

International VIEWPOINT

ISSUE No 30

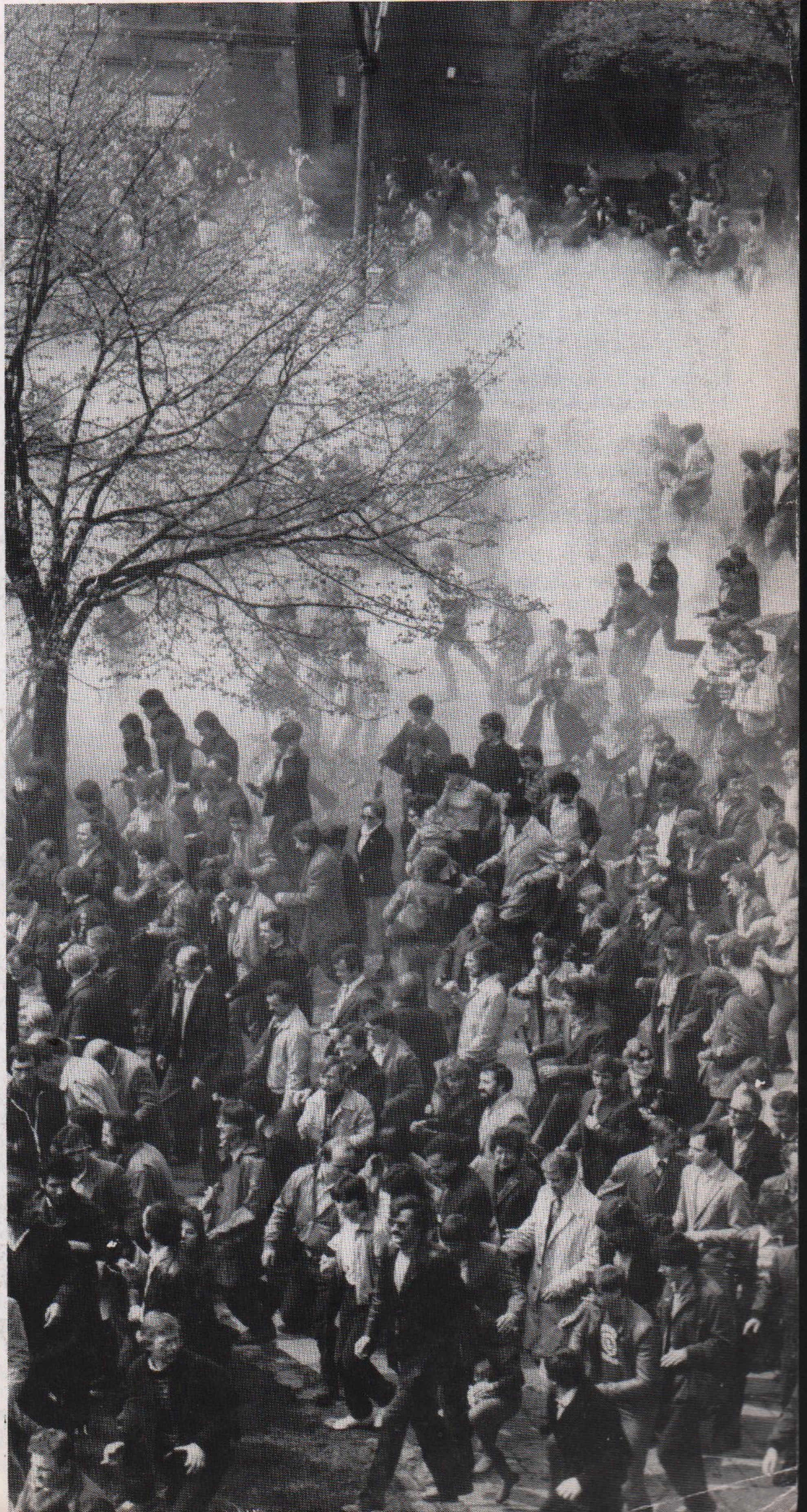
16 May 1983

Polish workers defy junta

Under the ashes
fire still spreads
in Middle East

Deaths of
Salvadoran
leaders

New steps
forward for
European
peace movement



International Viewpoint

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International Viewpoint will be on sale at the fete organised jointly by the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (French section of the Fourth International) and the French revolutionary organisation Lutte Ouvriere on May 21/22/23. The fete will be held at Presles, Val d'Oise, near Paris.

The fete has been organised jointly as a follow up to the successful joint election campaign of the two organisations in the French municipal elections in March 1983 (see IVs Nos 23 and 26). European sections of the Fourth International, as well as French political groups and campaigns will be there.

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May Day - Polish workers defy Jaruzelski

Jacqueline ALLIO

Hundreds of thousands of Polish workers took to the streets on May 1 in response to the call from the clandestine national leadership of Solidarnosc. The response showed that Solidarnosc remains alive; 40,000 in Nowa Huta, 15,000 in Warsaw, tens of thousands in Wroclaw, Szczecin, Cracow and other towns in the country.

Who could believe the official press in their oft-repeated statements that these 'counter-demonstrators' numbered no more than 40,000 in some twenty towns when they could catch glimpses of this tightly packed crowd? Perhaps they were afraid, but they were decided to show their rejection of the bureaucratic regime, and — young workers and dignified old ladies shoulder to shoulder — to confront the hordes of ZOMO helmeted and armed to the teeth.

In Warsaw the crowd defied the mounted police to obey the orders of their commanders 'to act more forcefully'. In Cracow the demonstrators penetrated into the ranks of the official demonstration and marched in front of the platform where uniformed and civil bureaucrats stood side by side, shouting, 'Poland is us, come with us.' In Nowa Huta the ZOMO were charged and put to flight.

There is no doubt of Solidarnosc's success. Particularly since to participate in a demonstration called by the TKK (clandestine leadership), or even to find oneself on the fringes of a 'clandestine gathering', runs the risk, as everyone knows, of police control. And thus, in this country where the state is also the employer, the risk of finding oneself the following day without work and listed as an 'anti-social element'. However, this did not prevent hundreds of thousands of Poles from braving the threats of the regime, who had announced that they 'would not hesitate to use force', and disregarding the exhortations of the Catholic hierarchy.

THE DEFEAT OF THE EPISCOPATE

The complete failure of the manoeuvres of Cardinal Glemp is patently obvious. Having appealed at the end of March for no demonstrations, he had to back down

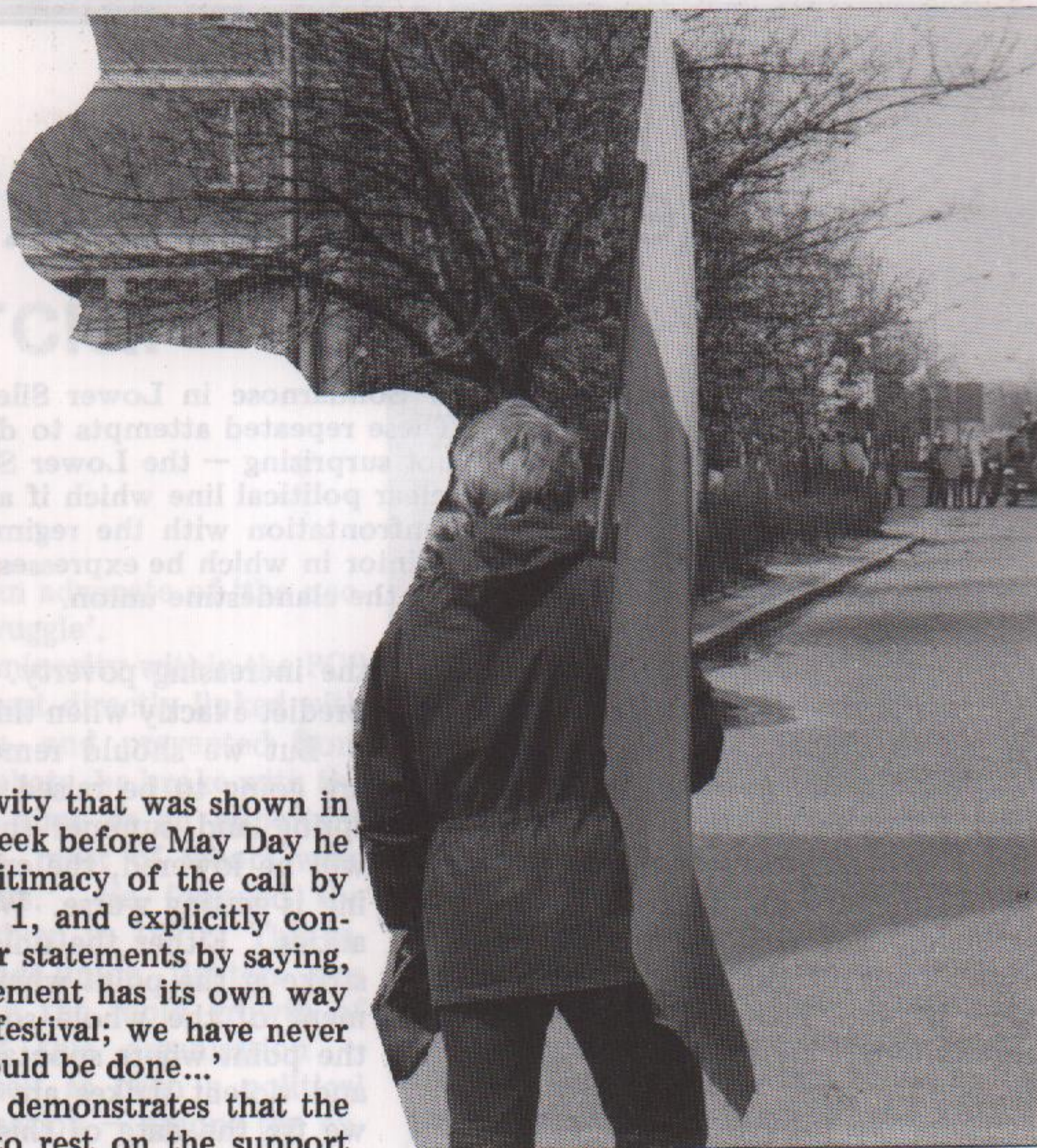
given the combativity that was shown in the factories. A week before May Day he recognised the legitimacy of the call by the TKK for May 1, and explicitly contradicted his earlier statements by saying, 'The workers movement has its own way of celebrating its festival; we have never defined how it should be done...'

This turnabout demonstrates that the regime's attempt to rest on the support of the Church in attempting to get 'normalisation' accepted has once again failed. Their religious belief has not prevented the workers from making it clear to the primate that, banned or not, Solidarnosc is a full actor on the political scene. Unlike the numerous Western journalists who have just 'rediscovered' the underground union, the pope appears to have understood this. This was illustrated by his warning to the Polish authorities that he would have to take up the question of the political prisoners in his sermons if they were not released before his arrival.

The prospect of this visit — although nothing today assures that it will in fact take place — certainly represents an important opportunity, both for the regime and for the clandestine movement. But it is not the only one, far from it.

The violence of the confrontations which took place on May 1 at Nowa Huta (which resulted in one death) testifies to the degree of exasperation that exists in the ranks of the working class. This is a factory town, built around the Lenin steelworks, the biggest industrial complex in the country with 40,000 workers. Therefore, as was to be expected, this demonstration had a massively working class character.

But what was most striking was the determination of the demonstrators, old and young, to do battle with the forces of order. They were obviously prepared, and did not intend to disperse after the first jet of coloured water from the water cannons. Their slogans, such as 'Down with the regime', explicitly showed their anger with the repressive policies of the regime, and with the worsening economic situation which is bringing poverty to growing layers of the working class.



Solidarnosc demonstrator May 1 (DR)

For the moment, however, the regime remains well in place. It still has absolute control over the army and the police.

It was even able to organise an imposing march in the capital, which it was unable to do last year, by requisitioning workers and children in a sixty kilometre radius, and massively mobilising the military.

The fact that the workers at Nowa Huta were not content with simple skirmishing, but attacked the bureaucratic regime so openly by charging the ZOMO, demonstrates the importance of what answer will emerge to the debate that has gone on in the clandestine movement for months.

To patiently build a clandestine society based on parallel cultural and social institutions, hoping that time, and the breadth of such a movement, would force the regime to sit down at the negotiating table?

Or to prepare for a confrontation that the outbreaks of anger by the working class render inevitable? That is: to prepare the general strike by systematically reorganising the trade-union structures in the factory, by a propaganda offensive directed at the army and militia, and by setting up organs of self-defence, able to stand up to the forces of repression?

The leadership of Solidarnosc in Lower Silesia has chosen the latter course. The Nowa Huta workers seem to have opted for this as well. Such a perspective could rapidly win a big audience. As Lech Walesa himself has recognised — wellknown for his caution though he is — 'people are saying more and more often that we have to fight with the same weapons as are used against us.' ■

Jozef Pinior speaks

Jozef Pinior is the third chairman of Solidarnosc in Lower Silesia to have been arrested. (IV No 29, May 2, 1983) These repeated attempts to decapitate and disorient Solidarnosc in this region are not surprising — the Lower Silesia Solidarnosc has been to the fore in developing a clear political line which if agreed would lead Solidarnosc to prepare for an open confrontation with the regime. Here we publish extracts of recent interviews with Pinior in which he expresses his point of view on some of the questions under debate in the clandestine union.

Question. Do you think there is still the possibility of a peaceful understanding with the regime?

Answer. My answer is definite. No. That is not to say that I am a hawk, or that I want confrontation. Quite simply, the regime has no desire for an understanding. The response to this question is the basis of the programmatic statement of the TKK on January 22 (see *International Viewpoint* No 27, March 31, 1983).

There we took a clear position: the present political system — a military-police system — is not reformable. The junta will not move towards any democracy, unless we force it to do so. A general strike seems to us inevitable.

Thus, I see two choices. Either we go on the offensive in launching a general strike, and we begin to seriously prepare it. Or we resign ourselves to years of military rule.

Anywhere that the military take power, they don't give it up easily. It is a question of technique of governing the bureaucratic apparatus in the barracks which each army has. Many fear that a general strike will only bring a direct military intervention by the USSR. The only way to safeguard ourselves is the degree of preparation — the less we are prepared the more the strike will be chaotic, and the greater likelihood of a direct intervention. Flawless organisation, a system of regional and inter-enterprise communication, control of the strike by ourselves, these are the guarantees of success and that the USSR will hold back from direct military intervention.

(*U Nas*, Solidarnosc factory bulletin in Wroclaw, No 1, February 17, 1983).

WORKERS DEFENCE GUARDS AND SELFMANAGEMENT

Q. What is the meaning of the fact that the draft programme of the RKS (Regional Strike Committee in Lower Silesia) foresees a general strike?

A. It's vital to understand that to count on the good will of the regime, on 'agreements', or the intervention of someone in our favour is naivety. We can only count on ourselves. This is why the RKS projects a general strike at the point where the society will no longer stand

the increasing poverty. It is difficult to predict exactly when this will be.

But we should remember that prices are going to be raised again, that in the spring and summer the ration of meat will be lowered, the crisis in housebuilding is getting worse. We see two eventualities. Either the union calls a general strike at the point where the impoverishment of the whole society has reached the point where spontaneous movements and violent strikes are breaking out. Or we fix the date of this strike, linking it, for example, to a boycott of the elections to the Diet which should take place under the present electoral law. Personally, I think the first eventuality would be the best. In any case, preparation in the factories for the general strike is the essential demand.

Q. Have you thought about workers defence guards?

A. Yes. The RKS in its draft programme announced the formation of workers defence guards in the major enterprises as executive bodies of the RKS. I want to emphasise that workers guards will not be used for acts of 'minor sabotage', nor to act against collaborators, etc. The purpose given to them is much more important. To prepare the factories at a practical level for the national general strike.

WORKING IN THE WORKERS COUNCILS

Q. In the December 16 declaration you talked of the links between clandestine actions, and certain forms of legal activity. What did you mean?

A. This is a very important question. We have at all costs to abandon our 'programme of no' for a positive programme, particularly on the level of the economy. We should concentrate on our economic programme. Remember that the Spanish Workers Commissions existed for more than twenty years in clandestinity. However, they had a big influence on the management of the enterprises through the legal bodies, such as, for example, the factory committees.

At the moment we are discussing again the question of the workers councils. We

have studies by our advisors which suggest taking up activity within them again. This is also the opinion of several trade-union representatives from the enterprises. But of course there also opposing arguments. If we decide to go for working within the workers councils, this would be a model of the link between legal and illegal activity.

(*Z Dnia na Dzien*, official journal of the RKS, No 2/261, January 13-20 1983.)

Q. But do you think it is possible to reach such an agreement with the regime? It refused such demands in 1981?

A. At the time the regime didn't accept because it was a different situation. I think that, despite appearances, the regime is weaker today than before December 13. This could seem paradoxical, but it is so. Before December 13 the regime rested on other social layers than the police and the army. Today it only rests on its brute force.

The regime is faced with a choice. To continue its present policy — which would make Poland a colonial country, weaker and weaker — or to look for an alternative. It seems to me that the regime cannot allow itself this destruction of the economy, this lagging behind in technology, because in time it will boomerang back on it. To keep itself in power, it will have to give something, something real, to the society, which can satisfy our social aspirations.

Therefore, I think there is a difference between the situation before December 13 and today. Today, if we put our demands forcefully, and insist on them, the regime will have to grant them.

Q. You say that the regime rests on the army and police. What can Solidarnosc do so that in the future the regime won't be able to use the police and army against society, as they have done in the past?

A. This is a question above all of the army. In fact, the army still has not taken a direct part in the repression. The soldiers have not found themselves confronted with a definitive choice. The question is to know what the army will do in such a situation.

This is particularly important since the conscripts who were already in the army at the time the state of war was imposed have not experienced civilian life in the period since August 1980. They were very different from those who today form the ranks of the army.

That does not mean to say that I am optimistic about the army. Rather, I am sceptical. But the situation is not so obvious for Jaruzelski either. I think that if we, the trade union as a whole, are able to cross the frontier of fear, then the army which seems to us today to be monolithic, will no longer be so. But this will indeed necessitate crossing this barrier of fear.

(*Robotnik 83*, bulletin of the Co-ordinating Committee of Solidarnosc in France, interview with French trade unionists April 14, 1983)

The death of commandante Marcial

Jean-Pierre BEAUVAIS

The tragic death of Salvador Cayetano Carpio, 'commandante Marcial', a few days after that of his deputy, commandante Ana Maria, was in every respect a grave blow to the Salvadoran liberation forces. Marcial was not only the founder and leader of the Fuerzas Populares de Liberacion (FPL), the main component of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN). He was the best known, and above all the most popular, of the Salvadoran revolutionaries.

