral platform, nor is it full of empty promises; rather it is the continuation of our major tasks," Commander Mónica Baltodano, the head of the FSLN national campaign committee, said.

The candidates went out among the population not only to explain, but also to listen.

And contrary to the claims of the capitalist parties that the FSLN governs through fear, people freely raised their grievances. A report in the September 17 *Barricada Internacional* provided an example of the kinds of issues that people discussed with the candidates. When Ortega and Ramírez visited Estelí on September 9, the report said:

Problems raised included the supply of basic grains, cooking gas, agricultural tools and construction materials, as well as the housing shortage and the lack of street lighting. Residents brought up charges of abuse by certain military personnel, as well as complaints of poor street conditions and the shortage of medicine. They criticized inefficient and bureaucratic government employees and the lack of coordination among state agencies. Farmers specifically requested that the cost of bean production be reviewed.

Each of these concerns, each of these problems has its roots in the war we are facing, explained Ortega and Ramírez. As a result, many items must be diverted from their intended destinations for defense purposes.

Ortega, Ramírez, and the other FSLN candidates have stressed that they are not just seeking votes, but are urging the population to continue struggling for social and economic change. The electoral process is another way in which the masses can demonstrate their determination to do so.

On this, the FSLN's "Plan of Struggle" declared, "In the first free elections in Nicaragua's history, which only the Sandinista revolution has made possible, [the] people will reiterate on Nov. 4, 1984, the vote for the revolution that it casts every day in the factories, trade unions, cooperatives, neighborhoods, shops, classrooms, in the building of the new Nicaragua.

"In this way, the people will also be reiterating their daily votes on the battlefronts, in the trenches, in the struggle to the death against the mercenaries and foreign invaders." □

Army offensive follows talks

U.S. involvement increases after La Palma meeting

By Will Reissner

Just three days after the talks between Salvadoran ruler José Napoleón Duarte and representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), the Salvadoran armed forces launched a major offensive against FMLN-controlled territory in Morazán province.

The army's Morazán operation, which began October 18, was carried out in close coordination with the Pentagon. The offensive, involving 6,000 to 7,000 troops, was spearheaded by the U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion, which moved into the area in U.S.-supplied helicopters.

Washington has emphasized increasing the Salvadoran army's mobility and has already turned over 32 helicopters to the Salvadoran regime. The Pentagon plans to send 10 to 15 more by the end of the year.

At least three U.S. officers were seen by U.S. reporters at a Salvadoran field command post in Morazán during the operation.

In addition, the day after the offensive began, four CIA employees died when their reconnaissance plane crashed into a mountain near San Salvador.

According to the FMLN's Radio Venceremos, the CIA plane had been hit by anti-aircraft fire from the FMLN's Rafael Arce Zablah Brigade, which was defending Morazán against the army's offensive.

The FMLN station reported that the CIA plane had been assisting a Salvadoran air force helicopter that was attacking the town of Joateca, in Morazán, when it was hit. The spy plane crashed while attempting to return to Ilopango military airport outside San Salvador.

Prior to the crash of the twin-engine turboprop, there had never been any public report that CIA planes were carrying out reconnaissance missions in El Salvador, although U.S. Army planes have been flying missions over the country from bases in Honduras and Panama for several years.

CIA officials had tried to hide news of the deaths of the four agents in order to cover up the agency's expanded role in the fighting in El Salvador. Obituaries for the crash victims reported simply that they had "died suddenly" and gave the place of death as southern Florida.

FMLN forces scored a major blow against the army's offensive on October 23 when they brought down a helicopter carrying the top army commander of the Morazán offensive, the head of the Atlacatl Battalion, and 12 other officers.

The commander, Lieut. Col. Domingo Monterrosa, and the other officers were killed

when their helicopter was shot down over Joateca.

Radio Venceremos reported that Monterrosa's craft was shot down by a special FMLN machine-gun unit.

Col. Monterrosa was a commander who, in the words of *New York Times* reporter James LeMoyné, "used ruthless tactics that left no prisoners." Monterrosa commanded the troops that massacred more than 400 peasants in the village of El Mozote in 1981.

President Duarte declared three days of national mourning for Monterrosa. The FMLN, on the other hand, decreed a three-day holiday in the zones it controls to celebrate the death of what it described as a "war criminal."

Prior to the October 15 talks, the FDR and FMLN had been calling for a dialogue with the government since 1981. This call had been rejected previously.

Duarte's objective in agreeing to talks now was to take another step in his attempt to present himself as a champion of peace and democracy. During the election, he had campaigned on the promise of holding talks with the FDR-FMLN leaders in order to win votes

from a war-weary population.

The FDR and FMLN leaders were able to use the talks in La Palma to speak directly to the Salvadoran people.

After the meeting, FMLN and FDR representatives addressed the crowd outside the meeting. FMLN leader Fermán Cienfuegos led the crowd in a chant of "We want peace, we want peace."

The news media, especially the radio stations, broke their long-standing practice of giving only the government's side of the story and transmitted interviews with supporters of the rebel forces.

A communiqué by the FMLN's General Command issued the day after the talks pointed out that "we have made important gains in the political arena. We have opened up space for the masses of people to politically organize, mobilize, and express themselves.

The FMLN statement called "upon our people to reaffirm their pressing determination to continue the struggle until their most precious aspirations for peace, justice, and freedom are turned into reality." It added that "as long as they are not fulfilled, our rifles remain ready for battle."

A commission made up of four representatives of the Duarte regime, four people from the FDR-FMLN, and a church representative as moderator, will meet to lay the groundwork for a second round of talks scheduled to be held in late November.

Under pressure from an international cam-

Pentagon plans new round of maneuvers

The Pentagon has scheduled a new round of military maneuvers in Central America that will involve thousands of U.S. troops, the October 26 *Washington Post* reported.

The several-month long maneuvers, called Big Pine 3, will bring together U.S., Salvadoran, and Honduran troops and will take place in Honduras and El Salvador.

Big Pine 3 is scheduled to begin some time after the November 6 U.S. presidential election. *Post* reporter Fred Hiatt noted that "the Reagan administration has played down military activities in Central America during the election campaign, scaling back its exercises and neglecting to announce some of the smaller maneuvers that take place."

Hiatt added that "after the election, however, [U.S. Southern Command chief Gen. Paul] Gorman and other Pentagon leaders are expected to push for a more active and visible U.S. military role in the region."

During Big Pine 1, Big Pine 2, and Granadero 1 maneuvers in 1983 and 1984, the Pentagon not only practiced blockades and invasions of Nicaragua and El Salvador, but also developed a huge military infrastructure in Honduras capable of supporting any level of military operations in

the region that Washington decides to mount.

Big Pine 3 will further deepen direct U.S. involvement in the fighting in Central America.

One aspect of the maneuvers will be a rehearsal of a naval and air blockade of Nicaragua's west coast. In an exercise called King's Guard, several hundred U.S. troops will take part in the practice blockade, along with troops from Honduras and El Salvador.

The U.S. Navy's first King's Guard exercises earlier this year were also a dry-run blockade of Nicaragua.

Even as the Reagan administration has tried to keep U.S. involvement in the Central American fighting out of the public eye before the elections, a number of smaller exercises have taken place under the umbrella name Bigger Focus 84. These are to continue through February 1985.

In addition, a Marine contingent that had withdrawn from its radar and electronic listening post on Tiger Island in the Gulf of Fonseca between El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras, returned to the base in August without any public announcement.

paigned by the labor movement in many countries, Duarte released 10 Salvadoran trade union leaders who had been imprisoned for more than three years without charges.

Héctor Recinos, leader of El Salvador's largest union federation, FENASTRAS, and nine other leaders of the electrical workers union were freed on October 15, just before the talks began.

In recent months, a number of large strikes have taken place, reflecting a resurgence of union activity within the country. Since the beginning of July there have been 34 strikes and

88 other labor actions in El Salvador.

Among the groups on strike were 22,000 teachers, workers at the Central Reserve Bank, employees of the Urban Housing Institute, and postal workers, who were on strike from May 28 to July 11.

In early October, one of the main death squads operating in El Salvador, the Anticomunist Secret Army (ESA), issued a death threat against trade union leaders. A communiqué to the press threatening that any union leader who organized a strike "will be the target of annihilation by our forces." □

The La Palma dialogue is the start of a complex and difficult process, within the context of a war being prolonged and deepened by the Reagan administration's interventionist policy. This constantly escalating intervention is the main obstacle our people face in their struggle to win a just peace.

Now is the time for our people and their organizations to redouble the struggle in all fields — economic, military, political, and diplomatic — against those who have daily, for more than 50 years, deprived them of their rights.

To carry this out, our fronts have a powerful revolutionary army and solid international and national backing. Therefore, the dialogue is a victory for the people that must be defended until peace is achieved.

We seek a peace with liberty for the masses of the people, with independence and sovereignty, and with full respect for our people's right to self-determination. A peace with a genuine people's content and a revolutionary content.

Therefore we repeat, to the Salvadoran community, the international community, and the people of the United States in particular, that a basic precondition for achieving peace in El Salvador is a cessation of the Reagan administration's interference in matters that concern us Salvadorans.

At this time of such transcendent importance for the destiny of our people, we call upon all the organized sectors in the country — the revolutionary combatants and activists, the labor unions, the teachers and students, the occupational associations, the professional sectors, the small and medium-sized proprietors, the Christian communities, and the whole people — to mobilize and express in every possible way their backing for a serious dialogue and their rejection of any maneuvers.

We also call upon our people to reaffirm their pressing determination to continue the struggle until their most precious aspirations for peace, justice, and freedom are turned into reality.

The FMLN is committed to the defense of our people's interests; the peace we seek is one that fulfills all the people's aspirations. As long as they are not fulfilled, our rifles will remain ready for battle.

The political and military power we have acquired is and will continue to be what guarantees the interests of our people. We are completely determined that the dialogue should move forward. We will work with the greatest sense of responsibility and with all the means at our disposal to seek the path to peace, because this is the sole aspiration of our people and because we must still fight very hard to turn this aspiration into reality.

Everyone must intensify the people's struggle. The whole people must be ready to defeat the imperialist aggression, the whole people must be ready to struggle for the conquest of peace.

United to fight, until the final victory!
Revolution or death! We will win!

DOCUMENTS

FMLN statement on 'dialogue'

'Everyone must intensify the people's struggle'

[The following statement, addressed "to the entire Salvadoran people," was issued in El Salvador on October 16 by the General Command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). The translation from Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*]

* * *

The dialogue we began October 15 in La Palma has taken place at a time when the FMLN-FDR [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Revolutionary Democratic Front] has undergone enormous growth of its forces in the political, military, and diplomatic arenas, making it the other power in the country.

With the start of the dialogue we have made important gains in the political arena. We have opened up space for the masses of the people to politically organize, mobilize, and express themselves.

These spaces must be extended and broadened through the organized struggle of the whole people.

We have been able to break the muzzle the dictators had imposed on the communications media in an attempt to confuse and demoralize the people's struggle. We must also defend this opening up of the communications media as a gain, and must utilize it as a legitimate instrument of political instruction of the people.

We have consolidated and broadened the worldwide recognition of the revolution's political-military strength and of the validity and justice of the politico-revolutionary positions regarding the real path toward peace.

In addition, the start of the dialogue marks a complete repudiation of the imperialist intervention by the United States.

In the La Palma meeting we are demolishing some of José Napoleón Duarte's most demagogic positions. Duarte claimed that in order for the dialogue to start, we would have to lay down our weapons. But the dialogue was held at a time when our revolutionary rifles are blazing and dealing heavy blows to the puppet

regime in nearly the whole territory of our country.

Duarte wanted to downplay the FDR leaders by excluding them from the meeting. But the FDR leaders were present, with the total backing of our people and of the international community.

Duarte wanted to reduce a solution to the conflict solely to our participation in the crooked elections. But in the meeting we established the need to deal with all the economic, political, and social factors that gave rise to the war, and all the aspects needed to achieve peace.

These are victories for our revolutionary movement. But our people must be vigilant. The imperialist enemy and the puppet regime still hope to use the dialogue as a propagandistic maneuver. They hope to confuse the people, making them believe that democracy has been implemented in El Salvador, that the conditions of poverty and exploitation do not exist, that people's freedoms and rights are no longer trampled, and that there is no longer the genocidal barbarism that justifies armed struggle.

The transformation that our country has undergone has not been democratization or implementation of social justice, as Duarte said, but rather the turning over of national sovereignty and independence in the political, economic, military, and diplomatic spheres to the imperialist government of the United States, whose weapons, planes, and military advisers are drenching the soil of our homeland in blood and destroying the humble possessions of the working people.

Duarte is trying to manufacture a peaceful image while his repressive apparatus deepens the war against the people and continues bombing defenseless settlements and persecuting, jailing, torturing, and massacring the best sons and daughters of our people.

The present step-up in the mass struggle around economic, political, and social demands exposes Duarte's demagoguery.

Miners and supporters discuss strike

International solidarity is a major theme of meeting

By Celia Pugh

BOLD, LANCASHIRE — More than 100 striking miners and their wives joined 200 supporters from around Britain and internationally for a solidarity meeting held here on October 20. The meeting, held at the headquarters of the Bold branch of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), was organized by supporters of the newspaper *Socialist Action*. The miners and their wives were in defiant and confident spirits, and with good reason.

As they traveled from all the major coal-mining districts of Britain, they talked about the panic reports in the morning newspapers.

On October 17, shares on the London stock exchange took one of their biggest falls on record, and billions of pounds were lost by speculators. On the same day, the pound nosedived to a record low of \$1.20. Leading commentators in the big-business newspapers began to talk of deepening political crisis and even "civil war."

This panic-mongering by the bosses was in response to the collapse of talks between the National Coal Board (NCB) and the NUM and the announcement by the mine supervisors union, NACODS, that their members would join the NUM on strike starting October 25. Eighty-two percent of NACODS members had voted in September for a strike if the National Coal Board did not satisfy their demands for a change in pit closure plans and for the withdrawal of NCB instructions ordering them to cross NUM picket lines or lose their pay.

When the Coal Board refused to meet these demands, NACODS delegates in areas where scab miners are defying the strike called for strike action to begin October 25. This would have meant the withdrawal of vital safety work done by NACODS forcing the closure of all scab pits. The domestic supply of coal to power stations would have been strangled, and power cuts already predicted before Christmas made more imminent.

To counter this threat, the NCB hastily reconvened talks with NACODS leaders and offered them a cosmetic deal involving consultation over proposed closures. This was enough for the NACODS officials to beat a quick retreat from their threatened strike.

This NACODS retreat from the battle line has not reduced the determination of the NUM to continue its fight to stop pit closures. Even with the coal reaching power stations from scab areas and imports brought in through small, nonunion ports in defiance of the dockers and seafarers' blockade, all nongovernment experts predict power cuts by Christmas.



Miners show support for strike, London, June 27.

On October 25, the High Court ordered that all funds and assets held by the national union should be seized. This escalation of attacks on the NUM and stepped-up repression increases pressure on Trades Union Congress and Labour Party leaders to implement the decisions of recent national conventions to back the miners, even if this means confronting the police and the courts.

The miners and wives who met in Bold echoed the militant mood of their communities. The discussion focused on the tasks of spreading the picketing, fighting for other unions to take industrial solidarity action, and stopping the movement of coal.

Railworkers from the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) helped make this concrete with reports of the position of rail workers from Coalville, Leicestershire. They have refused to cross NUM picket lines and move coal from the scab Nottingham pits to the power stations. Three of these workers have been fired and face criminal charges for having British Rail property in their homes — a few pounds worth of cleaning cloths and cleaning cream.

These rail workers are campaigning for the labor movement and their own union leaders to come to their defense by stepping up industrial action in the rail depots.

Miners' wives opened the first session of the meeting, in recognition of the leading role these women play in spreading the message of the miners and the vital place of their soup kitchens, rallies, and pickets in destroying government efforts to break the morale of the strikers. Their determination to face all odds was likened to the defiance of the Greenham common women resisting the emplacement of cruise missiles and the women organizing

against U.S. imperialist aggression in Nicaragua.

A thread running through the meeting was the internationalism of this battle against the coal bosses. The meeting here was given a flavor of this solidarity with greetings from Ireland, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, and the United States from members and sympathizers of the Fourth International.

The message taken back by miners and their wives from Bold was that solidarity between miners has no borders and that industrial workers worldwide are looking to the British miners to inflict a blow against the common class enemy.

The following are excerpts from some of the speeches given at the October 20 meeting.

Lorraine Johnson, Bold Women's Support Group:

If Margaret Thatcher thought she could use the wives to get the men back to work, we've proved her wrong. After this strike we're not going to stop in the kitchen. I'm going to join the Labour Party. Victory is the door. Solidarity is the key.

Sue Bence, Kent Miners' Wives Committee, Aylesham:

The strike has been called political. Yes, it became political when Ian MacGregor was put in charge of the mining industry to decimate it. MacGregor says he won't compromise. Well, we'll not compromise either. They say the strike is not democratic. Well, we think it is because people have voted with their feet.

Ann Jones, Women's Support Group, Hirwaun, Wales:

I'll say this for the police. They have no dis-

crimination when the women are picketing — it's "put the boot in" all the same. I'll remind people to talk about violence. It's four miners, not four police, who have been killed. We are letting Mrs. Thatcher know that there is more than one determined woman in this country.

Phillip Sutcliffe, Kent NUM:

I would like to see a political victory for the miners and a start for the working class to fight back against capitalism and all its evils.

I want to say that I am a miner, and I'm proud of my class. I want to fight for that working class. I want to fight for and understand the working class of the world. Most of all, the fight I want to be involved in and that we all should be involved in is the fight for peace and true socialism throughout the world.

Roy Butlin, Coalville NUR:

We've been in dispute [on strike] for 29 weeks. We were the first rail depot to refuse coal. We've been threatened with closure. We've been suspended every day we were booked on a coal train — the first 10 weeks without any payments at all. We've even had members' houses searched by the police, and now there are three men who have been sacked. But this is not going to deflect us from what we're doing because we decided we were going to support the miners. Nothing that they do to us can deflect us from this aim.

Brian Todd, Nottingham striking miner:

In Nottingham from day one we were forced to build our own organization because the scabs took over and controlled the union and sacked all the union officials who had gone on strike like myself. We're in a minority in Nottingham, but we're not giving up because we see that the future is ours. The scabs have nothing to offer, only collaboration with the bosses. Anyone with any sort of class consciousness knows where that leads the workers.

Dennis Pennington, Bold NUM:

I've had the great privilege to visit both West Germany and Belgium to give the NUM's point of view to people in other countries. We went to Germany when the 35-hour week struggle was going on. The reception we got from German people was very good. But it was noticeable that the immigrant workers — the Turks, Greeks, and Cypriots — were at the forefront of this struggle. They were very brave people considering they could be sent home.

