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**FIDEL CASTRO'S
SPEECH TO THE
UNITED NATIONS**

**I SPEAK
ON BEHALF
OF THE
CHILDREN
OF THE
WORLD
WHO DON'T
EVEN HAVE
A PIECE
OF BREAD**

**STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
NICARAGUA: REVOLUTION
ON THE MARCH**

NEWS ANALYSIS

Feed the Starving Kampuchean People!

By Fred Feldman

"France has decided to provide Cambodia with 10,000 tons of rice," reported the Paris daily *Le Monde* October 5.

Although the government of Giscard d'Estaing was quick to airlift French troops to the Central African Republic to install a more reliable puppet in office, the pittance of aid for the starving Kampuchean people is going by boat.

And the Carter administration has yet to provide the Kampuchean people with a single ounce from U.S. bumper crops.

The Kampuchean people need 7,000 tons of rice a week to survive. They are not getting it.

What is behind this criminal withholding of desperately needed food?

The imperialist media, from the *New York Times* to *Le Monde*, have a ready answer. Adopting a high moral tone, they berate the "cynical" governments of Kampuchea and Vietnam.

But facts are stubborn things. And facts show that Vietnam has provided more food to Kampuchea than the United States, Britain, France, and West Germany combined—even though the Vietnamese masses themselves suffer from malnutrition.

And the Kampuchean government has no food to distribute.

It is the Carter administration and its European and Japanese allies that are holding back food supplies that could be airlifted into Kampuchea overnight.

They are using starvation in an effort to bring down the government of Heng Samrin and install one more amenable to imperialist interests. Carter administration policy has become so open in this regard that it embarrassed the editors of the *Washington Post*. They wrote on October 5:

But before the West concludes in a fine fury that Hanoi's cynicism has doomed those Cambodians who survived Pol Pot, one more close look at the dilemma needs to be made. . . .

When Vietnam invaded Cambodia and pushed Pol Pot out of Phnom Penh, the United States became a sort of secondhand uncle to him, notwithstanding his monstrous crimes against his people. To strengthen its ties with China and to embarrass Hanoi, the administration shifted its propaganda from the crimes of Pol Pot to the illegitimacy of Heng Samrin. It has favored the seating of Pol Pot, not Heng Samrin, in international bodies. It now opposes sending food aid directly to or through Heng Samrin, on grounds that he and Hanoi will use it to feed their own soldiers and supporters, not the mass of Cambodians gnawing at roots and dying by the side of the road.

The results of this policy, in Cambodian terms, are plain. Not only has the United States forfeited an opportunity to draw Heng Samrin into humanitarian relief; it also finds itself in indirect complicity with the loathsome Pol Pot.

The United States, the United Nations,

and the International Red Cross stall on aid to the Pnompenh regime because some food might be eaten by "supporters" of Heng Samrin. But they are much more lenient with the aid program they have established for Khmer Rouge enclaves near the Thai border, where only a small minority of Kampuchean live.

A CBS television news report from the Thai-Kampuchean border October 9 revealed that Khmer Rouge soldiers get most of the food. Australian Broadcasting Company correspondent Nigel Starke has stated that Australia's rice shipments, too, are going to Pol Pot's forces.

Pilger: 'U.S., Britain Are Starving Cambodia'

[The following was published as a letter to the editor in the October 14 issue of the British *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. John Pilger's series of articles on famine-stricken Kampuchea has appeared in the London *Daily Mirror*, *Boston Globe*, and *New York Post*. Extensive excerpts from it were printed in last week's issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

I am one of the few journalists to have travelled extensively in Cambodia for a long time, I realise that small nations are expendable under the rules of the game of power politics, and that official lying is part of the game.

However, to witness the enormity of the human tragedy in Cambodia and then to return to London and read of craven attempts, on both sides of the Atlantic, to deceive on the question of aid, is to be consumed by a sense of helplessness and anger.

The people of Cambodia, who are mostly starving children, are being allowed to die because Western governments, and especially the United States, do not wish to be seen giving even de facto recognition to the Heng Samrin government in Phnom Penh. This was made clear at the United Nations a fortnight ago when America orchestrated the charade of support for a Chinese motion to continue recognition of the Pol Pot regime, which no longer exists and which was responsible for the deaths of more than two million people.

Britain, to its lasting shame, voted to support perhaps the most thorough mass murderers since Hitler. China, the principal backers of the monstrous Pol Pot, is of course the current trade and strategic darling of the West and must not be displeased.

Both the International Red Cross and UNICEF have bent to these politics,

whose aim is, as the Guardian outlined (Leader [editorial], September 30), "to structure aid to Cambodia in such a way as to give minimum legitimacy to Heng Samrin and maximum help to Pol Pot." While its relief people have done virtually nothing, the public relations men of the International Red Cross have been hard at work. On September 27 the Guardian reported a Red Cross announcement that the "deadlock" over aid had been broken. This is untrue.

The Red Cross announcement (which embarrassed its partner, UNICEF) was merely kite-flying; the Red Cross is putting only six officials into Phnom Penh and it remains as intransigent as ever on the political strings attached to its proposed relief "programme." The PR men in Geneva no doubt hoped to create the illusion that the International Red Cross was at last doing its job.

Since the Phnom Penh government appealed for specific quantities of food and drugs *three months ago*, the International Red Cross, by its own admission, has sent only 100 tons of relief: in effect, almost nothing.

All those who connive in the denial of relief to Cambodia, including those who write the lies in Foreign Office handouts about "political obstruction," when the obstruction is theirs, and those American syndicated columnists who knowingly publish State Department propaganda on the same baseless theme, will bear some of the responsibility for the death by starvation and related diseases of *at least* a million people by Christmas.

The cries of fleshless children are unrelenting in Cambodia today; I have heard them; unfortunately, they cannot be heard in Geneva, Washington, and Whitehall [British Foreign Office].

John Pilger,
Daily Mirror,
London EC1.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk—who hopes to march back to power as a “third force” over the starved bodies of the Kampuchean people—also opposes sending aid to those living under Heng Samrin on the phony grounds that “it will all be stolen by the Vietnamese for their soldiers.”

According to a dispatch from Peking in the October 12 *New York Times*, the Prince disclosed that he had sent a cablegram to Washington urging President Carter not to send relief supplies to the Heng Samrin government.

In an effort to clean up the image of the Pol Pot forces before world opinion, Khmer Rouge leader Ieng Sary—now living in New York as Pol Pot's representative to the United Nations—has admitted some crimes of the ousted regime.

According to the October 8 issue of the pro-Peking U.S. weekly the *Call*, he cited “cases where peasants in the cooperatives were told to work at night in order to meet production levels, without the leadership taking into account the need for sufficient rest and relaxation. He has also spoken of situations in which contradictions among the people were perceived as contradictions with the enemy, the result being that purges and executions replaced political solutions to problems.”

Reporters who have visited enclaves controlled by the Khmer Rouge near the Thai border find that they haven't changed their spots.

Denis D. Gray wrote in a recent Associated Press dispatch that the Khmer Rouge “makes no concessions to those under its control. . . . despite a recent Pol Pot declaration promising many freedoms to those who join a united front.”

Recent refugees from Pol Pot's zones, Gray reported, say that “the penalty for attempted escape was to be beaten to death with staves ‘in order to save bullets.’”

Instead of providing massive food aid for Kampuchea, the U.S. imperialists and their allies are moving to escalate the bloodshed. The October 5 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, reporting an interview with Singapore's senior minister for foreign affairs, S. Dhanabalan, said that, in the view of the U.S.-dominated Association of Southeast Asian Nations, “some kind of peacekeeping force, such as the UN forces, may be necessary (in Kampuchea) to ensure law and order. . . .”

Dhanabalan, they said, agreed with “China's point of view” that “the only way to force Vietnam to talk . . . is to keep the Pol Pot forces going. If the Vietnamese offensive against Pol Pot looks successful, China is not likely to stand idle and watch it happen.”

Washington is certainly not standing idle. Massive U.S. arms shipments and U.S. “advisers” are pouring into Thailand. The Kriangsak military dictatorship is building up the Thai army for further action to help save the remnants of Pol Pot's murder squads. □

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WORLDWIDE CAMPAIGN FOR AID TO NICARAGUA



Statement by the Fourth International

The overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship by a mass popular insurrection led by the FSLN and the development of the Nicaraguan revolution in its opening weeks have inspired the oppressed and exploited the world over. Once more the American imperialist colossus has been dealt a heavy blow by a heroic people determined to overcome all obstacles and take their own destiny in hand.

But imperialism and its Nicaraguan agents exacted a brutal price before being driven from their bunker:

- More than 35,000 dead in the last year alone.

- Some 100,000 wounded, of whom 60,000 are in need of intensive care.

- \$80 million worth of damage to the hospitals, schools, and social services of the country.

- One million people—40 percent of the population—without adequate food today.

- A 37 percent decline in agricultural production for 1970-80, due to the disruption of the civil war.

- Seed crops and poultry eaten in desperation, and cattle herds decimated.

- More than 25 percent of all industrial plants severely damaged by Somoza's bombs.

- More than half the active population unemployed.

- The national treasury emptied by Somoza and his criminal cohorts as they fled the country.

Even to avert widespread famine in the coming months, the Nicaraguan government estimates that more than 400 tons of food a day are needed until new crops can be planted and their fruit harvested.

Meanwhile imperialism is preparing not massive humanitarian aid but inhuman economic coercion and new military assaults.

While thousands of Somoza's national guardsmen stand waiting across the border of Honduras, the imperialist governments and agencies are doling out aid with an eyedropper, hoping to increase the economic and political difficulties of the new Nicaraguan government. The imperialists are attempting to channel their pitiful amounts of aid away from official government channels and away from the popular distribution network established by the Sandinista Defense Committees.