'My school in the class struggle was combativity, the most elementary form of struggle. There were neither labour laws nor a labour code. Everything had to be got by our strength. We had to wrest every law allowing the existence and activity of the trade-union movement from the bosses and the government by struggle, by the violence of the masses, by unity between all trades,' he recently explained to the journalist Martha Harnecker.

Born just after World War I, Marcial was of a different generation from most of his comrades in arms. While still an adolescent he took part in the popular and peasant insurrection of 1932. The Salvadoran oligarchy, supported by the United States, crushed this at the cost of tens of thousands dead. A bakery worker, he founded the first union in his trade at the end of the 1930s. He became a central figure in the young workers movement of his country, and in 1947 joined the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS). He finally became the general secretary of this party, without giving up his trade-union activity.

THE REVOLUTION WILL BE SOCIALIST OR IT WILL NOT BE A REVOLUTION

The victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959, and the successes of the fighters in Vietnam, then had a decisive influence on him. He became convinced that any strategy in which the action of the workers and people's organisations was dependent on an alliance with sections of the bourgeoisie, be they 'liberal' or 'democratic', could only lead to defeat. 'The Salvadoran revolution will be socialist, or it will not be a revolution,' he said, taking up the famous saying of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara on the nature of the Latin American revolution. Within this per-

spective, he was an advocate of 'the necessity of armed struggle'.

Forced into a minority within the PCS by the sections most directly linked with the Soviet Union, and prevented from taking up a real debate, he broke with the PCS at the same time as an important nucleus of cadres, most of whom were trade-union leaders. He founded the FPL along with them in 1970. This involvement of trade-union fighters was no small factor in the rapid growth of the influence of this organisation — which defined itself as both a political and military formation — among the exploited masses.

Salvador Cayetano Carpio is a shining example of a revolutionary. Drawing his inspiration from a half-century of the history of the international workers movement, and indissolubly linked with the advances of the Salvadoran people in their long march towards national and social liberation.

He has disappeared at a time when, on the ground, the FMLN forces have continued to score points against the troops of the dictatorship, who are demoralised by the divisions among their chiefs. His death also coincides with new efforts by the imperialists to build up means for increased intervention to contain the progress of the revolutionaries.

With new and difficult political and military questions looming, Marcial's death has created a considerable void within the leadership of the FPL and FMLN. But the circumstances, following the death of commandante Ana Maria, bring the risk of still more grave consequences.

PRESERVE AND REINFORCE UNITY

'The assassination of our commandante Ana Maria was planned and carried out by the one named Marcelo, who at the time was a member of the central command of the FPL. In doing this he lent himself to the manoeuvres of the CIA...In committing this act of high treason he sought to satisfy resentment and resolve political and ideological differences with comrade Ana Maria.'

The official statement of the FPL leadership in Salvador was explicit. The tragic end of Ana Maria, and thus that of Salvador Cayetano Carpio, was a result of internal matters within the FPL.

Beyond that, and in the absence of more precise information — in particular



Commandante Marcial (DR)

on the character of the 'political and ideological difference' — it is, at this stage, useless to speculate. And it would be irresponsible to draw hasty conclusions from the outside. The task of clearing up what happened falls first to the cadres and the fighters of the FPL and FMLN. This is important for them themselves, for the Salvadoran people, and for all those who are mobilised and active in solidarity with them.

The essential political fact is undoubtedly that a major crisis has now opened within the organisation which, until now, has been the principal component of the FMLN. The origins of this crisis probably do not date from only yesterday and its development will be particularly difficult to master, given the conditions in which it has come to the surface.

These conditions include a civil war, in which the scope and intensity of the confrontations, their considerable cost in human lives, have not, for two or three years, led to a decisive and lasting shift in the relationship of forces between the two sides. The conditions are also those of lack of a tradition of democratic debate within the organisations. However, while immersed in the struggle, faced with the strategy of imperialism, they have to confront and resolve particularly difficult problems of tactics and orientation.

At the moment, the situation is obviously difficult. On the one hand, differences exist between the components of the FMLN on how much emphasis to give to attempts to open a process of negotiations. At the same time, and most importantly, Reagan is preparing a new offensive. It will be waged both militarily, through a considerable increase in spending; and politically, through the holding of new elections. In these circumstances, the primary task for revolutionaries in Central America is obviously to preserve and reinforce the unity within the FMLN.

The task of revolutionaries in other areas of the world remains more than ever to help strengthen and extend the solidarity movement.

(Rouge No 1061, April 29-May 5, 1983)■

Statement of the FPL

It is with deep revolutionary sorrow that the Political Commission of the Central Command of the Popular Liberation Forces — FPL — Farabundo Marti informs the people of El Salvador, and the whole world, of the death of our top leader of the Central Command, Commander in Chief of the Popular Armed Liberation Forces (FAPL), and member of the General Command of the FMLN — Commandante Marcial.

A. The assassination of our Commandante Ana Maria was planned and carried out by the one called Marcelo, who at the time was a member of the Central Command of the FPL. He lent himself to the diversionary manoeuvres of the CIA in doing this.

This individual, through clever manoeuvres, was able to get the collaboration of several ex-comrades in carrying out this repugnant crime. The pseudonyms of these were Efre, Fransisco, Jacinto, Lola and Roberto. In committing this act of high treason Marcelo sought to satisfy resentment and resolve political and ideological differences with comrade Ana Maria.

B. The assassination of comrade Ana Maria brought great revolutionary grief to comrade Marcial. It provoked a grave emotional crisis in him when he learnt that one of the members of the Central Command, to whom he was close, had organised and carried out this crime. This led him to commit suicide on April 12, at 9.30 pm, in a house where his wife Emma, and other comrades, were present.

C. Faced with these lamentable and tragic facts, we, the FPL, condemn the shameful crime committed by Marcelo in collaboration with the other ex-comrades mentioned.

D. With the death of our two top leaders, the FPL, the FMLN, and the people of El Salvador, have suffered two irreparable losses: Two great revolutionary leaders who have contributed to the advance of the revolutionary process in Salvador, and our beloved organisation. They helped to advance and develop the revolutionary and democratic unity of the FMLN and the FDR. By redoubling our energy we will lead the hundreds of combattants of the FAPL, the FMLN, and the whole people to the achievement of the objectives set out by these comrades: the defeat of Yankee imperialism and the fascist military dictatorship.

E. We warn our base and the people of El Salvador to be on their guard and not to let themselves be confused by the manoeuvres of the enemy. Our adversaries are seeking to sow distrust in the leaders and leadership bodies of the FPL and FMLN, in order to undermine our leadership's authority among the people. We appeal to them to close ranks and to block this imperialist manoeuvre.

F. We will redouble our fighting spirit to confront imperialism's aggressive policy. The Yankee imperialists carry out diversions, commit aggressive acts of psychological warfare of the vilest sort in their attempts to impede the revolutionary movement. We reaffirm that this policy will fail in the face of the high morale and fighting spirit of our militants and the determination of all our fighters to fight until final victory.

G. The FPL thanks the Minister of the Interior of the National Government of Reconstruction of Nicaragua, and the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) for the facilities they have extended to us.

H. The Central Command will continue these investigations. It also appeals to all the militants at the base of the organisation, to all the leadership bodies, to the Revolutionary Council, to the Central Command, to the Political Commission, to abide by the agreements of the last meeting of the Central Command. We call on them to strengthen and consolidate the revolutionary unity in the FMLN/FDR, to make all the sacrifices necessary to carry out our political and military tasks that are necessary to achieve a just and dignified political solution in the interest of the Salvadoran people.

— COMMANDANTE MARCIAL
HASTA LA VICTORIA SIEMPRE

— COMMANDANTE ANA MARIA
JURAMOS VENCER

— REVOLUCION O MUERTE
EL PUEBLO ARMADO VENCERA

— UNIDOS PARA COMBATIR
HASTA LA VICTORIA FINAL

— REVOLUCION O MUERTE VENCEREMOS

Commandante Salvador Guerra, member of the Political Commission, General Command, and deputy Commander in Chief.

Commandante Leonel Gonzales, member of the Political Commission, in charge of party organisation.

Commandante Miguel Castellanos, member of the Political Commission and chief of the urban front.

Political Commission of the Central Command of the Popular Liberation Forces — FPL — Farabundo Marti, member of the FMLN. ■

Nicaraguan ministry on deaths of Ana Maria and Caetano Carpio

The Ministry of the Interior informs the Nicaraguan people that the investigation conducted by our Security and Police agencies around the assassination of Comrade Melida Anaya Montes, Commander Ana Maria, has produced the following findings:

1. Our investigation enabled us to clarify the circumstances in which the crime was committed as well as to identify and capture its perpetrators, whose names follow:

— Rogello A. Bazzaglia Recinos, 28, master-mind and organizer of the criminal action. He was arrested April 9 of this year.

— Walter Ernesto Elias, 18, Andres Vasquez Molina, 22, and Julio A. Soza Orellana, 25, the actual perpetrators of the assassination who were found in possession of weapons, clothes, and other articles used for the deed. They were captured on the 12th of the same month.

— Alejandro Romero Romero, 24, and Maria Argueta Hernandez, 39, accomplices who arranged the entry of the killers' group into Comrade Commander Ana Maria's home. They were arrested on the day of the incident.

All of them are Salvadoran nationals.

2. The statements of the suspects and other investigations made it clear that the individual behind the assassination used the pseudonym of Marcelo and is a member of the Central Command of the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL) of El Salvador where his tasks brought him in close contact with Comrade Salvador Cayetano Carpio, Commander Marcial, the main leader of that revolutionary organization.

3. This individual, using the position he had gained within the FPL and the trust placed in him by Comrade Salvador Cayetano Carpio, took advantage of the latter's absence to sow the seeds of dis-

trust against Comrade Melida Anaya M. among some rank-and-file members of the FPL, who were then manipulated to execute the crime.

4. The way the events unfolded as well as our own investigations indicate that these actions were the result of enemy activity typical of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

5. Once the perpetrators of the crime had been arrested and these important findings of the investigation obtained, the Ministry of the Interior proceeded to inform Comrade Carpio of the facts. Disheartened and grieved by the irrefutable evidence that enemy activity had been carried out through a man he had trusted and had led to the assassination of Comrade Anaya Montes, Comrade Cayetano Carpio took the tragic decision to end his life Tuesday, April 12, at 9.30 pm. Comrade Tula Alvarenga de Carpio, Comrade Carpio's wife, and other comrades who were present in the house at the time, immediately informed this Ministry.

6. Because of the political nature of the events, and as a gesture of respect,

our government agreed to the request of Comrade Carpio's relatives that it wait until they had notified his organization, before publicly releasing the news of the tragedy.

7. The Revolutionary Government made facilities available so that Comrade Cayetano Carpio's relatives could give his body a private burial on April 13. Commanders of the Revolution Daniel Ortega and Tomas Borge were present at the funeral.

8. The Ministry of the Interior will continue its investigations until it has uncovered all the circumstances surrounding the tragic events of which Commander Ana Maria and Commander Marcial, respectively first and second leader of the FPL, were the direct or indirect victims.

9. Those responsible for the crime will be turned over to the Courts of Justice to be duly tried once the investigation is as complete as possible.

Public and External Relations of the Ministry of the Interior
Managua, April 20, 1983

Sandinistas' response to the housing crisis



Ulf JUNGMAR and Mats TINNERWALL

MANAGUA — "Some of us had electric light but we didn't have drinkable running water. We had to get water from those who did have it.

"Our neighborhood expanded both to the west and east, growing from 200 dwellings to over 800.

"Flooding was so bad that we could see clothing from the Waspan section of the city or from our own neighborhood go floating by."

That was what a Sandinista Defense Committee (CDS) leader from the Jose Dolores Estrada section of the city told us.

This section has just had a meeting

where 105 dwellings were turned over to their tenants, who have now become the owners.

"Before, our neighborhood was like all the others in the city; it was owned by a handful of pirates. Now it's different. The government has built a proper protection against flooding, and improvements are planned. In fact, the meeting where tenants were given title to their dwellings was held in a motel that was owned before by National Guardsmen and other robbers."

It is the meetings to discuss the new housing law, the "Ley de Viviendas" that have led to tenants getting title to their dwellings. The law stipulates that those who have paid rent for twenty years have reimbursed the building costs of the dwelling and can apply for title. If the tenants have no receipts for rent payments, testimony is accepted from neighbors and from the local CDS.

The new housing law has been discussed in the mass organizations but has not yet been accepted as a whole. The bill was originally drawn up by the CDS and is very popular.

Although the law will strip landlords of all their present prerogatives, they have been unusually quiet about it. Because of the strong popular support for the law, even the reactionary opposition paper *La Prensa* has been forced to write positive articles about it.

Today we are in a luxurious villa in Managua with a swimming pool. It is the former private paradise of the Match King, Pedro Ortega. Now, he is living in Honduras under the name "Juan Carlos" and working with the counterrevolutionaries.

Like the property of other Somocistas, the house has been nationalized, and is being used by the National Committee of the CDS.

"When the housing law was published, there was a wave of evictions throughout the country," CDS leader William Blandone recalled. "The law was going to make it impossible for landlords to evict their tenants. At the same time, income from rentals was going to be limited to about 10,000 cordobas (about 1,000 US dollars) per month per landlord."

"There is a landlord who has over 3,000 apartments, so he would get about three cordobas a month per tenant. All rents are to be paid to the state, which will then pay each landlord. The surplus will be used for new buildings and for improvements in old neighborhoods.

"The evictions were stopped by a decree. Rents were lowered to assure that no one pays more than 5% of the value estimated for tax purposes in one year.

"And, as in most countries," William Blandon said, "the estimated value for tax purposes is low. After twenty years, the dwelling goes to the tenant because the value of the building has been reimbursed."

"Why not nationalize housing outright?" we asked.

"That's too big an operation," William Blandon answered. "That would make

the revolution a lot of enemies even among the small landlords.

"The state is going to have enough problems administering this law, and it does not have the resources to administer all housing in the country.

"We think that access to housing is a social right, and so we limit the possibilities for making money from people's needs. The law responds to the people's need for cheap housing. Even the poor can become the owners of their homes and gain freedom from rent sharks, evictions, and arbitrariness."

"What role do the CDS committees play with respect to improvements made in the various sections and neighborhoods of the city?" we asked.

"The demands and proposals come from the CDS committees. All the land on which families have built their houses now belongs to those who live on it, so they can be secure about continuing to live there. But often there is no drinkable water in the neighborhood, and people have to go long distances to get it.

"Houses were flooded during the rainy season. Before the revolution, there was a law that those who rented out buildings had to take care of providing water, light, and drainage. Naturally, the law was not obeyed.

"Now the government provides materials and technical advice. But the work is generally done by those who live in the neighborhood. And it is usually organized by the local CDS committees.

"The first thing to be done, for example, is to bring in water to a common tap, so that at least everyone will have drinkable water near even if it cannot be piped into the houses right away.

"The CDS committees discuss and plan drainage. Sometimes they simply lower the level of the streets, so that the

runoff water won't flood the houses, and they dig feeder ditches leading into a big drainage ditch."

This year it is planned to provide running water, electricity, and drainage for 14 neighborhoods in Managua. So far, this has been done for five or six. Some of the improvements are done as public works, with workers getting a wage equivalent to the average.

On an overcrowded bus into town, we passed by extensive shantytowns, where

people have built shacks to live in. They are made of planks with corrugated roofs. Often people keep their own chickens and even pigs, and open a little shop or cafe on the veranda to supplement the family's income.

But despite the poverty and poor housing, we did not see widespread desperation. With the Sandinista revolution, people have gained a new self-confidence and new opportunities to determine their own future. ■

Economic progress in Nicaragua

By mobilizing 15,000 volunteers, Nicaragua successfully harvested a record 70,000-ton coffee crop in December and January. Unfavorable weather and repeated attacks by counterrevolutionary bands failed to disrupt this important economic victory.

Commander Jaime Wheelock, Nicaragua's minister of agrarian reform, spoke to 11,000 of the volunteers in the city of Matagalpa February 5 at a rally to celebrate the completion of the harvest.

In the portions of Wheelock's speech published below, he describes the advances in Nicaraguan agriculture accomplished in the face of hostility from Washington and a world capitalist crisis that has devastated Latin America's economy.

The translation, taken from the text published in the February 10 Barricada, is by Intercontinental Press.

It's true that we have our problems. This can be seen. But it is not we who are in crisis. It's imperialism that's in crisis. It's the way they've organized the exploitation and their lives that puts them in crisis. And, enmeshed in this crisis, they want to violently detain the advance of other peoples. They want to resolve their profound political contradictions, and their now even more profound economic contradictions, not only at the cost our people's blood, but also through the ruination of the poor in their own countries.

Unemployment in [the seven major capitalist] countries has gone from 21 million in 1980 to 32 million today who cannot find any work whatsoever. And how do those governments want to resolve their economic problems? They have assembled a monstrous apparatus of organized plunder, so as to drain our countries' flow of wealth to benefit their economies in crisis.

The multinational corporations are ripping off billions of dollars through unequal trade arrangements. For example, they buy coffee cheaply from us and sell us equipment, machinery, and inputs at high prices — robbing us of much

of our income. They raise interest rates to such an extent that while they were lending us at 6 percent, now they lend to us at 20 percent and sometimes as high as 30 or 35 percent.

Latin America registered a trade deficit of 13 billion US dollars in 1973. That figure rose to 35 billion US dollars in 1981. The region's overall debt rose from 34 billion to 268 billion US dollars in 1981. It jumped to 350 billion US dollars in 1982.

Brazil owes 87 billion US dollars. Just to pay the interest it will have to use all its exports and it will still come out 26 percent behind. Mexico owes 80 billion US dollars. Using all its exports for payment, it will be left owing 24 percent. Argentina owes 43 billion and must pay back 18 billion US dollars next year — which it cannot do even if it were to use all its exports.

Where are the imperialists taking us? To economic ruin, to a debacle, to economic destruction. This is the contradiction that today's world suffers from, a contradiction that will be difficult to resolve because there are factors weighing down on our economies that will not be resolved easily.

To give you an example, if we could sell today's coffee harvest at 1979 prices, we would get 280 million US dollars. However, selling the harvest at today's prices we are barely going to get 150 million US dollars; that is to say, only about half the price.