The miners in Belgium are also under threat from pit closures. I firmly believe that a victory for the NUM against this right-wing oppressive government will be a beacon to other labor movements in Europe. The victory for the NUM will be like a stone thrown in the water. The ripples will spread throughout Europe.

Nigel Bevan, South Wales NUM:

I am an ordinary rank-and-file member of Tenrhwiweiber Colliery, so apart from a few weeks' strike here and there in the past, I have had very little experience of trade union activ-

ity. Since the beginning of the strike, I've been attending Labour Party meetings and various other meetings speaking and putting the case for the NUM. Since the beginning of the strike, I've joined Socialist Action.

Through my contacts with Socialist Action there was a solidarity tour arranged for myself and a woman comrade from Mountain Ash Women Against Pit Closures to visit Holland on a solidarity tour. Workers there were very generous with their contributions financially. They also asked us what they could do apart from the financial contributions, and every time that question was asked, I replied, "stop the coal to Great Britain."

Wayne Frost, Yorkshire NUM:

When we arrived in Ireland in August, we found people living in almost derelict houses. But they gave us all they could, and we were really pleased with this. The first things we saw when we went there were the police and the army. We went on the march on August 12. People were saying "Give it to Thatcher. Victory to the miners!"

On the march we were fired on with plastic bullets by the troops. The British government claimed we were rioting, which is a load of rubbish. To really see what is going on in Ireland, you've got to go over there and see for yourself. On the British media you only see what they want to show. When this strike is over, how many miners are going to remember that the Irish people have helped us? It is our job to tell people how they have helped us and how we can help them.

Brian Pehan, People's Democracy, Ireland:

Thousands of working-class people in the whole of Ireland are with the struggle of the miners. We are with you and we want you to win. From Ireland, roughly £100,000 has been sent to the NUM, and food parcels are being sent. Irish people knew they were on the side of the miners when they saw on their TV screens the shields, batons, and police helmets.

Let me quote Bernadette McAliskey. She said once that there is one way that you know that you are on the right side in the class struggle. If you're standing facing the police and looking into their eyes, you know what side you're on; if you're facing the police, you're on the side of the working class. And if you're looking at the backs of their heads, well, you can call yourself a scab.

In Britain and Ireland we have seen all forms of repressive methods used against us — plastic bullets, searches at 5 o'clock in the morning when British soldiers come and take your house apart and take you off to torture centers. These are the things that have been going on daily in Ireland since 1969 and even before that. These sorts of tactics are now being used to smash you, so your struggle and our struggle are one.

Nigel, Belgian Socialist Workers Party:

It is good to see the working class fighting back, and that's giving us the courage in Bel-

gium to fight back against the government. Every day we are giving out leaflets and collecting money in the factories, and people are really willing to give. An example of the growing solidarity of the Belgian working class with the British miners was last week, when Belgian mineworkers came out on a 24-hour strike and a warning to the government not to even think of plans to cut back the jobs.

I work in a car factory in Antwerp, and whenever the bosses come around, we shout, "Victory to the miners."

Anika, Socialist Workers Party, Holland:

I am one of the members and initiators of the support committee with the British miners in Rotterdam. I am also a member of the Socialist Workers Party, which sympathizes with *Socialist Action*. Under the pressure of the strike itself and the questions from union members, the largest confederation of unions in Holland has opened a bank account, which until now has given £100,000. The first solidarity meeting in Rotterdam was organized by the women's union of that same federation with the help of youth members of that union.

Finn Jensen, Danish Solidarity Committee:

Fraternal greetings from the Danish Solidarity Committee. I am in the daily leadership of this solidarity committee and I am also a shop steward in a factory in Copenhagen. The Danish support committee was started three months ago. We have set up 50 local committees all over the country, and almost 200 trade unions, factories and other organizations are connected with our support committee. We have printed more than 50,000 leaflets, posters, and stickers — the need for information is enormous.

The Danish TUC is now going to ask all the national trade unions to start making collections in the branches for the British mineworkers. Another way to support the mineworkers is to stop coal to Britain. This summer a Danish ship was transporting coal from Poland to Britain, and the National Union of Seamen in Denmark, who are in our solidarity committee, commandeered the ship and got the movement stopped.

Kipp Dawson, laid-off U.S. miner and member of Socialist Workers Party:

I come here to offer the solidarity of your sisters in the United States and of all miners there. But especially I come here to learn. In the United States there is no such fight as yours going on yet. But don't be fooled by the current slowness of things there. We have the same problems in the States as you have, and we are looking to you for inspiration and guidance.

I must say there are two places we find ourselves looking toward now in the United States. First to you here, to the valiant work you are doing to defend your jobs and defend your class, to defend all of us because we are all in the same boat together. We are also looking to a country that our government is threatening to invade any day now — Nicaragua. □

Fight against slander suit continues

Judge refuses to rule on Healyite frame-up against SWP

By Doug Jenness

October 24 marked one year since the last hearing was held on a lawsuit filed more than five years ago against the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) — and still no ruling has been made.

The suit, filed in July 1979 by Alan Gelfand, a lawyer for Los Angeles County in California, is a major part of an international disruption campaign against the SWP and the Fourth International. This campaign has been the principal activity of the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and its U.S. branch, the Workers League (WL), for nearly a decade.

Gelfand, who entered the SWP in 1976 to disrupt it from within, was expelled from the party in January 1979 after he filed a legal brief in federal court charging that the SWP is a front for the FBI. This slander is at the heart of the WRP-WL disruption operation against the SWP.

After Gelfand's expulsion, the WRP-WL initiated the lawsuit against the SWP, asking a federal judge to remove the party leadership and reinstate Gelfand into membership. The spurious grounds for this demand is the claim that Gelfand was expelled by U.S. government agents who had taken over the SWP. He claims that his constitutional rights were violated, and the WRP-WL presents the suit as a significant civil rights case.

If the court were to rule in favor of Gelfand, it would mark a big blow against the constitutional right of freedom of association and the fundamental right of a political party to determine who its members are and to freely choose its own leadership. It would mean that the government can dictate to a political party whether its activities are in conformity with its stated program and historic goals. It would open the door to the government intervening in the decision-making process of unions, civil rights groups, and all other similar organizations.

For four years U.S. District Court Judge Mariana Pfaelzer rejected every effort by the SWP to have the case thrown out of court. She asserted that Gelfand was entitled to his "day in court."

While Pfaelzer delayed setting a trial date, the SWP was forced to divert big financial and personnel resources to defend itself. For example, Gelfand's attorneys, the Los Angeles law firm of Fisher & Moest, subpoenaed many SWP members in order to take more than 350 hours of depositions. In addition to draining SWP resources, this harassment was designed to produce an "official court record" that can be selectively published at a future date.

The case finally came to trial in March 1983

in Los Angeles. During the days leading up to and during the trial, a nationwide campaign supported by unionists, civil rights activists, and civil libertarians demanded that Pfaelzer halt the intervention by the courts into the SWP's functioning and throw Gelfand's case out of court. This public pressure contributed to Pfaelzer's admission at the conclusion of the trial that Gelfand had never produced "one shred of evidence" to support his slanderous charge that the SWP's elected leaders are FBI agents.

No ruling at trial

She declared to Gelfand and his attorneys: "You have not proved anything that you said you were going to prove. Nothing. . . . I can only assume that there was a motive somewhere in here to paralyze the Socialist Workers Party. I don't know how much the rival political party [the WRP-WL] paid for your attorneys fees. I suppose in another forum that will come up as an issue. . . ."

"The whole aura of facts in here leads me to question the motivation for the lawsuit. If I had been presented with one single piece of evidence that [the SWP leaders] are agents of the Government, that would be an entirely different matter. *I haven't a single piece of evidence given to me.*"

Despite these statements, Pfaelzer made no decision on the case.

At a federal court hearing a couple of weeks after the trial, she stated that she would give favorable consideration to a motion by the SWP that she require Gelfand and his attorneys to pay the SWP's legal fees and expenses. The SWP subsequently filed such a motion.

But Pfaelzer still has made no ruling on Gelfand's suit or on the SWP's motion for legal fees and expenses. In spite of her admission that Gelfand produced no evidence, she refuses to rule.

Government seizes opening

One critical aspect of the Gelfand suit is the attempt by the U.S. Justice Department to get Pfaelzer to issue a sweeping ruling that would give the FBI unrestricted legal rights to use informers and provocateurs against the SWP and other working-class organizations.

To bolster its claim that the Gelfand suit is aimed at government agents, the WRP-WL named the FBI and CIA as defendants. But they were only nominal defendants. The government lawyers sat for four years with their hands folded. They were satisfied that Gelfand, with the aid of Fisher & Moest and the connivance of Pfaelzer, was doing a good job of harassing the SWP. But after the March

1983 trial, when the disruption operation seemed to be coming to an end, the FBI and CIA mouthpieces jumped right into the situation.

They filed a document requesting that Pfaelzer issue a legal opinion affirming that the use of informers within political parties like the SWP "does not constitute a violation of individual rights," and "may not be enjoined." They asked her to rule that "the identities of informants who have conducted activities within the Socialist Workers Party are protected from disclosure by the informant privilege." More than a year later Pfaelzer has not issued an opinion on the government's requests.

In spite of their claim to be defending "constitutional rights" and their protests about government agents in the SWP, Gelfand and the WRP-WL have not condemned this attack on democratic rights.

The legal issues the government has put before the judge are exactly the questions at the heart of the SWP suit against the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other federal agencies. That case, known as *SWP vs. Attorney General*, has been pending since 1973. The trial in that case was held before Judge Thomas Griesa in 1981. Griesa has not yet issued his ruling and will not say when he intends to do so.

During the March 1983 trial, Gelfand admitted on the witness stand that he had collaborated with leaders of the WRP-WL for at least seven months before his expulsion from the SWP. He testified that Workers League leader David North promised to raise money for the suit. The WRP-WL also has been promoting the Gelfand case in its press.

Several decades ago the WRP, then called the Socialist Labour League, led by Gerry Healy, was a Marxist organization that belonged to the Fourth International. How did it degenerate into the antiworking class formation that it is today?

Cuban revolution is touchstone

Key to understanding the WRP's degeneration is its repudiation of the Cuban revolution in 1959. Healy and his grouping contended then, and still do, that the team of leaders around Fidel Castro were not revolutionaries. They did not lead the Cuban revolution to overturn capitalist property relations; rather they established a capitalist regime like those of Chiang Kai-shek in China and Jawaharlal Nehru in India.

The Healyites maintained that socialist revolutions are only possible if they are led by Trotskyist parties. In other words, when the living class struggle turned out different from

the Healyite schema — they solved the contradiction by denying reality.

The SWP and the Fourth International, in contrast, hailed the Cuban revolution and its revolutionary leadership as a historic step forward for the working class internationally.

The sectarian stance of the Healyites toward Cuba soon led them to sectarian positions on the Algerian revolution in the 1960s and the colonial revolution in general, the Labour Party in Britain, and the rise of revolutionary Black nationalism in the United States.

Their repudiation of the Cuban revolution was at the heart of their rapid degeneration. Opposing a genuine workers revolution cannot but throw a party claiming to speak for the interests of working people off the rails. By not correcting their erroneous position on the Cuban revolution and its leadership, but rather sticking to it over the years, the Healyites wandered further and further from Marxism.

Healy frames up Joseph Hansen

From the early 1960s the Healyites attempted to cover their break from Marxism by waging a vitriolic polemical campaign against the SWP and the Fourth International.

This campaign took an insidious new turn in 1975 when the WRP asserted that Joseph Hansen, a longtime leader of the SWP and the Fourth International, was complicit in the 1940 assassination of Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky. Hansen was the author of many of the SWP's principal resolutions and public articles on the Cuban revolution.

He was serving as a secretary for Trotsky in Mexico at the time of the assassination, which was incontestably proven to be the work of Joseph Stalin's secret police. Assassination has long been one of the Stalinist methods for dealing with political opponents in the workers movement.

The Healyite charge paralleled the accusation the Stalinists made at the time of the assassination. In order to direct attention away from their own guilt, they asserted that Trotsky was killed by one of his own followers.

When George Novack, another longtime SWP leader, wrote an article defending Hansen, he was also labeled an "accomplice" of the Soviet secret police.

The Healyites later added to their slander campaign the charge that Hansen was an FBI agent.

The Healyite presses rolled out article after article and pamphlet after pamphlet presenting "documents" and "evidence" to bolster their frame-up. But there was not one bit of truth to any of it. It was entirely a concoction of lies.

The WRP-WL's operation is based on the notion that if a lie is repeated over and over and broadcast wide enough some fools will be persuaded that there must be something to it. Yet when they presented their entire case in the courtroom, even Judge Pfaelzer had to concede that they had not presented her "with one single piece of evidence that these people are agents of the government."

From the beginning, the SWP has waged a

counteroffensive against this slander campaign. Hansen wrote several major articles refuting each lie and exposing the entire frame-up nature of the operation.

These articles as well as many statements and articles by other leaders and sympathizers of the Fourth International and by leaders of other groups considering themselves Trotskyist were published as a pamphlet, *Healy's Big Lie — The Slander Campaign Against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the Fourth International*. [This pamphlet is still available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. \$4.00 plus \$.75 for postage.]

A meeting of 1,200 was organized in London in January 1977, where Fourth Interna-

More support needed!

The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing the effort to halt the court's unconstitutional interference in the functioning of the Socialist Workers Party and to get the Gelfand slander suit thrown out of court.

It has organized dozens of meetings and hundreds of messages protesting the violation of democratic rights posed by this case, not only for the SWP but for all working-class organizations.

PRDF has raised tens of thousands of dollars for court costs and attorneys fees, and as long as this case continues many more dollars will be needed.

Messages of support and contributions can be sent to: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

tional leaders and other speakers condemned the Healyite slander campaign.

When Hansen died in early 1979, the Healyites proceeded to charge that Hansen had recruited and trained a younger group of government agents and had "elevated" them into positions of leadership responsibility in the SWP. With this frame-up the Healyites have been able to keep their slander campaign against the SWP up-to-date. There has been no let-up in their barrage of lies. Their disruption operation against the Fourth International, the SWP, and others remains their reason for existence.

One of their methods of disruption against the Fourth International has been to tailor their slanders so as to echo and distort political discussion and debates going on among Fourth Internationalists.

For example, the extension of the Cuban revolution to Nicaragua and Grenada and the emergence of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador brought a new acid test for revolutionists. This has led to an ongoing discussion

— and new divisions among revolutionists — on the lessons to be learned from these revolutions and the orientation to take to their leaderships.

These lessons were the subject of a speech given by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes in December 1982 entitled "Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today." It was subsequently published in the fall 1983 *New Internationalist*, a magazine published by leaders of the SWP and the Revolutionary Workers League, the Canadian section of the Fourth International. A diverse range of opinions about Barnes' speech was expressed by members of the Fourth International, including some that were critical.

The WRP-WL, for their own antiworking-class purposes, immediately intervened by orienting their smear campaign to this discussion among revolutionists, seeking to disrupt it. The Healyite political arguments are designed to superficially echo some of the positions raised in the discussion by those who disagree with the SWP. But the WRP-WL twists its accusations to lead to the conclusion that the reason the SWP leaders are wrong is that they are FBI agents.

The Healyites published a pamphlet on the Barnes speech, *A Provocateur Attacks Trotskyism*, which charges that:

"An unbridgeable political chasm separates the present-day Socialist Workers Party from Trotskyism. Not a single programmatic conception upon which the founding of the Fourth International was based is still accepted by the SWP: not that of the permanent revolution, of the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism and the necessity for the political revolution, of the decisive historical role of Trotskyism. In its present form, the Socialist Workers Party is the antithesis of the party that was founded 45 years ago by James P. Cannon in closest collaboration with Leon Trotsky."

Their assertion that the SWP has substituted "Castroism for revolutionary Marxism" is a central axis of the pamphlet.

The conclusion reached by the Healyites is that "the political line of the SWP leaders does not contradict their role as government agents but confirms it."

It chides revolutionists who disagree with the views of the SWP for being "unable to explain the political evolution of the SWP."

Broad support for SWP defense

The fight to defend the SWP from the Gelfand lawsuit, which is presently at the center of the Healyite disruption operation, continues. At any time Pfaelzer could rule in favor of both Gelfand and the U.S. government, thus giving the green light to the courts and the Justice Department to step up their disruption of the SWP and other working-class organizations.

The SWP, aided by the Political Rights Defense Fund and other defenders of the Bill of Rights, is waging a campaign to defend its constitutional rights and to help deter similar lawsuits against other working-class organizations.

In the period around the March 1983 trial, broad protest rallies were held in 50 cities in the United States, demanding the judge halt the unconstitutional intervention by the courts into the functioning of the SWP and throw Gelfand's suit out of court.

Scores of union officials, civil rights leaders, farm protest figures, women's rights fighters, civil libertarians, and representatives of political organizations spoke or sent messages.

Among the union officials who stated their support for this First Amendment principle were Anthony Mazzocchi, former vice-president of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union; Victor Reuther, retired director of United Auto Workers International Affairs Department; and David Dyson, national staff representative of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and secretary to the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

Mazzocchi stated, "This case threatens to establish the precedent of government interference in any political organization, from the NAACP to NOW [National Organization for Women] to the Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador." He said that the claim that the SWP has been taken over by the government "flies in the face of all the activities of the SWP."

Georgia State Representative Julian Bond and U.S. Congressman Ronald Dellums also joined the defense effort.

Dellums declared, "Judicial interference in the internal affairs of a voluntary organization jeopardizes the right of free speech and assembly. The right of free people to organize politically independent of government intrusion is a basic right which must be preserved."

Ring Lardner Jr., one of the 10 Hollywood writers who were jailed during the witch-hunt of the 1950s, also declared his support.

In July of this year, William Smith, a Los Angeles attorney, sent a letter to a number of lawyers urging support for the SWP's fight. Smith is active in the fight to block reimposition of the draft and has handled the legal defense of men who have refused to register for the draft.

"Chances are," Smith wrote, "you may not of heard of [the Gelfand case]. And even if you have, if you are like I was, your reaction may have been to dismiss it as irrelevant. Or simply another unimportant struggle between sectarian groups. But I decided to take the time to look more deeply into this case. As I did I became convinced there are some very significant issues at stake."

After describing the case, Smith explained, "Gelfand had behind him some very powerful backers. Armed with seemingly unlimited funds, he was able to use the power of the court in an attempt to destroy a legitimate political organization."

Getting out the word about this case and the stakes involved remain a necessity if this attack on democratic rights is to be defeated and the Healyite disruption operation dealt a sharp blow. □

Yugoslavia

Crackdown on dissenters

Political trials hit regime's critics

By Will Reissner

The Yugoslav government has launched a crackdown against dissent within the country. The attacks began April 20, when police broke up an informal discussion group meeting in a Belgrade apartment and arrested 28 people.