They want their money and food and medicine to be funnelled into private hands and used to strengthen the capitalist forces.

The Nicaraguan revolution needs the active political and material solidarity of the world working class in order to survive. It can be decisive in the outcome of the revolutionary process that is now unfolding.

The Fourth International intends to throw its forces and all those it can influence into the balance.

We call on the entire workers movement and all anti-imperialist forces the world over to come to the aid of the Nicaraguan people.

We demand that the imperialist governments, especially those most directly re-

sponsible for the devastation of the Nicaraguan economy, provide whatever economic, agricultural, and medical aid is asked for by the Government of National Reconstruction—without conditions, without strings attached.

We call on the mass organizations of the workers movement and the small farmers to make resources available to aid their Nicaraguan brothers and sisters.

We call on the governments of the workers states to take up Cuba's challenge for socialist competition to see who can provide the most aid to the Nicaraguan revolution.

The sections and sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International will spare no effort to organize the broadest united front campaign of solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

Nicaragua will not stand alone!

Rebuilding Nicaragua's Educational System

By Gary Bridges

Nicaragua's schools, like the clinics, hospitals, and anything else that served the needs of the population, took a terrible beating during the war.

In many areas, schools were used as shelters against the bombing and strafing by the National Guard's air force. Schools were also transformed into clinics and centers to organize and direct the resistance by the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

For the National Guard, any school they themselves did not occupy was considered a military target. As a consequence, the vast majority of schools suffered damage during the insurrection.

According to Alberto Suhr, the architect who directs the Ministry of Education's school reconstruction program, the National Guard completely destroyed twelve of the seventy-nine grammar schools in Nicaragua. Another twenty-eight were more than half destroyed. Of the remaining thirty-nine, two-thirds suffered some damage.

Rebuilding these schools is a major concern of the new Ministry of Education. But their long range plans must also respond to the institutionalized

deficiencies and gross neglect that characterized the old system.

The outline for the changes envisioned is contained in the general program of the Government of National Reconstruction. It includes the following:

- Free, compulsory education through high school.

- Eradication of illiteracy.

- Establishment of vocational schools in the cities.

- Establishment of rural education centers.

- Price controls on all books and school materials.

- Respect for the autonomy of the national university.

- Regulation of private educational institutions.

It is in the area of the literacy campaign that the government has planned its most extensive effort. In this it will have the aid of a Cuban team of experts for the entire two years the program is expected to last.

According to an agreement signed recently, Cuba will send 1,000 or more specialized teachers and pay their expenses for the duration of the program.

Solidarity Committee Formed in New Zealand

[The following article by Monica Evans appeared in the October 5 issue of the New Zealand Trotskyist newspaper, *Socialist Action*.]

* * *

A committee is to be established in Auckland to defend the Nicaraguan revolution and to assist other groups providing aid to the country.

George Jackson, National Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party; Doug McCallum, Chairman of the Otahuhu branch of the National Union of Railwaymen; Russell Johnson, National Secretary of the Socialist Action League; and Colin McFadzean, Resource Officer for the Auckland University Students Association have signed an

open letter explaining the situation in Nicaragua.

After outlining what has happened there in the last few months, and the huge tasks facing the workers and peasants in building a new society, the letter outlines the measures that are necessary to assist the people of Nicaragua.

- The need to defend the Nicaraguan revolution by getting out the facts about what is happening.

- The need to provide aid in the form of cash donations, food, clothing and medical supplies.

- The need to explain the danger of an intervention by the US and be prepared to publicly oppose any move to interfere in the process of building a new Nicaragua. □



Gary Bridges/IP-1

A group of workers repairing street in Managua. U.S. railworkers demanded "unconditional reconstruction aid for the rebuilding of a free and democratic Nicaragua."

U.S. Trade Unionists Demand Aid

[The following resolution, which was printed in the October 12 issue of the American Trotskyist weekly, the *Militant*, was passed September 27 by Lodge 1906 of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC). BRAC Lodge 1906, in Washington, D.C., represents 500 workers, 70 percent of whom are Black.]

* * *

WHEREAS, the people of Nicaragua have paid a great price for their freedom from the Somoza dictatorship; the vast destruction wrought by Somoza and his

National Guard have left the country in a desperate situation;

Three hundred tons of food per day are needed to stave off the threat of starvation and medicines, tools, and clothing are also urgently needed;

As a final act of robbing the Nicaraguan people, Somoza drained the national treasury before he fled and thus left the country in bankruptcy; the agricultural and industrial sectors have been severely disrupted and;

WHEREAS, the United States being the richest country in the world, and also that

UN Releases Report on Nicaraguan Economy

A 131-page report on the state of the Nicaraguan economy has been released by the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America. The report gives statistical information on the losses suffered by the Nicaraguan people and economy as a result of Somoza's scorched-earth policy during the popular uprising against the dictator.

Destruction of housing, schools, hospitals, power plants, communications systems, factories, and commercial buildings is detailed.

In addition to immediate aid required to feed the population, institute basic health-care programs, and get the economy functioning again, the report recommends the following urgent aid programs:

- \$150 million for minimal reserves for the Central Bank;

- \$100 million for agricultural and livestock production;

- \$100 million for rural development and agrarian reform;

- \$75 million to restore industrial facilities;

- \$37 million for repair and rebuilding of homes;

- \$37.7 million to restore cattle herds and related equipment;

- \$29 million for schools;

- \$25 million to aid export industries;

- \$20 million to repair and rebuild hospitals;

- \$22 million for telecommunications.

In addition, more than \$50 million is needed for fertilizers, repair of electrical and transport systems, pesticides, and other requirements, according to the Economic Commission's estimates.

country responsible for having installed and supported the Somoza dynasty has shown a mediocre response toward the tremendous needs of the Nicaraguan people;

THEREFORE, be resolved, that Lodge 1906 BRAC, the citizens and trade unionists who produce the wealth of this country, call on the President and Congress to live up to U.S. promises to support Nicaragua by *immediately increasing food aid* and by granting generous *unconditional* reconstruction aid for the rebuilding of a free and democratic Nicaragua;

FURTHERMORE, BRAC Lodge 1906 supports D.C. NICA's [Nicaragua Solidarity Coalition] and any other efforts to educate the American people about the reality of Nicaragua today and would like to be listed as a cosponsor of the panel and film scheduled to take place Sunday, October 21, at All Souls Church "Nicaragua: Then and Now."

Castro Voices Demands of 'Immense Majority of Humanity'

By Steve Clark

Speaking on behalf of "the immense majority of humanity" and the struggle "to eradicate poverty, hunger, disease, and illiteracy," Cuban President Fidel Castro addressed the United Nations General Assembly in New York October 12. He spoke in his capacity as president for the next three years of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries, which held its sixth summit meeting in Havana in September.

Castro's UN speech further advanced Cuba's growing world stature as champion and spokesperson of the workers and peasants throughout the colonial and semicolonial world in their fight against imperialist exploitation and domination. The Cuban government has earned this recognition not through speeches, however.

"Enough of words! Now to deeds," Castro demanded in his UN address. "Enough of abstractions. We now want concrete action!"

It is the anti-imperialist deeds and actions of Cuba's revolutionary government—in Africa, the Mideast, and Latin America—and its remarkable strides at home toward overcoming the social and economic legacies of imperialist oppression that have won such a reputation for the Cuban revolution among the toilers in the semicolonial countries.

The General Assembly gallery and meeting hall were packed, with onlookers filling all the seats and standing five-deep in the aisles. The listeners, most of them UN or mission employees from semicolonial countries, "interrupted Castro with applause 17 times and gave him a 1½-minute standing ovation at the end, punctuated with shouts of 'Fidel! Fidel!'" according to New York *Daily News* correspondent Stan Carter.

"The interruptions were unusual for a UN speech," Carter added. "The usual practice is to applaud a speaker only at the beginning and end of his address. Pope John Paul, who addressed the Assembly last week, was not interrupted."

Castro's audience was much larger than the overflow crowd in the General Assembly Hall, however. His appearance at the UN was a major international event, attracting interest around the world. Castro spoke as the representative of the oppressed majority of the world's population. His message was directed to them first of all, as well as to their oppressors.

The U.S. and Israeli delegates sat impassive, though obviously disgruntled, throughout the speech. Castro's appearance was boycotted by representatives of the Latin American dictatorships in Gua-

temala, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay; the apartheid regime of South Africa; and the Pol Pot tyranny that illegitimately retains the UN seat for Kampuchea.

Outside the UN building, 1,000 people, including Cubans living in the United States, had turned out in the rain and on only a few days notice to greet Castro and demand an end to the U.S. blockade of Cuba. At most, only twice that number of counterrevolutionaries showed up for a widely publicized anti-Castro rally. This was far short of the 10,000 to 20,000 they had hoped for. This, too, reflected the dramatic rise in the prestige of the Cuban revolution, even in the heartland of imperialism and within the Cuban community that has so long been intimidated by a small and unrepresentative minority of right-wing terrorists.

Victory for Cuba, Nicaragua

Castro's speech also dealt a blow to Washington's efforts to whip up an anti-Cuban hysteria to justify its war moves against Cuba, the Nicaraguan revolution, and popular struggles elsewhere in the Caribbean and Central America.

By laying bare the source of the conflicts between the imperialist powers, especially the United States, and the semicolonial world, and by forcefully defending the right of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to determine their own future, Castro's speech makes it more difficult for Washington to justify new aggression on pretexts such as the Soviet "combat brigade."

By further enhancing Cuba's prestige among the world's toilers, the Castro speech put added pressure on governments to condemn any U.S. aggression from the outset. The address registered Washington's growing isolation in the world, and the increasing success of Cuba in breaking out of its U.S.-imposed quarantine.