In Nicaragua, we're not doing so bad, but there are other countries that are. Costa Rica's gross domestic product is going to drop 5.6%; El Salvador's, 10%; Guatemala's, 2.5%; and Nicaragua's, between 2.5% and 3%. But if we hadn't had flood damage and the drought, it's likely that Nicaragua's economy, for the second time since the triumph of the revolution, would have been the only economy in Latin America to have grown.

Our exports, *companeros*, have not been declining. Coffee production rose from 50,000 tons in 1979 to 70,000 tons today. In 1981 our meat exports totaled 21 million US dollars; this year,

— Nicaragua has a population of 2.9 million.

— The average wage for workers is 2,000 cordobas a month (about 200 US dollars).

— Most people spend 20 to 30% of their income for rent.

— In new housing developments, the rent for 44-square meter dwellings is set at a standard 300 cordobas a month and adjusted according to income.

— Rents have been lowered by up to 50% for the majority of the population.

— Under the new housing law, an estimated 50,000 families will become owners of their dwellings.

— In 1971 (the latest study), there were 300,000 dwellings in Nicaragua, of which 60,000 (20%) were rented. Today, the percentage of housing rented is estimated at 30%.

— Since the revolution, 8,000 new dwellings have been built, and 18,000 pieces of land have been given to families to build their own homes. In proportion to the population, this is the biggest program for building housing in Central America. But there is still a shortage of 250,000 homes in the country.

31 million. Sugar climbed from 245,000 tons to 265,000 tons in 1982. In spite of the floods, we will have more cotton in Nicaragua. So the basic exports of the Nicaraguan economy — coffee, sugar, meat, and cotton — have grown this year. But their prices are much lower.

If the imperialists were to pay us the 1979 prices, Nicaragua would be exporting 740 million US dollars. But how much will we actually export this year? We won't reach 500 million — we'll export about 460 million US dollars.

Who took the difference of almost 300 million? Ask Reagan's government and his political economy.

We should also note that in basic foodstuffs — compared to what there was under Somoza — we've grown 10 percent more corn, 45 percent more beans, 89 percent more sorghum, and 100 percent more rice. In other words we're growing in a sustained manner in a way that responds to our needs.

There are some interesting indicators

of this.

— In 1977, the best year of the Somoza regime, 384,000 gallons of cooking oil was produced. We produced 756,000 gallons in 1982.

— Under Somoza, 35,000 dozen eggs were produced daily; today we produce 88,000 dozen eggs daily.

— Fish production was 300,000 pounds a year then; today it is 2.5 million pounds.

— Before the revolution, 14 million pounds of pork were produced; now we produce 22 million pounds.

— Twelve million pounds of chicken were produced then; now we are producing 23 million pounds.

Is this a crisis? Is this decline? No, it's sustained growth based fundamentally on the strength of the revolution and the fact that the revolution has a formidable base among the labor of the workers, peasants, and humble people led by their vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front. ■

(*Intercontinental Press*, April 18, 1983)

world.

The Oesterreichische Gewerkschaftsbund (OGB — Austrian Confederation of Unions) has 1,672,500 members, that is, 60.4% of all employed persons in the country. It is virtually totally controlled by the SPO.

Nonetheless, the SPO's losses by comparison with the last elections — 3.38% — were considerable. A close examination shows that few of these lost votes went to the only gainer in the election, the conservative bourgeois Oesterreichischen Volkspartei (OVP — Austrian People's Party).

In 13 years, therefore, the strongest bourgeois party has not been able to make a breakthrough into the sections of the population that vote for the SPO. That makes it clear that we cannot talk about a real shift to the right in the country.

The SPO lost votes in the first place among youth under the age of thirty, many of whom voted for the new environmentalist parties, the Vereinigte Gruene Oesterreichs (VGO — United Greens of Austria) and the Alternative Liste Oesterreich. (ALO).

In the second place, a lot of the bourgeois liberal votes that were cast previously for Kreisky rather than for the SPO must have gone this time to the second bourgeois party, the Freiheitliche Partei Oesterreichs (FPO — Liberal Party of Austria).

A third factor was the large number of voters who cast blank ballots or failed to vote. These were mainly SPO rank-and-file voters in the key sections of the industrial proletariat.

LOSSES FOR WHICH THE SPO HAS ONLY ITSELF TO BLAME

The losses in these three major areas amount to a clear condemnation of the policy the Kreisky government has followed in recent years.

On the questions that were taken up in particular by the Greens and the Alternative List groupings — the environment, arms, militarism, privileges, and social inequality — the position of the SPO has clearly been hypocritical.

On the one hand, the party leadership gave those specially concerned with these questions a certain room within the party, so as to bring the so-called new social movements at least partially into the orbit of the SPO. On the other hand, the policy that the SPO tops actually followed was in glaring contradiction to these concerns.

During the election campaign itself, Kreisky again trampled on the result of the 1978 referendum on nuclear power by giving the go-ahead for the only nuclear reactor in the country to resume functioning.

Four months before the election, Kreisky's finance minister, Herbert Salcher, presented a proposal for expanding the Austrian army under the pretext that it was necessary to combat the youth unemployment that was begin-

Harder times ahead for Austria

Rainer BAUBOECK

VIENNA — "The end of an era" — that was what most of the commentators said after the April 24 elections to the Nationalrat, the major house of the Austrian parliament.

After being in full control of the government for 13 years, the Austrian Social Democratic Party (SPO) lost its absolute majority. Chancellor Bruno Kreisky resigned.

Undoubtedly, the SPO defeat was an important turning point in postwar Austrian politics. But unlike the victory

of Kohl and Strauss in West Germany on March 6, it did not mark a major change in the relationship of forces between the social classes.

With 47.65% of the vote, the SPO remains by far the strongest party in the electoral arena. This is a score that the Social Democrats in most West European countries would hardly dare dream of.

Behind the SPO vote stands a party membership whose size is unmatched in any other country (nearly 10% of the total Austrian population belong to the party) and one of the strongest trade-union organizations in the capitalist

Kreisky prepares to face TV cameras (DR)



ning to develop.

A discussion initiated last summer by the SPO about the need, in the context of the economic crisis, to carry out a policy of income distribution by a tax system favoring the lowest income groups ended with vague promises that some of the tax privileges of politicians would be cut back.

In the first half of the 1970s, Kreisky was able to attract new layers of voters, including bourgeois voters, by a series of modest reforms that liberalized Austrian society somewhat. For example, abortion was made legal during the first three months of pregnancy. And there was a reform of the penal code.

In the four years before these latest elections, however, the SPO has proposed hardly any reforms like the ones it carries out in the early 1970s. Instead, like the OVP before, it became implicated in big scandals over financial deals and bribery. This explains why the small FPO whose chairman Steger has managed to attenuate the party's old image as a German nationalist group of ex-Nazis, was able to win votes away from the SPO by campaigning against corruption.

The campaign that Kreisky waged this time was more conservative than any of the previous. Its main theme was "Hold on to the gains that have been made." But this obviously was no longer credible for a lot of SPO working class voters.

The breakthrough of the world capitalist crisis into Austria in the last year has led unemployment to jump to 4.5%. That percentage looks relatively good in comparison to other countries, but even the SPO admits that it is going to grow in the coming year.

The methods encompassed by the government's policy, which previously promoted full employment to a certain extent, have largely exhausted their possibilities. The so-called Austro-Keynesianism — influencing investment trends by public spending and by using the weight of the large sector of nationalized industries and banks in Austria — has been reaching its limits. That is, it has been coming to the point where service on the national debt takes more money out of circulation than public spending can put in.

THE FEEBLE BOURGEOIS WINNERS

The conservative OVP is the only party in parliament that gained votes and seats. It got 43.22% of the vote this time, a gain of 1.32% by comparison with 1979. This is, after all, a very modest gain, and far less than the SPO lost. Nonetheless, it was hailed by the party chairman, Alois Mock, and the bourgeois press as a great victory. In fact, this is the first time since 1966 that the OVP has gained strength relative to the SPO.

The OVP borrowed its main themes from its sister party, the CDU, in West Germany. It called for cutting state

spending — "Stop squandering the taxpayers' money." It called on the voters to "join us to get an economic upturn," although there is not a glimmer of this in Austria. Despite the parallels with bourgeois conservative austerity policies in other West European countries, there is an important difference. The OVP does not believe that it can carry out such a program by itself in opposition to the Social Democrats and the unions.

There are two reasons for this. One is the organizational strength of the Austrian workers movement. The other is the lack of a big-capitalist base for the bourgeois parties. Since the centers of industry and finance capital are managed by the state, the social base of the OVP and the FPO is primarily the so-called middle classes (middle industrialists, small business, farmers).

Since 1945, the Austrian bourgeoisie has followed a very successful policy of institutionalized collaboration with the unions and in most governments with the SPO. By this means it has been able to achieve its interests through negotiation and so far as possible to avoid social conflicts. This system of "social partnership" could rely on the general bourgeois policy of the SPO and the union leadership.

Alois Mock's achievement is that in these elections he succeeded in uniting the bourgeois camp around the objective of a "Great Coalition" between the OVP and the SPO, which would take "social partnership" into the government itself.

In 1979, the SPO managed to defeat the OVP partly on the basis of a successful campaign against the threat of a "bourgeois bloc." This time, the OVP put forward a more modest and credible governmental alternative. Thus it was able to win voters away from the FPO and keep the bourgeois Green party from making headway among its electoral supporters.

A COALITION FOR FURTHER DEFEATS

The negotiations between the SPO, OVP, and FPO on the formation of the new government are not yet concluded. In the SPO, especially in its trade-union wing, there is a strong current in favor of a Great Coalition.

Nonetheless, it seems likely that the Social Democrats will cheat the OVP out of its half victory and form a small coalition with the FPO. Kreisky himself and the center of the party apparatus are openly arguing for this solution. They hope thereby to better maintain the SPO's positions in the state apparatus and a greater continuity with the policy followed in the last decades.

The fate of the Schmidt government in West Germany, however, has clearly shown how much even a weak bourgeois coalition partner can threaten to alter the role of a Social Democratic party in a period of crisis.

The sort of coalition the SPO wants to

set up now will inevitably aggravate the causes of its present losses in the coming four years. Kreisky's legacy, participation by the SPO in a bourgeois government will prove a Greek gift. It will create conditions that will give the OVP a real chance to become the strongest party in the country in the 1987 elections.

An understanding of this is appearing in a lot of discussions in the base groups. Quite often proposals are being made that the party should go into opposition and revitalize its internal life. But while such a shift might for a time stem the growth of the Green-Alternative List current left of the SPO and slow the erosion of the party's base in the industrial proletariat, we do not share the illusions of the comrades in the SPO that their party leadership is capable of really changing its course.

If the SPO went into opposition, it would not give up the policy of "social partnership" that has brought the Austrian bourgeoisie the lowest strike figures in any industrialized capitalist state.

Thus, any conceivable government that could be formed today will make conditions worse for a revival of class struggle in Austria than if the SPO had gotten an absolute majority.

The Gruppe Revolutionaere Marxisten (GRM), Austrian section of the Fourth International, campaigned for an all-SPO government. Such a government, because of its social basis, would have had less room for attacking the material gains of the working class. Moreover, the fact that the SP leadership would have had clear responsibility for the government's policies would have favored differentiation within the Austrian workers movement.

A NEW FACTOR — THE GREENS AND THE ALTERNATIVE LIST

Although the VGO and the ALO, which respectively got 1.93% and 1.36% of the votes, did less well than expected and did not make it into parliament, these groupings represent a new factor in Austrian politics, which may become more important in the coming years under a coalition government.

Nonetheless, there is no great future for the bourgeois VGO, which is a pure protest party without an independent social base. Its chairperson, geology professor Alexander Tollman, quickly withdrew when it became clear that he was not going to get a seat in parliament.

The Alternative Liste Oesterreich can be compared in many respects with the Green party in West Germany. Like it, the ALO bases itself on the protest movements against destruction of the environment, women's oppression, discrimination against minorities, and militarism. However, such movements are weaker in Austria than in other European countries.

Nuclear energy programs and the stationing of new NATO rockets, which have polarized West German society and made possible the success of the Greens, do not have the same importance in Aus-

tria.

Against this background, the weaknesses in the Green ideology also stand out with particular sharpness. The ALO's principles of "concern for the environment, grass-roots democracy, solidarity, and nonviolence" are not sufficient to provide a credible reorientation for the workers movement in the context of the capitalist crisis.

The ALO has so far refused to make any distinction between the SPO and the bourgeois parties. And it has been unable to build any bridges to the embryonic left groupings in the unions.

The election results can be expected to strengthen the right wing of the ALO, which is calling for fusion with the VGO. They hope that in this way they can have a better chance to get seats in parliament in the next elections. Nonetheless, the "Alternativen" will be important for revolutionary politics as long as many youth see them as an expression of their rebellion against the capitalist social system.

The GRM, therefore, considers it one of its most important tasks to promote the development of left currents. For this reason, we have been working for some time in the Vienna Alternative Liste, in which such left currents have been most clearly differentiated. In the elections to the Vienna city council that were also held on April 24, we called for a vote for the Vienna Alternative Liste, which got 2.5% of the vote, a significant success.

THE EASY LIFE IS OVER FOR THE SPO

Over the last 13 years Kreisky became a legend, which still survives. But it was not so much his personal role that marked this era as a number of exceptional circumstances that gave Austria a special position in the capitalist world:

— A favorable position in the world capitalist economy that made it possible to dampen the effects of the first world economic crisis in the period following the mid-1970s.

— The established position of the SPO as the government party in Austria.

— An accumulated need for certain liberalistic social reforms that the SPO was able to meet at the beginning of its period in the government.

— The great capacity of the SPO leadership to coopt critical and left tendencies within the Austrian workers movement (both the SPO and the unions).

These factors are the secret of Bruno Kreisky's success. Despite its absolute predominance in Austrian politics, however, the SPO was unable to maintain even one of these factors for the future. This is clearest with respect to the consensus in the Social Democratic movement.

Whereas in the past, at most, dissident and critical personalities in the party protested against the official policy, today possibilities are appearing for the first time for the development of a left wing. This is shown by the sensational success

of the chairperson of the Socialist Youth, Josef Cap, who waged an independent campaign in the elections, since the party was not willing to run him for a seat.

In the SPO convention last fall, Cap was voted out of the SPO leadership after he attacked a right-wing top party functionary, National Guard Captain Theodor Kery, for his privileges and his militaristic tendencies.

But on April 24 Cap got 61,900 first-preference votes. This means that many voters wrote his name alongside the SPO on their ballots (this is an option that has never been used before in the history of the Second Republic (post-1945 Austria). This figure represents 11% of all SPO voters in Vienna.

On the basis of this victory, Cap went on a campaign against the party leadership demanding that the SPO go into opposition. Moreover, he announced that on many questions in parliament, such as more equipment for the army or the putting of the Zwentendorf nuclear reactor into operation, he would not accept the discipline of the SPO parliamentary fraction.

On the other hand, it may be expected that the formation of a coalition government with a bourgeois partner will reinforce the most right-wing tendencies in the top echelons of the party. The conflict ahead will increase the possibilities and tasks for a revolutionary socialist current in the Austrian workers movement. Life is become less placid on the "Isle of the Blessed." ■

Unity and struggle to defeat the government

The Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) and the Socialist Workers Party/Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party (PST/POUM) have decided to set up a permanent coordinating committee. The PRT is the Peruvian section of the Fourth International. The PST/POUM originated in the PST and a tendency of the POMR led by Senator Ricardo Napuri. (1)

The PRT had taken the initiative of proposing to set up this committee in a December 6, 1982, letter, 'in order to launch joint work in the mass movement and establish an alternative pole to the reformism of the United Left (IU) in all possible areas: a socialist parliamentary bloc, a trade-union coordination, human rights, international solidarity....' (2)

In the same letter, the PRT proposed to the PST/POUM that, 'on the basis of recognizing each other as revolutionary organizations', a discussion be opened on the Nicaraguan revolution and on the balance sheet of the 1979 split in the Fourth International in which that revolution was an issue, as well as of the subsequent blow-up in the International Committee to which both the PST and POMR belonged.

The PST/POUM gave a positive answer to the PRT's proposals in a January 31, letter. On February 14, both organizations then signed a joint statement — almost entirely reprinted below — defining revolutionary tasks on the main issues on the agenda, following the replacement of the Manuel Ulloa government by the Schwalb government.



The atrocious death of the eight journalists in Uchuraccay (3) showed how far the cynicism and brutality of our rulers can go. It showed that this government believes that a vote determined by the circumstances of an election entitles it to turn Peru into a circus, its wealth into merchandise, and the majority of the people into docile subjects.

This government rules for the imperialist banks, the multinationals, and a handful of capitalists who thrive on the poverty and hunger of millions of Peruvians....

The cabinet change only goes to prove that it is not this or that minister who is responsible for the economic policy, corruption, and the attacks on democratic rights, but the government as a whole, headed by Belaunde Terry himself.

This is why our struggle must be aimed against the government. And the government's refusal to listen to the people's cries should tip off those who care to know to the real alternative: either the workers defeat this pro-imperialist government, or the latter will open the way to a historic defeat of the exploited and oppressed.

THE WORKERS RESIST

The Peruvian workers and people have resisted and are resisting this government. Just as they previously headed the struggle against the dictatorship, opened a revolutionary situation, and conquered the elementary democratic rights we enjoy today. Now, the workers are resisting Belaunde's reactionary and pro-imperialist policy. Because that is not what 5,000 trade-union leaders were fired for, or so many working men and women died for in 1977 and 1978.

All sectors of the people took part in the resistance. The youth, the students, the peasants, the street vendors, but especially the workers defense fronts and trade unions took on the policy of a government that wants the only people who are not responsible for the crisis to pay for it: the toilers of the cities and country.

But, as was shown by the case of the

Hugo Blanco addresses meeting (DR)



Cata-Acari, Caridad, and Canarias miners, this militant resistance went to the fight dispersed. (4) Each sector fielded only its own forces against an enemy that was stronger in terms of repression, and therefore achieved only limited results. The basic responsibility for the lack of coordination and centralization of the struggles lies with the General Confederation of the Workers of Peru (CGTP) and the United Left (IU) (5) who, although they still enjoy great influence and authority over the masses, let them take on the government and the bosses in near isolation.