A network of such discussion groups, sometimes described as the "flying university," has been functioning in the Yugoslav capital for seven years without police interference. On a number of occasions, the Yugoslav press has carried accounts of the lectures and discussions that have taken place.

The April 20 police raid therefore came as a shock to many Yugoslavs. Participants had gathered to hear a lecture by Milovan Djilas, a former leader of the Yugoslav Communist Party who broke with it three decades ago and spent nine years in prison for his criticisms of the Yugoslav political system. His scheduled topic was the Communist Party's attitude toward the national question prior to World War II.

Djilas reported that during his 18 hours in custody he was treated "correctly." Others, however, were not so lucky. Five of the 28 people arrested reported that they had been beaten by interrogators.

One of them, Radomir Radovic, a 33-year-old worker, was found dead a week after his release from custody. Yugoslav authorities claim he committed suicide, but his family and friends have raised numerous questions about the official account of his death.

On May 15, University of Sarajevo sociologist Vejslav Seselj was arrested and charged with a "counterrevolutionary attempt on the social-political order" in Yugoslavia.

Seselj staged a 47-day hunger strike in prison, during which he was force-fed for nearly one month.

Following a six-day trial, Seselj was sentenced to eight years in prison on July 9. The main evidence against him was the manuscript of an unpublished article that was seized when police raided his home.

In the court's view, Seselj's worst offenses were his proposal that Yugoslavia's six republics and two autonomous provinces be consolidated in four republics and his criticisms of the policies and lavish life-style of deceased Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito.

On August 6, six Serbian intellectuals were indicted on charges of group activity aimed at "undermining the socio-political system" and government.

Of the six, four had been at the April 20 meeting that was raided by police. They were Vladimir Mijanovic, 38, who had received one-year prison sentences in 1971 and 1973 for

"hostile propaganda"; Dragomir Olujic, 34; Gordan Jovanovic, 23; and Miodrag Milic, 55.

The other two — Milan Nikolic, 37, and Pavlusko Imsirovic, 36 — had both been sentenced to two years in prison in 1972 for "forming a group hostile to the people and the state." Nikolic and Imsirovic had been prominent leaders of the leftist student demonstrations that rocked Belgrade University in 1968.

All six — who had been arrested in May and June — were released July 3 and are at liberty pending the start of their trial.

Important figures in the ruling League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav government have publicly spoken out against these arrests.

Mitja Ribicic, a member of the ruling party's highest body, told a Yugoslav news magazine: "I am against all trials" where "really organized and dangerous activity cannot be proved."

Ribicic added that "the political damage to our country is enormous when we settle differences of opinion in court. The best remedy against ideological poisoning of our society," he argued, "should be open debate, the method of purely political struggle against all reactionary views from whatever side they may come."

A member of the rotating presidency of the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia, Janz Stanovnik, acknowledged that "there is now a differentiation in the party leadership between those who are pressing for the trial, seeking to prevent further critical analysis of social and political concepts that have been taboo, and those who oppose the arrests and trials."

Stanovnik added: "Personally, even though I believe the accused guilty of silliness, I would be very, very unhappy if the trial went ahead."

Within Yugoslavia, more than 1,000 people have signed petitions supporting the six defendants.

Organizers of their defense are calling for international protests against the six indictments and the upcoming trial. Protests should be sent to: Mr. Veselin Djuranovic, President of the Presidency of the S.F.R.Y., Bulevar Lenjina 2, 11070 Novi Beograd, Yugoslavia; and to local Yugoslav embassies.

Copies should be sent to Mr. Srdja Popovic, Attorney, Takovska 19, 11000 Beograd, Yugoslavia. □

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Socialist **Action**

A revolutionary socialist weekly, published in London.

Editor Alan Freeman analyzed the U.S. presidential election in an article in the September 21 issue. "The fundamental issues in the United States," Freeman wrote, "are the U.S. war in Central America, its military buildup, and the attacks on American workers' living standards. But these are the issues Republican and Democratic Party candidates do not intend to express any serious differences on."

Freeman pointed out that while President Reagan appears to hold a significant lead over Democrat Walter Mondale, among Blacks far more support the challenger than the incumbent. "With only 11 million blacks registered to vote, out of 18 million eligible to do so, the Democrats think this could be decisive," he said. "In as many as 11 states the number of unregistered blacks is bigger than Reagan's margin of victory in 1980. Hence, a Democratic Party campaign that is attempting, rather desperately, to gain votes from blacks, women, and Latinos.

"The single biggest section of the vote the Democrats hope to tap however is women. Fifty per cent of registered women voters call themselves Democrats as against twenty per cent Republicans. There are seven million more women voters than men."

Freeman credited the Democrats' selection of Geraldine Ferraro for stimulating some response from women. "But Ferraro scarcely leads the life of an average U.S. woman," he pointed out. "Her family is worth four million dollars. And some of the image of her as a representative of ordinary women is rubbing off amid revelations on her taxes."

"Alongside the main parties the U.S. Communist Party is running an energetic campaign to back Mondale against Reagan," Freeman noted. "The only independent socialist candidate running clearly on a ticket of supporting independent working class political action, and the only candidate worth voting for, is the black socialist Mel Mason who is running for the Socialist Workers Party."

Klassenstrijd

"Class Struggle," published fortnightly in Amsterdam by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Dutch section of the Fourth International.

The August 22 issue devoted most of a page to the U.S. elections, including a longer article assessing the Democratic Party convention and

a box on the U.S. Socialist Workers Party's presidential campaign.

Looking at the campaign of Democratic candidate Walter Mondale, the article noted that it is not fundamentally different from Reagan's campaign, either in domestic policies toward working people and the oppressed, or in foreign policy, particularly toward the revolutions in Central America. The only effect of Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic nomination, the article observed, was to "draw millions of Blacks toward the Democratic Party."

However, the article concluded, "The Democrats are no alternative to Reagan. . . . What is needed is a new leadership to overturn the policies of war and crisis of these two parties. . . . What is needed is a labor party based on the trade unions."

The box on the U.S. SWP's campaign of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president began by noting, "Reagan and Mondale are not the only candidates for the presidency. There is also a voice that declares that the working class can expect nothing from the two capitalist parties." It pointed out that "since 1948 — when it ran a woman for vice-president! — the SWP has taken part in every presidential election."

Mason and González, it went on, "try to use every opportunity to denounce the war policy that threatens the Central American revolution and to energetically advocate class independence. According to Mason, 'We think that the working class, the majority, must break with the Democrats and Republicans and build their own party. A labor party, based on a democratic and fighting union movement, or a Black party will defend the working class. And not only during election campaigns, whether the party is in power or not.'"

The box concluded, "A vote for Mason and González is a vote against the war policy of the capitalist parties, against racism and sexism, against the policy of economic crisis. A vote for Mason and González is a vote for class independence, for human needs instead of profits, for a 30-hour workweek with no cut in pay, and for a break with the two capitalist parties."

Claridad

"Clarity," a weekly newspaper published in San Juan, Puerto Rico, reflecting the views of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP).

"The Puerto Rican Socialist Party, in this election as we did in the last one, points to [prostatehood Governor Carlos] Romero and the PNP [New Progressive Party] as the main enemy," wrote PSP General Secretary Carlos Gallisá in the October 12-18 issue.

"Any conscious supporter of independence who objectively analyzes the Puerto Rican po-

litical reality has to draw the conclusion that, for the independence struggle, a government of Romero and the PNP is not the same as a Popular [Democratic Party] government." The Popular Democratic Party (PPD) is the other major bourgeois party in Puerto Rico and favors maintaining the neocolonial status of the island.

"For a socialist and an independence supporter, is it the same if Romero and the PNP or the PPD wins? This is the question," Gallisá argued. "However small the difference may be, we socialists say that a victory for Romero would be more unfavorable to the independence struggle than a victory for the PPD. Given this difference, Romero and the PNP become the main enemy for us socialists."

Gallisá criticized the position of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), which is fielding candidates in the November elections. The PIP, he said, views the PPD as the main enemy "because according to their analysis statehood is a fantasy, not a real threat that must be fought."

The article characterized Romero as a "fascist annexationist capable of using political assassination against the proindependence opposition," and his PPD opponent, former Governor Rafael Hernández Colón, as a "reactionary colonialist."

Gallisá concluded his article by stating that "we socialists will abstain from voting." As for the voter who is still trying to decide between the PNP and the PPD, Gallisá said, "the socialists tell him to vote for the PPD in order to defeat the main enemy."

Guardian

A radical newsweekly, published in New York.

The October 10 issue carried a brief report of a September 30 public meeting in Berkeley, California, on the topic, "Beyond the elections." The meeting was sponsored by the Bay Area Forum, which includes the Bay Area Socialist Organizing Committee (BASOC) and the North Star Network.

Guardian writer John Trinkl, who also spoke at the forum, reported, "Laurie Gitlin from BASOC argued that 'getting out the vote and defeating Reagan' was an important task for the left, but that ongoing organizing work should not be abandoned. She maintained the left would never build 'the perfect multi-issue coalition' and instead should build strong single issue movements." Trinkl said the BASOC speaker considered "work in the mass and anti-imperialist movements" more important at this time than "forming small self-declared vanguards."

Another speaker at the forum, which was attended by 150 people, was Peter Camejo, of

the North Star Network. According to Trinkl, Camejo described "how a trip to Nicaragua had fundamentally changed his views on organization. In Nicaragua, he noted, the Sandinista Front had been forged as a vanguard after coming together in concrete struggles. He maintained that in recent years much of the left had been dogmatic in its approach to questions of organization. "When reality shows your

ideas are wrong, you have to change your ideas," he said."

After noting that his own talk "described some of the past destructive practices of Marxist-Leninist groups in their attempts at partybuilding," Trinkl concluded:

"At the forum, Camejo announced that North Star and BASOC were uniting to form one organization. North Star has some 200

members around the country, many of whom are ex-SWP [Socialist Workers Party] members. Many of BASOC's activists come out of a formerly hostile tendency, the 'new communist movement' of the 1970's.

"Activists in both groups see the merger as a small step in a process of anti-sectarianism that will be necessary if the left is to grow," Trinkl said.

Philippines

Interview with Jose Maria Sison

Imprisoned Communist Party leader discusses anti-Marcos struggle

By Deb Shnookal

MANILA — The Military Court at Fort Bonifacio was a large, light, and airy room with three long tables and high-backed chairs arranged in a U shape, facing the rows of seats for the audience. The Military Commission No. 25 was to hold yet another hearing of the "subversion case" against several alleged leaders of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)* charged with seeking to overthrow the government by force in collusion with an unnamed foreign power, presumably the Peoples Republic of China.

Jose Maria Sison, who has admitted to being chairman of the outlawed CPP, was chatting in a lively manner with journalists. When we were introduced, he shook my hand warmly and immediately started to talk. "I never listen to the court proceedings," he said. "I prefer to talk with the people who come here."

Sison was arrested with his wife, Juliet, in November 1977. For most of his detention he has been kept in solitary confinement. After his arrest he was beaten and tortured and then manacled to his bed for 24 hours a day so that he was unable to move.

For two years of his imprisonment, Sison was allowed to be together with his wife, who up until that time had also been in solitary confinement. Juliet Sison was released in March 1982 after she gave birth to their child. Sison was then placed in solitary again until July 1984.

Sison's case has gone to the Supreme Court five times with petitions for habeas corpus. The way Marcos "openly flouts the law," Sison said, "he has practically destroyed jurisprudence in this country."



Jose Maria Sison speaking in courthouse with IP correspondent Deb Shnookal.

Two others accused along with Sison were also present at the August 31 hearing at Fort Bonifacio — journalist Satur Ocampo and teacher Mila Aguillar-Roque. Roque had only been arrested three weeks before. She was suspected of being the highest woman official of the CPP. Her husband, a CPP leader, had been killed in an armed conflict two years ago. Since then she is supposed to have said that she no longer wished to be politically active and wanted to bring up her child in peace. She is

that Marcos could be won to anti-imperialist positions.

Since its formation, the CPP has gradually moved away from loyal adherence to the views of the Chinese CP. Following its détente with Washington, Peking withdrew support from national liberation struggles in Southeast Asia and came out in favor of the maintenance of U.S. bases in the Philippines — positions the CPP rejects.

The CPP leads the New People's Army, the major armed opposition to the government.

presently being held in solitary confinement at Camp Crame.

Sison was very cheerful, joking with his guards, who sat close behind him in order to make sure they heard every word spoken. "I always talk with my guards," he said. "They are dissatisfied with their conditions, the bullying they suffer. They want a wage raise too, don't you?" he asked, turning to his prison guards, who looked sheepishly at the ground. "All the funds Marcos gives the military never get to these men," Sison remarked.

'National independence needed'

I asked Sison what he considered the major problems the Philippines faced today. "First," he replied, "we need to achieve national independence in the political, economic, cultural, and other fields.

"Secondly, we need to realize democracy; that means the elimination of the fascist dictatorship. And lastly, we need to solve the land

* The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was established in 1968 and arose out of the student and nationalist movements of that decade. At the time of its formation it supported the Maoist leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. It described itself as "reestablished" to claim the early legacy of the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP), a pro-Moscow party formed in 1930. The PKP discredited itself by accepting a "national unity agreement" with the Marcos dictatorship in October 1974, holding

problem. By national independence," he continued, "I mean the cutting off of the dependence on a superpower like the United States.

"To develop democracy we have to eliminate feudalism, to liberate the peasant from feudal and semi-feudal bondage. Marcos has only carried out a bogus land reform. Only about 2,000 hectares [1 hectare = 2.47 acres] have been transferred to the peasants while Marcos' cronies have grabbed hundreds of thousands of hectares.

"We have to break up the feudalism," he said, "so that the local forces of capitalism can be liberated, that is, the national entrepreneurs and smaller businessmen. The property owned by the multinationals and traitor elements will be taken over by the state. Our economy would be a combined one — of state and Filipino private ownership.

"This involves a change of political power, of course," he concluded. "That is, a fundamental transformation of society. U.S. imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism have developed a virulent form of fascism in the Philippines. The solution is a national democratic revolution of a new type. That is, with the class leadership of the proletariat. The revolutions of the old type were led by the liberal bourgeoisie."

What role did he envision for the liberal bourgeoisie, I asked. "They will still be progressive, but they will not have the political hegemony. They do not have the political, ideological, or organizational leadership nec-

essary to cope with U.S. imperialism.

"There are four forces in the Philippines today. First, the workers, who represent about 15 percent. Then the peasants representing 75 percent. Thus the workers and peasants make up 90 percent of the population. This is the basic foundation of the united front necessary to win victory. Then there are additional forces in this united front — the urban petty-bourgeoisie (the small property owners, the educated people) and lastly there is the middle bourgeoisie.

"The class enemy is the comprador bourgeoisie — those who control the banks, the big landlords, and so on. The old Filipino revolution was unable to liquidate this layer."

Australia's role

I asked Sison what he thought the role of Australian imperialism is in the Philippines. "I think the United States is pushing Australia to assume more counterinsurgency responsibility," he said. "The main aid projects are militarily oriented. On the surface the aid looks like simply economic aid. But in fact it is used to create a psychological effect — to discourage the revolutionary movement, to create infrastructures, not just for the landlords, but also for the military, like roads for example.

"The Philippines government is also receiving direct military aid from Australia," Sison said.

If a revolutionary, popular government came to power in the Philippines, I asked, did

he think the United States would respond the same way it did in Grenada with an invasion?

"Grenada was a small country," replied Sison. "If the 52 million people here decided to change the entire system I think the United States would have great difficulty in overthrowing that power.

"Because of the outrageous abuses of the Marcos dictatorship, the long hoped for united front has come about. Even within the military clique itself there is disunity. There is a scrambling for foreign exchange. Export earnings and foreign loans are dwindling. The United States wouldn't be able to intervene. It is a declining power as the battle in Central America has shown.

"The fighting in Central America is a prologue to a bigger revolutionary upheaval in the whole of Latin America. There are several candidates for this revolutionary upheaval — Brazil, Chile, Argentina.

"The Americans learned a lesson from Vietnam. It would be quite a change of policy for the United States to send troops overseas again," he stated in answer to a question about the possibility of Washington sending troops to Central America.

Struggle in the Philippines

I asked how he saw the development of the struggle in the Philippines.

"The maturation of the Filipino revolution will come about in five to ten years. I am considering the decline of the United States and its lack of military capability to counter the Filipino revolution," Sison said. "The American people will not permit Reagan to launch new adventures. I expect the Filipino revolution to win alongside several other revolutionary advances."

"Today the Marcos regime is much weaker. The August 21 rally [to commemorate the anniversary of the assassination of oppositionist Benigno Aquino] was unprecedented in militance and magnitude. American policy-making bodies couldn't help but be impressed by this demonstration of Marcos' isolation from the people."

Could this lead the United States to dump Marcos, I asked.

"On balance, it appeared that Reagan would prefer a slow process of phasing out Marcos, but I think this will be accelerated now. Of course, I'm not relying on the United States. The U.S. government will decide to dump Marcos, first if the legal, democratic mass movement continues to grow in strength, and secondly, with the growth of the armed struggle. These two factors will decide Marcos' fate.

"There is already a stalemate. The New People's Army [NPA] has reached the stage of wiping out larger units of the army. The NPA is now on its own counteroffensive — hitting smaller military detachments one by one. The military's blind attacks on larger communities and the bombing of peasant villages is only increasing support for the NPA."

Prosecutors 'explain' military justice

While I was interviewing Sison, the military prosecuting lawyers insisted they have the right to give their side. So I spoke briefly to Colonel Bacalla, Lt. Colonel Desierto, and Lt. Colonel Saldajeno, the legal officer of the Constabulary Security Group.

When I requested permission to use my tape recorder for the interview, they refused. Sison immediately jumped up and argued with them, saying that if they were so concerned that foreign journalists should "know the truth," why not allow their comments to be taped. This did not sway them, however.

They began by saying, they hoped I had seen how democratic the court proceedings were. "It is more democratic than a civil court," they insisted. "We grant time for counsel to confer with the accused."

"We are all qualified lawyers. We graduated from the same university as the counsel for the defense. This is no circus," one of them said, adopting an air of sincerity. "The foreign press has been unfair to us."

They explained the charges against Sison and the others of plotting to overthrow the government. Then they produced a whole

book of photographs showing Sison in uniform, carrying a rifle and of a meeting they said was a plenum of CPP leaders.

They made a particular point to me about photographs showing Sison speaking beside a banner with a hammer and sickle. "This is a communist symbol, you know," said one of the military lawyers. "That's proof that Sison is a communist."