Castro explicitly acknowledged this significant fact of world politics in his UN address. "We appreciate the deep feeling and the universal resonance of the [Non-aligned] movement's recent denunciation in Havana of the hostile acts, pressures, and threats against Cuba by the United States," he said.

He singled out the decision at the Havana summit "to reject and condemn any attempt to create in the Caribbean a so-called 'security force,' a neocolonial mechanism which is incompatible with the sovereignty, peace, and security" of the nations of the Caribbean and Latin America.

He also thanked the Havana conference

for supporting Cuba's demand for the immediate U.S. return of Guantánamo.

The imperialists and big business media were painfully aware of the significance of Cuba's political triumph at the UN, following by only a month the stinging blow they had been dealt under Castro's leadership at the Havana conference.

Following that conference, *Time* magazine's diplomatic correspondent Strobe Talbott warned that, "If Castro should go to the U.N. this fall, he will appear as the foremost leader of the Third World. . . ."

Talbott's fears were confirmed. So were those of *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Louis Winitzer, writing on the eve of Castro's UN speech. Winitzer noted:

[Castro] addresses the United Nations General Assembly as the leader, not of a small Caribbean country at odds with the powerful United States, but as the leader of the nonaligned movement. . . . This fact represents for him personally, and for the Cuban revolution, an undeniable triumph.

His moral and diplomatic success will be enhanced by the fact that it is happening against the background of American saber rattling in the Caribbean and on the very shores of his island. His presence at the UN this week will symbolize in the eyes of many third-world nations the failure of the American policy that for nearly 20 years has tried to isolate Cuba diplomatically and economically.

Capitalists Are Worried

While some commentators in the capitalist press have vainly tried to present the speech as an attempt by Castro to present a new, toned-down "statesmanlike image," and as a retreat from his opening speech in Havana, this portrayal was belied by the lead *New York Times* editorial the day following the address.

"Little that Mr. Castro said at the United Nations yesterday was contrived to soften American attitudes," said the *Times*. "The Cuban President has often found it profitable to nourish American enmity; he may still find it so. Without his well-advertised defiances of the Yankee giant, he would not be such a global hero and might not have so great a claim on Soviet subsidies."

The *Times* editors don't explain how Cuba has "profited" from Washington's economic blockade, repeated assassination attempts, orchestration of counterrevolutionary invasions, other military threats.

The reference to Castro as a "global hero" is a tipoff that what really worries the *Times* and its ruling-class backers is the authority Cuba has won through its solidarity with the oppressed around the

world. They bemoan the fact that Washington's hostility to Cuba "is widely perceived as hostility to all radical social change." They refer to "the palpable American suspicion that any nationalist leader may turn out to be a Communist" and "the haunting fear of creating 'another Cuba.'"

The *Times* editors offer no solution to this dilemma facing their class. While they raise the idea of relaxation of the blockade against Cuba, they note, "To the extent that the Cubans have eagerly answered African calls for help, they are hardly disposed to trade their third-world camaraderie for some American pottage."

And despite Cuba's desire for normal diplomatic relations and an end to the U.S. blockade, it has made clear both in word and deed that it won't trade its support for anti-imperialist struggles for anything more than "pottage" either.

"Once again," Castro told the General Assembly, "we respond to our brothers, and we assure the international community that Cuba will remain true to the principles of international solidarity."

And if Castro's speech didn't make that message clear, his meeting at the Cuban Mission with recently freed Puerto Rican Nationalists Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Irving Flores certainly should have. "As long as there is a single Puerto Rican who supports independence, we will back them up," Castro said, with his arm around Lebrón.

Castro's UN speech also demonstrated the absurdity of capitalist propaganda branding the Cuban government a "satellite" of the Kremlin. Castro himself commented on the irony of this slander during his recent interview on the CBS television program, "60 Minutes."

"Why, if we are a satellite country, is so much attention paid to Cuba?" Castro asked correspondent Dan Rather. "And it is obvious that the U.S. government, in the political field, is practically paying more attention to Cuba than to the Soviet Union. So, then unquestionably, we are facing a strange case of a satellite."

Even the *Times* editorial obliquely acknowledged Castro's point, remarking that "this charismatic leader of an essentially weak country has driven the United States into one frenzy after another, more, really, than any other Communist head of state."

Despite the *Times*'s pretense at puzzlement over this fact, it's not a difficult one to explain.

Right to Revolution

The reason is that Cuba's revolutionary anti-imperialism is the opposite of Moscow's policy of subordinating and betraying the world revolution in pursuit of a live-and-let-live status quo with imperialism. And the American ruling class knows that.

Castro's UN speech from start to finish was an eloquent defense of the right to rebellion, the right to revolution.

"As revolutionaries," Castro said, "we are not afraid of confrontation. We have placed our trust in history and peoples."

"Bombs may kill the hungry, the sick, and the ignorant," he said at the conclusion of the address, "but bombs cannot kill hunger, disease, and ignorance. Nor can bombs kill the righteous rebellion of the peoples. And in the holocaust, the rich, who are the ones who have the most to lose in this world, will also die."

"I have not come here as a prophet of the revolution," Castro said. "I have not come here to ask or to wish that the world be violently convulsed. I have come to speak of peace and cooperation among peoples. And I have come to warn that if we do not peacefully and wisely solve and eliminate the present injustices and inequalities, the future will be apocalyptic."

This is the stance of any revolutionist: The exploited and oppressed do not seek confrontation. We do not seek violence. We seek justice, equality, and a better life. If the rich and powerful deny us that, we have every right to fight for it. And if they use violence to keep us down, they—are responsible for the consequences.

Peace with Justice

When Castro advocates peaceful coexistence, as he did at the UN, he means by it the Leninist policy of normal relations between states. He does not mean, as the Stalinists do, peaceful relations between classes, between social systems, between the oppressed and their oppressor.

"You cannot speak of peace on behalf of tens of millions of human beings all over the world who are starving to death or dying of curable diseases. You cannot speak of peace on behalf of 900 million illiterates."

For the oppressed nations of the world, Castro said:

[The] principles of peaceful coexistence also include the right of peoples under alien and colonial domination to self-determination, to independence, sovereignty, the territorial integrity of states, the right of every country to put an end to foreign occupation, to the acquisition of territory by force, and the right to choose its own social, economic, and political system.

Only in this way can peaceful coexistence be the foundation of all international relations.

And this cannot be denied. When we analyze the structure of the world today, we see that these rights of our peoples are as yet not guaranteed.

A few sentences later, Castro affirmed:

Thus it will be understood that the final declaration of Havana also linked the struggle for peace with "political, moral, and material support for the national liberation movements and joint efforts to eliminate colonial domination and racial discrimination."

And as the Cubans have shown in practice, these are not just words.

This is not what the Moscow or Peking Stalinists mean when they speak of peaceful coexistence.

For the Kremlin, ratification of SALT II is the top world priority today, and it is a major campaign of Moscow-oriented Stalinist parties everywhere. This treaty deals with arms limitations in name only. It would ratify the continuing buildup of strategic nuclear weapons. The Carter administration is using SALT II to bolster its pretensions as a peacemaker while it actually expands both the size and diversity of its death-dealing nuclear arsenal under the terms of the treaty.

In his UN speech, Castro referred to SALT II in passing, saying that, "as far as the Nonaligned countries are concerned, those treaties are only part of the progress toward peace."

Unfortunately, however, SALT II is not even "part of the progress toward peace." Saying that it is, with whatever qualifications, does not help expose the dangerous fraud peddled by Washington surrounding the treaty.

As the overwhelming bulk of Castro's UN speech makes clear, however, the Stalinist campaign for passage of SALT II has nothing in common with the Cuban leadership's approach to the fight for world peace. Castro repeatedly placed the responsibility for war squarely at the doorstep of imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all. As he told the General Assembly when he spoke there nineteen years ago, and reiterated in his recent Havana speech, "Halt the philosophy of plunder and the philosophy of war will be halted."

Decisions of Havana Conference

Reporting on the decisions of the Havana conference, Castro told the UN:

If in spite of [our] approach, which was objective and uncommitted, our review of international events became a denunciation of the supporters of imperialism and colonialism, this merely reflects the essential reality of today's world.

Castro explained the Nonaligned movement's decisions to support:

- the fight to eliminate from the African continent, "and especially from southern Africa, colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, and apartheid";

- the fight against Israeli occupation of Arab territories and for the Palestinians' "inalienable national rights, including their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination, and to the establishment of an independent state in Palestine";

- the fight for Puerto Rico's right to independence;

- solidarity with "the revolutionary upheaval in Grenada and the remarkable victory of the people of Nicaragua and their vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front."

Since Castro was reporting the decisions of the Nonaligned conference, he said nothing about Cuba's own position on the events in Indochina during the past year. The Havana meeting was divided on these

questions, with a number of capitalist semicolonial regimes most subservient to imperialism, as well as the Yugoslav regime, fighting to retain the seat of the ousted Pol Pot dictatorship.

In his opening speech in Havana, Castro had stated:

Cuba's position on the problem of Kampuchea is known. We recognize the only real, legitimate government of Kampuchea . . . and we endorse Vietnam's solidarity with that fraternal country. . . . With all our energy we condemn the genocidal government of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

Cuba and Vietnam succeeded at the Havana conference in unseating the Pol Pot regime, but Kampuchea's seat was left open until a 1981 foreign ministers conference. Cuba and Vietnam also led the fight a few weeks later to unseat the Pol Pot gang in the UN General Assembly—an effort that Washington was able to marshal the votes to defeat.

Imperialist Exploitation

The bulk of Castro's UN speech was a clear and compelling analysis of the increasing poverty and human misery caused by imperialist exploitation of the semicolonial countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

"The gap between the developed and developing countries not only persists, but has substantially increased," Castro said.

"Why should some people go barefoot so that other may travel in expensive cars?" he asked.