Yet, the organization of the workers and people has reached a tremendous level. Almost no important sector of the exploited is not organized in one way or the other: communities, cooperative, peasant leagues and trade unions, student federations, and various forms of neighborhood organizations, workers federations and confederations, white-collar unions, and public sector associations, street vendors' union....

One important form of organization devised by the popular masses was the people's defense fronts in which various popular layers at times united in a single front to press their demands. The revolutionary forces present in this organization were able to help bring about a defeat of the government every time they united in action and fought on a clear and militant line of class independence.

However, at this time they are dispersed. And the government cannot be pushed back and defeated unless a united leadership of the political and trade-union struggle is formed, that brings together all these forces, calls for an ongoing fight against the government, the national bosses and imperialism, and begins that fight as urged by the masses, with a 72-hour *united national strike* mobilized and prepared from the ranks.

IZQUIERDA UNIDA (IU): A CLASS COLLABORATIONIST FRONT

The Popular Action-Christian Popular Party (AP-PPC) government has existed

for three years, yet until now this goal could not be realized for lack of a genuinely class-struggle and revolutionary leadership.

Peruvian workers need a leadership for their struggles and an organization that will guide them on the road to the socialist revolution. This need was clearly reflected in the explosive way FOCEP came on the scene, and later, on a smaller scale, by ARI (6).

However, this need was not fulfilled in either case. Our organizations assume the share of responsibility and self-criticism they deserve for these failures that made it possible for Izquierda Unida to emerge later as a class collaborationist body. Under the hegemony of pro-popular front sectors, IU became a key base of support for the present political regime. Under the motto of 'not destabilizing the regime', it refused to give workers a class-struggle leadership and demobilized them.

This situation is the result of the strategy that sought to turn IU into a mere alternative electoral solution in the framework of the present regime of decomposed, second-rate bourgeois parliamentary democracy.

Worse yet, there was an attempt to draw the workers into an alliance with APRA (7), the main bourgeois alternative to the AP-PPC coalition and a supporter of the military dictatorship even during its worst crises. In reality, IU ended up being no more than a coalition of parties for purely electoral goals, and let political initiative and the banner of opposition to the regime pass over to APRA.

The social crisis of IU is the result of this collaboration and search for political agreements with bourgeois currents, mainly APRA. Nevertheless, there is a small movement inside it — that spoke up at the Vanguardia Revolucionaria convention — which is challenging the class collaborationist line.

OUR POSITION ON SENDERO LUMINOSO

As for the Peruvian Communist Party (Sendero Luminoso-Shining Path), it has launched armed actions combining guerilla with sabotage and terror acts against the government and bourgeois state. Shining Path (SL) is a Maoist-type organization which upholds the theory of revolutionary war from the country to the cities and implements it after its own fashion. Its members are honest militants who fight for their ideas, but this does not mean we should not express our differences with their characterization of Peruvian society, their evaluation of the political situation today, and their conception of the tasks of the Peruvian revolution, especially in relation to armed struggle.

At the same time as we recognize the SL militants' heroism and pledge to defend them against the criminal repression unleashed against them, our parties firmly state that the revolution this country



Peruvian Indian women (DR)

needs will only be successful if the laboring people, mainly the organized, mobilized and armed working class, take full charge of it.

Our criticism of SL is not, as some leftists claim, that its actions destabilize the regime, but that its policy and its way of conducting the armed struggle will lead neither to the defeat of the regime, nor to the overthrow of the bourgeois state, nor to a socialist revolution led by the working class allied to the peasantry and exploited and oppressed masses.

OUR ALTERNATIVE

As the crisis deepens and the workers and people's resistance to the government begins to spread, it is becoming urgent for us to return to the road of united action and the united front that already led to the formation of FOCEP, and later at another level, of ARI, and to forge the leadership that all the exploited call for and the situation requires.

It was this conviction that led our parties to set up a coordinating committee, and it was the same conviction that led us to call on all organizations, inside or outside IU, all those who have struggled uncompromisingly against the dictatorship, all those who supported FOCEP and ARI in the battle for class independence, all who identify with socialism, the class-struggle workers and leaders, the peasant, student, and neighborhood activists and leaders, to call on all of them to form a revolutionary pole, that is a Socialist Front that would take the lead in the struggle and impose the unity the ex-

ploited people need: unity to oust this government that is an agent of imperialism.

We propose a Socialist Front that:

- fights for the mobilization and self-organization of the masses;
- fights for a struggle against the bosses and government;
- fights for the workers to unite in a single United Workers Confederation;
- fights to turn the defense fronts into class and popular organs of power for the exploited;
- defends the political independence of the exploited against the various bourgeois alternatives: APRA, the armed forces, for instance;
- subordinates all parliamentary activity to extraparliamentary and revolutionary mass action;
- fights for self-defense as the only means to counter bourgeois attacks.

We propose a Socialist Front that would answer the crisis with an action program incorporating concrete measures such as: a minimum living wage with a sliding scale controlled by the workers institutions; the right to job security, the repeal of antiterrorist laws, the punishment of those politically responsible for the massacre of the eight journalists, the refusal of unemployment; non-payment of the external debt, nationalization of banking, foreign trade and the key sectors of industry, the reorganization of the economy on the basis of the interests of the workers and people.

That is to say, an anti-imperialist program that incorporates democratic and

anticapitalist demands. We propose a Socialist Front that will call for the only type of government that can lead the country out of the crisis, a government of the workers and peasants organizations and of the people's defence fronts.... ■

WORKERS TO POWER WITHOUT BOSSES OR GENERALS

Lima, February 14, 1983

Footnotes

1. The Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party (POMR) was the organization linked to the Lambertist current of the French OCI. The Socialist Workers Party (PST) reflected the views of the current led by Nahuel Moreno. The PST/POMR (united party) is the result of a local reshuffling of these two currents following the September 1981 crisis of their international regroupment. Part of the POMR members followed their leader Ricardo Napuri in breaking off relations with the Lambertist current and forming the PST/POMR with the Morenoist current.

2. On September 15, 1982, a meeting of the PRT and PST/POMR parliamentary delegations decided to set up a parliamentary Socialist Bloc; its first intervention was to challenge the Manuel Ulloa cabinet in September 1982. In a statement dated December 16, the parliamentary Socialist Bloc pledged to make the 'voices of the exploited heard in parliament' and 'from this position to give impetus to the revolutionary mobilization of the masses'.

3. On January 26, 1983, a group of journalists went to Uchuraccay, Ayacucho department, to investigate the January 22 assassination of seven members of the Shining Path guerilla organization that had been blamed on peasants from a nearby village. After crossing a variety of police checkpoints, the eight journalists and their guides arrived in Uchuraccay where they were lynched, allegedly by the local population that had mistaken them for guerillas. An investigation recognized the methods used by the 'sinchis', an antisubversive police agency that urges isolated and often predominantly illiterate peasant communities to oppose all strangers. The sinchis had encouraged them to kill any intruder in their community, because 'friends arrive by air' (i.e. helicopters) whereas enemies 'come on foot'.

4. Actions by workers and the people of these mining centers led to large mobilizations (strikes, occupations of churches, and marches on the capital) demanding payment of their backpay and opposing layoffs and the bankruptcy practices of the bosses.

5. The CGTP is the largest Peruvian trade-union confederation and is led by the Communist Party. The United Left (IU) is an electoral coalition that was set up under the pro-Soviet PCP-Unidad's hegemony with the People's Democratic Union (UDP), a grouping of centrist organizations, for the 1981 municipal elections. It was ARI's political failure in 1980 that allowed the PCP to win over some of these centrist formations and organize this regroupment around its reformist strategy in order to regain the leadership of the mass movement it lost for a while during the FOCEP and ARI experiences.

6. The Workers, Peasants, Students and People's Front (FOCEP) was an electoral coalition set up for the 1978 elections to the Constituent Assembly that brought together most of the Peruvian forces identified with Trotskyism, Maoist and centrist organizations, and significant sectors of workers and peasants' 'class struggle' unionism.

The Revolutionary Left Alliance (ARI) was a regroupment of almost all revolutionary forces in the workers movement struggling for a 'workers government without bosses or generals', that was set up to support our comrade Hugo Blanco's candidacy in the spring 1980 presidential elections. ARI included the UDP, a coalition of centrist and Maoist groups. Unfortunately, the united framework of ARI broke up before the vote was even held, and it could not appear as the workers and people's pole that it should have been in the electoral arena.

7. The American Revolutionary People's Alliance (APRA) was the dominant formation of the bourgeoisie until the 1980 elections, at which time it suffered a crushing electoral defeat that profited Belaunde Terry's People's Action (AP) which then took power.

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Women's World Peace Day

The Greenham Common women's peace camp has provided an inspiration to many other women to involve themselves in the fight against nuclear missiles and for peace.

International European Women's Day for Disarmament on May 24 will be marked by activities in most European countries, including France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden. Women in the United States, Australia and New Zealand are also planning activities.

In Britain itself not only have the Greenham Common women demonstrated their ability to mobilise thousands of other women, as in December 1982 when 30,000 women assembled for a demonstration at the camp, but they have set a spark which is setting light to the movement as a whole.

The call for action on May 24 had been supported by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress (trade union confederation), the Scottish TUC, and the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party. The Women's Committees of the TUC and STUC are also supporting. A number of unions have also given their support including, in the case of the local government workers union; the while-collar section of the biggest union, the Transport and General Workers Union; and the National Association of Teachers in Higher and Further Education, an encouragement to their members to take strike or other forms of action on that day.

This is the first time that trade unions in Britain have made any call, however limited, for strike action on the question of missiles and peace.

Valerie COULTAS

The Greenham Common peace women have called for European-wide action by women on May 24, International Women's Day for Disarmament. Following the backing of the Women's TUC representing three million working women for the Greenham peace camp the opportunity exists to win the labour movement to support for their call.

In 1982 some 90 different events took place in Britain on May 24. The events were comparatively small — from a school-girl wearing an armband into her exams to full-scale processions through city centres.

The Malvinas crisis was at its height at that time.

In Bath people queued to sign a petition calling for a ceasefire. In one village a peace prayer service provoked a widely-quoted controversy because of the challenge it made to the prevailing climate of patriotism. The feminist journals *Spare Rib* and *Outwrite*, highlighting aspects relevant to women, took a clear stand against the war.

In Holland that day a women's peace camp was started, on the Greenham model, at Soesterberg.

In France there was a demonstration by women in front of the Pompidou Centre. Similar protests took place in Lyon, Marseille, Toulouse, Chateauroux, Rennes, Carpentras and Alsace.

In Norway a new poster was made for the day by the artist Kari Rolfsen and in Oslo eleven action centres were set up to distribute information. A children's march took place in the city ending with a concert.



In Crete three balloons with doves holding olive branches were sent off, one in each direction, from the abandoned Venetian fort at the southern point of Paleochera.

The original idea for a decentralised European women's day of action emer-

ged through meetings on the Copenhagen to Paris Women's Peace March in 1981.

Because there was already a widespread network of women's groups active in the anti-missiles movement it was possible to circulate a chain letter.

The chain letter in Britain has now been written for this year's International Women's Day of Action and the debate has begun among women about what kind of events we should have this year.

It is not new for women to organise and act separately on the question of peace. In 1915, while the labour leaders of Germany, England, France and Belgium urged their members to fight in defence of the fatherland, over 2,000 women from socialist parties in Europe, America, and Canada met in the Hague to protest against the war.

In the '20s and '30s Lida Heyman, Anita Ausburg and Virginia Woolf began to link feminist and anti-military ideologies.

In the '50s in response to the 'cold war' new organisations of women sprang up — the Voice of Women and Women's Strike for Peace.

Women mailed their babies' teeth to congressmen in protest at the effects of radioactive fallout and held massive demonstrations against NATO in Amsterdam and Paris.

Crucial to building this year's day of action in a more popular way than occurred last year, is to win the backing of the labour movement. This would not take the action out of the hands of women, but would promote the involvement of women in the factories, offices and shops who will only be mobilised if they are approached through their trade union representatives.

What the labour movement has to come to grips with is the fantastic inspiration it gives to women to see women taking the lead on an issue, pushing their ways of organising to the fore, giving their content to the demands of the anti-missiles movement.

Feminists have highlighted women's opposition to militarism and related it to their role as women. Women create life say the feminists: Men destroy it.

This is simplistic but it has struck a chord among women. Women, because of their social conditioning, and their social position, are less likely to identify with militarism. Their pacifism is the pacifism of the oppressed who don't want to die to protect the profits of the capitalists.

The labour movement in Britain and throughout Europe has every interest in pushing this movement among women forward.

Only the organised labour movement has the power to stop the missiles in Europe, but it needs every ally it can get to achieve this end. May 24 will be a day where women make their statement against the missiles — in workplaces, streets, housing estates and schools. ■

(*Socialist Action* No 3, April 1, 1983)



Easter Peace Marches

Easter is the traditional time for the peace and anti-war movements to take to the streets. In the year when American Cruise Missiles are scheduled to be installed in Europe these demonstrations took on an additional significance.

— West Germany: Well over half a million took part in different actions. Some 19,000 took part in blockade actions at military bases in Kellinghusen, in Schleswig Holstein, Wiley barracks in Neu-Ulm and the CIA headquarters, Camp King, in Frankfurt.

The Easter marches were the biggest ever, between 20 and 100,000 in Dortmund, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Cologne, Berlin, Heilbronn, Stuttgart, and Nuremberg.

The trade union youth organisation, DGB-Youth, mobilised, issuing their own appeal. The DGB was involved in many of the actions, either through individuals on the platform, or official sponsorship.

The SPD was not officially involved, and advised members to only participate where they would not be hitched to the wagon of other parties. In practice most local SPD groups participated in joint action with the CP and Greens.

— Great Britain: Some 70,000 people formed a 14 mile human chain linking the women's peace camp at the Greenham Common Cruise Missile site to Aldermaston military base, to Burghfield bomb factory.

In Scotland 4,000 people staged a simulated die-in in the centre of Glasgow to illustrate the effects of a nuclear holocaust. Then 20,000 people participated in a march and rally. The following day 2,000 demonstrated at the Polaris submarine base at Faslane.

Meanwhile Mrs Thatcher, whose government is feeling under pressure — witness the repeated justifications from Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine as to why he will not publicly debate leaders of CND — flew off to the Berlin wall to make a demagogic statement about how it would be better to demonstrate there.

— Belgium: On April 1 silent protests were held in more than 60 localities under the slogan 'Beat the swords into ploughshares', through the initiative of a Flemish Christian aid organisation. Thousands of people, including many school students participated. Other actions, including candle light processions and meetings, were organised by third world groups and political organisations, including the Belgian section of the Fourth International, and the youth organisation in solidarity with it.

— Spanish state: A little before Easter, on March 20, 25,000 people took part in a demonstration from Madrid to the US military base at Torrejon. This was the third such march, and was double in size from the previous ones. It was called by the Anti-Nato Commission of Madrid, trade-union, political, and people's organisations.

— Italy: On April 9 demonstrations took place in Rome, Cagliari, and Vicenza as well as Comiso, Sicily, the proposed site for Cruise Missiles.

— Luxembourg: Following the first successful peace march last year a further successful demonstration was held on April 16 in Bieles, despite a boycott by the major trade-union leadership. ■

After Easter marches, new discussion in peace movement

Angela KLEIN

The following article is from the April 7 issue of Was Tun, the paper of the German section of the Fourth International.

With the victory of the bourgeois parties here in the March 6 elections, conservative governments are now established in the three most important imperialist countries. This has reinforced the position of the advocates of increased arming.

Important political preconditions have been achieved for the deployment of the new Nato missiles, for stepping up economic and military pressure on the Soviet Union, and for openly threatening indirect and direct military intervention against the liberation movements in Central America.

The new West German government is determined to deploy the missiles. To accomplish this, it is prepared to face a test of strength with the peace movement.

The election result — which reflected the fact that the fear of depression was greater than the fear of nuclear extermination — appears to give the new government a mandate for taking on the peace movement. The bourgeois government is trying to present its electoral majority as support for deploying the missiles.

It will also use repressive means, such as the announced tightening of the law on demonstrations, to break the resistance to the deployment of the missiles. All of this represents a decisive challenge for the peace movement.

Although participation in the Easter marches increased again this year, we now have to conduct the fight against the missiles from defensive positions.

With the SPD out of power, we can no longer hope to bring pressure to bear inside the government party through mass demonstrations and thereby stay the government's hand.

Now, we have to show that despite its claims, the government is in a minority on the question of the missiles. We have to do this by forms of action that can mobilize the majority that the polls have shown is against the missiles but which has not yet demonstrated its feelings publicly.

The peace movement is strong. But we are not yet strong enough for our task, that is, to establish our right to intervene in military questions, to challenge

the most sacrosanct prerogative of the state, its monopoly of decisions over questions of war and peace.

Already before the elections, the peace movement had begun discussing the argument that it was not enough to show our numbers in demonstrations but that we had to undertake actions that could stop the deployment of the missiles. To this end, actions were proposed to blockade nuclear-arms bases and likely missile sites.

Now, a sharp discussion is underway whether such actions should be committed to nonviolence or not. This conflict involves a danger of a split in the peace movement. We saw this at the most recent national conference of the Autonomous Peace Initiative Groups.

The actions proposed fitted into a strategy of civil disobedience. They were of a spectacular, often symbolic, character designed to provoke the state power by the deliberate violation of laws. Whether or not such actions involve violence, what they all tend to have in common is that they can only be carried out by small groups.

In order to participate in such actions, you have to be prepared to take risks. You have to expect arrests, fines, and prison sentences. Those who take part in such actions spend weeks working in groups to prepare for them, including to allay their personal anxieties. They have a great readiness to sacrifice themselves. They are convinced that their personal sacrifices will stir others and impell them to involve themselves.

This is often an illusion. The need for self-sacrifice frightens a lot of people away and reduces the chances of the action gaining mass participation. Severe repressive measures can increase the fear of personal sacrifices, rather than encouraging people to take part.

In the framework of the British Easter March Movement in 1961, the Committee of a Hundred wanted to get 50,000 volunteers to block seven NATO airfields and to get commandos to force their way through to the nuclear weapons. In fact, less than a thousand people participated, and 591 of them were arrested. Most of them, moreover, paid their fines, rather than going to prison, as was the plan.

Even the occupation of nuclear-power building sites has gotten broad active support only at certain phases of the resistance — as long as the sites were not forcibly cleared by the police.

In order to mobilize the masses of people, we have to take the struggle into the places where people work — into the schools and factories.