When I asked about the use of torture against political prisoners, they became very defensive. "Let me explain these allegations of torture," said Saldajeno. "The court will not admit evidence exacted by torture. There have of course been some cases of abuse as there always are," he admitted. "But these are isolated incidents, and those involved have been punished." "After all," he continued, "we follow the same principles of democracy as the United States. If the United States is against communism, we are also against communism. We were nurtured by the same system as the United States — that is the U.S. legacy in the Philippines. But, in fact, we are even more democratic than the United States because whenever we copy something, we improve on it — like our military justice system."

What were the chances of a further military crackdown in the future, I wanted to know.

"A military crackdown or takeover that continues Marcos' policy cannot last long," Sison answered. "There may be a liberal-minded military group that would pave the way for a civilian government, as happened in Argentina. Or there might be a transitional government with some support from the left. There are several possibilities."

Finally, I asked Sison how he passed the time in prison. "I read and write, and now I can talk to the two other detainees. By shouting I can communicate with two others over a wall. I can read anything that is legally available — for instance I read drafts of opposition documents and published materials of the National Democratic Front. But I am not allowed CPP material. I now have over 500 books in my library. I am reading slowly these days."

When I asked Sison about the present state of his trials, he explained, "We play for time, so that some day Marcos will weaken and so that the commission will not have a chance to convict us. If we were to be convicted it would be quite a scandal, because China would be implicated. This would embarrass Marcos because the Philippines depends on China for 20 percent of its crude oil and also for rice imports." □

Middle East

Pressures on Palestinians mount

Jordanian regime breaks Arab boycott of Egypt

By Steve Craine

A more than five-year diplomatic boycott by Arab governments against Egypt was broken when Jordan's King Hussein announced September 25 that his regime would resume relations with Cairo. The boycott, which was mandated by a meeting of the Arab League in Baghdad in March 1979, was designed to punish the Egyptian government then headed by Anwar el-Sadat for its acceptance of the Camp David accords with Israel. The Jordanian regime is the first Arab government to restore ties with Cairo. Ironically, it was also the first to implement the decision of the Baghdad meeting in 1979.

Jordanian officials portrayed Hussein's move as a bold initiative to heal old wounds and reintegrate Egypt into the united Arab struggle against Zionism.

However, one of the principal effects of King Hussein's new relations with Egypt will be to exacerbate divisions in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and to strengthen the Jordanian government's attempt to subordinate the PLO to its diplomatic aims or even to supplant the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people in Israeli-occupied territory.

Hussein's aspirations fit in with U.S. President Reagan's 1982 "Peace Plan," which he reiterated this year in his September 24 address to the United Nations. Reagan's proposal calls for limited "autonomy" for the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza under the supervision of the Jordanian government in exchange for Palestinian recognition of Israel and rejection of an independent Palestinian state.

The Jordan-Egypt agreement also paves the way for increased Arab aid to the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein in its reactionary war against the Iranian revolution.

An official declaration by the Jordanian Foreign Ministry stated: "The Jordanian government, which has followed the improvement in the attitude of Arab Egypt under the leadership of Hosni Mubarak in regard to Arab causes and

from its evaluation of the adherence of Arab Egypt, leadership and people to the struggle of the Arab people in the occupied territories, Iraq and Lebanon and to prevent a transformation of the temporary disruption of relations to a permanent one that the enemy would take advantage of, has decided to reestablish diplomatic and political relations with the Arab Egyptian Republic."

Jordanian Information Minister Layla Sharaf described the regime's view of the positive aspects of Egyptian policy in recent years as including "opposition to the Israeli occupation of Lebanon, its support for Iraq in defense of the eastern flank of the Arab homeland, and its opposition to the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories." She also stated that Jordan's opposition to the Camp David agreements has not changed.

Washington endorses new ties

Washington and Tel Aviv voiced approval of Jordan's move. "We hope other governments will see it in their interests to move in this direction," said Alan Romberg, a State Department spokesman in Washington. "We welcome this step as helpful to the cause of peace and stability in the region," he said. Israel's foreign minister, Yitzhak Shamir, called the restored diplomatic relations "a victory of the Camp David process." Israeli officials said they hoped Jordan would now enter negotiations with Israel over the fate of the West Bank.

Egypt's minister of state for foreign affairs, Butrus Ghali, called the Jordanian decision an extremely positive step. "There is no doubt this example could be followed by other countries," he told a Cairo news conference. President Mubarak said in an October 1 interview that this was a step toward renewed relations with other Arab governments. He also noted that he had expected relations to be resumed first with Baghdad, "but I believe that Iraq will not be long in taking this step as well. Indeed our relationship with President Saddam Hussein and Iraq is above the level of diplomatic

representation. Cooperation between us is close. . . ."

Signs of approval for King Hussein's action came from several of the most staunch supporters of imperialism in the region, most importantly the Saudi monarchy in Riyadh. King Fahd had discussed with King Hussein and other Arab rulers the possibility of collective action to restore ties with Cairo. In April Fahd asked Hussein to try to persuade the Iraqi government to take the first step if collective action proved impossible.

On October 3 Saudi Oil Minister Sheik Ahmed Yamani met with the Egyptian president. Although his government insisted that Yamani was in Cairo in his capacity as a spokesman for the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, not for the Saudi government, it was the first formal meeting of a Saudi cabinet minister and an Egyptian president since 1979.

The restoration of diplomatic ties between Jordan and Egypt was demagogically denounced as a "sellout" to imperialism by the governments of Syria and Libya. But both these regimes have themselves severely harmed the Palestinian struggle against Israeli oppression, intervening in the PLO to carve out spheres of influence. Last year, they spurred minority Palestinian factions in Lebanon to turn their guns against supporters of PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat. The Syrian and Libyan rulers view King Hussein as a rival in their efforts to control the PLO and therefore do not like the idea of Jordan assuming the role of broker for the Palestinians. Their rejection of his move toward Egypt has little to do with resisting imperialism.

The government-owned Syrian daily *Al Thawrah* said, "Syria will not allow a new Camp David in its neighborhood and will not tolerate Jordan becoming the center of espionage and aggression against Syria, and we will confront this new situation." Syrian Vice-president Zohair Masharka told a rally in Damascus, "Jordanian leaders should expect their fate will not be different from that of the late

Anwar Sadat." Sadat was assassinated in October 1981 by Egyptian opponents of his treaty with Israel.

The Libyan government, in a commentary issued by the official press agency, called the Jordanian action "a treacherous stab in the back of the Arab nation" and tantamount to "recognition of the Zionist enemy." (Excerpts from Libyan President Muammar el-Qaddafi's comments on the recognition of Egypt follow this article.)

Palestinian opinion divided

The Palestinian movement, which has suffered serious blows since the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the armed mutiny in the PLO ranks in 1983, is deeply divided.* This division was reflected in the variety of responses to the Jordanian-Egyptian agreement.

The PLO factions most closely allied with the Libyan and Syrian regimes echoed the positions of their sponsors. PLO Executive Committee members loyal to Tripoli and Damascus issued a statement calling the Jordanian action a "flagrant violation of the Arab summit resolutions on boycotting the Egyptian regime." It called on Arab officials, leaders, and national forces to close ranks against attempts to generalize the Camp David accords in the region.

The wing of the Palestinian movement that has opposed the splitting actions of the Syrian- and Libyan-backed tendencies was also divided. Arafat said he considered the action "an internal affair of Jordan." He stated his view that "it is necessary that Egypt, the pioneer of Arab struggle, return to Arab ranks away from Camp David."

The Democratic Alliance, a coalition within the PLO that opposes the demand of the Syrian- and Libyan-affiliated factions for the ouster of Chairman Arafat as a precondition for talks on reuniting the PLO, condemned King Hussein for opening relations with Cairo. It called the move a step toward liquidating the Palestinian question. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a component of the Democratic Alliance, issued a statement in Damascus September 27 calling for a boycott of the Jordanian regime. It also called Arafat's visit to Amman on September 26 "direct support and backing for the Jordanian regime's serious move."

The Democratic Alliance, which is made up of the PFLP, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Palestine Liberation Front, and the Palestinian Communist Party, signed an agreement in July with the majority faction of Fatah, led by Arafat, calling for resolution of the differences within the PLO and for an early meeting of the Palestine National Council. (See text of this agreement in the October 1 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.) Differences over Jordan's recognition of Egypt now threaten that unity effort.

*For documents reflecting the range of views within the PLO, see the March 5 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

Al Fajr, a Palestinian weekly published in Israeli-occupied Jerusalem, interviewed a number of Palestinian mayors, newspaper editors, and other political figures in the occupied territories about the resumption of Jordanian-Egyptian relations.

Former mayor Bassam Shaka'a of Nablus, who was deposed and placed under house arrest by the Israeli military authorities in 1982, criticized the move. He said it "would escalate the contradictions among Arab countries and give the opportunity for the occupation to strike against the national rights of the Palestinian people."

Rashad Shawwa, the deposed mayor of Gaza, on the other hand, said, "I admit Egypt made a mistake in agreeing to Camp David but this does not mean it should isolate Egypt from the Arab world. . . . We need this tactic to unify our position in the international arena."

In the October 5 issue of *Al Fajr*, the former managing editor of the newspaper, Sam'an Khoury, explained that the Jordanian regime's move was not "an isolated step. It is only another tuck which tightens the circle of American imperialist domination in the Middle East. The move escalates attempts to tear apart united Arab ranks in facing and confronting the aggression against the Arab nation. Most significantly, it aids attempts to subvert the PLO from being a nationalist anti-imperialist front, and consequently a strong obstacle in face of the above-mentioned domination."

New openings for Iraqi regime

The Egyptian regime's efforts to break out of the isolation imposed on it after Camp

David have included giving important aid to the Iraqi government. Cairo has sold more than \$1 billion worth of arms to the Iraqi regime for use in its war against Iran. Baghdad and Cairo also signed a trade protocol late last year. A similar protocol with Jordan was one of the precursors of full diplomatic recognition between those two countries. King Hussein also backs Iraqi war aims.

The improved relations between Jordan and Egypt put Jordan and Iraq in a stronger position to seek increased aid from U.S. imperialism. Egypt is already a major recipient of U.S. military assistance. On October 14, U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger met with Mubarak in Cairo. The Egyptian president was said to have urged Washington to improve its relations with Jordan. Specifically, he asked Weinberger to consider reopening a deal for sale of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Jordan that broke down last April when Hussein made some mild criticisms of U.S. policy in the Middle East.

Iraq is also moving to improve formal relations with Washington. On October 12 Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was quoted as saying that he was ready to reestablish diplomatic relations broken in response to U.S. support for Israel in the 1967 war. The U.S. government, which favors the Iraqi regime in its war against the Iranian revolution, stated that it has been ready for several years to formalize ties whenever Baghdad wants. It has also recently removed Iraq from the list of countries it claims support "international terrorism" and has provided Iraq with credits to buy millions of dollars worth of U.S. grain. □

DOCUMENTS

Qaddafi speaks on the PLO

Urges 'violent acts' against Palestinian leaders

[The following are excerpts from an October 7 speech by Libyan President Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi at a mass rally at Hun. Present on the speakers' platform with Qaddafi were representatives of the Palestinian Alliance for National Salvation (referred to here as the National Alliance), including Col. Saed Musa (Abu Musa), who led the 1983 mutiny against the supporters of Yassir Arafat in PLO forces in Lebanon.

* * *

The vile, treacherous, buried, and damned el-Sadat, while kneeling beneath the Israeli flag, said that this is the land of Israel and this is the people of Israel. The world witnessed the fate of the one who uttered these words. This will be the fate of Hosni Mubarak, the one who comes after him, and the one after him, until Egypt returns to the Arab nation and partici-

[The majority of the speech dealt with the Palestinian struggle and Qaddafi's view of Jordan's recognition of Egypt. It also included sections on Libyan history and the recent pact between Qaddafi and King Hassan II of Morocco.

[The text is taken from an October 7 Tripoli radio broadcast, as transcribed and translated by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service of the U.S. Department of Commerce.]

pates in our struggle to liberate Palestine.

Now the king of Jordan, the turncoat regime in Baghdad, and the stooge in Sudan are trying with all means to deprive the Palestinian people of their land, Palestine.

This evening we salute our brave brothers, the leaders of the revolutionary movement in Fatah, the leaders of the PFLP-General Com-

mand, Saiqa, Popular Struggle Front, which constitute the Palestinian National Alliance.

Multiplicity of Palestinian fronts will eventually lead to the point of treason and Palestinian deceit. The Palestinian people require a revolutionary leadership; they are not in need of bourgeois leaderships.

While addressing this call to all revolutionary Palestinians, leaders of the uprising, leaders of the National Alliance and the Democratic Alliance, and all unknown Palestinians anywhere in the world subjected to this conspiracy, I say that they have to take a decisive position. I say that a Palestinian revolutionary leader must unite the fronts, even with iron and fire, even if he has to execute leaders of fronts for the sake of uniting these fronts in a united movement. These people are not in need of fronts, but in need of fighting, a united movement, and a revolution.

The Palestinian resistance may triumph soon over the Zionist enemy — the enemy is a paper tiger. But this needs the emergence of a gigantic Palestinian iron force which should first direct acts of violence against the Palestinian leaders who want leadership at the expense of their cause, who want leadership at the expense of the unity of the Palestinian people.

The world can then see the strength of the Palestinian people, the frontiers of the Palestinian people, and that the Palestinian people are a real fact, mobilized in popular conferences and having the authority and barring the way for any deviationist, such as Yassir Arafat, or anyone else.

If the authority of the mobilized Palestinian people is in the hands of a revolutionary leadership, a new Yassir Arafat will not emerge. The present situation enables the emergence of samples 100 times worse than Yassir Arafat. The situation makes the traitorous rulers of the Arab nation show little respect for the Palestinian people and their cause and to openly recognize the Israelis and declare that Palestine is the land of Israel and the Israeli people.

The reply to what the king of Jordan has done with such impudence, brazenness, and disregard . . . is that he will pay the price. This disregard and arrogance should be answered by Palestinian resistance, about which I talk, by transforming Jordan into a land of operations and direct acts of violence against the government establishments of King Hussein, as if they are Israeli establishments inside occupied Palestine.

The Israeli borders are protected by the king of Jordan and other Arab regimes. Because of this I said that the violent actions should first be directed against the guards. To kill someone who is guarded, you have first of all to kill the guard. Those being guarded are the Israelis; the guards are the Arab regimes obstructing the way of the Palestinian resistance on the Palestinian borders. Therefore, violent actions should be directed against the guards of Israel. They should die first, so that the road across the borders between us and the enemy becomes open. □

Mexico

'Free political prisoners!'

Campaign also demands accounting of 'disappeared'

By Will Reissner

A group of Mexican legislators and human rights activists staged a hunger strike in that country's Legislative Palace for more than three weeks in September.

The fast was called in solidarity with a hunger strike by 58 political prisoners that began August 25. Its demands were freedom for the more than 300 political prisoners in Mexico and information on the fate of 513 people who had "disappeared" since 1969 after being taken into government custody.

The hunger strikes ended September 27 following a pledge by Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid to meet with protest leaders.

The end of the hunger strike did not, however, mean the end of the campaign. Some 40,000 people demonstrated in Mexico City October 2 around these demands.

Among those who took part in the hunger strike were legislative deputies Héctor Sánchez, René Rojas, and Desiderio de Gyves; Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, the leader of the National Front Against Repression (FNCR) and herself the mother of a student who was disappeared in 1975; Edgard Sánchez Ramírez and Manuel Aguilar Mora of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International; and family members of prisoners and "disappeared."

Most of the 300 political prisoners are peasant activists who were jailed for pressing too vehemently for their constitutional rights to land and credit.

Of the 513 disappeared, at least 350 are from the state of Guerrero and were seized during government operations against rural guerrillas of the Party of the Poor who operated in the state in the early 1970s.

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra noted that in that period the authorities "captured and 'disappeared' guerrillas because they could not admit there was an active guerrilla movement in Mexico."

In recent months there has been a spate of new kidnappings of political activists. On July 16, Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, a prominent critic of the Mexican government's policy on refugees from Guatemala, was kidnapped by armed men in civilian dress. He was taken to a secret prison and questioned for more than 14 hours before being released. Aguilar reported that about 30 other people were being held in the same building during his interrogation.

Around the same period, two members of the Chilean Communist Party exiled in Mexico were also seized and later released.

About nine Guatemalan exiles were also kidnapped at the same time. Government agencies denied any knowledge of their whereabouts, even as an official of the Ministry of

the Interior was acknowledging privately to journalists that they were in government custody.

According to Ibarra, since President de la Madrid took office in December 1982 some 70 people were disappeared. All but five of them have since been released or are acknowledged to be in government prisons.

Following protests over the latest spate of kidnappings, de la Madrid made a speech calling on officials to eliminate "practices incompatible with the principles and objectives of the Mexican state." There have been no kidnappings since he delivered that address.

According to a 1980 Amnesty International report, about 450 of those who had disappeared in Mexico since 1971 were seized by the "White Brigade," which is thought to be another name for the Mexican army's Ninth Brigade. Most were taken to Military Camp No. 1.

At least some of the 513 disappeared are thought to be still alive. The FNCR has received signed statements from 35 activists who were freed after having been kidnapped and held incommunicado and tortured in secret jails. They reported having seen others of the disappeared alive at Military Camp No. 1.

On September 11, while the hunger strike was going on, a 16-year-old disappeared Indian, Antonio Pérez Fidelino, was discovered to be alive in a prison for minors in Chiapas. In May 1983 Pérez had been seized hundreds of miles away during a police raid on the home of Puerto Rican independence activist William Morales.

Although most of the disappearances took place before the start of President de la Madrid's term, many human rights activists fear a resurgence in disappearances in light of Mexico's economic crisis and the attacks on living standards of workers and peasants.

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra pointed out that "the majority of the people who ordered the kidnapping and disappearances are still in key posts." □

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Rally commemorates Bishop

2,000 observe anniversary of assassination

By Keith Allison

ST. GEORGE'S — On Friday, October 19 more than 2,000 Grenadians converged on the capital here for a church service and rally to mark one year since the assassination of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and five other leaders in a bloody coup that overthrew his four-and-a-half-year-old People's Revolutionary Government (PRG).

The rally, sponsored by the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), was described as the biggest, most lively political meeting since last October's crisis.

People cheered militantly as MBPM leaders Kendrick Radix and George Louison proclaimed that the spirit of Maurice Bishop lives and blasted the current occupation of this 133-square-mile island by U.S. and Caribbean military forces one year after the U.S. invasion. Radix and Louison were two loyal ministers in Bishop's PRG who survived the October 1983 coup.

"Maurice Bishop was a courageous leader of a conscious effort," Radix declared to blustery applause from the crowd. "Today we bestow upon Maurice Bishop the order of hero and martyr of the Grenada revolution."

Echoing the late prime minister's words, Radix, the former justice minister in the PRG, said that "No guns can defeat a conscious, united, and organized people."