"Why should some live only thirty-five years, so that others may live seventy?"

"Why should some be miserably poor, so that others be exaggeratedly rich? I speak on behalf of the children of the world who don't even have a piece of bread. I speak on behalf of the sick who lack medicine. I speak on behalf of those who have been denied the right to life and to human dignity."

Summing up the demands passed at the Havana conference, Castro condemned the economic system under which the poor countries are compelled on the world market to sell cheap and buy dear, robbing them of their national wealth and resources: "Unequal exchange is ruining our peoples. It must end!"

Castro was greeted with thunderous applause when he stated, "The debts of the least developed countries . . . are burdens impossible to bear, to which no solution can be found. They must be cancelled!"

To dramatize the gross inequality and irrationality of world capitalism, Castro proposed a \$300 billion fund to be used for economic and social development in the semicolonial countries over the next decade.

"Diplomats from Western industrial countries here regard the proposal as impractical," the *New York Times* reported the next day.

Castro had expected this hypocritical reaction and exposed it in advance:

Some may think that we are asking too much, but I think that the figure itself is still modest. . . .

The United States alone will in the 1980s spend six times this much on military activities.

We are requesting less for ten years of development than is spent in a single year by the ministries of war, and much less than a tenth of what will be spent for military purposes in ten years.

Some may consider our demand irrational. But where the true irrationality lies is in the world's madness in our era and the peril that threatens humanity.

Pointing to the desperate need for funds, equipment, fertilizer, fuel, and raw materials, Castro said, "If we want peace, these resources will be required. If there are no resources for development there will be no peace."

Class Struggle in Imperialist World

Castro's UN address was directed primarily at the oppressed of the colonial and semicolonial world. Nonetheless, the UN speech registered the Castro leadership's growing attention to events in the class struggle inside the imperialist countries and its attempt to affect those events. This represents a positive step toward overcoming one of the weaknesses that has always marked the Castroist leadership: a lack of interest in, detailed knowledge about, and understanding of the decisive struggles by workers in the advanced imperialist countries.

The Cuban Mission to the UN purchased two pages in the Sunday, October 14, *New York Times* to run the full text of Castro's speech. Such an effort to speak directly to a large American audience is something new for the Cubans. It is consistent with the dialogue the Cuban government initiated last year with the Cuban community in the United States—an initiative that has helped isolate the right-wing *gusano* minority and allow the widespread sentiment for ending the blockade to surface.

In the address itself, Castro rebutted the imperialist propaganda attempting to pit workers in the imperialist countries against the oil-producing nations. The giant energy monopolies, he explained, "have been exploiting both the producers and consumers and reaping enormous and unjustified windfall profits" from both.

He pointed out that the catastrophes arising out of the irrationalities of world capitalism endanger "most of all . . . the underdeveloped countries and the workers in the developed capitalist countries." And he stressed that his proposal for a \$300 billion development fund "is not a project that will benefit only the developing nations. It will benefit all countries."

Castro also pointed out that "the irrational squandering of material goods and the subsequent waste of economic resources by developed capitalist society [has] already become intolerable."

However, Castro followed up this correct observation by stating:

Is that not the cause of the dramatic energy crisis that we face right now? Who, if not the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries, has to bear the main brunt of it?

This sentiment of the necessity of putting an end to the waste of the consumer societies in regard to resources is very widely held. A recent document of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization states, "The present way of life, especially in the industrialized countries, may have to undergo a radical and painful change."

But the "way of life" of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries in no sense contributes to the misery and exploitation of the semicolonial and colonial world. The workers in the imperialist countries are the greatest potential allies of the toiling masses of the dependent countries in the struggle against their common enemy: the imperialist ruling classes.

Castro's own indictment of the superprofits of the oil monopolies and the monstrous U.S. war budget points toward the possibility of a world socialist order that from the outset dramatically raises the living standards of the poverty-stricken millions in the poor countries while bettering economic and social conditions for workers in the economically advanced countries as well.

All Workers Benefit

This important point was at the heart of a recent statement by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party's Political Committee hailing the outcome of the Havana conference. The decisions of that gathering were "good news for the struggles of American working people against war, against racism, and for a better life," the SWP explained.

[The conference] put new obstacles in the way of the Carter administration's war drive, which threatens to use American working people as cannon fodder, as it did in Vietnam. . . .

More and more workers in this country are realizing that their interests lie in opposing the policies of the capitalist government at home and abroad. Their thinking is beginning to converge with the consciousness of superexploited millions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

They are coming to the realization that the fate of the American working people and of the peoples whose demands were voiced in Havana are completely tied together.

The rule of the rich means economic ruin, environmental destruction, and war for all of us.

Fighting together against capitalism and imperialism, we can open the road to the abolition of war, inequality, exploitation, and every form of injustice.

United, the working people of the world can build a socialist future for humanity.

Propaganda for Socialism

Castro's UN speech is a powerful weapon at the service of all those committed to building such a future.

While speaking as the representative of the Nonaligned countries, the big majority of which remain capitalist, Castro did not hide the Cuban view that only socialism can lead to the just and equitable world

order he was describing. "... the prospect of a world without capitalism is not too frightening to us revolutionaries," he said.

Quoting from his opening speech at the Havana conference, he told the listeners, "If the system is socially just, the possibilities of survival and economic and social development are incomparably greater."

And driving home the point, he added: "The history of my own country provides irrefutable proof of this."

Stressing that "development primarily involves attention to human beings, who should be the protagonists and goal of all development efforts," Castro described Cuba's investment of tens of millions of dollars each year in schools and public health.

While indicating this need for a socialist transformation in the semicolonial countries, Castro placed the blame for underdevelopment squarely where it belongs—on finance capital in the imperialist countries.

The exploitation of the poor countries by the rich must cease.

I know that in many poor countries there are exploiters and those who are exploited.

I address myself to the rich nations, asking them to contribute. And I address myself to the poor nations, asking them to distribute.

And he emphasized that "the task of helping us to emerge from underdevelopment is first and foremost a historic and moral obligation for those who benefited from the plunder of our wealth and the exploitation of our men and women for decades and for centuries."

Citing the example of Cuba's own dispatch of tens of thousands of doctors, teachers, and technicians to help combat poverty around the world, Castro stated that although the "socialist countries did not participate in the plunder of the world," they "assume the obligation of helping to overcome it."

In saying this, Castro was telling liberation movements and underdeveloped nations that it is possible to insist on material aid from the Soviet Union, and telling the Soviet Union that it should respond to such requests in the internationalist spirit of the Cubans. Today, the Kremlin doles out such aid with an eyedropper and only then under pressure from world opinion or as leverage in diplomatic dealings with imperialism.

Internationalism

Castro ended his speech with both an internationalist appeal and an ominous warning.

"I have come to warn that if we do not peacefully and wisely solve and eliminate the present injustices and inequalities, the future will be apocalyptic."

Castro is correct. Washington's mad arms race and its war moves in the Caribbean, the Mideast, and Indochina show that the imperialists will risk even nuclear annihilation to defend their profits and the oppressive system that generates those

profits from the labor of working people throughout the world.

How can the apocalypse that Castro describes be avoided? How can the just and equitable world order he envisions be made a reality?

Castro was pointing in the right direction in his speech at the Havana conference, where he noted that "the important role that the people of the United States and world opinion played in ending the criminal imperialist war against Vietnam should not be forgotten."

The antiwar attitudes and suspicion of U.S. foreign policy goals among American workers makes them an invaluable ally of toilers throughout the world threatened

with military aggression by Washington.

In addition, Cuba's internationalist solidarity with anti-imperialist struggles helps shift the relationship of class forces on a world scale more and more to the detriment of the capitalist warmakers.

In pursuing such a policy, the Castro leadership not only contributes in an immediate sense to defense of the Cuban revolution and other struggles in the semicolonial world, it also buys precious time for the workers in the advanced capitalist countries to take political power out of the hands of the imperialists, disarm them, and open the road to a peaceful and prosperous socialist future for all humanity. □

1960—Castro's First Speech at United Nations

By Harry Ring

It was September 1960 and the Cuban revolution was but twenty months old.

Washington had already targeted it for destruction. Fidel Castro and his fellow revolutionists clearly meant business about a new life for the Cuban people.

And they didn't intend to be bullied by Washington.

The U.S. capitalist press unleashed a vitriolic slander campaign against the revolution. Fidel Castro was depicted as a bloody tyrant.

It was in that atmosphere that the thirty-four-year-old leader of the Cuban revolution arrived here to address the United Nations.

There was a substantial Cuban community in New York composed largely of people who had left under the Batista dictatorship. Soon thousands of them were to return to their homeland.

When Fidel landed at the airport several thousand Cubans and other partisans of the revolution were there to greet him.

The Cuban UN delegation checked in at a modest midtown hotel near the UN.

The hotel management hassled them and, in a few days, cancelled the contract.

Other hotels in the area, obviously encouraged by government agencies, were suddenly "filled up."

The Cubans turned the situation into a major political victory. They moved to a hotel that was ready to take them—the Theresa, which at the time was a landmark hotel in the Black ghetto of Harlem.

Harlem welcomed Castro and his associates with open arms.

Night after night, huge crowds gathered on 125th Street outside the Theresa. The biggest crowd was estimated at 10,000.

Hundreds of Cubans came to Harlem to demonstrate their solidarity. Blacks began joining in.

There was an account of it in the American Trotskyist weekly the *Militant* of October 3, 1960.

The Cubans chanted "Venceremos!"

"What does it mean?" some young Blacks asked.

"We will win."

The Blacks began shouting, "Venceremos!"

Impromptu street meetings and hundreds of discussions went on for hours.

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee held a reception for Fidel at the Theresa ballroom.

Fidel spoke briefly, thanking the committee for its solidarity. He then circulated around the ballroom, stopping briefly at each table to chat with guests and—with obvious embarrassment—to sign autographs.