Strikes, political warning and protest strikes, are the appropriate weapons for fighting the arms threat and raising the peace movement to a higher level. Hundreds of thousands of people can participate in *strike actions*. Individuals are not so exposed to repression.

Strikes in the high schools and universities, warning strikes in the factories have a great power to move the broad sections of the population that sympa-

thize with the goals of the peace movement. A lot of people, a great deal more than can be involved in blockade actions, can be drawn into such protests.

Such strike actions represent a qualitative step beyond mere demonstrations. In the unions there are more opportunities for discussing such actions than a year ago. Union leaders have spoken at the Easter marches. District and even regional trade-union councils joined in the call for these demonstrations. In some unions, resolutions have already been passed in support of peace actions in the fall.

We must, therefore, propagate the idea of a national general strike. In order to prepare the way for this, peace-initiative groups must be built everywhere — in the factories, schools, and universities. Such groups must disseminate information about NATO's arms plans and the character of the Geneva negotiations, and build support for strike actions.

All of this does not eliminate the need for mass demonstrations — quite the contrary. The peace movement has to show that it is an *international* movement. In Britain, Belgium, and the Netherlands, an international day of action is planned for October 23.

There must be big demonstrations on this day in all major NATO countries. We can show our relation to this international movement best by organizing a big demonstration here on the same date. We have to plan this time for building a demonstration that can go way over the half-million mark.

In the peace movement, differences in conceptions about the way to resist have so far been settled in such a way that initiative groups have worked in accordance with the most diverse approaches. At the

same time, decisions about central actions have been in the hands of a small group of political organizations. Such methods cannot assure the unity of the peace movement and its ability to carry out coordinated actions.

In the period leading up to the big demonstrations last June, there was almost a split in the peace movement over the call. When the peace movement goes into its decisive phase of resistance this fall, it will need leading bodies of its own, independent of all political parties and recognized as authoritative by all the participants in the movement, in which the various tactical proposals can be discussed and decided upon.

This can only be achieved if a national coordinating committee is built on the basis of delegates, as was done in the case of the Citizens Initiative against the Startbahn West runway at the Frankfurt airport.

The action conference has to have decision-making power. To that end, the local peace-initiative groups have to coordinate and send delegates to the action conference, rather than continuing to follow the principle "let the people who want to go, go."

The central bureau planned by some groups is no substitute for a delegate structure. Such a body makes sense in the framework, and under the control, of such a democratic delegate structure.

We must strive to assure that an Action Conference is held in the fall that will be made up of delegates from the local areas. From them, a coordinating committee can then be built with a mandate for coordinating the actions and speaking in the name of the peace movement. The present Action Conference should set the movement on this path. ■

What Reagan's "star wars" speech meant for Denmark

Denmark retains the ultimate sovereignty over an increasingly restive Greenland, in which the United States maintains a major nuclear-warfare base at Thule. It is also one of the countries in Western Europe where the Reagan government's talk about "winnable atomic wars" has aroused the most alarm. It would be completely exposed in any major East-West war, with nothing to gain and everything to lose.

The following article is from the April 21 issue of *Klassenkampen*, the paper of the Danish section of the Fourth International.

Bjarne BONNE

On Wednesday, March 23, the American president announced in a TV speech direct from the White House that in the coming years the U.S. was going to build a totally new weapons system in space that would make it possible before the end of the century to shoot down Soviet missiles before they could reach their targets.

Americans with a macabre sense of humor called Reagan's address "the Star Wars Speech." Hundreds of laser can-

non, particle-beam weapons, and so-called "directed energy" weapons would be placed on satellites around the earth. If an atomic war broke out, within the first five minutes up to 1,000 Soviet missiles would be targeted and destroyed.

At first it seems unbelievable that the U.S. intends to do this. But in this fiscal year, the American government has allotted a billion dollars for research on energy weapons. In the Defense Department's five-year plan for fiscal years 1985-1989, energy weapons are one of the areas that are to be given special im-

portance.

Five days after Reagan's speech, the American magazine *Aviation Week and Space Technology* published an article explaining that the Thule base in Greenland will be central in a large-scale expansion of the U.S.'s early warning system.

About 80 million dollars more are to be put into the base. Some of this will be used to expand the BMEWS, which is a giant radar station designed to spot Soviet missiles. Today its range extends 5,000 kilometers out into space and can spot objects the size of a football.

The rest of the money will be used to build a satellite station called "Detachment-3," a new name for what was earlier called the "OL-5."

That sounds so peaceful! What does it have to do with "Star Wars?" Quite a bit. In order to be realizable, Reagan's plan requires that the U.S. be able to pinpoint attacking missiles very quickly. The BMEWS station at Thule will be a link in the system for aiming energy weapons. And since this task is much more demanding than simply spotting an attack and issuing a warning, it becomes clear why the U.S. plans to expand this station.

Satellite communications are key to the whole energy-weapon system, and a lot of the satellite orbits pass over the North Pole. This means that Thule is well placed to be a link in this system.

But should Reagan be taken seriously when he talks cheerfully about "a whole new possibility for saving lives instead of avenging them."

From a strictly technical point of view — No. Lasers have been a favorite dream among military people for decades. Billions have been invested in research on them with little practical result so far. For this very reason, there have been big ups and downs in the grants for this work over the years.

The fact that the grants for laser research are going up again is not the result of any technological breakthrough, but of a purely administrative decision. In particular, with respect to the space-war project, there are loads of questions that have not yet been answered.

How can the massive energy sources these weapons require be put on small satellites? How can it be assured that they can really shoot the missiles down in the small amount of time available? A hit ratio of 99 percent would be exceptional with respect to all other known weapons, but the one percent misses would mean that millions of kilotons of nuclear-blast power would strike the U.S.

Moreover, from the standpoint of Europeans, we might add that this system will be useless against weapons that do not go outside the atmosphere, that is, short-range missiles, bombers, and Cruise-type missiles. These represent the lion's share of the weapons that would hit Europe.

If we leave aside the possibility that Reagan is ignorant enough to believe what he says, we have to look for other explanations for the "Star Wars" speech.

From this standpoint, the speech came at a very significant time.

In recent weeks, the U.S. congress has been discussing a resolution on the country's nuclear policy that involves a drastic break from the present arms policy. The so-called "Freeze Resolution" calls for the U.S. and the Soviet Union to reach a mutual agreement for stopping the development, testing, and deployment of more nuclear weapons as the first step toward reducing the nuclear arsenals of both countries.

Reagan is a fierce opponent of the proposal, which would mean a stop to an armaments program of historic dimensions. In fact, this program is already in trouble because the U.S. simply has not got the money to increase defense expenditures by 14 percent in 1983.

The resolution in itself is significant as a general answer to the problem of how to stop the deadly arms spiral. But what is most important is that this is not just a bill in congress. It is a demand that in the past ten months has drawn tens of thousands of people into a rapidly growing American peace movement.

Last June in New York, a half million people demonstrated against the arms race, and these mobilizations have continued, with a variegated movement assembling around the "freeze" demand.

Together with the European mobilizations against the new intermediate-range missiles, the peace movement has become a political factor. In this connection, offering the perspective of assuring peace through the development of energy weapons takes on the character of a political maneuver. It is a way of propagating the idea that military armament can achieve security, precisely the idea that in the postwar period has been used to justify the arms race and which is the cornerstone of the perverted logic that the peace movement has begun to combat.

The energy weapons are aimed first

and foremost against the influence of the peace movement. But at the same time, this idea is a further development of the U.S.'s new nuclear strategy, which involves the notion that nuclear war is not unthinkable and that therefore the U.S. should assure its ability to fight and win one.

It is also in this connection that the Star Wars project has to be seen.

For the first time, the achievement of an effective defense against attacking missiles would make it possible for the U.S. to use its nuclear-strike force, or possibly just threaten to use it, without fear of Soviet retaliation.

As we have seen, for the moment this is unrealistic. But by postulating such a possibility, Reagan wanted to conceal the fact that the Pentagon is planning war.

Space is already central in nuclear armament, not as a base for new weapons but as a base for the worldwide communications, aiming and warning system that is to direct and coordinate missiles and bombers in an atomic war.

Among the great number of high-technology weapons that go into the striking force, the communications systems are decisive. And one of the Pentagon's leading specialists has said that improvement of these systems, the so-called C31 network, is the U.S.'s most important strategic program. The Defense Department's five-year program has allotted at least 20 billion dollars for this purpose.

With his fantasy-filled speech about the blessings of a space war, Reagan was trying to divert attention away from the fact that beefing up the C31 system represents preparation for war. Indeed this is a fact that should arouse a big outcry, including here in Denmark, where we are making our contribution to this project by letting the U.S. keep its base in Thule. ■

The 'Greens' go to opening of parliament (DR)



Iceland and the peace movement in the North Atlantic

The U.S. base in Iceland is a major link in the chain of American air and radar bases in the North Atlantic. Traditionally, there has been strong opposition to it among Icelanders.

Before the annual spring action of the Association of Opponents of the Military Base (Samtaka herstoedhvaandstaedhinga, SHA) on April 19, a reporter from *Neisti*, the publication of the Icelandic section of the Fourth International, interviewed Arna Hjartarson, chairperson of the SHA. The following is a somewhat shortened version of the interview, which was published in the March 27 *Neisti*.

Question. What has happened in the SHA since its last national conference?

Answer. The association has operated in its customary way. After the national meeting, work groups were set up for culture, education, and agitation....

Then we managed to get our position in the mass media by writing articles and statements.

Just now we are preparing spring actions, such as the Consultative Assembly of Scandinavian Peace Movements (Samradhsfundur Norraeanna Fridharhreyfinga), which will be held here in April.

A lot of financial difficulties have hindered our work, a lot of debts have accumulated, many of them stemming from the Miklatun assembly last summer.

This assembly has been subjected to some criticism because...a number of people thought that the SHA's slogan "Iceland Out of NATO" was pushed aside and sacrificed for the sake of getting broader political support. But obviously it is always possible that the association may at times take the lead in actions that are not entirely committed to such central objectives of the military base opponents. This goes for all sorts of actions that are linked to these objectives.

The mistake at the Miklatun assembly was that various parties and groups were allowed to take a free ride on the peace bandwagon. The SHA bore the burden of organizing the meeting and, therefore, the cost.

In our last national meeting, it was resolved that there should be a march to Keflavik or a similar action this year. We did not decide anything more definite about this, but we are aiming at a big action in the summer.

Q. What's the relationship of the SHA to other peace movements?

A. It is the aim of the SHA this year as in recent years to develop common work with the peace movements in the Scandinavian countries. In the framework of this collaboration, we have basically worked out the demand for a nuclear-free Scandinavia, that is, to determine how big an area should be included and what rules should apply to it.

We have attended three meetings with the peace movements and a final consultative meeting is to be held in the Scandinavian House at the end of April. From this meeting, documents will be sent out presenting the call for a nuclear-free Scandinavia as the common demand of the peace movements in the area.

Q. What countries do the peace movements want to include in this area?

A. All the Scandinavian countries. However, it has not yet been decided whether Greenland should be included in the area or not. We in the SHA have argued very strongly that it should be.

We point out that in many respects we are in the same position as the Greenlanders and that we have more in common with them than the continental Scandinavian countries, since Greenland is tied into the Nuclear Early Warning System in a way similar to Iceland. Moreover, its geographical position is rather similar to that of Iceland.

Q. What are the main difficulties in including Greenland?

A. In the original conception of a nuclear-free Scandinavia, no consideration was given to including Iceland, the Faroes, and Greenland.

The continental Scandinavians were opposed to this, because they thought it would make the demand utopian. That was because of the importance of the U.S. base on Iceland. Finally, they, as well as others, changed their minds, and now there is agreement about Iceland. But there is still some reluctance about Greenland.

Q. What do you think about the "Women's Peace Movement.?"

A. Obviously, the opponents of the base welcome everyone who says there are for peace. But at the same time we think that they should oppose military armament in this country. The so-called Women's Peace Movement has not done this. So, I think that it will not live up to the basis on which it was formed, that is, be a broad women's movement going from ultra-right women to the left

wing. It seems to me that everything indicates that the rightist women in it are there precisely to defend the interests of NATO. They think that NATO is a peace movement and operate on this basis. I think that it is clear that this movement is either going to be paralyzed or split.

Q. In the draft for the new constitution, consideration is being given to a great role for referenda. What's the SHA's position on that?

A. One of the SHA's aims is to get a referendum on the military and NATO. That has been true for some years. But there has never been any real discussion of it....

As the constitution is written now, it is not possible to get money appropriated without the approval of the Althing (parliament). But none of the parties in parliament has given a lead on this. It is not the custom in Iceland to hold referenda on other sorts of questions than the liquor laws and dogs.

But with the provision in the new constitution, the association will be able to reconsider this question....

Q. Is the workers movement split on the peace question?

A. It seems that the Icelandic union movement is very much attached to traditions of struggle that relate exclusively to wages and working conditions. It takes up public issues only on very rare occasions. It seems that there is not much consciousness of big public questions in the union movement. The military bases question has gotten only small attention in the union movement, at least in recent years.

When such questions are raised, there is a chorus in response that the union movement is politically very diverse so that these issues would only split it. For this reason, the ASI (Althydhusamband Islands — Icelandic National Federation of Labor) has not taken up the bases question for ages and the May Day speeches have avoided it.

The ASI has been invited twice to take part in discussions and conferences on broad questions of peace and disarmament. But it has refused on the grounds that this is not the province of the workers movement. This is quite unlike what has happened elsewhere in Scandinavia where the union movements have been bastions of the fight for peace....

It is only the church that has tried to take up the banner of the fight for peace, without such restrictions, because it looks at the question from the standpoint of religious values.

It is clear to most people that it is hard to take a political position for peace and disarmament without coming out against the military and NATO. The result of this is that it has been mainly the opponents of the base who have taken up the issues of peace and disarmament and internationally the SHA is seen as the political arm of the Icelandic peace movement. ■

Middle East after Lebanon war US imperialism fails to achieve stability

Livio MAITAN

The April 18 bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut drew attention to the fact that the United States is getting more and more deeply involved in a quagmire.

The better part of a year after the ceasefire in Lebanon, U.S. troops remain as part of a "multinational" force charged with maintaining "order," while their Israeli allies continue to run roughshod over the country and drive the Arab population to desperation.

The moves to stabilize the region that began in September at imperialist prompting have thus far come to nought. This failure is shown clearly by the dragging on of the Israeli-Lebanese negotiations without any perspective of success in the near future, as well as by the debacle of the operation by King Hussein of Jordan, which was announced on April 10. (1)

To understand the essential aspects of the present situation in the Middle East, it is necessary to review the events that followed the end of the battle of Beirut, which was the culmination of the aggression Israel launched against the Palestinians in the summer of 1982.

The retreat of the PLO forces from Palestine and the Israeli occupation of part of Lebanon created a more favorable relationship of forces for Zionism and imperialism, as well as for the conservative Arab regimes.

Both the Zionists and the imperialists and the right-wing Arab governments tried to exploit this shift to force the PLO to give up its struggle to establish a genuinely independent Palestinian state and to accept a neocolonial solution, the terms of which would remain to be defined.

Central to these plans for bringing about a political recomposition in the region is the achievement of a "normalized" Lebanon under the control of the most reactionary forces, with the Christian Phalangists playing the dominant role.

The reconstruction of the neocolonial Lebanese state has in fact begun. What is more, the new regime of President Amin Gemayel was set up with the benefit of an almost universal consensus.

The army has been reorganized, the capital reunified, and at the beginning of March the Lebanese state regained control of the port of Beirut. Before this, the port had been in the hands of the Phalangist militia, representing one of their main sources of revenue.

On the other hand, the Lebanese National Movement (MNL) presided over by Walid Jumblat and the Lebanese workers movement remain in deep crisis. For the moment, they have neither the ability nor the will to challenge the new central government. (2)

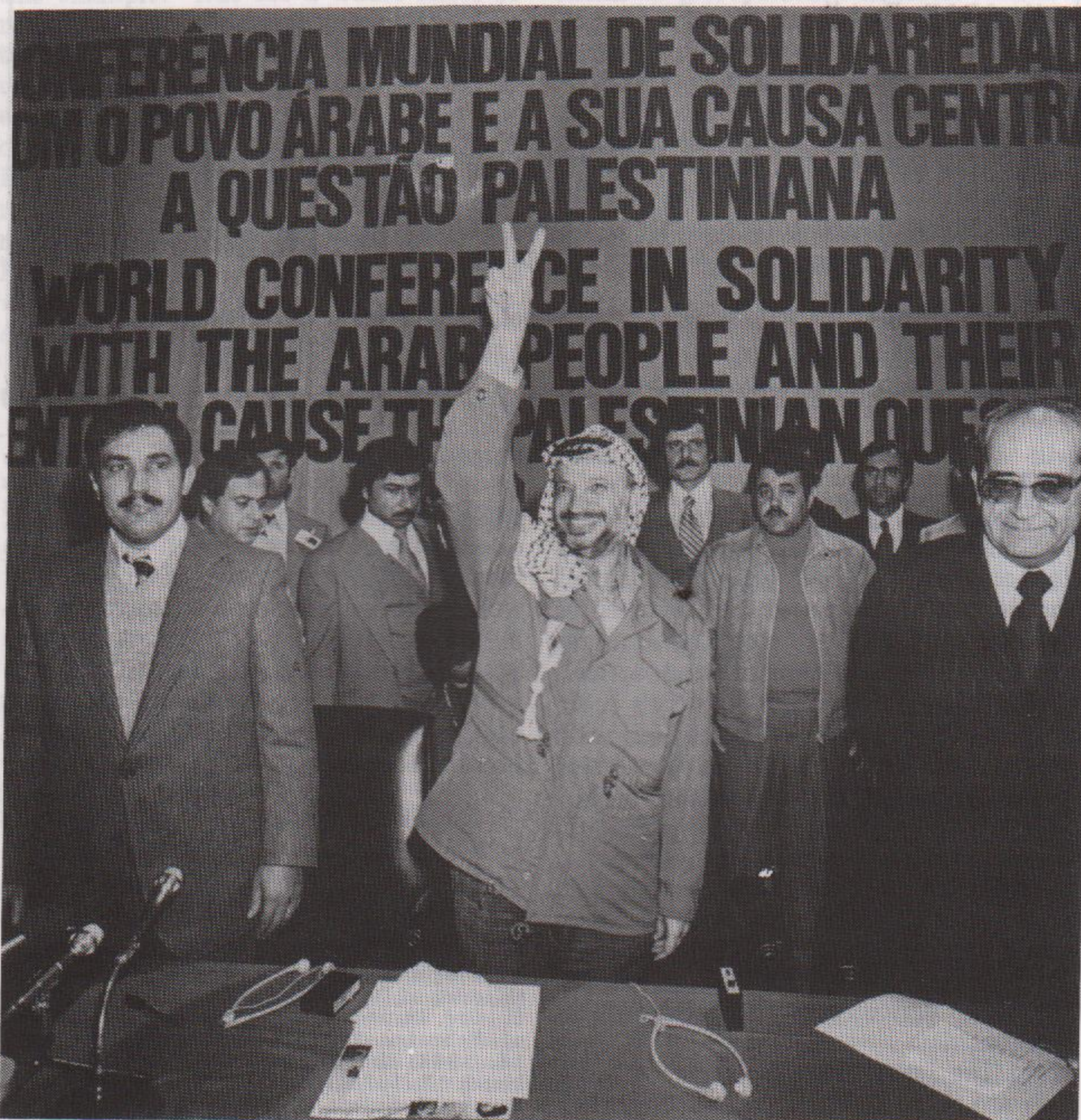
Nonetheless, the situation is far from stabilized, and the Lebanese state is still far from effectively controlling the national territory. In fact, it controls only the capital and the surrounding areas.