In recognition of Bishop's personal efforts in the construction of the new international airport at Point Salines, he said they could have only one name for it, the Maurice Bishop International Airport.

The U.S.-backed interim administration here has already named the airport Point Salines International Airport. It will be officially opened on October 28.

The MBPM leader condemned the current

occupation of Grenada by a total of some 600 U.S. and Caribbean military personnel. "They say that they have restored democracy," noted Radix, "but they closed down the adult literacy program and threw out the doctors and dentists."

"So," continued Radix, "people now have the freedom to have toothaches, the freedom to be illiterate, and the freedom to die."

Speaking for the Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19, 1983, Foundation, George

U.S.-backed elections called

Washington patches together bourgeois coalition

By Keith Allison

ST. GEORGE'S — The 11-month-old U.S.-backed administration here has announced that general elections will be held on December 3. The announcement was made by the administration's titular head, Governor-General Paul Scoon, in an address over Radio Grenada.

Washington's strategy is to use the elections to install a pro-U.S. puppet regime in an effort to legitimize its continued neocolonial domination of the country. About 300 U.S. military personnel continue to occupy this 133-square-mile Caribbean island, nearly one year after the massive U.S.-led invasion following the counterrevolutionary coup in which Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other leaders of the Grenada revolution were murdered.

The announcement of the election date came three weeks after three pro-U.S. bourgeois parties decided to merge into a new party to contest the elections.

For the past few months, U.S. diplomatic representatives here had been trying hard to get such a coalition in place. The parties are the National Democratic Party led by George Brizan, the Grenada National Party of Herbert Blaize, and the Grenada Democratic Movement led by Francis Alexis. All three parties represent the interests of Grenada's privileged classes and of U.S. imperialism.

In late August, these three parties — plus Winston Whyte's Christian Democratic Labour Party — decided at a secret meeting in neighboring Union Island (a dependency of St. Vincent) to join forces and form the new party, called the New National Party (NNP). Whyte's group subsequently split away.

The Union Island meeting was also attended by Prime Ministers John Compton of St. Lucia, James Mitchell of St. Vincent, and Tom Adams of Barbados. Adams played a key

Louison bestowed the Maurice Bishop Award to Cuban President Fidel Castro for his contributions to the Grenada revolution. The award was also given to the prime ministers of other Caribbean governments that opposed the U.S. invasion.

A plaque honoring Bishop and all those killed on Oct. 19, 1983, along with a bust of the late prime minister, were unveiled in the cemetery in St. George's after the service.

Meanwhile, with the first anniversary of the U.S. invasion approaching, the overall economic deterioration continues. Expectations among people of a substantial inflow of Yankee dollars and other opportunities have failed to materialize.

The financial assistance the United States has granted since the invasion has done little to reduce the unemployment situation, which stands at about 30 percent. □

role in the October 1983 invasion. Progressive forces in Grenada and throughout the region have described the NNP as a "Yankee coalition" and have condemned the prime ministers involved for interfering in Grenada's internal affairs.

Indies Times, a weekly newspaper published by the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), said in a September 15 editorial that "just as how the Yankees called in these neocolonial stooges to front the Grenada invasion, so they are now using them to fix up a Yankee coalition to govern Grenada to prevent the people's party, MBPM, from coming to power." It added that this "latest attempt to run Grenada from Washington via Barbados is all part of the secret plan to recolonise Grenada."

In its editorial, which was headlined "NNP — Not Native Party," the paper said the Union Island meeting "shows clearly that this party is not a native party, but one of foreign birth."

The NNP aims to serve the interests of Grenada's wealthy classes, business elite, and U.S. imperialism, not those of the struggling workers and farmers. It also favors the continued occupation of the island by U.S. and Caribbean military forces.

The MBPM, the country's only genuine socialist party, has frequently blasted the U.S. occupation of Grenada and has stated its intention to restore all the pro-working-people's programs and policies introduced under Bishop's People's Revolutionary Government.

The party has decided to participate in the elections and is now campaigning in different parts of the country. It is expected to announce soon the names of its candidates. The MBPM has called on "all patriotic people of the country to rally behind its programmes and fighters who have always stood on the side of the working people." □



MAURICE BISHOP

Ernest Harsch/IP

Guerrillas sign truce with regime

Dispute brews over content of 'national dialogue'

By Fred Murphy

Truce agreements signed in March and August have led to an uneasy cease-fire between the Colombian armed forces and most of the country's left guerrilla organizations.

Under the accords, armed activity is to be suspended for one year by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)¹ and indefinitely by the April 19 Movement (M-19),² People's Liberation Army (EPL),³ and a small group called Workers Self-Defense (ADO).

The National Liberation Army (ELN)⁴ and several smaller groups have rejected any such truce and continue to engage in combat with the army and police.

The FARC was the first to sign an accord with the regime. Following secret negotiations with members of a government-appointed "Peace Commission," FARC leaders agreed at the end of March to issue a general cease-fire order to their fighters on May 28. President Belisario Betancur in turn ordered the armed forces to suspend operations against the FARC after that date.

Similar accords were signed August 23 and 24 between the regime's representatives and leaders of the M-19, EPL, and ADO.

1. The FARC arose in the mid-1960s out of various guerrilla columns led by the Colombian Communist Party during a civil war in the 1950s. The FARC continues to have close ties to the CP, a pro-Moscow, Stalinist organization.

2. The M-19 originated in 1974 through the fusion of a group of former FARC guerrillas and a leftist current in the National People's Alliance (ANAPO). The latter was a party formed to back the presidential candidacy of the populist ex-dictator Gen. Gustavo Rojas Pinilla. Massive vote fraud in the April 19, 1970, elections kept Rojas from returning to power.

Resolutions adopted by the M-19 at its Eighth National Conference in August 1982 defined the group as a "political-military organization" that seeks to "lead the masses on all levels of their economic, political, and military struggle." Its declared goals are democracy and national liberation; M-19 leaders have often stated that they are not Marxists.

3. The EPL is led by the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), an organization that looks to the Albanian regime of Enver Hoxha for political guidance.

4. The ELN was formed in 1964 by young revolutionaries who were inspired by and sought to emulate the Cuban Revolution. Early in its history it gained substantial support among the peasants of Santander Province, but in 1973 was virtually destroyed by an army offensive. In November 1983 the ELN kidnapped the brother of Colombian President Belisario Betancur, a move publicly criticized by Cuban leader Fidel Castro and by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.



M-19 prisoners leave jail after December 1982 amnesty. In August 1984 guerrillas and government signed cease-fire agreement.

None of the agreements required the guerrillas to lay down or turn in their weapons. The August pact simply did not take up this question. The one signed in March did include a government statement that "solely the institutional forces of the state" were responsible for "the protection of citizens' rights" and "the preservation and reestablishment of public order."

The regime pledged in each agreement to "take the necessary measures to restore civic normality" in the wide areas of the countryside that have long been under government military rule and occupation. But no explicit commitment was made to withdraw the army from these zones, nor was any timetable specified for restoring civilian rule there.

Both the March and August agreements included promises of social and political reforms on the part of the government. The pact with the FARC affirmed the regime's "ample willingness" to encourage adoption by Congress of an agrarian reform and laws designed to broaden the electoral representation of opposition political forces and their access to the news media.

The agreement with the M-19, EPL, and ADO called for the convening of "a great national dialogue in which the various forces of the country will participate with full representation. This great political debate will have as its central themes the discussion and democratic development of the political, economic, and social reforms the country requires as well as demands in the constitutional, agrarian, labor, urban, justice, education, university, health,

public-services, and economic-development fields."

Turbay's repression, Betancur's promises

Betancur gained election as the Conservative Party's candidate in 1982 by pledging to improve living standards, create jobs, and make housing and education more accessible to the poor. His Liberal Party predecessor, Julio César Turbay, was widely hated for having responded to a 1977 general strike with the worst repression Colombians had suffered for two decades.

Using the state of siege under which the Liberals and Conservatives have long maintained their two-party dictatorship, as well as the Security Statute he decreed in 1978, Turbay jailed thousands on suspicion of "subversion" and "rebellion." Hundreds were tried by military courts and sentenced to lengthy prison terms. Torture of detainees by the army and police became routine. A reign of terror was imposed in Caquetá Province and other rural areas where guerrilla organizations enjoyed growing support among land-hungry peasants.

Before Betancur took office in August 1982, Turbay suspended the state of siege and the Security Statute. Among Betancur's first acts was to push through Congress a broad, unconditional amnesty that resulted in the release of more than 500 political prisoners and the dropping of charges against some 1,500 political fugitives. Most of those covered by the measure were members of guerrilla organizations such as the M-19 and FARC.

The rebel groups, and the M-19 in particu-

lar, had begun gaining widespread popular sympathy and support because of their willingness to challenge Turbay and the military with arms in hand. In 1980 the M-19 seized the Dominican Republic's embassy in Bogotá to publicize its demands for an end to repression, amnesty for political prisoners and those who had taken up arms, and the opening of a "national dialogue." The M-19 also declared its willingness to challenge the ruling Liberals and Conservatives for popular support "in the public plazas, with the weapons of reason and intelligence."

While the guerrilla movement still posed no immediate threat to oligarchic rule and imperialist domination in Colombia, it was becoming a rallying point for the country's workers and peasants.

The struggle for democratic rights under Turbay's regime was organized and led by the Standing Committee for Defense of Human Rights (CPDH), which brought together representatives of trade unions, left organizations, academic figures, and certain bourgeois-liberal politicians. Through forums, rallies, and marches, the CPDH publicized and denounced the crimes of the army and police and pressed the demand for a broad, unconditional amnesty.

To accompany his move to grant the amnesty demand in the early months of his presidency, Betancur appointed the Government Advisory Commission for Public and Social Peace (usually termed the "Peace Commission"). This 40-member body was drawn in part from leading figures in the CPDH — including representatives from legal left-wing groups such as the Communist and Revolutionary Socialist parties.⁵ It was authorized to seek talks with the guerrillas and eventually helped represent the government in the negotiations that led to the current cease-fire.

When the amnesty went into effect in November 1982, the M-19 immediately called on Betancur to accept a truce. This, it said, would have to be accompanied by a "great national dialogue" on Colombia's social and economic problems.

Army terror redoubled in 1983

Betancur's response at the time was to reject these proposals out of hand. "Peace," he declared, was "not negotiable." He ordered the army to "defend the new public order against anyone who attempts to threaten or disturb it."

Military occupation of the rural zones continued, and dozens of amnestied political activists fell victim to death squads linked to the armed forces. During the first year of Betancur's rule, the CPDH recorded 1,289 political murders by the repressive forces (as against 612 in Turbay's last year), 4,437 arrests, 169



BELISARIO BETANCUR

disappearances, 667 death threats, and 1,215 cases of torture.

Army terror in the countryside was redoubled. Especially hard hit was the population of Magdalena Medio, a valley in the north-central part of the country where ranchers and landowners have used the army and privately hired death squads to drive small peasants off their holdings.

"The abandonment of lands and the flight of peasants toward Barrancabermeja and other smaller cities has been put at 1,500 families so far this year," a report from Magdalena Medio in the Aug. 30, 1983, issue of the Bogotá weekly *Semana* said. "On top of the generalized terror, there are the restrictions on the sale of food and medicine and on the mobility of persons in the region, imposed by the military authorities in order to isolate the guerrillas."

Bombardment from helicopters and threats of further army attacks in the district of Cimitarra, *Semana* continued, "obliged all the peasants of that zone to flee, abandoning their farms, cattle, and other possessions, or else selling their land at ridiculous prices to buyers who appeared at the opportune moment."

The FARC, M-19, and other armed groups put up strong resistance to the army's renewed drive to wipe them out. A number of amnestied guerrilla leaders returned to the war front as it became clear that they could not maintain legal political activity without putting their lives in danger. In April 1983 the M-19 suffered a major blow when its central leader, Jaime Bateman Cayón, died in a plane crash while traveling to Panama.

Though continuing to fight, the M-19 and FARC maintained their calls for a truce and were later joined in this by the EPL. None of these groups considered itself to be on the verge of defeating the army and taking power. All sought legal openings to organize politically

and reach broader layers of Colombian working people with their ideas.

"Once again the guerrilla movement demands a cease-fire as a necessary step toward the development of conditions and a dialogue for peace," a joint FARC/M-19 statement said in December 1983. "We are profoundly convinced that decisive action by all the democratic forces of the country will thwart the efforts of those who want to go on seeing Colombia bathed in blood."

Dispute inside regime

President Betancur had given free rein to the army's offensives, but at the same time he sought to keep cultivating the image of being a reformer and a man of peace. In February 1983, Attorney-General Carlos Jiménez Gómez announced plans to prosecute 163 persons — including 59 active-duty military personnel — for their role in the death squad known as "Death to Kidnappers" (MAS). The armed forces high command later managed — with Betancur's acquiescence — to get the cases transferred and stalled in military courts, but Jiménez's detailed revelations served to put Betancur's critics in the ruling circles on the defensive.

Sporadic attempts were made by the Peace Commission to negotiate with the guerrillas. In October 1983 Betancur took the unusual step of holding talks in Madrid, Spain, with the M-19's top two commanders, Iván Marino Ospina and Alvaro Fayad. The meeting was inconclusive, but it exacerbated the tactical differences in Colombian ruling circles over how to proceed toward the guerrillas.

That dispute came to a head in January when Betancur's defense minister, Gen. Fernando Landazábal Reyes, challenged the president's tactics in a televised interview. There could be no cease-fire, he said, unless the guerrillas were first disarmed: "The guerrilla is the one that has to demobilize. The army will not allow itself to be fooled, even though these people [the guerrillas] have fooled the country. . . ."

The problem of "subversion" in Colombia, Landazábal said, was not so much the guerrillas' existence but "the political space they are being given." In his view, the army was capable of "destroying the guerrillas, and when our people of good will support the army, the guerrillas will disappear."

Betancur sacked Landazábal and several other top officers a week later.

In the April 1984 issue of its magazine *Colombia*, the M-19 assessed the results of the cabinet crisis as follows:

The removal of Landazábal was a call to order to the high command so that the government's pacification policy could continue without the polemical nuisances spurred by those officers, accustomed as they are to calling things by their names. It also showed . . . the existence of a political consensus that left no place for a more decisive and aggressive stand by the militarist sectors.

As things stand, however, it is evident that the president does not want to rule without those sectors. Either his pacification plans call for the participation of officers who think and act like Landazábal, with

5. Socorro Ramírez, a leader of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), Colombian section of the Fourth International, was among those Betancur appointed to his Peace Commission. See accompanying document for Ramírez's explanation of the PSR's decision to accept this appointment.

proven capacity to direct the repression, or else he does not dare stir up the oligarchy further. . . . Whatever the president's thinking, it is expressed in the continuation of the double game of rearming and reorganizing the armed forces for war while seeking to neutralize insurgent activity through negotiations.

Shaky truce

In the months following the cabinet shake-up, talks conducted for Betancur by members of the Peace Commission led to the cease-fire accords. The regime accepted — at least on paper — the guerrillas' oft-repeated calls for a truce without disarmament and the opening of a "national dialogue."

At present, the guerrilla groups remain armed in their rural encampments in various provinces. The army is still deployed in wide parts of the countryside. And the state of siege that Colombians have lived under for most of the past 35 years is once again in effect, having been reimposed in April on the pretext of the assassination of the minister of justice by drug traffickers.

The shaky nature of the truce was pointed up by incidents that occurred in the days before the August 23–24 accords were signed. On August 10 a death squad murdered Carlos Toledo Plata, a founding leader of the M-19 who had accepted the 1982 amnesty and was working as the director of a government hospital in Bucaramanga. The M-19 answered Toledo's murder with a large-scale assault on military installations in the industrial town of Yumbo, near Cali. Fierce fighting raged there for three hours before the army managed to drive out the 200 rebels.

The assassination was also met with a general strike in Bucaramanga, where tens of thousands turned out for Toledo's funeral.

On the very day of the truce signing, vehicles carrying M-19 leaders to the ceremonies in the town of Corinto were ambushed by

police, and Commander Carlos Pizarro was wounded. The group decided to proceed with the signing, however, and blamed the attack on "militarist sectors outside the control of the central government."

Since the truce went into effect, the government has continued its harassment of M-19 activists. The authorities "have been jailing our people all over," M-19 representative Antonio José Navarro told the Bogotá weekly *Cromos* in early October. "They hold them 10 or 12 hours and seize their propaganda about the national dialogue, saying it is subversive."

The M-19 and the regime are each attempting to give their own content to the "national dialogue." While the M-19 has used this slogan to call on Colombian working people to make their demands for political change and social justice known through action and organization, Betancur aims to sidetrack the "dialogue" into small commissions of guerrilla, government, congressional, political-party, trade-union, and other representatives that would draw up some recommendations for reforms and then disband quietly.

Interior Minister Jaime Castro declared in late September that "contrary to what the guerrilla groups have announced in their communiqués, it is not a question of allowing their free mobilization throughout the national territory with the aim of proselytizing, but rather of gathering in one place for a set period of time . . . to discuss 10 points set down in the peace documents." The national dialogue, Castro admonished, would not be a "tumultuous spectacle" or a "decision-making body."

Dim prospects for 'peace'

The "social peace" the Colombian regime is attempting to establish can only be short-lived as the conditions faced by working people in the cities and countryside continue to worsen.

According to a 1983 World Bank study, the

wealthiest 10 percent of Colombia's 29 million population receive 40 percent of the national income and own 80 percent of the land, while the poorest 20 percent receive 5 percent of income and the poorest 10 percent own but 0.2 percent of the land. Some 70,000 children die each year before reaching the age of five; more than one-third the population have no access to safe drinking water.

In the four major cities, where three-quarters of the population live, unemployment stands at 14 percent, up from 9.3 percent in 1981. Inflation is running at 20 percent, but the regime has ordered wage increases held to 10 percent or less.

Pressure by poor peasants for land and credit remains intense. A feeble agrarian reform in the 1960s provided plots to only 10 percent of the families who then needed land; since that time, the number of landless families has at least doubled.

President Betancur's campaign promises of jobs, rising living standards, and cheap housing have gone unfulfilled. The Congress, which has already voted to reject participation in the "national dialogue," is unlikely to approve any of the political and economic reforms Betancur has pledged to put forward under the truce accords with the FARC.

Prospects for "social peace" are further dimmed by a looming economic crisis of the kind that has ravaged other Latin American countries in recent years. Thanks to high coffee prices and a booming trade in illicit drugs, Colombia had managed to escape the difficulties that plague its neighbors. Now, however, foreign-exchange reserves are plummeting, and austerity and intervention by the International Monetary Fund are on the agenda.