His speech at the UN was political dynamite.

He spoke four and a half hours. It was the most truth that body had yet heard.

He detailed some of the history of U.S. colonial exploitation of Cuba and the resulting misery for the Cuban people.

He spoke of the program of the revolution and some of the initial gains—slashing rents 50 percent, cutting utility rates, beginning a land reform program for the landless peasants.

He described the mounting U.S. aggression against the revolution and vowed Cuba would not yield an inch.

He declared Cuba's solidarity with liberation struggles of the time—the Congo, Algeria.

That night the crowd outside the Theresa was inspired.

One young Harlem resident gave the *Militant* his reaction to the speech.

"Man, it was wonderful—beautiful—the greatest! I was so tense when he was talking. I was sure they'd cut him off. . . . The first part, about Cuba, was good. But the part about what's happening in the world—nobody ever talked the truth like that!" □

1,000 Demonstrators Greet Castro in New York

By David Frankel

NEW YORK—Undeterred by right-wing threats and a soaking rain, 1,000 demonstrators turned out here October 12 to welcome Cuban President Fidel Castro and show their opposition to U.S. attacks on Cuba.

The pro-Cuba rally at the United Nations was too big to be contained on the sidewalk and spilled over onto the adjoining street. As demonstrators chanted: "Cuba sí, bloqueo no!" and "U.S. troops out of Guantánamo!" Rev. Manuel Espinosa, speaking in Spanish, told the crowd:

"They say the anti-Castro demonstrators speak for the Cubans in this country. . . . But these terrorists don't represent anything! They don't even represent 1 percent of the Cuban community! They're a small minority, although they're well organized and aided by you-know-who. . . . We are the majority! Those who oppose the blockade are a majority!"

A leader of the Cuban community in Miami and a central figure in the dialogue initiated by the Cuban government with Cubans abroad, Espinosa has been subjected to repeated terrorist attacks for his activities. He received another death threat just before the UN demonstration.

Espinosa stressed the importance of demonstrations such as this one in breaking the power of the right wing. He declared that "we know there are many Cubans in Miami who wish they could be here but have been prevented from coming because they're afraid of losing their jobs. They've been prevented by the threat made by a terrorist group—terrorists who do not represent the voice of Cubans."

After pointing out that the 80,000 Cubans from the United States and Puerto Rico who have travelled to Cuba this year represent the real sentiment of the Cuban community, Espinosa said, "We're tired of these terrorists, we want them out of our communities! We shouldn't have to live in fear!"

The demonstration was organized by the same forces that had carried out a protest of 500 a week earlier, denouncing President Carter's new military moves in the Caribbean around the pretext of Soviet troops in Cuba. These included individuals

from the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group of young Cubans abroad who support normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba; Casa de las Américas, an organization of New York-area Cubans who support the revolution; the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; the Socialist Workers Party; and the Communist Party.



Militant/Lou Howort

There were a high proportion of Latinos on the action, including a group of people who came up from Miami's Cuban community. Consuelo Pérez, a woman from Cuba, said of the picket line: "This is marvelous! There aren't words for this!"

Although she said that "Fidel's trip and the whole dialogue are big news in Cuba," she was surprised by the demonstration. "I never expected it would be like this. I didn't think there would be so many people. But I guess Fidel has his people wherever he goes."

Salvador Orochena, an activist in the Coalition for a Free Nicaragua, also took part in the action. Denouncing the blockade against Cuba, he declared that "it is a form of direct aggression, a direct attack on all the countries in the Caribbean that are in the process of revolution, especially

Cuba and Nicaragua, and also El Salvador."

Following the picket line, the demonstrators marched to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations. Although police had allowed counterrevolutionary demonstrators to take over the block originally designated as the rally site for the action welcoming Castro, the marchers were able to get within sight of the mission.

Cubans could be seen waving to the crowd from an upstairs window, and it was announced from the platform that Fidel was among them. The demonstrators responded with chants of "Fidel, Fidel, Fidel!"; "Se siente, se siente, Fidel esta presente!" (You can feel it, you can feel it, Fidel is here!); and "Fidel, Fidel, Puerto Rico te saluda!" (Fidel, Fidel, Puerto Rico salutes you!).

Rightist thugs tried to attack the demonstration at the Cuban Mission, but were unsuccessful. In general, it was a bad day for the counterrevolutionaries.

Despite an all-out mobilization, rightists were unable to produce a qualitatively larger turnout than the defenders of the Cuban revolution. Even the most sympathetic big-business news reports were unable to claim more than 3,000 for the counterrevolutionary protest.

The rightists, who had predicted a turnout of 10,000, vented their frustration by beating up a Black bystander who was accused—apparently without foundation—of being a backer of Castro. Another of their number threw a pipe bomb wrapped in a Cuban flag at the Cuban Mission. He was charged with "possession of a deadly weapon" and "reckless endangerment."

Having armed and trained terrorist groups for years, and encouraged them in their bloodthirsty attacks on Cuba, U.S. authorities had to mount a massive police operation to protect Castro against their own creatures while he was in New York.

The bourgeois media tried to play on the security provided for Castro to turn public opinion against the Cuban leader. The *New York Times*, for example, quoted one resident of the wealthy midtown area near the United Nations complex and the Cuban mission as saying of the security measures: "Now I've seen what it's like to live in a police state."

The gutter press even complained about the money spent by the city government to protect Castro. No such complaints were made, of course, about the millions spent on security for Pope John Paul II the week before.

In any case, the sniping and carping by the capitalist media certainly failed to erase the impression made around the world by Castro's speech at the United Nations. And it cannot hide the fact that for the second time in a week defenders of the Cuban revolution were able to take to the streets and successfully demonstrate, despite all-out mobilizations by counterrevolutionary thugs. □

U.S. Steps Up Threats in Caribbean

By David Frankel

As Cuban President Fidel Castro addressed the United Nations General Assembly October 12, 1,600 U.S. Marines were landing on Cuban territory at the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base—the oldest foreign base occupied by the U.S. military.

Referring in his speech to Washington's crude attempts to intimidate the Cuban people and its blatant violations of their sovereign rights, Castro said:

"In Havana [at the Nonaligned conference], the Cuban people's right to choose their political and social system was supported, as was their claim to territory occupied by the Guantánamo base, and the condemnation of the blockade with which the United States government continues its efforts to isolate the Cuban revolution, seeking to destroy it.

"We appreciate the deep feeling and the international importance of the movement's recent denunciation in Havana of the hostile acts, pressures, and threats against Cuba by the United States, declaring them to be a flagrant violation of the charter of the United Nations and of the principles of international law, as a threat to world peace."

As for Washington's hopes that such pressures will cause Cuba to abandon its support for anti-imperialist struggles around the world, Castro declared that "we assure the international community that Cuba will remain true to the principles of international solidarity."

A report in the October 13 *Washington Post* indicated that the American rulers are moving ahead with more aggressive steps in the Caribbean. Writers John Goshko and George Wilson reported that "the Carter administration is moving to establish a multinational Caribbean sea-ging patrol force as part of its effort to show resolve in the face of Cuban and Soviet aggressiveness in the Western Hemisphere. . . ."

"Cuban and Soviet aggressiveness" are State Department code words for the threat of social revolution in Central America and the Caribbean. As Goshko and Wilson noted, "The administration Caribbean task force, representing the White House, State Department and Pentagon, is reviewing the military needs of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras with an eye to selling them 'nonlethal' equipment."

This move to renew open and direct military sales to the three Central American dictatorships most severely shaken by the Nicaraguan revolution—a trial balloon for more substantial forms of aid—goes to the core of what is really worrying Washington.

"Air Force Lt. Gen. John S. Pustay, who represents the Joint Chiefs of Staff in many of the Caribbean task force meetings, said in an interview yesterday that the military threat from the Soviet brigade in Cuba 'is virtually zilch [zero]," Goshko and Wilson reported.

"The worrisome threat in the Caribbean,

Grenada Demands U.S. Withdrawal From Caribbean

By Ernest Harsch

UNITED NATIONS—The Carter administration's war moves in the Caribbean, in particular its plans to establish a permanent military intervention force for the region, has drawn a sharp reaction from the new government of Grenada.

Speaking before the Thirty-fourth General Assembly here on October 10, and at a news conference at the UN the following day, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop demanded the "immediate withdrawal" of U.S. forces from the Caribbean.

"We reject the United States plan to set up a military task force," he said. "We believe that it represents interference in the sovereign affairs of our country."

Bishop pointed out that more than 30,000 American troops were already based in the Caribbean: in Panama, Puerto Rico, and at Guantánamo Naval Base in Cuba. He declared his government's support to the Cuban demands for the dismantlement of the Guantánamo base and the withdrawal of American troops from Cuban soil.

"We have reason to be concerned about these developments," Bishop stressed, pointing to Washington's past military interventions and destabilization efforts in the Caribbean region—as in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Guatemala, and other countries.

Carter's October 1 speech, in which he outlined Washington's military steps in the Caribbean—directed in particular against Cuba—came in response to the recent upheavals in the region, Bishop stated.

"A wind of change is blowing through the Caribbean," he declared, citing the examples of the "popular uprising in Nicaragua, the revolution in Grenada," and the recent changes of government in the islands of Dominica and Saint Lucia.

Bishop himself came to power as a result of an armed uprising in Grenada March 13, in which the pro-Washington dictatorship of Sir Eric Gairy was overthrown.

he said, stems from the paramilitary operations of Cuban forces, with their 'covert assistance' to the overthrow of President Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua a recent example."

Labeling the real aggressor in his UN speech, Castro asserted that "the experience lived through in other areas led the heads of state or government [at the Havana conference] to reject and condemn any attempt to create in the Caribbean a so-called security force, a neocolonial mechanism which is incompatible with the sovereignty, peace, and security of these countries." □

Bishop is the leader of the New Jewel Movement, which at the time of Grenada's independence in 1974 led a general strike by dockers and other workers against the Gairy regime.