PROLIFERATION OF ARMED FACTIONS

In the north, bloody conflicts broke out at the end of December and the beginning of January between the Alawites under Syrian influence, and Sunni Muslims who, despite their heterogeneity, are united by a common hostility to Syria.

In the Tripoli region, Rashid Karamé, the traditional Sunni chief and former Lebanese premier, continues to play the predominant role. But in Zghorta, the bailiwick of former president Soleiman Frangieh, it is Maronite Christians hostile to the Phalangists who hold sway. (3)

In the Chouf region south of Beirut, the situation has not been stabilized either. Battles have raged on several occasions between the Phalangists and the Druzes represented by Walid Jumblat, chairman of the MNL and leader of the



1. Philip Habib, the U.S. representative and No. 1 imperialist negotiator, said on April 16 in Cairo that he "did not see an agreement soon in the talks on Lebanon" and that he "did not share the optimistic views expressed by various parties."

2. The Lebanese National Movement (MNL) embraces various left formations, including the Communist Party, Walid Jumblat's Progressive Socialist Party. It has suspended activities in order to carry out a reorganization.

For its part, the Communist Party has undertaken a self-criticism, which is interesting in several respects. Its general secretary, Georges Hawi, among others, has made criticisms of other forces as well as the CP. The Syrians are reproached for "their hesitations and their obvious lack of foresight." The Palestinians are criticized for getting involved in a game of upping the ante, "which led to the accumulation of fabulous amounts of arms for the sole purpose of bolstering the position of 'one or another Palestinian tendency.'" The CP itself is said to have been "timid" in its criticisms of the abuses committed by the PLO. The latter supposedly include the setting up of an embryonic ministate in Lebanon opposed to the legal authorities and controlling many areas of the country. At the same time, Hawi criticized the Lebanese National Movement for its inability to organize daily life in the zones it controlled (see an issue of *Al Tarik*, which appeared at the beginning of 1983 and was quoted in *le Monde* of April 17-18, 1983).

3. *Le Monde diplomatique*, February 1983. At the time this article was written, Frangieh's militia shut off the TV relay stations for the north when the official news was broadcast, and instead broadcast their own news program.

Progressive Socialist Party (PSP). Every source of information stresses that the Israeli army has done its best to whip up these conflicts and keep them going.

In the south, where the Shi'ite militia Amal also operates, the Zionists have extended the area consigned to their stooge, "Commander" Saad Haddad. So far, he has refused to let either the Lebanese army or the Phalangist militias enter his bailiwick. Significantly, a few months ago, Haddad decided to ban activity by all political parties, including the Phalangists, in the area he controls.

The Bekaa valley, which is close to the Syrian border, remains under the control of Damascus. To complete the picture of the Lebanese situation, it should be mentioned that Palestinian forces are still present, both in the Bekaa valley and in the north.

Moreover, the Shi'ite organizations are playing a not inconsiderable role. Besides the Amal contingents in the south, elements of the faction of Amal led by Hussein Mosavi are operating in the Bekaa valley, with the agreement of the Syrians. (There is also another Shi'ite faction in Beirut, led by Nabil Behri.)

It should not be forgotten either that there are Iranian pasdars in the Bekaa valley. There are also local groups that identify with the Khomeini ideology. One such formation is the Islamic Jihad Organization, which has claimed responsibility for several attacks on the Multinational Force (made up of U.S., French, Italian, and British troops), including the recent dynamiting of the U.S. embassy. (4)

Finally, despite the restrictions that have been imposed on them, the Phalangist militia has largely maintained its autonomy. The attempt to integrate it into the rebuilt Lebanese army has remained stalled. As Samir Kassir, *Le Monde Diplomatique's* correspondent put it, the Phalangist organizations continue to represent "para-state structures."

The Zionist leaders who are helping directly and indirectly to prolong this situation of "instability" in the "new" Lebanon, keep finding new pretexts to continue their occupation. In fact, they fear that they will be unable to get the full benefits from the operation they launched last June, and which has proved very costly militarily, economically, and diplomatically, as well as in terms of their political position inside Israel.

The pretext used to justify the invasion of Lebanon, the claim that this was a means of assuring the security of Israel's frontiers, is fading away, even in official Zionist propaganda.

In reality, what Menahem Begin and his government want is to force the Syrians to get out, drive the remaining PLO forces out of Lebanon, and force a massive exodus of the Palestinian refugees. It is no secret to anyone that the aim of the September 1982 massacres in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Chatila was to get the Palestinians to flee. Only to the extent that the Israeli leaders can achieve these objectives

Resolution of Palestinian National Council

PALESTINIAN NATIONAL UNITY

"The heroic resistance in Lebanon and in Beirut was a concrete expression of Palestinian national unity. On the basis of this exemplary experience, the Palestinian National Council stresses the need to reinforce the unity of the various revolutionary movements included in the framework of the PLO and to develop the organizational relationships in all institutions of the PLO on the basis of united action, collective leadership, and the program adopted by the Fourteenth Session of the National Council."

INDEPENDENT DECISION-MAKING POWER

"The Council reaffirms its commitment to independent Palestinian decision-making power and its determination to defend this against all pressures, regardless of their source."

THE PALESTINIAN ARMED STRUGGLE

"The Council reaffirms the necessity of developing armed struggle against the Zionist enemy and the right of the forces of the Palestinian revolution to launch military operations from every Arab front. It also stresses the need for unifying the forces of the Palestinian revolution in the framework of a national liberation army."

THE BREZHNEV PLAN

"The Palestinian National Council expresses its appreciation and support for the proposals contained in the plan presented by Chairman Brezhnev on September 16, 1982.

"These proposals reaffirm the inalienable national rights of our people, notably its right to return, to self-determination, and to the establishment of an independent state under the aegis of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

"The Council expresses its appreciation to the countries of the Socialist Bloc for their positions with respect to the just cause of our people, positions that are reiterated in the Prague Declaration of January 3, 1983, on the situation in the Middle East."

THE REAGAN PLAN

"In its approach and substance, besides being out of line with international law, the Reagan plan does not satisfy the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. It denies the Palestinian people the right of return, the right to self-determination and to create an independent state. And it denies to the PLO its right to be recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

"Therefore, the Palestinian Council declares its refusal to consider the Reagan plan as a valid basis for a just and lasting settlement of the Palestinian problem and the Arab-Zionist conflict."

will they consider withdrawing their troops.

The Israeli policy thus runs counter to stabilizing Lebanon politically but also economically. The economic aspect should not be minimized. There is no need to stress how much the war has affected Lebanese industry and agriculture. Efforts to get the country's economy moving again are being seriously obstructed by the "free" circulation of goods imposed by the occupation forces.

The Zionist leaders are carrying out full-fledged dumping operations, selling the products of their food industry as well as basic agricultural products at lower prices and pushing the equivalent Lebanese products off the market. Southern Lebanese agriculture, in particular, is threatened.

At the same time, the Israeli authorities are using Lebanon as a springboard

to get into other markets in the region. In the areas they control, they are repackaging Israeli goods to conceal their origin. Thus, Israel can sell these goods through Beirut to Arab countries that would not accept products openly coming from Israel. Another maneuver has been to open the Israeli port of Haifa to goods destined for Lebanon, with port charges lower than those in force in Beirut. (5)

This evolution of the situation in Lebanon cannot fail to have an impact on the attitude of the Arab states most directly concerned.

4. *Liberation* (Paris) of April 9, 1983; *El Pais* (Madrid) of December 9, 1983.

5. See, in particular, *Le Monde diplomatique* of February 1983, *Le Monde* of February 16, 1983; the *International Herald Tribune*, March 15, 1983; *Revue d'etudes palestiniennes*, Number 7; *El Pais*, December 6, 1982.

In this respect, the Syrian government has to take into consideration the political situation it faces at home. Despite repression and certain appearances, stability remains precarious. So, Syria has to use every available means to increase its specific weight in order to gain its own objectives in the region. To accomplish these ends, it is trying to reinforce its positions by extending its influence over certain Palestinian organizations.

Thus, the Syrian regime is trying to line up those sections of the Palestinian movement that disagree with the policy of Yasser Arafat, the main leader of the PLO.

Secondly, and this aspect is the most important, the Syrian regime is trying to reorganize its armed forces and increase its military potential, turning to the Soviet Union once again for aid. An instance of this is the replacement of the Sam-6s destroyed by the Israeli attacks in June 1982 by a more effective missile force, based on Sam-5s.

From its standpoint, the Soviet bureaucracy has every interest in accepting the requests of a government that at the moment is the only ally it can count on in the region. By this means it can hope to avoid being frozen out of the big political operations that are developing in the area. (6)

For its part, Jordan has found it necessary to get back on the front line. Since the turn made by Anwar as-Sadat in 1977, it has been one of the imperialists' avowed aims to get Jordan to follow this example. But for a whole series of reasons — among other things, the fact that 55% to 60% of the Jordanian population is Palestinian and the continuing effects of the 1967 war, such as the loss of the Left Bank of the Jordan — King Hussein has had much less maneuvering room than Sadat did. He has had to worry a lot more about the reactions of the PLO and the other Arab states. This is why Washington's pressures have not produced the results hoped for. (7)

The PLO's withdrawal from Beirut, the shift in the relationship of forces in

favor of the most moderate Arab states, and the resolution adopted at the Fez summit in September 1982, following the Israeli victory in Lebanon, offered the Amman government a chance to take the initiative on the diplomatic front.

Since the beginning of the negotiations between the PLO and the leaders of the Arab states, it has been clear that Hussein was trying to reconcile the "peace plan" proposed by Reagan with the document adopted by the Fez meeting.

The Jordanian king could hope for success in such an operation, inasmuch as Yasser Arafat and his closest collaborators expressed judgements on several occasions that did not clearly reject the Reagan plan. They even talked explicitly about certain adjustments that could bring the two plans closer together. (8)

More concretely, these leaders tried to get the PLO to agree not to make recognition of the Palestinians' right to an independent state a precondition for discussions. They also wanted the PLO to accept a compromise with regard to its participation in negotiations, since the Israelis would not agree to any direct PLO involvement. For his part, the preconditions Hussein put forward were, besides Palestinian participation in the negotiations, the withdrawal of the Israelis from Lebanon and a freeze on Jewish settlements in the occupied territories.

For the PLO, in such a context, there is no way it can consider making any further concessions. The only ones possible would be on its part alone and without any quid pro quo. "I don't have the means to give presents to Israel and the United States," Yasser Arafat aptly remarked on February 15.

This is why, at the beginning of April, the PLO leadership let Hussein know that it would not waive its precondition of acceptance of the Palestinians' right to independence, and that it was maintaining its demand to be allowed to participate directly in the negotiations. At the same time, the PLO leadership reiterated the negative judgement of the Reagan plan expressed by its National Council, which met in February in Algiers. (9)

(*Le Monde* of March 27-28, 1983.)

8. See, for example, the statement of Nabil Shaat, an advisor of Arafat, who said, among other things: "The PLO has not rejected the Reagan plan, but only its omissions as regards our rights....We are looking for ways to bring the Reagan plan and the Arab project adopted in Fez closer together....We envisage, for example, including in the Reagan plan the principle of a referendum in order to exercise our right to self-determination and also the setting up of a multinational force in the occupied territories even before an Israeli withdrawal, as well as the right of return." (*Le Monde*, December 8, 1982.)

It should be recalled, moreover, that in a statement made in Algiers in mid-February, the Chairman of the PNC, Khaled Al Fahum, specified that the achievement of the national rights of the Palestinian people would involve "in particular the right to a state in the West Bank and in Gaza with its capital in Jerusalem." (*Liberation*, February 17, 1983.)

9. On the basis of certain reports and certain passages in the April 10, 1983, statement of the Jordanian government, a conclusion might be drawn that Arafat's point of view, favorable to further negotiation, was in a minority. It is difficult, however, to verify this interpretation.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE PNC

The Palestinian National Council includes 315 members and is presided over by Khaled Al Fahum, who resides in Damascus.

According to *Le Monde* of February 15, 1983, the seats are divided as follows among the various components of the Palestinian people, which is estimated at 4 million persons:

— Representatives of the guerrilla movements (94 members): 33 for Al Fateh, 12 for Saika, 12 for the FPLP of Georges Habash, 12 for the FDLP of Nayef Hawatmeh, 9 for the FLA (a pro-Iraqi group), 8 for the FPLP-General Command of Ahmed Jibril (a pro-Libyan group), 4 for the Front of the Palestinian People's Struggle of Samir Ghosh (pro-Syrian) and 4 for the Palestinian Liberation (a splinter group from Fateh).

— Representatives from social and professional associations (51) members, who generally follow Fateh: workers (18), women (8), teachers (7), students (7), writers and journalists (3), jurists (3), engineers (3), the medical and paramedical professions (5), youth (2), artists (1).

— The diaspora (62) members: Jordan (17), Lebanon (9), Syria (7), Iraq (1), The Palestinians who live in the Gulf states, who are big contributors to the finances of the PLO, have 21 seats: Kuwait (9), Saudi Arabia (8), Abu Dhabi (2), and Qatar (2). Palestinians living in North America have 7 seats.

— To these three categories of delegates, who are elected by their various organizations, are added 108 members coopted by the vote of these delegates. The coopted members include 75 independent personalities, 13 representatives of the intelligentsia, and 20 notables expelled from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

— Finally, in theory, there are 122 delegates from inside Palestine, whose identity is kept secret. In fact, they do not participate in the work of the PNC because of the risk of reprisals by the Israeli government.

The PNC, which was designed to be a parliament in exile, meets on the average once every two years and sets the main orientations for the Palestinian central leadership. Between sessions, it is the Central Council of the PLO (55) members) that is entrusted with assuring that the PNC resolutions are properly applied and with maintaining a check over the activities of the Executive Committee of the PLO (which serves as the Palestinian government in exile).

6. The Syrians' concerns have been expressed recently by the pro-government *Tishrin*, which rejected the idea of a simultaneous withdrawal of Syrian and Israeli forces. It wrote, among other things: "The city of Chtaura in the Bekaa valley is closer to Damascus than any Syrian city. It is, therefore, impossible to separate the security of Lebanon from that of Syria in the context of the state of war that prevails between Syria and Israel."

In a message sent in mid-April to the Syrian president, Reagan made a small overture, inasmuch as he stressed that "Resolution 242 of the Security Council applies to the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights." Begin shot back immediately "The status of the Golan plateau is determined solely by the annexation law passed by the Knesset on December 14, 1981." (*Le Monde* of April 19-22, 1983.)

7. *Le Monde's* correspondent in Amman summed up as follows that arguments put forward in the debates in the leading circles in the Jordanian capital: "Jordan would have a hard time surviving the sort of isolation Egypt experienced after the concluding of the Camp David Accords, in particular, because it would lose the financial aid it gets from the oil-producing states. Moreover, in the event of a failure, the Arab world would make the Hashemite monarchy a scapegoat, which is something that the Jordanian leaders want to avoid at all costs."

Hussein decided, in rejoinder, to pull out of the game for the moment, declaring that henceforward Jordan "would leave it to the PLO and the Palestinian people to find the means to defend their territory and achieve their objectives."

Arafat was quick to make it known that he did not consider the relations between the Jordanians and Palestinians to have been broken off. There was, he said, "a misunderstanding over some points." Subsequently, the Central Committee of Al-Fateh came out explicitly for the resumption of the talks (*La Presse*, April 26, 1983). Nonetheless the diplomatic efforts underway for months came to nothing.

THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

The meeting of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) was held in February, after somewhat turbulent preparations. Yasser Arafat was in a difficult position. He had to demonstrate that although the Palestinian withdrawal from Beirut had weakened the PLO militarily, it could bring political and diplomatic benefits. The results he had to offer were not encouraging.

There were, to be sure, overtures from certain European capitalist governments, notably from Britain, which moderated its former intransigence and agreed to the presence of a PLO member in the Arab countries' delegation that visited the UK in pursuance of a decision of the Fez summit. But on the crucial points, especially the Palestinians' right to self-determination, no progress was registered.

On the other hand, in the Palestinian camp, the crisis was having a series of effects. Signs of discontent and demoralization appeared among the refugees in Lebanon, who felt that they had been abandoned to their fate. Among fedayin transported to other Arab countries, Tunisia for example, open challenges to the leadership emerged.

What is more, Palestinian organizations and leaders who differed with Yasser Arafat's orientation went on a full-fledged offensive. For example, in December, Abu Saleh, one of the representatives of the left in the PLO, criticized the contacts Arafat established with the Jordanian leaders, as well as the trip to Egypt by Abu Zaim, one of the PLO chairman's military aides. In making these moves, Abu Saleh said, Arafat has "stepped outside the Palestinian consensus." (10)

Two months earlier, an attack was launched by Syria. The Damascus minister of information, Ahmed Iskander, challenged Arafat's right to speak in the name of the PLO in his talks with Hussein. (11)

The Syrian president Hafez el-Assad himself made no secret of his differences with Yasser Arafat. On the occasion of the December meeting of the PLO Central Council, two Syrian-controlled organizations, As-Saika and the Popular Front of Struggle expressed positions critical of Arafat. The Popular Front for the

Liberation of Palestine-General Command headed by Ahmed Jibril took a similar position.