These coming attacks on the workers and peasants will fuel social unrest and undermine the "pacification" maneuvers of the Betancur regime. □

DOCUMENTS

M-19's view of Colombia truce

'Peace will be a conquest of the people'

[The following appeared in a special September supplement to the magazine *Colombia*, published by the April 19 Movement (M-19). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The negotiations between the Colombian government and the People's Liberation Army (EPL), the Workers Self-Defense Movement (ADO), and the April 19 Movement (M-19) have culminated in the signing of an accord that seeks to put an end to armed hostilities in Colombia. Along with the signing of the cease-fire with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) last May, this

new step consolidates efforts to pacify the country and lays the basis for initiating a process of reforms that the people demand and need.

The recent accord was signed by representatives of the government and the guerrilla forces on August 23–24 in Medellín and in the towns of Corinto and Hobo in the southern part of the country. Thousands of Colombians mobilized in support of this new step toward peace, making their demonstrations into great displays of joy and hope.

The fundamental aspect of our pact with the government is the agreement by both sides to end hostilities *in order to open the way to a na-*

tional dialogue.

Our insistence on holding the national dialogue is based on the inability of the majorities of our country to express themselves, and on the existing divorce between the traditional ruling class and the needs of our people. It is a question, then, of beginning a process of popular consultation that should culminate in a public and open dialogue among all the vital forces of the nation, in which democratic solutions will be raised for the social, political, and economic crisis.

In itself, the dialogue does not mean the democratic opening, but it will enable those who have never been heard to speak. It pro-

vides a place where the people can propose the mechanisms necessary for such an opening. In a country where the political power lacks effective support from the masses, where 70 percent abstained in the last elections for municipal and provincial legislative bodies, and where the institutional structures in force favor an oligarchic minority, national dialogue means applying to the maximum the purest democratic constitutional tradition of the peoples. In this case, it responds to the urgency of the moment — giving expression to the primary constituency, the people.

In this way, the negotiations aimed at taking a new step toward peace have a broader meaning than a simple pact between the government and the guerrilla movement, in that they have been carried out in the spirit of an accord between the people and the dominant class.

The conversations and commitments taken on by the Colombian government and the armed movement are the fruit of a period of popular struggles in which thousands of citizens have given their lives. In the midst of the worst repression undergone by the country in recent history, the M-19 took over the embassy of the Dominican Republic (Feb. 27–Apr. 27, 1980) and issued a proposal for peace and dialogue that was immediately taken up by the democratic forces of the country. We stated that we were ready to turn to legal activity if the necessary conditions were established for effective political participation by the majorities. At that moment our proposal consisted of the following points, systematically reiterated through our political-military action:

- Lifting of the state of siege and the Security Statute, whose enforcement had given rise to the militarization of national life and constant attacks on human rights.
- General and unconditional amnesty for those who had taken up arms.
- National dialogue.

The Turbay Ayala government rejected these demands, which became the banners of popular struggle. It only lifted the state of siege two months before leaving office. When Belisario Betancur assumed the presidency [in August 1982], he announced his willingness to pacify the country. As proof of this, he decreed the amnesty for those who had taken up arms.

Nonetheless, this did not halt the war against the people. There was a resurgence of military and paramilitary action in extensive zones of Colombian territory; the response of the people in arms mounted accordingly. The failure of those who sought to make people believe that amnesty meant peace, and the recognition that the armed movement was socially and politically representative, opened the way to the process of negotiation that culminated in the present accords. These do not exclusively involve the end of hostilities but also call for the implementation of measures leading to social, political, and economic reforms that cannot be postponed.

The scope of these accords can be explained by the existence of a national consensus that

peace will only be possible when the rights of the majorities are guaranteed. These rights are codified in the national Constitution but have traditionally been ignored by those who hold power in Colombia.

The privileges of this oligarchic caste rest on the two-party monopoly and on the use of force against any form of expression that threatens their domination. The cease-fire and national dialogue agreement do not alter this reality, which has meant the militarization of national life and has led us to the brink of a fratricidal war that we the democratic forces want to avoid.

Peace is not, nor will it be, a gift of the oligarchy. It will be a conquest of the people. The path by which that victory is reached will depend in the last instance on the terms of struggle posed by the class in power.

If the oligarchy persists in its policy of using force in order to silence and subjugate the people and puts obstacles in the way of peaceful transformations, the path of war will be inevitable. Therefore, the guerrilla movement as a whole has refused to discuss the turning in of weapons, a question not taken up in the current accords. We have agreed to silence the guns,

and the government will do what is appropriate to make possible the dialogue and democratic reforms. If these are concretized in the transformations that the country demands, weapons will then not be necessary.

But given the institutional crisis Colombia is living through, the best guarantee of a peaceful solution of the conflict will be ongoing popular participation in the development of the national dialogue and in the making of the decisions that result.

This process has particular meaning for the continent at this moment and interests all the democratic forces and governments of Our America. Therefore, we call on them to take part in this historic conjuncture, observing events and constituting themselves as international supervisors of compliance with these accords.

Our organization will commit its forces to this new stage of the democratic struggle and will uphold the combative spirit and the will for freedom, justice, and dignity that has always characterized our actions. Because with the people we will know how to conquer democracy for Colombia — along the path and with the means that circumstances demand. □

Why PSR accepted post on 'Peace Commission'

[The following statement by Socorro Ramírez, a leader of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR — Colombian section of the Fourth International), was published in the October 1982 issue of the PSR's newspaper, *Combate Socialista*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In his September 19 [1982] letter to the chairmen of the First Commissions of the Chamber [of Deputies] and the Senate, President Belisario Betancur announced: "... I have set up a new 'Advisory Commission on Peace' to serve as a bridge and an instrument for dialogue between the government and those interested in working for such a Peace, without any exception whatsoever. ..." This commission was in fact created by decree on September 19, and my name was included. I understand this selection as a recognition of my work for the Democratic Amnesty, demilitarization, human rights, and social demands that I have carried out as a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Democratic Left.

In no way do I consider my inclusion, which is supported by the party to which I belong, to mean adherence to or support for the current government.

Our participation is oriented toward presenting formulas in the social, economic, and po-

litical fields that can aid in securing the Democratic Amnesty and in fostering real negotiations between the sides in military confrontation: the state and the guerrillas.

Such an Amnesty requires not only the law that will formalize it in a broad fashion but also a series of social and political steps. Among these, I consider the following to be of top priority: the broadest mobilization by the workers to defend and broaden democratic rights and support general Amnesty; immediate answers regarding the fate of the disappeared students; demilitarization of the rural zones; effective investigation and deactivation of the paramilitary groups such as the so-called MAS [Death to Kidnappers].

At the social and economic level, what is called for is not only improving communications and building roads or action by the Agrarian Fund, but principally a proposal for a Democratic Agrarian Reform that would confront the interests of the latifundists. It must be the product of study and support by national opinion. Likewise, it is necessary to press for the return of lands seized from the indigenous communities. Other questions dealing with wages, labor, education, and social matters also have priority and must be secured by mobilization, since *with hunger there is no true peace*. As a woman, I call on all mothers whose children have been persecuted, and on women in general, to mobilize for the Amnesty and for social demands. □

A strategy for Polish revolutionaries

Proposals of Polish 'Inprekor' for left regroupment — Part II

[The following is the second of two parts of an article taken from the December 1983–January 1984 issue (No. 13) of the Polish-language *Inprekor*, published in Paris. (The first part appeared in our previous issue, dated October 29.)

[Entitled, "For an Agreement of the Revolutionary Left," the article was signed by the magazine's editorial board. *Inprekor*, which is

circulated within Poland as well as among Poles living abroad, describes itself as a journal that "presents the point of view of the Fourth International."

[The subheads and footnotes (except where indicated otherwise) are from the original. The translation from the Polish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

not been revised. What is more, this has so far been the main theoretical source of the crisis of strategy within Solidarity.

The WSN continues to stand for a revolution from below, based on self-organization and self-management, but it refuses to recognize a fundamental fact: that it is not possible to ignore the laws governing all revolutions, laws that always apply and that do not tolerate exceptions. By coming out against the posing of the question of power, the WSN in the final analysis declares itself not for revolution — since that can be victorious only when it is carried through to the end, from the bottom to the top — but for democratic reform. Because of this, the WSN remains entangled in a contradiction, since on the other hand its founders have always defined the regime as totalitarian and therefore unreformable.

However, it is not without reason that the WSN refers back to the traditions of Polish socialism's reformist currents and cuts itself off from the political thought of the revolutionary currents based on workers' and self-managed socialism, including the traditions of the radical left wings of the PPS. Democratic reform of capitalism rather than anticapitalist revolution was the program of the majority of Polish socialists. When capitalism was overthrown through a "revolution from above," they remained for democratic reform, this time in a system of totalitarian power that was ushered in by Stalinist communists supported by the Soviet Army.

This was not and is not the road to a self-managed Poland. Only revolutionary socialism can open up that road. We stress revolutionary, in order to clearly emphasize that what is necessary for the Polish social movement is a strategy of political revolution. Also because the new revolutionary left will undoubtedly be linked to the program contained in Kuron's and Modzelewski's open letter, which they themselves and their socialist colleagues have broken with.

The signers of the WSN declaration today want to rebuild an independent left and Polish socialist movement. This is a burning need of the social movement.

Like the WSN, "we think that the creation of ideological-political formations is a necessary step today. They are the seeds of future political parties in a democratic state. At the same time, we think that the only way to maintain unity is through an objective discussion of programmatic differences, clear agreements, and clearly expressed programmatic lines. Only this will ensure the possibility of realizing in unity the principal social aims contained in Solidarity's program, while at the same time

The need for an agreement of the revolutionary left

Following the dissolution of the Social Defense Committee–Committee for the Defense of the Workers (KSS-KOR) in November 1981, Jacek Kuron and his colleagues initiated the formation of a political group called Freedom, Justice, Independence (WSN). Its "aim had to be the elaboration of an ideological formula to regroup people with views tied to social-democratic thought and who feel linked to the tradition of the Polish democratic left."²⁸

The programmatic stand of this group (although two declarations of such a character have appeared thus far) is much less clear. In the view of one underground bulletin, "this results from a dangerous phenomenon in the opposition's daily experience: an aversion to clearly expressing one's own social program." This is also influenced by the fact that the totalitarian regime uses the label of "actually existing socialism" to define itself. Thus "socialists do not know their own social standing, but are conscious of every wart that disfigures the idea of socialism."

As a result, the bulletin continued, "they defend the historical gains of socialist thought, constantly bring up the idea of independence present in the movement's program, and carefully emphasize their own anticommunist stance. They lay full and undivided responsibility for Poland's present shape on the communists, a shape that has nothing in common with socialism. It is rare, however, in reading the texts issued by Polish socialist left circles, to find answers to the basic questions confronting the movement."²⁹

Let us add that the WSN has difficulty even with its own professed definition as a socialist group. In an essay written by Adam Michnik during his period of internment in Bialoleka prison, we read: "The term socialism is utterly

discredited. Can you rightly use this formulation in your conclusions? Janusz Onyszkiewicz wrote me. I don't have an unequivocal answer to this question. Even when I pose it myself. Since in Poland the term socialism is in fact both compromised and ambiguous. From this perspective, it would therefore have to be abandoned. But on the other hand this term was used for decades by the Polish workers movement and its party, the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), which held high the idea of working people's rights and national independence."³⁰

In connection with this, it is worthwhile recalling the experience of the *Robotnik* editors prior to August 1980: "At first we were afraid to use the name 'trade union.' Since it had been compromised, we talked instead about workers' representations."³¹

The term socialism will undoubtedly return when its proper meaning is restored in the social movement's consciousness in the same way that the movement restored the proper meaning to the term trade union. This is the only way to free society from "newspeak," an important tool of domination in the hands of the totalitarian power, which has usurped for itself all the ideas and symbols of the workers movement by grotesquely deforming and degrading some of them and by eradicating others from historical memory.

Reform or revolution?

But if it is difficult to find answers to the basic programmatic questions among Polish socialists today, in the case of the WSN the main cause is the fact that the strategy of a "self-limiting revolution" professed by this group's founders has proven incorrect, yet has

28. W. Wolski, *KOR: Ludzie, działania, idee* [The KOR: People, activities, ideas] (Warsaw: Norma, 1983), pp. 6-7.

29. "Stanowiska: WSN, Rodowód" [Position: WSN, Origins], in *Wola*, No. 34/74, Oct. 31, 1983.

30. Adam Michnik, "Rozmowa w cytadeli" [A conversation in the fortress], in *Krytyka*, No. 13-14, 1983, p. 100.

31. Interview with members of the *Robotnik* editorial board, in *Tygodnik Solidarnosc* (Warsaw), No. 2, April 10, 1981, p. 14.

building a society that is democratic, and therefore multifaceted."³²

The social movement can only benefit if greater possibilities arise to consciously choose among programs and strategies.

But a reconstruction of the socialist left cannot fulfill the expectations of the social movement or satisfy its needs if it rejects the revolutionary dynamic of that movement and seeks to self-limit it, if it demands that the working class dull the cutting edge of its struggle and agree to "coexist" indefinitely with the totalitarian power under the threat that Soviet tanks will enter Poland if it does otherwise. The socialist left can fulfill its role and meet the political tasks facing it only if it is revolutionary, that is, if it contributes to a complete victory of a revolution from below.

We repeat once more: even if the social movement has defined its strategic aims, that does not at all mean that it has a strategy that can attain those aims if it has not also worked out its strategic means. In other words, developing a strategy requires a method.

This question of method in the political thought of the Polish revolution is not appreciated. As we have seen, it is even viewed in such a way that if the social movement sticks to this course it will lose the strategic aims it has set for itself.

Imagine how a worker would react upon complaining to his foreman that his tools were bad and receiving the reply: With bad tools it is possible to turn out a good job, and with good tools many people only waste material. I am afraid that such a worker, particularly if he is on piece-work, would respond to the foreman with an unacademic phrase. A worker is faced with refractory materials which show resistance and which because of that compel him to appreciate fine tools, whereas a petty-bourgeois intellectual — alas! — utilizes as his "tools" fugitive observations and superficial generalizations — until major events club him on the head.³³

In order to work out Solidarity's method of struggle, we should recall the method that the social movement used when it defined its strategic goal. That method was basically simple: the idea of a Self-managed Republic emerged from a picture of what the state would look like if a self-managed trade union like Solidarity took power. This is obviously just an approximation that cannot be taken literally, since it is difficult to imagine a trade union taking power. But Solidarity was also a social movement, and thus it is sufficient in principle to make this amendment.

Solidarity's strategy should be elaborated by the same method: the basic strategic means to reach the goal of a Self-managed Republic — the replacement of the present totalitarian power with a new revolutionary power — emerges from the social movement's self-man-

aging organs of struggle, above all those organs coming out of a general strike.

Premises for an alternative strategy

The premises for overcoming the social movement's crisis of strategy exist within the movement itself, and have for some time. They flow from the dynamic of the movement. Even if its point of departure was one of self-limitation, it has gradually gone beyond that, often in different directions, as the masses discover and become conscious of the need to take their destiny into their own hands.

Elements of an alternative to the "self-limiting revolution" strategy already began to appear in 1981. This trend polarized the movement, leading to the development of currents and even tendencies within it, although they did not crystallize politically or take lasting forms. A sign of this polarization was the emergence of radical currents in the workers' self-management movement. They had already appeared at the beginning of 1981, especially within Solidarity's Lodz regional Interfactory Founding Committee. By July of that year, they had reassembled within the inter-regional "Lublin Group."

The trade union activists who were in the "Lublin Group" or collaborated with it had drawn the most advanced political conclusions from the first experiences in the struggle for workers' control over production and for factory self-management. These radical currents in the self-management movement were also the only ones in which a conviction gradually matured that the social movement's development placed the question of power on the agenda and that transitional actions were needed to allow this question to be resolved.

At first, they did this in a limited way by demanding that the power in the factories pass directly into the hands of the workers through their workers councils, and then that the workers take over all economic authority. On the one hand this was expressed in the construction of a vertical system of workers councils in the regions and a Founding Committee for a National Self-management Federation. On the other, it was reflected in acceptance of the active strike tactic and preparations by some Solidarity bodies for such a strike.³⁴

This converged with the dynamic of the mass movement, which pushed in an increasingly energetic way for a socialization of the basic means of production and even for using revolutionary methods, such as an active strike.

These currents raised the demand that Solidarity lead an effective struggle for full and genuine workers' management. They also formed the basis for the struggle at Solidarity's national congress around this question, which

culminated in the adoption of two successive resolutions affirming the need for unconditional defense of self-management.

These elements of a radical program of action broke with the strategy of a "self-limiting revolution."

To this it is necessary to add the first experiences of the struggle for social control over distribution and over the rationing system for basic necessities. In one region, around Lodz, this was crowned with success: the establishment of embryonic self-management on a regional level and the raising, particularly among workers, of the demand for free elections to the People's Councils and the Sejm;³⁵ finally, some Solidarity activists, just before the state of war was declared, called for the creation of trade union self-defense detachments, known as Workers Guards.

Today, however, the promises for a break with the "self-limiting revolution" strategy are found within those currents and structures of the social movement that most consciously and actively aim to rebuild and strengthen the underground union organizations in the factories as the backbone of the entire "underground society" and the nucleus of the future self-managed society. They declare themselves for the development of workers' struggles in the factories for immediate and partial aims and defend the strategic perspective of a general strike.

The general strike is the basic strategic weapon of the Polish social movement, since it inevitably poses the question of power. Even if it does not, by itself, settle that question in favor of the social movement, it can open the way toward settling it. That is its dynamic.

Therefore, the general strike strategy should be the foundation of Solidarity's entire strategy. Solidarity has not rejected the possibility of initiating a general strike, and this idea is alive in the movement's collective consciousness. What is more, some currents within it consider preparing the structures of the "underground society" for a general strike to be the key task. This shows that there was never a break within Solidarity between the strategic goals and the means necessary to achieve them, despite the permanent crisis of strategy.

The general strike is the main premise for overcoming that crisis today. Its basis lies in the fact that the working class is the main striking force of the social movement. This social group is the most prepared, through its daily experience, to use the appropriate means of struggle, since it has the most experience in selecting and assessing the tools of labor. For the working class, the general strike is a natural tool of struggle.

It is no accident that the elements of the general strike strategy that already exist today arise from among those Solidarity activists who are linked with the workers and the building of structures of the "underground society" among the workers of large factories. We cite

32. "Deklaracja założycielska Klubów Samorządnej Rzeczypospolitej 'Wolność, Sprawiedliwość, Niepodległość'" [Founding declaration of the Clubs for a Self-managed Republic "Freedom, Justice, Independence"], in *Robotnik*, No. 80, Dec. 3, 1981.