The Bishop government has established close relations with Cuba, and in July signed a scientific and technological agreement with it, under which Cuban technical experts were to aid the new Grenadian government.

When asked at the October 11 news conference here how he "justified" his regime's ties with Cuba, Bishop replied, "We do not feel we have to justify it."

Bishop then added, "As far as we are concerned, Cuba has led a very important process, from which we have learned a lot and from which we continue to learn a lot." He called Fidel Castro an "outstanding figure," both in the Caribbean and throughout the world.

On the social and economic policies of his government, Bishop stated at the news conference that while foreign investors were still welcome in Grenada, the government would insist on certain guidelines, especially that "workers must be allowed to form and to join trade unions. The basic human rights of workers—of the majority of the people—must be respected."

In his speech before the UN General Assembly, Bishop also outlined his government's foreign policy.

He stated that the world economic system, which was based on years of imperialism and colonialism, was "manifestly unjust" and should be changed. He called for support to the rights of the Palestinian people and rejected the Camp David accords. He expressed his government's support for the Heng Samrin regime in Kampuchea.

Bishop also backed the struggles of the peoples of the Western Sahara, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa, and demanded the imposition of sanctions against the racist regimes of southern Africa. □

'I Speak on Behalf of Children of World Who Don't Even Have a Piece of Bread'

[The following is the full text of the speech given by Fidel Castro before the United Nations General Assembly on October 12. This translation is based on the UN's simultaneous translation, corrected against the original Spanish text by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Another translation was subsequently released by the Cuban mission to the UN.]

* * *

Most Esteemed President:

Distinguished representatives of the world community:

I have not come to speak about Cuba. I am not here to denounce before this Assembly the aggressions to which our small but honorable country has been subjected for twenty years. Nor have I come to injure with unnecessary adjectives the powerful neighbor in his own house.

We have been charged by the Sixth Conference of heads of state or government of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries to present to the United Nations the results of its deliberations and the positions to be derived from them.

We are ninety-five countries from all the continents, representing the immense majority of humanity. We are united by the determination to defend the cooperation between our countries, free national and social development, sovereignty, security, equality, and self-determination.

We are associated in our determination to change the present system of international relations, based as it is on injustice, inequality, and oppression. In international politics we act as an independent world factor.

Meeting in Havana, the movement has just reaffirmed its principles and confirmed its objectives.

The Nonaligned countries stress that it is imperative to do away with the enormous inequality that separates the developed countries from the developing countries. We are struggling to eradicate poverty, hunger, disease, and illiteracy, from which hundreds of millions of human beings still suffer.

We aspire to a new world order, one based on justice, on equity, and on peace. One that will replace the unjust and unequal system that prevails today, in which, as proclaimed in the final declaration of Havana, "wealth is still concentrated in the hands of a few powers, whose wasteful economies are maintained by the exploitation of the workers as well as the transfer and plunder of the natural and other resources of the peoples of Africa, Latin America, Asia, and other regions of the world."

Peace with Equality

Among the problems to be debated in the present session of the General Assembly, peace is a concern of the first order. The search for peace also constitutes an aspiration of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries and has been the subject of its attention at the Sixth Conference. But for our countries, peace is indivisible. We want a peace that will equally benefit the large and small, the strong and weak, peace that will embrace all regions of the world and reach all its citizens.

Since its very inception the Movement of Nonaligned Countries has considered that the principles of peaceful coexistence should be the cornerstone of international relations, constituting the basis for the strengthening of peace and international security, for the relaxation of tensions and the expansion of that process to all regions of the world and to all aspects of international

relations, and must be universally applied in relations among states.

But, at the same time, the Sixth Summit considered that these principles of peaceful coexistence also include the right of peoples under alien and colonial domination to self-determination, to independence, sovereignty, the territorial integrity of states, the right of every country to put an end to foreign occupation, to the acquisition of territory by force, and the right to choose its own social, economic, and political system.

Only in this way can peaceful coexistence be the foundation for all international relations.

And this cannot be denied. When we analyze the structure of the world today, we see that these rights of our peoples are as yet not guaranteed. The Nonaligned countries know full well who our historic enemies are, where the threats come from, and how to combat them.

That is why in Havana we resolved to reaffirm that "the quintessence of the policy of nonalignment, in accordance with its original principles and essential character, involves the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference, or hegemony as well as the struggle against great power and bloc policies."

Thus it will be understood that the final declaration of Havana also linked the struggle for peace with "political, moral, and material support for the national liberation movements and joint efforts to eliminate colonial domination and racial discrimination."

The Nonaligned countries have always attached great importance to the possibility and necessity of détente among the great powers. Thus the Sixth Conference pointed with great concern to the fact that in the period that elapsed after the Colombo summit conference there was a certain stagnation in the process of détente, which has continued to be limited "both in scope and geographically."

On the basis of that concern the Nonaligned countries—who have made disarmament and denuclearization one of the permanent and most prominent objectives of their struggle, and who took the initiative in the convocation of the tenth special session of the General Assembly on disarmament—examined the results of negotiations on strategic arms and the agreements known as SALT II. They feel that these negotiations constitute an important step in the negotiations between the two main nuclear powers and could open up prospects for more comprehensive negotiations leading to general disarmament and relaxation of international tensions.

But as far as the Nonaligned countries are concerned, those treaties are only part of the progress toward peace. Although negotiations between the great powers constitute a decisive element in the process, the Nonaligned countries once again reiterated that the endeavor to consolidate détente, to extend it to all parts of the world, and to avert the nuclear threat, the arms build up, and war is a task in which all the peoples of the world should participate and exercise their responsibility.

Mr. President, basing ourselves on the concept of the universality of peace, and on the need to link the search for peace, extended to all countries, with the struggle for national independence, full sovereignty, and full equality among states, we, the heads of state or government who met at the Sixth Summit Conference in

Havana, gave our attention to the most pressing problems in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and other regions.

It is important to stress that we started from an independent position that was not linked to policies that might stem from the contradiction between the great powers. If in spite of that approach, which was objective and uncommitted, our review of international events became a denunciation of the supporters of imperialism and colonialism, this merely reflects the essential reality of today's world.

Colonialism, Racism, Apartheid

Thus, having started the analysis of the situation in Africa, and having recognized the progress made in the African peoples' struggle for their emancipation, the heads of state or government stressed that a fundamental problem of the region is the need to eliminate from the continent, and especially from southern Africa, colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, and apartheid.

It was indispensable that we stress the fact that the colonialist and imperialist powers were continuing their aggressive policies with the aim of perpetuating, regaining, or extending their domination and exploitation of the African nations.

And that is precisely the dramatic situation in Africa. The Nonaligned countries could not fail to condemn the attacks on Mozambique, on Zambia, on Angola, on Botswana, the threats against Lesotho, the destabilization efforts that are constantly being made in that area, the role played by the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. The pressing need for Zimbabwe and Namibia to be completely liberated quickly is not just a cause of the Nonaligned countries or of the most progressive forces of our era, but is already contained in resolutions and agreements of the international community through the United Nations, and it implies duties that must be taken up and whose infractions must be denounced internationally.

Therefore, when in the final declaration the heads of state or government approved the condemnation by name of a number of Western countries, headed by the United States, for their direct or indirect collaboration in the maintenance of racist oppression and South Africa's criminal policy, and when on the other hand they recognized the role played by the Nonaligned countries, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the socialist countries, the Scandinavian countries, and other democratic and progressive forces in supporting the struggle of the peoples of Africa, this did not involve even the slightest manifestation of ideological leaning. It was simply the faithful expression of

Today one hour of labor in the developed countries is exchanged for 10 hours of labor in underdeveloped countries . . .

objective reality. To condemn South Africa without mentioning those who make its criminal policies possible would have been incomprehensible.

More forcibly and urgently than ever, the Sixth Summit Conference expressed the need not only to end the situation in which the Zimbabwean and Namibian peoples' right to independence is denied and the Black men and women of South Africa's pressing need to attain a status in which they are considered as equal, respected human beings is denied, but also to guarantee conditions of respect and peace for all the countries of the region.

The continued support for the movements of national liberation, the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, was a decision that was as unanimous as it was expected. And let us state very clearly now that this is not a case of expressing a unilateral preference for solutions through armed struggle. It is true that the conference praised the people of Namibia, and of SWAPO which is their sole and authentic representative, for having stepped up the armed struggle and for advancing in it, and called for total and effective support for that form of combat. But that was due to the fact that the South African racists have slammed the door on any

real negotiations and the fact that the efforts to achieve negotiated solutions go no farther than mere maneuvers.

The attitude toward the Commonwealth's decisions at its Lusaka meetings last August to have the British government, as an authority in Southern Rhodesia, call a conference to discuss the problems of Zimbabwe confirmed the fact that the Nonaligned countries are not opposed to solutions that may be achieved without armed struggle, so long as they lead to the creation of an authentic majority government and so long as independence is achieved in a manner satisfactory to the fighting peoples, and that this be done in accordance with the resolutions of such bodies as the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations, and our own Nonaligned countries.

Mr. President, the Sixth Summit once again had to express its regret over the fact that Resolution 1514 of the General Assembly of the United Nations, concerning the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, has not been applied to Western Sahara. We should recall that the decisions of the Nonaligned countries and the resolutions of the United Nations, and more specifically General Assembly Resolution 3331, have all reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence.

In this problem Cuba feels a very special responsibility since it has been a member of the United Nations commission that investigated the situation in Western Sahara, and this enabled our representatives to verify the Saharoui people's total desire for self-determination and independence.