In January, the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine of Nayef Hawatmeh, the FPLP-C, Saika, the FLP, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine of George Habash expressed more outspoken opposition. In Libya, they circulated a statement rejecting not only the Reagan plan but also the decisions of the Fez summit (12).

So, Yasser Arafat had to try to regain control of the situation and come out of the PNC meeting with greater maneuvering room. In order to accomplish this in a situation in which all his diplomatic moves had failed to get any real results, he had to step up his tone. Among other things, he reaffirmed the necessity of armed struggle, condemned the Reagan plan, and soft-pedalled his overtures to Egypt. He took his distance from the most moderate elements, and adopted a more cautious attitude in relations with Israeli personalities opposed to Begin. (13)

The final resolution of the PNC reflects this stance. In particular, it includes enthusiastic support for the plan proposed by Brezhnev. This move corresponded to internal needs, but it had above all a diplomatic importance. This is why the task of hailing the role and policy of the USSR was given to the chief Palestinian diplomat, Faruk Kadumi.

In fact, on the one hand, the PLO's support for the Brezhnev plan satisfied Syria and appeased the organizations that had criticized Arafat with encouragement from the Syrians and Qadhafi. On the other hand, it was a warning to the imperialist powers and to the moderate Arab governments. However, it cannot be forgotten that the Brezhnev plan involves recognizing the state of Israel. The game was really subtle.

Nonetheless, the framework of the PLO was maintained, and its political, social, and cultural institutions will be rebuilt. At the same time, the principle was accepted that the military groups should be unified in a "Palestinian National Army." Finally, Yasser Arafat got his authority upheld. (14)

As for the resolution adopted, it is worth quoting a choice comment that

10. *Le Monde*, December 11, 1982.

11. *Liberation*, October 12, 1982; *Corriere della Sera*, February 13, 1983.

12. *Le Monde*, January 18, 1983. (According to *Le Monde diplomatique* of March 1983, six organizations met in Tripoli in January, but the article does not name them. According to Qadhafi, the meeting drew up "a program of political and military action for the Palestinian resistance" in agreement with the Palestinian resistance and Libya (which did not participate in the Arab summit in Fez).

13. Arafat dropped renunciation of the Camp David Accords as a precondition for reestablishing relations with Egypt (cf. *Le Monde* of January 19, 1983). Then, the PNC resolution, although in relatively flexible terms, the need for the Egyptian government to reject these accords.

As regards the attitude toward the moderate wing, it should be noted that Issam Sartau was not allowed to speak at the meeting, and that following it he resigned from the

one of Arafat's friends made in the corridors following the PNC meeting: "Generally, the resolutions adopted can be interpreted in nine different ways to satisfy all the organizations that make up the PLO, but it is the tenth interpretation, his own, that Arafat actually follows."

The organizations that raised the challenges to Arafat mentioned above have nothing to boast about. Their representatives made apparently radical statements designed to keep up the morale of their troops and reinforce certain diplomatic links with regimes in the region. This was the case notably of Hawatmeh's speech hailing Syria as the homefront of the Palestinian revolution.

But once again, on an important occasion, these currents proved incapable of offering an alternative to the orientation of Arafat and the majority in his organization, El-Fateh. In the future, they will in all probability continue to combine ringing declarations with lining up alongside the PLO moderates on the decisive questions. (15)

THE ZIONIST LEADERS' PLANS AND U.S. POLICY

One basic observation is necessary to draw a balance sheet of the general situation in the region. None of the political forces present — neither the Arab governments, the various local feudalists, or the different tendencies in the Palestinian national movement — are able to effectively pursue projects of their own. But all of them can seriously obstruct, if not totally block, the projects of the others.

This observation obviously holds only very partially for the Zionist state. It can very clearly block or scuttle political and diplomatic operations that are not to its liking. But it can also make concrete progress in carrying out its short- and medium-term strategy.

We need only recall Menahem Begin's attitude at the time of the turn in relations with Egypt. His attitude at the time can be summed up as "three no's" to Sadat — no return to the 1967 boundaries, no return of the western part of Jerusalem, no independent Palestinian state.

Since its recent aggression in Lebanon, Israel is unquestionably in a better situa-

Council.

14. The PNC has been enlarged on Arafat's initiative, notably by the election of 23 military figures over which Arafat has, and will continue to have, authority as chief of the PLO armed forces. The majority of these military figures came from camps located in Syria or in zones controlled by the Syrians. Moreover, the powers of the Executive Committee of the PNC have been increased, which will make it possible for it to make more decisions without the calling of a PNC session.

15. It should be remembered that Georges Habash, whose organization, the FPLO, signed the Declaration of Tripoli, adhered the month before in Aden to the common pledge of the PLO leaders to accept the resolutions of the Fez summit as a basis (*Le Monde*, December 18, 1983). As for Jibril of the FPLP-C, he resumed his usual gymnastics, hailing the assassination of the "moderate" Issam Sartau in Lisbon.

tion, despite its foreign and domestic difficulties, to carry through its strategy for consolidating its 1967 conquests and increasing its room for maneuver.

Stepped up colonization of the occupied territories has now become an essential element of this strategy. As this policy is being carried forward, the demographic makeup of the occupied territories is undergoing profound changes.

There is a plan to establish about sixty more settlements before 1987, which would represent a 50% increase in the number of settlements that exist today in the occupied territories. Despite everything, Begin continues to be, and will continue to be, the only credible strategic ally for imperialism in the region. Fundamentally, he has maintained his positions in the arena of world politics.

It hardly needs to be stressed that if it has been and remains possible for Begin to hope to achieve his short- and medium-term objectives, this is partly because of the attitude of the other Israeli political forces. The Sabra and Chatila massacres provoked a major crisis in Israel.

However, Begin was able to make a comeback because the Labor Party opposition, which remains divided, has no real alternative orientation, and the Peace Now movement itself was not able to bring to bear quickly enough all the potential of the mass movement it helped to build. (16)

This situation will not change very quickly. A confirmation of this is the polls and the various assessments, all of which agree that if elections were held now, Begin would win a clearer victory than the last time.

Nonetheless, the resistance that is beginning in southern Lebanon and the losses that the Israeli army has already suffered (17) are a first indication of the big difficulties that lie ahead for a strategy based on the ideology of Zionism and the political needs of maintaining a Zionist state.

The fact remains, however, that in the present conditions, in the short- and medium-term, the Zionist leadership holds better cards than all its adversaries in the region.

With respect to U.S. policy, it is in Washington's interest today to continue to rely on the Zionist state as the essential support of their strategy in the region. In fact, today there is no other state in the region that can take over the role that the shah of Iran played as the bulwark of the imperialists' neocolonial strategy.

From this standpoint, not much progress has been made with Egypt since Camp David, and as for Saudi Arabia, its intrinsic social and political weakness may be dangerously increased by the drop in oil production and therefore in the income of the country. (18)

The problem for Washington is not that it fails to recognize that it is dangerous to rely on Israel alone but that today it has no concrete alternative. Moreover, no political pressure alone can induce the Zionist leadership to rectify its course.



Yasser Arafat and Hussein of Jordan (DR)

If Washington were determined to force the Zionist government to change its orientation, the only way to do so would be to cut off economic aid and threaten to strangle Israel. But this is a risk no U.S. leader is ready to run, especially in a period when the elections are already in sight. (19)

In reality, U.S. economic and military aid to Israel is far from having been suspended or even substantially reduced. In various forms, it is growing. (20)

The obstacles that the Zionist leadership put in the way of any significant concessions to the Palestinians are reinforced by the refusal of the U.S. imperialists to force Israel to make any substantial change in its strategy. This is leading, then, to a situation of impasse, with all the consequences that can flow from it.

As regards the Palestinian resistance, the consequence will be that Yasser Arafat, and more generally, the PLO moderates, will not be able to follow up their options in practice.

At the same time, given the new relationship of forces, attempts to renew the struggle on a revolutionary basis would face still greater difficulties.

The chances of a new stage opening up in the national liberation struggle will obviously be affected by the strategic choices made by the Palestinian resistance. These would be improved if the resistance

adopted a strategy based in a thoroughgoing way on mobilizing the masses in the occupied territories, on organizing and mobilizing the Palestinians in the countries where they find themselves, on an alliance with the Israeli opposition, and in general based on linking up with the exploited and oppressed masses throughout the region.

A very great responsibility falls to the workers movement, to its political and trade-union organizations, in the imperialist countries, especially in those states that are participating in the Multinational Interposition Force (the U.S., Britain, France, and Italy). (22)

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY REMAINS VITAL

We are aware of the difficulty at the moment to build real mass movements in solidarity with the Palestinians. The mass reactions were limited even in the period of the Zionist aggression and the siege of Beirut. Thus, spectacular mobilizations cannot be expected now.

Nonetheless, it is the duty of revolutionists to engage in building campaigns of solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle against Zionism and imperialism. The slogans that the Fourth International put forward in the October 10, 1982 resolution of the United Secretariat remain entirely appropriate today. (23)

It is necessary to campaign for the following demands:

- Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Zionist and imperialist troops from Lebanon.

- Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories occupied in 1967.

- Recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

- Solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian resistance against the Zionist state.

- Freedom of action for the Palestinian resistance in all the Arab states.

- Recognition of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

- Solidarity with the struggles of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories and with the antiwar movement in Israel.

- Solidarity with the Palestinian masses in Lebanon and with the Lebanese anti-imperialist movement.

- Immediate release of all Palestinian and non-Palestinian prisoners taken by the Zionist army or by other repressive forces. ■

16. Cf. "Political Crisis Deepens in Israel" by Michel Warschawsky, in *International Viewpoint*, No. 24, February 21, p. 6.

17. According to the official figures, by April 15 guerrilla attacks on Israeli forces in Lebanon had resulted in 96 deaths and 126 wounded. (*Le Monde*, April 20, 1983.)

18. Saudi oil production has taken a major drop, falling by more than 50% by comparison with its maximum output.

19. According to polls done by the Chicago Council for Foreign Relations, pro-Israel feeling fell to 32% after Sabra and Chatila but has now climbed back up to 48%. (*Le Monde*, April 20, 1983.)

20. As one significant indication, quite recently Israel was authorized to buy American made parts for a new fighter plane.

21. The impasse was clearly recognized in a *New York Times* editorial reprinted in the April 19 *International Herald Tribune*.

22. With regard to the Multinational Interposition Force, see the statement signed by sections of the Fourth International and published in *International Viewpoint*, No. 14, October 4, 1982, p. 8.

23. Cf. "The War in Lebanon: Turn in Middle East Situation," in *International Viewpoint*, No. 16, November 1, 1982, p. 20.

Hungarian government out to smash the dissident movement

Police arrest Lazlo Rajk and Miklos Haraszti while distributing leaflets (DR)



Kathia SCHRIEBER

"Now they want to get rid of us once and for all and smash samizdat publishing." That was how Miklos Haraszti assessed the Budapest police's latest reprisals against the opposition.

Lazlo Rajk, son of the foreign minister executed under Rakoszi; and Gabor Demsky, an activist in the busy underground publishing house AB, were confronted by the police on April 7 and 8 with drawn pistols.

Pretending to be traffic cops, three carloads of policia police searched their car for manuscripts and held them overnight in the Second Precinct jail.

Demsky got no sleep the following night either. The police searched his home "so that you won't forget us," they said.

A week before, police had cleared out all six apartments in which samizdat publications were being openly sold. They were the apartments of Lazlo Rajk; Gabor Demsky; Otilia Zsolt, the founder of Szeta, the Committee to Aid the Poor; Jenő Nagy, a collaborator of the AB publishing house; and of Miklos Haraszti and Forenc Koszeg, editors of the Samizdat magazine *Beszelo* (Discussion).

In the first wave of arrests in December, the police released the people they picked up with warnings. But this time indictments were issued for violations of the press law. The charges carry penalties of up to 180,000 forints in fines or six months in prison. It is possible that the government will push for trials.

The opposition was hardest hit by the actions against the so-called "Shop,"

that is, the sale of samizdat books and periodicals every Tuesday evening in Lazlo Rajk's apartment.

In December, Rajk lost his apartment in central Budapest, and had to withdraw to a new building on the outskirts of the city.

Since then, every Tuesday more police gathered outside Rajk's home. As Haraszti put it: "Visits and ordinary passers by were checked, threatened, and pushed around so much that the Shop was in fact blocked off."

The meaning of these actions was clear, Haraszti said:

"The police have gotten the authority from the country's political leadership to put an end to samizdat, but without endangering the regime's liberal image in the West. So, they decided not to use the method of political trials but simply subject us to administrative harassment until we don't have a moment's peace. If this tactic is applied systematically, it becomes a very effective form of repression."

In fact, more and more dissident intellectuals, even those who have not published in samizdat under their names, are reporting that they find themselves being subjected to unusually frequent identity checks on the street and to quite open police surveillance.

The contradiction between such state intimidation against the opposition and Hungary's well known liberal policy in the cultural sphere seems absurd to those who visit the country.

Leftists are astonished to see articles by Trotsky and an open discussion of Rosa Luxemburg's criticism of the Bolsheviks' policy in magazines published for social scientists.

Bourgeois journalists are delighted to see public toilets being run as private businesses and small-capitalist bakeries and plumbing businesses.

Why should Laszlo Rajk and Miklos Haraszti be persecuted for producing a few type-written sheets that are hard to read anyway, while Sandor Pal's outright revolutionary film about the 1956 uprisings, "The Fortunate Daniel," is playing in the Pushkin movie theater on Kossuth Street? Where is the logic?

In Sandor Pal's film, nothing is covered up. You see the self-sacrificing struggle of the youth, the savage brutality of the secret police, the hatred for the Soviet occupiers, and the massive emigration to escape the "normalization."

A contact in Hungary said: "The mood in the Writers Union now resembles the one that prevailed before 1956."

It is precisely this that Miklos Haraszti sees as the key to explaining the present wave of repression. The circulation of samizdat is limited to the urban intelligentsia. But it has a real influence.

About a thousand copies of *Beszelo* are produced, and each copy is read by twenty to thirty people. The new publication *AB Tajekoztato* ("AB Information"), which is written in an agitational style, is supposed to have a circulation above a thousand.

"What we write," Haraszti said, "is not extremist. We only say openly what the entire reform intelligentsia thinks. Since samizdat has come into existence, the whole cultural area has become more and more uncontrollable for the government. Critical culture can no longer simply be wiped out, because its exponents, most of whom write for us under pseudonyms, would commit themselves to us fully or found new magazines. In order to promote the self-censorship of the 'legal intelligentsia' the police have to try to destroy the area of freedom that we represent."

Whether or not the "Shop" will be able to go on functioning is not yet decided. None of those involved wants to stop the production of samizdat, even if the conditions get more difficult.

Haraszti says: "We consider it a national achievement that there is a certain space for freedom of expression. We have started up discussion of a series of questions — the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Rumania and Czechoslovakia, as well as of the Gypsies, Slovaks, and Rumanians in Hungary; the poverty in which 20 percent of the population are languishing; and the treatment of political thinkers such as Istvan Bibó, who has now become a symbol for the entire opposition.

"The more we can widen our area of freedom of thought, the bolder the official writers will become. All this helps to keep Hungary on the reform course and to counterbalance the deep-seated instinct of the government to use Stalinist methods to try to deal with crises."

Interview with Hungarian opposition leader

The following interview with Miklos Haraszti, editor of the major Hungarian dissident publication, *Beszelo* (Discussion) was obtained in April. We have translated it from a German text.

Question. At the beginning of April, the international wire services reported that the homes of a number of well-known oppositionists in Hungary were searched. What concretely has happened in these last weeks?

Answer. On March 29 and 30 all six homes in which Samizdat is openly produced were searched.

The police proceeded in a very systematic way, confiscating a lot of books, manuscripts, and typescripts. At my place, the operation started at 2:30 a.m. and lasted until 4:00 a.m., when I was taken to the police station at Tolnai, where I was interrogated until 8:00 a.m.

There are continual identity checks. On the night of April 7, Laszlo Rajk and Gabor Demzsky were stopped on the road by six police and finally threatened with pistols, when they refused to tell them where their manuscripts were. Both of them have made formal complaints.

On the following night, Demzsky's home was searched again. Obviously after the search the night before, nothing was found.

Unlike the searches last December, the police have gotten six indictments against us under the press law.

Q. Is this likely to lead to trials?

A. That is possible if we deny the charges or appeal the judgments.

Q. Has it been possible to continue the sale of samizdat at Laszlo Rajk's new apartment?

A. Every Tuesday, there are so many cops in front of the place that people can hardly buy anything. In practice, it is hard to see how we can keep the Shop going.

Q. To what extent have the police succeeded since December in restricting the circulation of samizdat?

A. The police must have been furious that we did not retreat. Issue 5/6 of *Beszelo* has come out. And a new magazine called *AB Tajekoztato* has begun publication. However, on March 29, they confiscated everything that was on sale that evening, which was quite a lot — around 200 copies of *Beszelo* and a few hundred of *AB Tajekoztato*.

Q. How has the discussion on the positions of the opposition developed in recent months?

A. For the first time in the history of the Hungarian opposition, in the lead article of No. 5/6 of *Beszelo*, we put forward a concrete program for reform.

This makes it impossible for the party leadership to claim that the democratic opposition is banking on a catastrophe.

We argued that no real economic reform is possible so long as the working class has no real representatives. There is no one with whom the government can discuss necessary price increases or cuts in the standard of living that are imposed by the world economic situation.

The sort of commandism that has prevailed up till now makes it impossible to test how much of a burden the working class is prepared to take.

Q. Does that mean that you want independent unions?

A. We have said that we want gradual progress. The leadership cannot get away with saying that what we are demanding today means a kind of Polish revolution or even a development that is unacceptable to Moscow.

The first phase that we propose is a democratization of the lowest levels of the trade unions. This could be tested for three or four years, and then the experiment could be re-discussed. Naturally, we also want a press reform, so as to clarify the status of periodicals such as ours, and so that all reform groups and discussion groups can disseminate information.

We do not want to take up questions such as the leading role of the Party or Moscow's role in our political life. What we want is a limited area of democratic reform in the interests of all. It would be in the interest of the bureaucracy because it would keep the economic crisis from sliding into a political catastrophe. It would also be in the interests of those who hope for a democratic future for Hungary.