33. Leon Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism*, p. 45.

34. The active strike concept, which was developed during 1981 by the Lodz regional leadership of Solidarity, involves workers occupying their factories, maintaining production during the course of the strike, and then turning over control of the factories to self-management bodies once the strike is over. — *IP*

35. The People's Councils are local government bodies; the Sejm is the national parliament. — *IP*

the most important of these elements:

1. The overthrow of the current bureaucratic-military dictatorship, which has institutionalized the state of war, through a general strike combined with active defense of the factories. In order to ensure the conditions for such active defense, the establishment in the large factories of detachments of Workers Guards, as well as factory executive organs and regional strike committees.

2. The general strike's aim should not only be a restoration of trade union freedoms and society's other democratic conquests, but also the establishment of social control over the economy (or at least broad workers' control over the factories and the distribution network for basic goods). In our opinion, the introduction of such control would allow the social movement to guarantee a powerful material basis for its struggle in the situation of dual power created by the general strike.

3. Provoking a split in the ranks of the army and police during the course of the struggle and drawing a significant part of the forces of the repressive apparatus to the side of the social movement.

4. On the "Soviet question": a conviction that the better-organized and more effectively coordinated and led the social movement is, the more powerful and determined it is when it picks up the weapon of the general strike, the more difficult will it be for the authorities in the Kremlin and their allies in the Warsaw Pact to decide on a military intervention in Poland. The danger of such an intervention grows if the social movement is weak and ineffective, not the opposite.

The above elements of a program and strategy for the Polish revolution are based, among other things, on Zbigniew Romaszewski's June 1982 theses on preparations for a general strike, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk's June and September 1982 open letters to Solidarity activists, and the programmatic documents drawn up by the Lower Silesian Regional Strike Committee under the chairmanship of Jozef Pinior in late 1982 and early 1983.

Need for a regroupment of the revolutionary left

The task of working out the Polish revolution's strategy cannot be realized spontaneously, by a gradual ripening of the elements of this strategy as the movement acquires political experience through struggle or by adding them to its program. This is, in any case, an extremely uncertain, long, and circuitous road.

As we have shown, such elements already exist, though in a diffuse form. Even when they may come together at some given moment in one or another structure of the "underground society," they face difficulties in preserving their continuity or developing further.

Let us recall that during the birth of the independent workers movement in the summer of 1979, "the turning point was the Charter of Workers' Rights, which pointed to the goals and methods of action and allowed an effective and conscious organization of union activities,"³⁶ although this was obviously within the limited framework of the possibilities that the movement had at that time, before the outbreak of the August 1980 revolution. Neither in the demands nor forms of action that it proposed did the charter contain much more than had already been raised, at least in embryo, during sporadic strike outbursts, by the workers' groups that were then coalescing, or in the thinking of the activists of these groups. The *Robotnik* editorial team simply brought together, systematized, and unified these demands and forms of struggle into a program, although it was limited. They then disseminated it to the most active sectors among factory workers in the large cities. This initiative, which drew together previously diffuse experiences, helped arm the first groups of the workers movement with a strategy for ongoing struggle.

A similar initiative is needed today, but on a broader scale, one corresponding to the present

36. Interview with members of the *Robotnik* editorial board, op. cit., p. 14.

dimensions of the social movement and one that goes much further in its strategic perspectives. This time it cannot just bring to the social movement a program drawn up outside of it, but must draw together, systematize, and develop all those elements of the Polish revolution's strategy that have grown up within it over several years of struggle and that serve as bridges connecting the tasks of the immediate struggle with the strategic aim — the construction of a Self-managed Republic.

Only the formation of a special structure can ensure success for such an initiative — a tendency or group with a distinctly political character, more homogenous in political and ideological outlook than even the most radical union tendency and organized separately from it. It would allow a regroupment of all those activists of the social movement who have today drawn revolutionary conclusions from Solidarity's December 13 defeat and its protracted crisis of strategy. They reject as an error the statement of Adam Michnik that "the 19th century dilemma of the left, 'reform or revolution,' is not a dilemma for those in the Polish opposition."³⁷

Now, however, these activists are scattered among various structures of the "underground society" and do not have a home base in their own organization. They should seek each other out, exchange experiences, and unify the political conclusions they have drawn from their experiences and their views on the tasks facing the social movement. They should enter into a lasting and regular collaboration that would allow them to conclude an agreement of the revolutionary left.

The conclusion of such an agreement or adhering to it should not be understood exclusively or even principally as an ideological choice or adoption of a defined theoretical position. It would not signify, in any case, the formation of a club holding one or another world outlook or cultivating the traditions of one or another body of ideological-political thought. Rather, it would signify an agreement among people of action who are united by a common view on the short- and long-term tasks of the social movement flowing from its objective revolutionary dynamic and by a will and ability to carry out those tasks collectively.

It is important that their political consciousness come, above all, out of what the experience of the Polish revolution has taught them directly and from what they can learn from the experiences of social movements in other countries, a consciousness based on the consciousness of the self-managed masses and the aspirations of the working class, as seen from that class's collective behavior and the dynamic of its struggle. It is important that, in their activities in the social movement, they defend working-class aims and forms of struggle, the principle of workers democracy in the factories, the country, and the world, and the principle of building a Self-managed Republic

37. Michnik, *Penser la Pologne*, p. 35.

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in accordance with the ideals of the self-managed socialism of the workers.

With the aim of constituting such a political tendency within the social movement, the revolutionary left should set up founding committees for an agreement, coordinating commissions, and factory and regional circles.

In the activities of the revolutionary left, work on a program and the fight within Solidarity for its realization should be inseparably linked to participation in developing the social movement's trade-union tendency. We have in

Parliamentary democracy or self-management?

The revolutionary left's position on the character of the democracy that should be established in a Self-managed Republic is one of the most important elements of its program.

Jacek Kuron, in his program for an anti-bureaucratic revolution in the 1964 open letter, declared himself in favor of workers councils; but with his rejection of a revolutionary perspective, he has become an advocate of parliamentary democracy. That is also the position taken by the WSN today.

We agree with Kuron that "the character of ownership of the means of production does not in any way derive from a system of parliamentary democracy,"³⁸ and like him we reject the accusations of the totalitarian regime that advocates of this form of democracy are calling in reality for a reprivatization of the basic means of production.

We fully support society's widespread demand that the Sejm and the People's Councils emerge from free elections — universal, equal, secret, direct, and proportional. However, for us it is important that these institutions of parliamentary democracy guarantee a decisive voice on matters of the distribution and utilization of the national income — the social product — to those who produce it. Therefore, the revolutionary left, in its program, supports the idea widely propagated in Solidarity that a second chamber be created within these institutions, a Self-management Chamber or Socioeconomic Chamber, elected democratically by the direct producers and holding in its hands the highest economic power in the Self-managed Republic.

The limitations of parliamentary democracy

We think that parliamentary democracy, which was historically shaped by bourgeois society, is not the most fully developed form of democracy.

That form, in our opinion, is the democracy of councils that are created by the workers movement and that have reemerged every time the workers go into struggle and organize themselves. The Interfactory Strike Committee of August 1980 functioned according to the classic principles of council democracy, and those principles were in force in Solidarity's union democracy and in the workers' self-management organs.

mind a factory struggle tendency that will create the structural foundation of the "underground society" by building up strong underground union organizations in the factories, an effective regional coordination of the activities of the clandestine factory committees, and a network of unions from the largest factories. This tendency would at the same time — through the course of workers' struggles for immediate, partial, and transitional aims — raise the working class's level of organization, consciousness, and willingness to fight.

Parliamentary democracy, because it is indirect, means limited representation. It reinforces the division between the state and civil society and thus also reinforces the existence of a special apparatus of executive power, which always tends to cut itself loose, escape the control of legislative bodies, and therefore place itself above society.

As Kuron correctly emphasized, "Parliamentary, that is, representative democracy is not self-management. It can even be considered its opposite. It requires, as I said before, a division between the legislative and executive spheres and a separate special administrative apparatus. From the point of view of this apparatus, everything that is not subordinated to the state in the executive sphere of social cooperation is considered a disorganizing factor. This state apparatus thus tends to limit self-managed social institutions, while they try to limit the state."³⁹

When he was active in the KOR, Kuron wrote on the system of parliamentary democracy that "as the experience of many centuries has shown, this is the most perfect among those [systems] in use." At the same time, he stated, "I declare that in a system of parliamentary democracy I will participate in the movement for direct democracy."⁴⁰

In a book recently published by an underground publishing house, we read in this regard:

Running through this conception is a clear thread of general leftist thought: a longing for an order based on universal freedom, civic activity, and an end to the alienation of the individual. Seeking to overcome the utopianism of such a vision, Kuron takes as a basic reality the existence of a parliamentary democratic state based on indirect democracy. He wants to then enrich this type of system with a few forms of direct democracy, thus following in the footsteps of modern leftist thought in the West. In these conditions it would be possible for the greatest number of citizens to become involved in the management of the state and to participate in social life. This view displayed a continuity with the vision of the earlier leftist movement (including in Poland), which called on every citizen to become an active co-manager and co-decision-maker, transcending the limits of parliamentary democracy, in which the political activity of the average citizen amounts to

casting a ballot every now and then. Kuron's ideological vision sought to combine the modern conception of parliamentary, representative democracy with the eternal hopes of the left.⁴¹

But this was a stagist vision, assuming that institutions of representative democracy would first be set up, and only later would they be enriched with forms of direct democracy. Since then, we have lived through the post-August revolution; in the light of it, this question is no longer a theoretical one. The social movement, which organized itself in the course of its struggle and led to the establishment of a situation of dual power, developed its own authority in institutions of council democracy, in other words, self-management. That is the experience of the Polish revolution. It obviously flows from this that even if institutions of parliamentary democracy arise in a Self-managed Republic, they will be preceded by a wide development of self-management, which will thus at least considerably limit the role of institutions of a parliamentary type, if not replace them entirely with its own institutions.

However, we are not opposed to Kuron's stagist view only because it is at variance with the dynamic of the social movement. There is also another reason. Kuron himself warned in the summer of 1981: "In all previous revolutions, when the revolutionary organization seized power, society, the people, the masses were left defenseless: they had no one to defend them, they lost their own organization, which became the state power."⁴²

Precisely because of that, in order to avoid such a danger, a broad and flexible system of self-managed organs of the masses themselves should be introduced, as a counterweight to a system of parliamentary democracy as well as to make it impossible for the apparatus of executive power and the political parties to transform the social organizations and institutions into their own "transmission belts."

The superiority of self-management

Since self-management does not know the limits that characterize parliamentary democracy, it combines the advantages of indirect, representative democracy with those of mass, direct democracy. It allows the unlimited development of the latter as the independent activity of the masses grows and progresses and as the increasing material-technical means permit its improvement. Thanks to this, self-management guarantees the masses democratic freedoms far greater than what even the most perfect parliamentary democracy allows.

Self-management does not favor simply a democratic reform of the state and the maintenance of an equilibrium between the state and civil society, which in any case is impossible in the long term. Rather, it creates conditions favoring the gradual absorption of the state, and of all its special apparatuses, by a self-managed society, that is, the gradual ending of

38. Jacek Kuron, *Zasady ideowe*, p. 20.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

41. Wolski, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–82.

42. Kuron, "Głos w dyskusji," p. 2.

the state's alienation from society. Self-management is the only way to ensure that the state does not dominate society.

Within the framework of connecting indirect with direct democracy, the technological revolution today allows an enormous development of the latter.

The perfecting of techniques of photocomposition and offset printing, and the use of electronics, make possible the proliferation of small-scale, easy-to-use printing centers at the level of every locality — the village, neighborhood, enterprise, university. . . . Likewise, the development of cable television and videocassettes creates the conditions for far wider debates than those that take place in a meeting hall; connected among themselves, the workers of a branch of industry or the inhabitants of a town can discuss and make decisions directly on budgetary choices, plans for the use of space, or production priorities. . . . In the same way that the computer, by allowing the centralization and rapid dissemination of information necessary to democratic planning, can prevent the formation of large bodies of nearly irreplaceable functionaries, supervisors, and statisticians (which calls to mind the growth of this layer in Soviet Russia, a layer that has come to occupy the still-warm seats of the tsarist administrators and *revizors*), television and other telecommunications media can be a real asset in countering the dangers of bureaucratization. They would be an instrument of political and cultural decentralization, giving rise to focal points of autonomous imagination and creativity.

The technological advances put at the service of self-management ensure that citizens participate in decision-making "not only by means of large gatherings or long trips (on the basis of which privileges imperceptible at the outset begin to take root), but rather link region to region, factory to factory, village to village. The democratic demand for public discussions and an end to secret diplomacy can in this same way take concrete form."⁴³

Technical means that the workers movement, experimenting with its first democratic councils, did not dream of have already been used in Solidarity's union democracy (telexes, telephone conferences, computerized data banks). Yet even these means remain far behind what is now possible.

The role of political tendencies

The freedom of political tendencies and parties to form and operate — obviously within the constitutional framework of a Self-managed Republic — is an inseparable characteristic of council democracy.

We reject not only all notions of a monopoly of power by a single party, but also the no less Stalinist thesis — which has nothing in common with the traditions of revolutionary socialism — that the working class is so united that its interests can be represented by a single political party. (In parentheses: when Michnik writes in relation to prewar Poland about the workers movement and *its* party, the PPS, he makes an unfortunate slip associated with the

totalitarian power's "newspeak": neither at that time nor in a future self-managed Poland can one talk of a single party claiming a monopoly on the expression and representation of the working class's interests.)

The working class, like all other classes, is stratified, heterogeneous, and torn by various conflicts. These conflicts arise on the basis of occupation, industry, region, strata, and world outlook and are linked to different degrees of concentration of these particular groups, varied traditions of struggle among each of them, different collective experiences, and different ties with other social groups. They are expressed in different levels of consciousness.

Unity can be maintained only when the aims and forms of struggle are common and commonly determined. And such a determination can be made only through the free development or attrition of tendencies, groups, or parties. Unity can thus be achieved if internal democracy is guaranteed in the organs of self-managed power, just as in the social movement.

Such internal democracy will not only permit the will and aspirations of the majority to be expressed, but also to be expressed consciously. This democracy will be fully realized the more the masses — who are its subject — can choose among fully developed, systematic, clear, and alternative drafts of action programs, plans, and decisions. A genuinely conscious choice can only be made by choosing among such alternatives — or if they are inadequate, by improving them. But so that such alternatives can be worked up, disseminated, and defended, all those who share common views, who look at the goals and tasks facing the social movement or society in general in a similar or convergent way, should join together in tendencies or parties, whether of a stable or transitory character.

The creation of tendencies and parties — today in the social movement, tomorrow in a Self-managed Republic — is thus not only a right resulting from the principle of ideological and political pluralism, but is also a precondition for the development of mass democracy. Without this, the danger exists that political conflicts and divergences will degenerate into clique warfare behind the back of the social movement or behind the scenes of the democratic institutions, which would not only poison the atmosphere but facilitate political manipulation.

If we defend the right to form groups, blocs, and parties, we at the same time firmly come out against efforts by the apparatuses of political parties to gain dominance over social activities and the masses involved in them, to control them, or to substitute for them in any way.

Even a multiparty system can be an important factor in limiting democracy if it monopolizes the material means of ensuring freedom of speech and press, the right to political activity, and mass organization, if the political parties occupy the leadership of the social movement or state organs of power in place of the natural leaders of this movement

and the democratically elected representatives of the masses, who can be removed by the masses and are subject to their control (though they obviously can also be members of political parties).

A monopoly by political parties is a characteristic of parliamentary democracy. Only self-management can effectively break that monopoly.

Social management of the economy

If it is true, as we have said, that parliamentary democracy does not determine property forms in the means of production — even though it arose on the foundations of capitalism — that does not at all mean that they have nothing in common.

There is nothing that prevents the system of parliamentary democracy from maintaining state ownership of the means of production in countries where private ownership of the basic means of production has already been overturned. Nor is there anything to keep it from standing guard against attempts at reprivatization, if such attempts materialize here or there.

However, this is quite different regarding a genuine socialization of the means of production, the key demand that in 1981 was pushed to the forefront of the struggle led by Solidarity and whose implementation Solidarity correctly saw as a prerequisite for abolishing totalitarian power over society. This is a question of enormous importance. It is the very essence of the "worker question" in Poland, since the history of "actually existing socialism" has taught us that the exploitation of the working class is not by any means abolished with the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, but only with its socialization.

Yet a system of parliamentary democracy in no way guarantees a transition from state ownership to genuine social ownership. Only a system of council democracy will guarantee that, a system that will allow the workers, through their self-management bodies, to manage the property entrusted to their enterprises and will allow the working class as a whole to manage the entire state sector of the economy through a national system of workers' self-management bodies. This is one of the fundamental reasons why the program of the revolutionary left predicts that council democracy will be the main political form of a Self-managed Republic.

This does not exhaust the issue. Parliamentary democracy is a political form that was historically based on a market economy. It does not seem to be a coincidence that the WSN's declaration of May 1983 stated that "parliament, above all, should be the basic organization of the society and state" and that "market mechanisms should be in force in the economy." Yet we also read in this declaration, "We think that management of the core of the economy by self-management bodies is a historical experiment whose realization gives hope for a completely new, effective, and just economic order."

It is true that the WSN favors some regula-

43. Daniel Bensaïd, *La révolution et le pouvoir* [Revolution and power] (Paris: 1976), pp. 285–86.

tion of the market mechanisms: "The state should guarantee everyone the minimum means of subsistence and the right to work, not through the fiction of full employment, but through influencing the growth of the economic situation."⁴⁴ But the WSN does not foresee planning for socioeconomic development. Contrary to parliamentary democracy, self-management — obviously as a system, not a simple sum of the factory and local self-management bodies — is not based on a market economy, but on social cooperation of the producers, that is, on economic planning.

We agree fully with the program adopted at Solidarity's national congress, which advocated the introduction of "a new socioeconomic order that unites central planning, self-management, and the market."⁴⁵

We reject an economy that has solely or primarily a market nature, since even if private ownership of the basic means of production (in whose framework such an economy achieves its fullest development) is abolished, market mechanisms function blindly. They inevitably lead to growing social inequalities, radical differences in pay for the same amount of work, and a concentration of material wealth at one end of society and poverty at the other. They are a driving force behind the unequal development of branches and sectors of the economy and behind the existence of unemployment. They tend to foster crises. Yugoslavia is eloquent proof of this.

Therefore, we are for the ascendancy of the plan over the market, so that the allocation of economic resources and social investments are not decided mechanically by market mechanisms and the law of profit, but so that the priorities are consciously set and democratically decided by the whole society, above all by those whose labor produces the national income. This is what economic planning consists of.