We repeat here that the position of the Nonaligned countries is not one of antagonism against any country. The welcome that we gave to the agreement between the Republic of Mauritania and the POLISARIO Front and to the Republic of Mauritania's decision to withdraw its forces from the territory of Western Sahara is in keeping with the application of our principles and the agreements of the United Nations, as is our deploring the extension of Morocco's armed occupation of the southern part of Western Sahara, previously administered by Mauritania.

Therefore the conference expressed its hope that the ad-hoc committee established at the Sixteenth OAU Summit Conference would make it possible to insure that the people of the Sahara would be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination and independence as soon as possible.

That same principle and that same position determined the resolution on Mayotte and the Malagasy islands and the need for them to be reintegrated into the Comoros and Madagascar respectively.

Self-Determination for Palestine

Mr. President, there can be no doubt that the problem of the Middle East has become one of the situations that give rise to the greatest concern in today's world. The Sixth Summit Conference examined it in its two-fold dimension.

On the one hand the conference reaffirmed that Israel's determination to continue to follow its policy of aggression, expansionism, and colonial settlement in the occupied territories, with the support of the United States, constitutes a serious threat to world peace and security.

The conference also examined the problem from the standpoint of the rights of the Arab countries and of the Palestinian question.

For the Nonaligned countries the Palestinian question is the very crux of the problem of the Middle East. They both form an integral whole and neither can be settled in isolation from the other.

No just peace can be established in the region unless it is based on total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories as well as the return to the Palestinian people of all their occupied territories and the restoration of their inalienable national rights, including their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination, and to the establishment of an independent state in Palestine in accordance with Resolution 3236 of the General Assembly.

This means that all measures taken by Israel in the occupied

Palestinian and other Arab territories, including the establishment of colonies or settlements on Palestinian land or other Arab territories, whose immediate dismantlement is a prerequisite for a solution of the problem, are illegal, null, and void.

As I stated in my address to the Sixth Summit Conference, ". . . we are not fanatics. The revolutionary movement has always learned to hate racial discrimination and pogroms of any kind. From the bottom of our heart, we repudiate the merciless persecution and genocide that the Nazis once visited on the Jews, but there is nothing in recent history that parallels it more than the dispossession, persecution and genocide that imperialism and the Zionists are currently practicing against the Palestinian people.

"Pushed off their lands, expelled from their own country, scattered throughout the world, persecuted and murdered, the heroic Palestinians are a vivid example of sacrifice and patriotism, living symbols of the most terrible crime of our era." [Applause]

Can anyone be surprised that the conference, for reasons that stemmed not from any political prejudice, but rather from an objective analysis of the facts, was obliged to point out that the United States policy, in aligning itself with Israel and in supporting it and working to attain partial solutions that are favorable to Zionist aims and to guarantee the fruits of Israel's aggression at the expense of the Palestinian Arab people and the entire Arab nation, played a major role in preventing the establishment of a just and comprehensive peace in the region?

The facts, and only the facts, led the conference to condemn the policies and maneuvers of the United States in that region.

When the heads of state or government arrived at the consensus that condemned the Camp David agreement and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty of March 1979, their formulations had been preceded by long hours of detailed study and fruitful exchanges which allowed the conference to consider those treaties not only as a complete abandonment of the cause of the Arab countries, but also as an act of complicity with the continuing occupation of Arab territories.

These words are harsh. But the words are true and just. It is not the Egyptian people who have been subjected to the judgment of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries. The Egyptian people command the respect of each and every one of our countries, and enjoy the solidarity of all our peoples.

The same voices that were raised to denounce the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty eulogized Gamal Abdel Nasser, a founder of the movement and an upholder of the fighting traditions of the Arab nation. No one has been unaware and no one will ever be unaware of Egypt's historic role in Arab culture and development or of its merits as a founding nation and a driving force in the Movement of the Nonaligned Countries.

The conference also gave its attention to the problems of Southeast Asia. The growing conflicts and tensions that have been created in the region are a threat to peace that must be avoided.

Similar concern was expressed by the Sixth Summit Conference regarding the situation of the Indian Ocean. The declaration adopted eight years ago by the United Nations General Assembly that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace has not been fulfilled. The military presence in the region is not reduced, but rather is growing. Military bases have now reached as far as South Africa, and are also serving as a means for surveillance against the African liberation movements. The talks between the United States and the Soviet Union are still suspended, despite the recent agreement between the two countries to discuss their resumption.

All this led to the Sixth Summit Conference's invitation to all states concerned to work effectively to fulfill the objectives of the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

The Sixth Conference also analyzed other issues of regional and world interest, such as those touching on European security and cooperation, the problem of the Mediterranean, the tensions that still exist there and that have now been increased as a result of Israel's aggressive policy and the support given it by certain

imperialist powers.

The conference also studied the situation in Cyprus, an island still partially occupied by foreign troops, and Korea, still divided despite the Korean people's desire for a unified homeland. This led the Nonaligned states to reaffirm and broaden resolutions of solidarity aimed at fulfilling the aspirations of both peoples.

It would be impossible to refer to all the political decisions of the Sixth Summit Conference. If we were to do so we would be unable to touch upon what we consider to be one of the most fundamental aspects of that Sixth Summit Conference: namely its economic perspectives—the clamor of the people of the developing countries, weary as they are of their backwardness and the suffering it engenders. Cuba as the host country will present to all members of the international community copies of the conference's final declaration and additional resolutions. But before informing you of how the Nonaligned countries view the world economic situation and what demands they make and what hopes they nurture, perhaps you will allow me to take a few more moments to inform you of the final declaration's approach concerning Latin American issues of the moment.

U.S. Hands Off Latin America

The fact that the Sixth Conference was held in Latin America allowed the heads of state or government meeting there to recall that the peoples of that region began their efforts to obtain independence at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. They also did not forget, as is said in the declaration, that "Latin America is one of the regions of the world that historically has suffered the most from the aggression of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism from the United States and Europe."

The participants in the conference were forced to point out that remnants of colonialism, neocolonialism, and national oppression still remain in that area of struggle. Thus the conference spoke out in favor of the eradication of colonialism and all its forms and manifestations. It condemned the presence of foreign military bases in Latin America and the Caribbean, such as those in Cuba

Once again, we assure the international community that Cuba will remain true to principles of international solidarity . . .

and Puerto Rico, and again demanded that the government of the United States and other colonial powers restore to those countries that part of their territory occupied by those bases against the will of their people.

The experience lived through in other areas led the heads of state or government to reject and condemn any attempt to create in the Caribbean a so-called "security force," a neocolonial mechanism which is incompatible with the sovereignty, peace, and security of these countries.

By calling for the restitution of the Malvinas Islands to the Republic of Argentina, by reaffirming its support for the inalienable right of the people of Belize to self-determination, independence, and territorial integrity, the conference once again gave evidence of what its declaration had defined as the very quintessence of nonalignment. It welcomed the fact that as of October 1 the treaties on the Panama canal concluded between the Republic of Panama and the United States would enter into force. It gave its full support to those treaties and it called for their being fully respected in both letter and spirit, and called on all the states of the world to adhere to the protocol of the treaty concerning the permanent neutrality of the Panama Canal.

The heads of state and government reiterated their solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people and their inalienable right to self-determination, independence, and territorial integrity, despite all the pressure, the threats, and the flattery that was brought to bear by the U.S. government, despite the United States government's demand that the issue of Puerto Rico be considered an internal question of the United States. And they called upon

the government of the United States of America to refrain from any political or repressive maneuvers tending to perpetuate the colonial status of that country. [Applause]

No more appropriate tribute could be paid to the Latin American traditions of freedom and to the heroic people of Puerto Rico, who in recent days have just celebrated another anniversary of the "Cry of Lares," which expressed their indomitable will for freedom some hundred years ago.

When speaking to the Latin American reality, the heads of state or government, who had already analyzed the significance of the liberating process that took place in Iran, could not fail to refer to the revolutionary upheaval in Grenada and the remarkable victory of the people of Nicaragua and their vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front [Applause] and to emphasize the historic significance of that event for the peoples of Latin America and of the world. The heads of state or government also stressed something new in Latin American relations, something that sets an example for other regions of the world; namely the way in which the governments of Panama, Costa Rica, and Mexico, as well as the member countries of the subregional Andean Pact—Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela—acted in consort and solidarity to achieve a just solution of the Nicaraguan problem, as well as Cuba's traditional solidarity with the cause of that people.

End the Blockade

I confess that these considerations on Latin America would alone have justified the Cuban people's efforts and the work of the hundreds of thousands of men and women of our country who were determined to enable Cuba to give a worthy welcome to the fraternal nations of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries at the Havana summit conference. But for Cuba there was much more than this. There is something that, on behalf of our people, we would like to thank you for in this forum of the United Nations. In Havana, the Cuban people's right to choose their political and social system was supported, as was their claim to the territory occupied by the Guantánamo base, and the condemnation of the blockade with which the United States government continues its efforts to isolate the Cuban revolution, seeking to destroy it. [Applause]

We appreciate the deep feeling and the universal resonance of the movement's recent denunciation in Havana of the hostile acts, pressures, and threats against Cuba by the United States, declaring them to be a flagrant violation of the charter of the United Nations and of the principles of international law, as a threat to world peace.

Once again, we respond to our brothers, and we assure the international community that Cuba will remain true to the principles of international solidarity.

An Arduous Battle

Mr. President, history has taught us that when a people, freeing itself from a colonial or neocolonial system obtains its independence, it is at one and the same time the last act in a lengthy struggle and the first in a new and arduous battle. Because the independence, sovereignty, and freedom of our apparently free peoples are constantly threatened by foreign control over their natural resources, by financial impositions by official international bodies, and by the precarious situation of their economies, all of which reduce the fullness of our sovereignty.