Q. Are there signs that such proposals are striking a chord among the workers?

A. I haven't heard anything about an organized movement. But it is clear that the sort of proposals we are making are popular, and that the major cause of the generally low work morale is the workers' lack of representation.

Q. How much influence does samizdat have outside the intelligentsia?

A. About a thousand copies of *Beszelo* are produced, and every copy is read by twenty to thirty people. What we write does not represent an extremist point of view but expresses what the entire reform intelligentsia and large sections of the youth are thinking. With the development of samizdat, a whole area of critical culture has arisen, that the regime can no longer wipe out so easily.

Samizdat has taken up a whole series of questions, such as the treatment of the Hungarian minorities in Romania and Czechoslovakia. In this area, the government's policy is disastrous. It says

nothing about these problems, and thereby fosters chauvinist and even irredentist sentiments.

The TV and even the press is allowed to talk about the neighboring peoples in a xenophobic way. And in the Budapest cafes, they crack jokes about stupid Romanians. This dangerous tendency can only be countered by open discussion, that may often be rather difficult. Of course, it is also necessary to talk about the Gypsies, Romanians, and Slovaks in Hungary. The educational facilities for these minorities are by no means as good as the government claims.

Q. In the West, the general picture people have of Hungary is one of a politically liberal and economically successful country. How can the democratic opposition base its perspectives on the need to deal with a severe economic crisis?

A. Of course, Hungary still has a good credit rating. And this year that made it possible for us to maintain our balance of payments. But last November for the first time the government had to announce that the standard of living was going to go down.

With the present methods of economic management, it may be possible to avoid the sort of bankruptcy Poland and Romania have fallen into, but not a deadly stagnation that will last for long years.

The government knows that without a fundamental economic reform we will face such stagnation. By reform, I mean decentralization of the management in the big plants, a real market-oriented and not administrative management of industry, and an acceleration of the change in product mix (That is, in the introduction of new products — IV). The government needs reforms; what is lacking is the political courage to undertake them and to accept the political consequences. Because it is impossible to undertake these reforms unless the workers and all those affected have the opportunity to express their interests freely and to negotiate on that basis.

Q. Have you drawn any conclusions about the increased repression yet?

A. In December, we thought that it was just a concession to Andropov and Moscow. That was obviously wrong. More is involved than that. It has been made physically impossible for the Shop to continue to function. It depends on Laszlo Rajk what the next step is there. A new distribution system must be found. We are determined not to stop samizdat production. We consider the existence of free expression as a national achievement. It represents a need for thousands who simply can no longer tolerate the culture of the big lie. The wider the sphere of free thought is, the greater the boldness of the official writers. And in this way, we can help keep Hungary on the reform course and counterbalance the government's deepseated instinct to resort to Stalinist methods to deal with crises. ■



AROUND THE WORLD



BIG TURN OUT AT AUSTRALIAN MARX CONFERENCE

Direct Action staff writer Roger Miles reports on a recent Marx commemoration event in Australia.

A successful Karl Marx Centenary Conference was held in Melbourne, Australia, over the Easter weekend.

The conference organising committee involved the Socialist Workers Party, the Australian section of the Fourth International.

Seven hundred and sixty seven people registered to hear 61 talks and panels on various aspects of Marxism.

These ranged from how to build political solidarity with Vietnam and the independence movement in New Caledonia, to the history of the Australian labor movement, the Palestinian struggle, and the fight against war today.

Other topics debated included varying theories of women's oppression, different currents of philosophy in Western Marxism, and the relationship between Marxism and art.

The conference heard five feature talks on Marx and Marxism.

Two of these were given by Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International, and a well-known Marxist economist.

In his first talk Mandel explained why the working class is still, as Marx expressed it, the "gravedigger of capitalism."

More than 800 people heard Mandel speak on the present world recession, and how it confirmed all of Marx's analyses of capitalism made last century.

Equally enthusiastically received were two lectures given by another international guest, Pedro Camejo, an International Executive Committee member of the Fourth International.

Camejo's talk on the Central American revolutions explained why they were key to the class struggle today.

His later talk on the coming revolution in the US emphasized the class forces at work that would spell the end for US capitalism.

The final feature talk was by Jim Percy, national secretary of the SWP, who explained why the struggle for Marxism in our time is necessarily the struggle for a Leninist party. ■

SAVE NICK KELLY PROTEST MAY 14

Nicky Kelly has been on hunger strike since May 1. Despite widespread protest from human rights organisations, including Amnesty International, prominent labour movement figures, a number of members of parliament, and other well known individuals and organisations, the Irish Government has refused to make any move to release him.

Kelly, a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, has been convicted and imprisoned for a mail train robbery in 1976 which he denies having committed and for which the Provisional IRA claimed responsibility in 1979 (see *International Viewpoint* No 26, March 21, 1983).

Those tried and convicted with him had their convictions thrown out on appeal when their signed 'confessions', the only evidence against them as against Kelly, were disallowed as evidence.

At the time of his appeal Nicky

Kelly was certified as suffering from a severe anxiety neurosis. He is in a weakened and debilitated state and his hunger strike could come to a rapid and tragic end.

The Nicky Kelly committee is appealing for international support, and in particular for May 14 to be a day of international solidarity. Pickets outside Irish embassies or consulates on this day, together with messages of protest to the Minister of Justice, Dr Michael Noonan, Government Buildings, Dublin 2, Ireland, are urgently needed to put pressure on the government, who could exercise their power to release him.

Send details of actions taken and copies of messages to the Release Nicky Kelly Committee at: 11 Grange Terrace, Blackrock, County Dublin, Ireland. ■

TURIN CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND WORK

Over 650 women attended the first international meeting of "Produce and Reproduce: Women and Work in industrial countries" in Turin, Italy on April 23, 24 and 25.

Conference participants came from throughout western Europe, as well as from Australia and the United States.

Organized by the Turin women's movement: the feminist collectives, the 'Intercategoriale' (trade-union women's caucus) and the UDI (Union of Italian women) (see *IV* No 25, March 7, 1983), this conference was an overwhelming success.

Workshops covered the whole range of what women and work can mean. They included: salaried or wage earning women, self-employed women, house work or domestic labor, new technologies, social services, family and work, sexual identity and self-perception, culture and the cultural industry, feminism and power/women and politics and sexism at work and in politics.

"I'm tired of fighting against everything, I want to fight for something," one woman said. This seemed to express the attitude of the majority of women

and expressed one of the goals of the Turin conference.

Workshop proposals included establishing an international women's newsletter, a data bank in London, a documentation center in Turin and a women's press agency.

The most concrete action proposal came from the Belgian delegation, 'Femmes contre la crise' (women against the crisis), which judging by the signatures on the mailing list, represented the kind of action women felt needs taking up. The Belgian women proposed an international Tribunal in Brussels against all of the discriminatory policies toward women for March 8, 1984, followed, most likely, in the autumn of 1984 by a European-wide demonstration focusing on the specific demands of women and how they are affected by the crisis.

A letter of solidarity with the 13 women fired from the Belgian firm Bekaert Cokerill for fighting their employers and trade-union officials against imposed part-time work was sent.

International Viewpoint will be printing a more extensive report on the Turin conference in a coming issue. ■

The roots of the arms race lie therefore first of all in the economic crisis of the capitalist system and the necessity to maintain imperialist order against workers struggles and the inevitable explosions of oppressed peoples driven to desperation. The often-argued Soviet military superiority, and the threat it is supposed to pose for the 'free' world, are only pretexts to justify the escalation of the war drive.

On the basis of the work of certain American experts, it can be established that:

— The United States still has more nuclear warheads than the Soviet Union.

— With the development of the new missiles, the US government is aiming for further qualitative superiority over Soviet nuclear armament. The Pershing II are to be used above all for a first strike surprise attack against the Soviet Union. Because of their more limited explosive power and because of their greater accuracy, they can be used for 'regionalising' atomic wars, that is to say, to make them 'limited, manageable and accessible'. They therefore reveal the aim of imperialism's new arms race — to exert its military power also in regions which are distant from the American continent. The logic of deterrence is thus proved to be a logic of blackmail.

— The difference in percentage of their respective Gross National Products spent on arms by the USA and the USSR, which the imperialists often use as an argument, is meaningless. While declared American arms spending is 7% of the GNP and estimated USSR spending 15% of the GNP, the American GNP is *double* the Soviet GNP. Thus, in absolute terms, imperialist military spending is greater than USSR spending. Soviet military expenditure is a great burden on the Soviet Union to the point of worsening economic and food supply problems. Furthermore, SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) statistics indicate that in 1980 NATO was responsible for 43% of world arms spending as against 26% for the Warsaw Pact.

Imperialism is still the principal warmonger and the main threat to peace.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE

For its part, the military policy of the bureaucracy in power in the USSR and the East European countries has a reactionary dimension which is a consequence of its domestic and foreign policy:

— A foreign policy based not on mil-

itant internationalism, on solidarity between workers and peoples throughout the world but on pacts and agreements of coexistence or division of the world with imperialism.

— A domestic policy anchored not in the democratic mobilisation of the masses but on the negation of the most elementary political, trade union or national rights as shown by the Soviet intervention in Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and Jaruzelski's tough crackdown on the Polish workers (1981).

That is why we are in solidarity with the currents of opposition to the arms race which have appeared in East Germany, and in a more limited way in other East European countries. The development of such currents would be an enormous encouragement for the anti-war movement in Western Europe and would strike a blow against imperialism a thousand times more deadly than a few more Soviet missiles. By demanding public and democratic control over defence and foreign policy, a mass anti-war movement independent of the state in East Europe would inevitably take on an anti-bureaucratic dynamic.

ONLY MASS ACTION CAN FORCE THE WARMONGERS TO RETREAT:

Nuclear war looms as an unprecedented danger for humanity. Neither protests nor maintaining the balance of terror are guarantees against the outbreak of such a war.

As long as imperialist governments have such murderous instruments at their disposal the danger of nuclear holocaust will continue.

The only chance of preventing war is to disarm the warmongers by overthrowing capitalism where it is strongest. This is the task and duty of workers inside these countries.

The struggle against the war drive is everybody's affair — workers on the receiving end of austerity policies and unemployment, women suffering exploitation and oppression, and young people condemned to unemployment and military service. It is far too serious a question to be left in the hands of diplomats or sorted out between governments in secret summit negotiations. *Only mobilisation can hold back the warmongers.*

In 1982 and spring 1983 millions of workers, women, and youth mobilised throughout Europe in demonstrations against the deployment of nuclear missiles, as in Great Britain, West Ger-

many, Belgium, Holland, Italy and Denmark, and for the rejection of NATO and the removal of its bases in the Spanish State and Greece.

But demonstrations are not enough. To mobilise the masses, the struggle has to be organised in the workplaces, in the schools and factories. Often local, or even regional, trade-union bodies have passed motions and supported this spring's demonstrations. Many trade-union leaders have spoken out in these actions. We must build on this, proposing actions that can mobilise the mass of workers — proposals like a one hour or 24 hour strike as are being discussed today in the Dutch workers movement.

Agreement on the broadest and most united basis can be reached in Western Europe against the deployment of nuclear missiles scheduled for the end of the year.

1. From Comiso in Sicily to Greenham Common in Great Britain say no to Pershing and Cruise Missiles!

2. Remove the NATO bases! Dismantle American forward bases in Europe! Down with the Turkish dictatorship which is making Turkey a fortress for imperialism in the region!

3. No to French and British nuclear weapons which are an integral part of the imperialist military apparatus!

4. For a nuclear-free Europe from Poland to Portugal, from Sicily to Scandinavia!

5. For massive cuts in military spending, total nationalisation and reconversion of the arms industries — Jobs not Bombs!

6. Full support for democratic rights for soldiers enrolled in the bourgeois army and for workers subject to the special laws which place restrictions on hiring or on trade unions in the arms industries!

7. Stop imperialist intervention in Central America!

The Fourth International and its sections are fully engaged in the battle against the war drive and austerity. Throughout Europe one united voice must be raised to say no to the deployment of the missiles and to military spending, to oppose the effects of the crisis (unemployment, cuts in wages and social services, racist agitation of rightwing forces). On each important occasion this voice should be heard. For the Autumn the mobilisations which have developed in different countries should take a new step forward in coordination by the organisation of a large European-wide demonstration.

The European sections of the Fourth International will commit all the forces at their disposal to this battle. ■

GIM (Gruppe Internationale Marxisten - FDR) — GRM (Gruppe Revolutionaere Marxisten - Austria) — IKB (Internationale Kommunistenbond - Netherlands) — LCR (Liga Comunista Revolucionaria - Spanish State) — LCR (Ligue communiste revolutionnaire - France) — LCR (Lega Comunista Rivoluzionaria -Italy) — LRT/RTL (Ligue revolutionnaire des travailleurs/Revolutionaire Arbeidersliga - Belgium) — PSO/SAP/PSL (Parti socialiste ouvrier/Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei/Partido Socialista dei Lavoratori - Switzerland) — SAP (Socialistik Arbejderparti - Denmark) — SL (Socialist League - Great Britain) — SP (Socialistiska Partiet - Sweden)

NO TO WAR!

No to Militarisation, no to Nuclear Missiles, no to NATO

The increasing militarisation of Ronald Reagan's United States no longer has any limits. The avowed aim is to definitively break the 'balance of terror' to the advantage of imperialism. The cost is astronomic. To implement the projects that have already been announced would mean doubling the military budget between now and the year 2000.

The offers to negotiate, such as the 'zero option' proposal last autumn (see International Viewpoint No 21, January 10, 1983) or the proposal of an 'interim plan' made on March 30, 1983, are only smokescreens designed to disorient and demobilise the anti-war movement.

In practice the 'interim plan' only proposes to keep intact the nuclear force of the US and Nato while putting pressure on the USSR to reduce their nuclear arsenal.

These diversionary manoeuvres have not had much effect. Since the huge anti-war demonstration in Bonn in 1982, which drew 300,000 people, the level of mobilisation has continued to rise. In 1982 more than three million demonstrators marched in Europe, the US, and Japan. The Easter activities in 1983, particularly in West Germany and Great Britain, were new spectacular successes.

The objective dynamic, and the general tone of these movements, goes towards demanding unilateral disarmament by the imperialists. In Great Britain, like the trade unions and the Labour Party, CND has come out in favour of unilateral disarmament of the country. In Germany the Greens, who have just entered parliament, advocate 'the demilitarisation of West Germany, even if it has to be unilateral'.

Further mobilisations are envisaged throughout the year, and up until the new European elections in spring 1984. Conferences on disarmament will be held in Sweden in May, and in Denmark in September. A demonstration against the deployment of missiles is planned for France on June 19, as well as a march for peace in the United States in August. Autumn demonstrations are to be held in most European countries. Campaigns for referenda on the military budget or the missiles are presently going on in Switzerland and Italy.

During the congress of the Italian Communist Party, Enrico Berlinguer publicly proposed an international demonstration against the missiles for October 23 in Geneva. A European-wide initiative is in fact on the agenda for the autumn.

All these questions could be debated at the conference organised by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and the European Nuclear Disarmament movement (END) in Berlin for May 9-14.

The following declaration by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the sections present, was distributed at the Berlin conference.

1983 will be a decisive year in the struggle against the deployment of new missiles in Europe and for the development of the anti-war movement. Confronted with the escalation of the war drive by the United States and the other imperialist powers the mobilisation for disarmament has continued to grow. After the three million who took part in the 1982 demonstrations in Europe, United States and in Japan, this year's Easter actions were again spectacularly successful. We must do everything possible to build this mobilisation in order to defeat the criminal plans of Reagan, Thatcher and company by imposing the demand of unilateral disarmament.

Reagan can already push the button on a stock of nuclear arms with a firepower equivalent to nearly one million Hiroshimas. And he is still not satisfied! From 1980 to 1983 American military spending increased by 12 per cent a year in real terms, going from 142 to 257 billion dollars. This mad race to the holocaust shows the true face of imperialists — which they have tried to mask by hypocritical declarations on human rights.

The true nature of imperialism is the escalation of militarisation and nuclear arms production. It is the all out mobilisation of economic resources, brains, and technology in the service of destruction. The neutron bomb alone incarnates the obscenity of decaying capitalism — its complex mechanism destroys people while protecting property. What a proof that in this system property rights always finish up overriding real human rights!

The West European capitalist states fall in behind the US government in the nuclear arms race. Great Britain has decided on an expansion programme equipping its submarines with Trident missiles which are first strike weapons like the Pershing II and Cruise missiles. The French government plans a shift in its military strategy towards a larger nuclear strike force. The generals call it 'forward defence'. This strategy also involves the creation of a 50,000-strong rapid action force, almost identical in conception to the US rapid deployment force. If the Roger's Plan for Europe is implemented, this would mean a massive build up of conventional weapons in all

West European countries.

Imperialism is not just the potential Hiroshimas stocked in the silos, the submarines or the nuclear bombers, it is also the 'silent Hiroshimas' of misery and hunger caused by the plunder of the colonial and semi-colonial countries: 40,000 children die each day in these countries — mostly from malnutrition.

The real face of imperialism is the austerity programmes which are attacking the workers of the capitalist countries more and more sharply while their governments increase military spending. In France, a Socialist Party-Communist Party government is preparing the production of the neutron bomb and has just adopted a five-year military budget of 120 billion dollars. At the same time it attacks the sliding scale of wages, the social security system and employment. The slogan 'Jobs not Bombs!' which has been taken up in the big anti-nuclear mobilisations sums up the necessary link between the struggle against the arms race and the struggle against capitalist austerity policy.

Finally, the reality of imperialism is not only the threat of a nuclear apocalypse but is also, and above all, the war of aggression being waged at this moment by imperialism against the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples. Today the USA and the CIA are directly involved in armed aggression against revolutionary Nicaragua. The US government openly supports the Salvadoran and Guatemalan dictatorships. The Salvadoran regime is already responsible for 50,000 deaths in three years, i.e. the equivalent of 500,000 dead for populations the size of those in France, Germany or Great Britain...in addition to El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Grenada, which are also threatened, the Cuban revolution is in the firing line of Yankee imperialism. In the Middle East, Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister, was able to launch his invasion of Lebanon and his attempt to annihilate the Palestinian resistance because he had American material and political support.

THE REAL CAUSES OF THE ARMS RACE

The saturation media coverage given to Reagan or Thatcher's proposals and the large-scale diplomatic manoeuvres around the Geneva negotiations cannot silence the sounds of battle from these ongoing interventions and wars.

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