The program of the Solidarity congress declared, "The reform should socialize planning. The central plan must reflect the aspirations of society and be accepted by it. Therefore, public discussions of the plan are indispensable. The presentation of alternative plans by social groups and individuals should be ensured. It is thus necessary to make accurate economic information widely available and to establish social control over the Central Statistical Office."⁴⁶

At the same time, we think a market economy will be maintained for a long time. That is because the withering away of its mechanisms will be slow, depending on the rate of development of the productive forces, the growth of society's material wealth, and the development of social consciousness. The bureaucratic cari-

ature of planning, which is the totalitarian power's method of managing the economy, not only excludes society's democratic participation, but also control by market mechanisms. In regard to this, Trotsky wrote:

If a universal mind existed, of the kind that projected itself into the scientific fancy of Laplace — a mind that could register simultaneously all the processes of nature and society, that could measure the dynamics of their motion, that could forecast the results of their interreactions — such a mind, of course, could a priori draw up a faultless and exhaustive economic plan, beginning with the number of acres of wheat down to the last button for a vest. The bureaucracy often imagines that just such a mind is at its disposal; that is why it so easily frees itself from the control of the market and of Soviet democracy. But, in reality, the bureaucracy errs frightfully in its estimate of its spiritual resources. . . .

The innumerable living participants in the econ-

The universal solidarity of working people

Overcoming the "geopolitical fatalism" that, as we have said, blocks the development of Solidarity's strategy means that this strategy must take into account the Polish revolution's international dimension.

Not posing the question of power and not looking beyond the limits of one's own country — two requirements imposed by the strategy of a "self-limiting revolution" — are in fact two inseparable aspects of the same problem, even though only the first of them has been theoretically crystallized. On the other hand, among workers there is a virtually universal feeling that the fate of the Polish revolution depends in large part on the fate of the working classes and societies of the other countries of "actually existing socialism," as well as of the oppressed nations of the USSR.

There are numerous circles that have expressed the need to inscribe this fact in Solidarity's strategy. In a critical assessment of the "self-limitation" concept contained in an April 1983 programmatic declaration of the Center-East [Lublin area] Provisional Regional Board (TZR) of Solidarity — a criticism, we note, that also fully takes up the national underground leadership's January 1983 programmatic declaration — an anonymous union activist writes:

In the TZR's program as in other similar texts, the following statement is missing: Dec. 13, 1981, demonstrated without any doubt that to free our nation from dictatorship, we must also free from dictatorship other nations suffering under the yoke of totalitarian rule. The precondition for our self-determination is the self-determination of the Czechs, Slovaks, and Hungarians, as well as that of the Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Georgians, and Armenians — and finally the Russians! The precondition of our liberation is not a declaration of loyalty to Moscow (which no one believes anyway, either here or there), but to constantly awaken those who are still politically asleep in the other nations of the empire.

Further on in the same letter we read:

Our weapon, more dangerous than tanks or rock-

etry, state and private, collective and individual, must serve notice of their needs and of their relative strength not only through the statistical determinations of plan commissions but by the direct pressure of supply and demand. . . . The regulation of the market itself must depend upon the tendencies that are brought out through its mechanism. The blueprints produced by the departments must demonstrate their economic efficacy through commercial calculation.⁴⁷

Links with the world economy must be subject to conscious control, carried out in a democratic fashion, to ensure that the domestic market does not become flooded with cheaper goods imported from more developed countries, which would lead to a "deindustrialization" of Poland, a general destruction of the national productive forces, and unemployment. Control must also be exercised so that foreign monopoly firms do not prevail over industry and the banking system.

ets, is the idea of peaceful social and national liberation inscribed in Solidarity's program. But it must be universal! In Moscow, they understand that well. Let us not be afraid to speak and think about this ourselves. The program . . . passes over these questions in silence, undoubtedly on purpose. I shall be so bold as to say that continued silence on these questions will become an increasingly serious error that cynical and clever propagandists will not fail to turn against us. So that we will be able to savor the fruits of social and national freedom, it is necessary today, not "tomorrow," to also begin to fight to transform the consciousness of other nations whose destinies are linked to ours, in our common adversity, for good or ill. And so that this work can begin, the need for this undertaking must be understood.⁴⁸

The Polish revolution's explosive charge

The explosive charge that the Polish social movement carries within itself is a mortal danger not only for the totalitarian regime in Poland.

The scaffolding on which the totalitarian system of power rests is a fragile one in all the countries of "actually existing socialism," including in the USSR. This scaffolding is deeply riddled with the parasitism of totalitarian power, and decomposes as this power decays. The shock wave set off by the Polish revolution may shake it far and wide. If the wave fails to knock it over, then at least it will fracture it so much that it loses its equilibrium for good, so that it cannot regain a stable equilibrium, just a certain semblance of it.

Let us remember October 1956: when the first antitotalitarian revolution in Poland broke out, the shock wave set off by it literally swept away the main bastions of the Stalinist regime in Hungary within just a few days.

It is a fact that nothing comparable happened after August 1980. The shock wave was

44. "Deklaracja polityczna WSN" [Political declaration of the WSN], May 1 and 3, 1983, pp. 2-3.

45. "Uchwała programowa I KZD NSZZ Solidarnosc" [Program of the First National Congress of Solidarity] (Gdansk: BIPS, 1981), p. 27.

46. Ibid, p. 28.

47. Leon Trotsky, *Writings, 1932* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973), pp. 273-74.

48. "Kilka uwag o 'jutrze'" [Several observations on the "future"], in *Informator* (Lublin), No. 62, May 13, 1983.

not able to destroy the dams anywhere around it. But it was able to force its way through them and run far — for example, to the Pavlovo factory on the Oka River in the USSR, which we learned about by accident two years later.⁴⁹ But that was not all: the shock wave had its strongest echo in far-away China, the second largest power headed by a totalitarian bureaucracy, where it sparked a number of strikes⁵⁰ that raised the first demand of the Gdansk workers — the right to form free trade unions.

In a way that is in general difficult to perceive, not a few of the ideas of the Polish revolution have been disseminated. Certainly the most elementary of them — that of a free trade union, which in itself is revolutionary, since “actually existing socialism” cannot assimilate it or tame it.

In the summer of 1982, Vasil Stus, a defender of human rights and of the Ukrainian nation, wrote from a forced labor camp that “the trade union road will be the most sure road to liberation in the USSR as well.” Even before that, in November 1980, a Kiev worker, Mykola Pohyba, also imprisoned in a concentration camp, declared, “the recent events in Poland clearly showed that the working class is able to fight for its rights and freedoms, for improved conditions of existence, and that the effectiveness of its struggle depends on the extent of its solidarity and the level of its self-organization.”⁵¹

The struggle conducted by Solidarity also found an echo among East German youth in the independent peace movement.⁵² Its sound reached working-class circles in Romania, a country in which a massive strike by miners in the Jiu Valley had already erupted in 1977⁵³ and in which intensified exploitation through the introduction of the “global accord” in the fall of 1983 provoked strikes in the mines of northern Transylvania and in the huge truck factory in Brasov.

Strikes in Soviet industries occur more frequently than it would appear at first glance, since news about them only occasionally

reaches the outside world. Daily resistance on the job by Soviet workers is of a massive scope.

There and in other countries, the Polish revolution has made the authorities more inclined than before to concede to the economic demands of striking workers. But the deepening economic crisis (which is, of course, uneven among the particular countries of “actually existing socialism”) is limiting the scope for such concessions. Every regime defends itself by increasing exploitation and labor discipline, that is, sharpened repression, while there is also a growth in the number of workers (such as those at Pavlovo) who whisper among themselves, “if the work norms are raised, we will do like they did in Poland.”

When samizdat publications in Hungary, which had previously been circulated almost entirely among intellectuals, reached a few groups of workers with news about Solidarity's struggle, the reaction was stunning: reports by workers about strikes in Hungarian factories suddenly began to reach the editors of these publications, as if the workers were hoping to find some dissidents who were willing to publish a local version of *Robotnik*.

The shock wave of August 1980 was not a devastating one. But often imperceptible and elusive phenomena, after a certain amount of time, prove to be more lasting and deeply rooted than those that immediately rise to the surface of social life.

Solidarity of working people and oppressed nations of the countries of “actually existing socialism” is not an abstract value, but a concrete, even vital, necessity. Moral and political support and even, when possible, assistance by the social movement of one country to the democratic oppositions and workers' struggles of other countries; cooperation among them; and finally coordinated action — all are indispensable. If a revolution in one country does not receive support from other countries in time, it cannot survive in face of both external military threats and the danger that the new order it establishes will be strangled economically.

The task of the revolutionary left of the Polish social movement is thus to unconditionally defend such solidarity and undertake initiatives that can give it concrete form. It is necessary to fight national egoism as energetically and effectively as Solidarity fought against the particularism of occupation and industry among its own workers by counterposing unity and the primacy of the working people's basic interests.

We cannot oppose our own nationalism to the Great Russian chauvinism that the Kremlin inherited from tsarism as a tool of domination, or to the West German authorities' reheated traditions of Prussian militarism and pressure toward the East, or to the propaganda that “the Poles are not working, and our (Russian, German, or Czech) workers have to feed them.” In Poland and elsewhere, the totalitarian authorities themselves stoke the flames of nationalism every time they need to isolate and

turn the workers of different countries against each other. In the same way in Poland, they fan anti-Semitism every time they need to divide society or isolate a section of it.

It is necessary to try to get workers in the countries of “actually existing socialism” to understand well what the social movement in Poland is fighting for, so that the authorities in other countries cannot with impunity present the establishment of workers councils as “capitalist elections, through which the Polish workers want to return the factories to private ownership.” These authorities' claims that Solidarity wanted to return to capitalism, in conspiracy with agents of American imperialism, paralyze many workers in other countries. Their stance will be different when they understand that the goal is not a return to private ownership, but the establishment of genuine social ownership.

A threat to the Yalta agreement

The revolutionary left, by raising the idea of the Polish social movement's solidarity with working people in other countries, acts in the name of universal solidarity among working people. This solidarity is not limited to the framework set by the Yalta agreement. The international scope of the Polish crisis and the Polish revolution does not end where the iron curtain, or what remains of it, begins.

As Jaroslav Sabata, the Charter 77 activist in Czechoslovakia, has correctly pointed out: “This is not just a Polish crisis or even a new chapter in the history of the Eastern European states. It is the dramatic beginning of a crisis of Europe's ‘geopolitical’ situation.”⁵⁴

What is usually called a partition of the world undertaken at Yalta is a compromise between the big imperialist powers of the West and the power of the totalitarian bureaucracy in the USSR, in which both sides consider the world relationship of forces to be a lasting one. Based on that, the Yalta agreement defined the basic spheres of influence falling to each party — and therefore each side recognized the other's right to maintain order in its sphere of influence.

Every major breach of this order concerns not just the sphere of influence in which it takes place, but bursts the entire order, insofar as it has the character of a system. A crack in one of the key links of the chain binding Europe could rupture the entire chain that Moscow holds at one end and Washington at the other. Poland is such a link. Moscow is not the only power that is conscious of that, but also the main Western capitals, whose leaders did not fail to publicly express this when the Polish army undertook the task of rewelding the crack in this link, thus allowing them to heave a sigh of relief.

“To say that Yalta was brought into question meant in fact to recognize that the 18 months of the Polish experience had accumulated an

54. Jaroslav Sabata, “Pour une alternative démocratique” [For a democratic alternative] in *l'Alternative* (Paris), No. 24, November–December 1983, p. 21.

49. See “W Pawlowie nad Oka” [In Pavlovo on the Oka], in *Inprekor*, No. 12, October–November 1983.

50. See Czi Li, “Chinskie echa polskiego sierpnia” [Chinese echoes of the Polish August], in *Inprekor*, No. 8–9, January–May 1983.

51. B. Nahaylo, “Ukrainian dissident comments on events in Poland,” in *Radio Liberty Research Bulletin*, No. 46, Nov. 16, 1983.

52. See Anna Libera, “Niezalezny ruch pokojowy w NRD” [The independent peace movement in the German Democratic Republic], in *Inprekor*, No. 6, August–September 1982; and Jacqueline Allio, “Wegry, NRD i ZSRR: Narodziny niezaleznego ruchu pokojowego” [Hungary, East Germany, and the USSR: The birth of an independent peace movement], in *Inprekor*, No. 10–11, June–September 1983.

53. See J. Maly, “Rumunskie odglosy” [Romanian echoes], in *Inprekor*, No. 7, October–November 1982.

explosive charge capable of blowing the old world sky-high."⁵⁵

The Polish revolution thus cannot, we repeat, limit its scope to the country's borders or to the Kremlin's sphere of influence. It needs the solidarity of working people in the capitalist West and will induce such solidarity insofar as it provides them with an example. The movement of solidarity with Solidarity, which developed in Western Europe after August 1980 and which reached its highest point so far immediately after December 1981, irrefutably showed that actions of humanitarian support for the families of persecuted Polish unionists and material aid for the underground union structures developed most of all in those working-class milieus for whom the struggle led by Solidarity served as a direct example.

Already, in September 1980, striking Fiat workers in Italy demanded that the negotiations be conducted publicly, "as in Gdansk," thus breaking with the tradition of "secret diplomacy" of the union leadership. In September 1983, a Solidarity flag flew from the entryway to the Hamburg shipyards, the site of a powerful occupation strike; the flag was a symbol of the strikers' determined struggle and a call to workers in other West German factories to undertake solidarity actions. During the dramatic December 1983 strike of immigrant workers in the Talbot auto plant near Paris, in which they were defending their right to work, union activists in mass meetings called for determination like that of "Lech Walesa's union, which has continued to fight for three years despite an enormous setback."

However, among many layers of workers in the West who reject capitalism but also do not want to see it replaced by "actually existing socialism," which has been deeply compromised, the defeat suffered by Solidarity in December 1981 has led to great confusion. The alternative that could have attracted them and that Solidarity was creating — the perspective of a self-managed society — did not follow its course in Poland. This has caused a decline in activity in their own countries and the emergence of pessimistic moods. This, in turn, has had a negative influence on these workers' readiness to take action in solidarity with Solidarity wherever knowledge of the character and program of Solidarity's struggle has not taken root. Let us add that the party and union bureaucracies in the workers movement — even those that declared their support for Solidarity — were not at all interested in spreading such knowledge among the workers.

That is why Jozef Piniór was right when he said to French unionists in February 1983, "If workers in the West become very conscious of what the struggle in Poland is about and of what we are aiming for, that by itself will to a certain extent lead to the emergence of solidar-

ity with us among working people throughout Europe."⁵⁶

For the Polish revolutionary left, the solidarity of working people, breaking through the geopolitical barriers of the Yalta agreement is the nucleus of a Federation of Self-managed Republics of Europe that will replace the order imposed jointly by imperialism and bureaucratic despotism with a continentwide order based on workers' solidarity. This is one of the key bases for an agreement among the revolutionary left, one that defines its political identity.

Working people and social movements in very distant countries, including those dependent on the Western imperialist powers, do not remain outside the framework of this solidarity. It should not be forgotten that the highly developed countries of the West owe both their material wealth and their relatively stable parliamentary democracies in large part to the exploitation of cheap labor and natural resources and to domination over the domestic markets, industry, and finances of a broad periphery that is subjected to neocolonial national oppression, military dictatorships, and regimes of "limited democracy."

A feeling of common struggle by workers and their union organizations in Poland and Chile has already taken root in Solidarity's collective consciousness. It is developing in both countries. It is probable that if in one of these two countries a powerful workers' upsurge leads to the fall of the current dictatorship, it will have an enormous influence on the situation and on the combativity of the masses in the other.

The example of Solidarity has influenced a broad circle of union activists in Brazil, who have formed the Workers Party with the aim of protecting the political independence of the working class. At the same time, the programmatic positions of this party, which is based on the trade unions, deserve to be widely disseminated among Solidarity's ranks. Its political declaration of October 1979 proclaimed that it "will not seek to support only temporary and immediate solutions for the working masses, but above all to create the conditions for struggle over the medium- and long-term, for an effective democratization of society." Therefore, it "will fight so that all economic and political power will be exercised directly by working people, the only way to end exploitation and oppression."⁵⁷

The Polish revolutionary left must also stand up to the false ideas about El Salvador that are rampant within Solidarity. "If we accept the argument that the Salvadoran guerrillas are agents of Soviet communism, then we will place ourselves on the same level as those who consider Solidarity an agency of the CIA,"

56. Interview with Jozef Piniór, *Robotnik* '83 (Paris), No. 4, April 1983, p. 10.

57. "Declaration du Parti des Travailleurs" [Declaration of the Workers Party], in *Inprekor* (Paris), No. 64, Nov. 20, 1979, p. 38. On this party we wrote extensively in *Inprekor*, No. 2, November 1981.

55. F. Sittel, "Il etait une fois Yalta" [Once upon a time there was Yalta], in *Critique Communiste* (Paris), No. 5, February 1982, p. 6. See also the article by the editors, "A muru runa i pogrzebina strasy swiat" [The walls fall and bury the old world], in *Inprekor*, No. 8-9, January-May 1983.

wrote a journalist of one of Warsaw's underground newspapers,⁵⁸ provoking numerous protests among union readers. These protests show how much there is to do and the difficulties it will encounter. But we cannot shy away from it.

The revolutionary left of the Western workers movement participated in a decisive way in disseminating knowledge about Solidarity's character, aims, and forms of struggle and in building a movement of solidarity with Solidarity among workers. The Polish revolutionary left will be an important link in the universal solidarity of working people, not only by propagating its ideas, but also by taking part in constructing ties based on this solidarity.

Solidarity, like every weapon of the workers' struggle, requires coordination. It will not come easily, and the consciousness that it is necessary on a world scale as much as it is on a factory and countrywide level will not develop spontaneously. The revolutionary left must tirelessly create the foundations for such coordination by entering into relations with political currents in other countries that are similar to it. □

58. I. Lewy, "Linia podziału" [The dividing line], in *Robotnik*, No. 14, June 20, 1983. See also J. Gorski, "Polska i Salvador" [Poland and El Salvador], in *Inprekor*, No. 4, April-May 1982.

Kampuchea appeals for aid

The government of Kampuchea is making an urgent international appeal for food aid following severe flooding of the Mekong River. Minister of Agriculture Kong Sam stated in Phnom Penh on October 18 that his government was asking for rice, rice seed, agricultural implements, and fertilizer to confront the severe drop in rice production following the recent floods and an earlier drought that hit much of the country in 1983.

The Kampuchean news agency SPK reported that only 61.5 percent of the usual rice land could be harvested this year due to the natural disasters the country has suffered.

Kampuchea's vice-minister of health stated in Paris that his country will need 300,000 tons of rice to make up for the losses caused by flooding in more than a dozen provinces. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization has put the deficit at 177,000 tons.

Because of the devastation caused by the more than three years that Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime ruled Kampuchea — from 1975 to early 1979 — the country still does not have sufficient food stocks to see it through periods of poor weather. During Pol Pot's reign of terror, up to 2 million Kampuchean perished, and the entire economic fabric of the country was disrupted.

Since being driven from the country in January 1979, Pol Pot's forces have continued to launch armed attacks against Kampuchea from bases in Thailand. □