For this reason, at the very beginning of their analysis of the world economic problems, the heads of state or government, "Once again solemnly emphasized the paramount importance of consolidating political independence through economic emancipation . . . and they therefore reiterated that the existing international economic system runs counter to the basic interests of the developing countries and is profoundly unjust and incompatible with the development of the Nonaligned countries and other developing countries, and does not contribute to the elimination of the economic and social evils that afflict those countries. . . ."



"You cannot speak of peace on behalf of tens of millions of human beings all over the world who are starving to death or dying of curable diseases. You cannot speak of peace on behalf of 900 million illiterates."

And furthermore, they emphasized "the historic mission that the Movement of Nonaligned Countries should play in the struggle to obtain the economic and political independence of all developing countries and peoples; to exercise their full and permanent sovereignty and control over their natural and all other resources and economic activities; and to promote a fundamental restructuring of the world economy through the establishment of the new international economic order."

And the statement concludes with the following words: "The struggle to eliminate the injustice of the existing international economic system and to establish a new international economic order is an integral part of the people's struggle for political, economic, cultural, and social liberation."

It is not necessary to show here how profoundly unjust and incompatible with the development of the underdeveloped countries the existing international economic system is. The figures are already so well known that it unnecessary for us to repeat them here.

There are discussions on whether there are only 400 million undernourished people in the world or whether the figure has once again risen to 450 million, as certain international documents stated. Four hundred million hungry men and women already constitute too heavy an accusation.

But nobody doubts that all the hopes that have been raised in the developing countries appear to have been dashed and extinguished at this ending of the second development decade.

The director-general of the Food and Agricultural Organization council has acknowledged that "progress is still disappointingly slow in relation to the long-term development goals contained in the International Development Strategy, in the Declaration and the Program of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order, and in the Resolution of the World Food Conference and in several subsequent conferences." We are still far from having achieved the modest 4 percent annual average increase in the developing countries' food and agricultural production, which was proposed ten years ago to solve some of the most

pressing problems of world hunger and to approach still-low consumption levels. As a result of this, food imports by the developing countries, which right now constitute an aggravating factor on their unfavorable balance of payments, will soon, according to FAO figures, reach unmanageable proportions.

In the face of this, official commitments of foreign aid to agriculture in the developing countries are falling off. This panorama cannot be prettied up. At times certain official documents reflect circumstantial increases in the agricultural production of some areas of the underdeveloped world, or stress the cyclical price increases registered by some agricultural items. But these are cases of transitory advances and of short-lived advantages.

The developing countries' agricultural export revenues are still unstable and insufficient to meet their import needs for food, fertilizers, and other items required to raise their own production. Per capita food production in Africa in 1977 was 11 percent below that of ten years earlier.

While backwardness in agriculture is perpetuated, the process of industrialization cannot advance either. And it cannot advance because most of the developed countries view the industrialization of the developing countries as a threat.

Industrial Stagnation

In 1975, the Lima World Conference on Industrialization proposed as a goal to the developing countries that we be responsible for 25 percent of the world's manufacturing output by the year 2000. But the progress from the Lima conference to today has been so insignificant that if the measures proposed by the Sixth Summit Conference are not implemented and if a crash program is not put into effect to modify the economic policies of most of the developed countries, that target will never be met. We now account for less than 9 percent of the world's manufactured output.

Our dependency is once again expressed in the fact that the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America import 26.1 percent of the manufactured goods that enter into international trade, and we export only 6.3 percent of them.

It may be said that some industrial expansion is taking place. But it does not take place at the necessary pace, nor in the key industries of industrial economy. This was pointed out at the Havana conference. The world redistribution of industry, the so-called industrial redeployment, should not consist of a new confirmation of the deep economic inequalities that emerged in the colonial era of the nineteenth century. At that time we were condemned to be producers of raw materials and cheap agricultural products. Now, an effort is being made to use the abundant labor power and starvation wages in the developing countries to transfer to them the low technology industries, the industries of lowest productivity, and those that most pollute the environment. We categorically reject this.

The developed market-economy countries today absorb more than 85 percent of the world's manufactured goods, including those whose industrial production requires the highest technology. They also control more than 83 percent of all industrial exports; 26 percent of those exports go to the developing countries, whose markets they monopolize.

The most serious aspect of this dependent structure is that our imports, that is, consumer items as well as capital goods, are all manufactured according to the demands, needs, and technology of the most developed industrial countries and the patterns of consumer societies, which are thus introduced through the chinks of our trade, contaminating our own societies, and in this way adding a new element to the already permanent structural crisis.

The result of all this, as was noted by the heads of state or government in Havana, is that the gap between the developed and developing countries not only persists, but has substantially increased. The relative share of the developing countries in the world output decreased considerably during the last two decades, which has still more disastrous effects on such problems as malnutrition, illiteracy, and poor sanitation and health services.

Some would like to solve the tragic problem of humanity with drastic measures to reduce the population. They remember that wars and epidemics helped to reduce population in other eras. They wish to go even further. They want to blame underdevelopment on the population explosion.

But the population explosion is not the cause, but the result of underdevelopment. Development will bring solutions to the problems of poverty and also, through education and culture, will help our countries to attain rational and adequate rates of growth.

A recent report put out by the World Bank paints an even blacker picture. It is possible—the report says—that by the year 2000 some 600 million people on this earth may still be submerged in absolute poverty.

Mr. President, distinguished representatives, the state of agricultural and industrial backwardness from which the developing countries have still not managed to emerge is, as the Sixth Summit Conference pointed out, undoubtedly the result of unjust and unequal international relations. But, as the Havana declaration also points out, to this is now added the prolonged world economic crisis.

I shall not dwell too long on this aspect. Let us however state that we heads of state or government consider that the crisis of the international economic system is not a phenomenon of a cyclical nature, but is rather a symptom of the underlying structural maladjustments and of a disequilibrium that are part of its very nature; and that that imbalance has been aggravated by the refusal of the developed market-economy countries to control their external imbalances and their high rates of inflation and unemployment. That inflation has precisely been engendered in those developed countries that refuse now to implement the only measures that could eliminate it. And let us further point out, and this is something to which we will return later and which has also

The debts of the least developed countries are burdens impossible to bear, to which no solution can be found. They must be cancelled!

been set down in the Havana declaration, that this crisis is also the result of the persisting inequality in international economic relations, so that eliminating the inequality, as we propose, will contribute to reducing and eliminating the crisis itself.

Havana Conference Guidelines

What are the main guidelines formulated in Havana by the representatives of the movement of nonaligned countries?

We condemn the persistent diversion of human and material resources into an arms race which is unproductive, wasteful, and dangerous to humanity. [Applause] And we demand that a substantial part of the resources now devoted to arms, particularly by the major powers, be used for economic and social development.

We expressed our grave concern over the negligible progress that has been made in the negotiations for the implementation of the declaration and the program of action on the establishment of a new international economic order. We point out that this was due to the lack of political will on the part of most of the developed countries and we specifically censure the delaying, diversionary, and divisive tactics adopted by those countries. The failure of the fifth UNCTAD session highlighted that very situation.

We confirm that the unequal exchange in international economic relations, defined as an essential characteristic of the system, has, if possible, become even more unequal. While the prices of manufactured goods, capital goods, foodstuffs, and services that we import from the developed countries are constantly rising, the prices of the raw materials we export are stagnating and are subject to constant fluctuation. The terms of exchange have worsened. We emphasized that protectionism, one of the factors aggravating the Great Depression of the 1930s, has been reintroduced by some developed countries.

The conference deplored the fact that in the GATT negotiations the developed countries belonging to it did not take into account the interests and concerns of the developing countries, especially the least developed among them.

The conference also denounced the way in which certain developed countries are intensifying their use of domestic subsidies for certain products, to the detriment of the products of the developing nations.

the conference further deplored the shortcomings in the scope and operation of the Generalized System of Preferences, and in that spirit condemned the discriminatory restrictions contained in the United States Foreign Trade Act and the inflexible positions adopted by some developed countries, which prevented the adoption of an agreement on these problems at the fifth session of UNCTAD.

We express our concern over the constant deterioration of the international monetary situation. The instability of the exchange rate of the main reserve currencies, along with inflation, increases the imbalance in the world economic situation, creates additional economic difficulties for the developing countries, lowering the real value of their export earnings and reducing the value of their foreign currency reserves.

We point out that the disorderly growth of international liquidity, mainly through the use of devalued United States dollars and other reserve currencies, is a negative factor. We note that while the inequality of international economic relations is raising the developing countries' accumulated foreign debt to over \$300 billion, the international financial bodies and the private banks are raising their interest rates, are imposing shorter terms of loan amortization, and are thus financially strangling the developing countries.

The conference denounced all this as constituting an element of coercion in negotiations, which allows them to obtain additional political and economic advantages at the expense of our countries.

The conference took into account the neocolonialist determination to prevent the developing countries from exercising their full, effective, and permanent sovereignty over their natural resources and it reaffirmed this right. It was for this reason that it supported the efforts of raw-material producing developing countries to obtain just and remunerative prices for their exports and to improve, in real terms, their export earnings.

Moreover, the conference paid more attention than ever to the strengthening of economic relations and to scientific-technical and technological transfers among the developing countries. The concept of what could be defined as "collective self-reliance," that is, mutual support and collaboration among the developing countries, so that in the first place they will depend on their own collective forces, is given greater emphasis in the Havana declaration than it ever had before.

Cuba, as president of the movement and coordinating country, intends together with the Group of 77 to do everything necessary to promote the program of action outlined by the conference with regard to economic cooperation.

Nevertheless, we cannot conceive of that "collective self-reliance" as anything even remotely resembling self-sufficiency. We rather consider it to be a factor in international relations that will mobilize all the possibilities and resources of that considerable and important part of humanity represented by the developing countries and incorporate them in the general current of resources and economies that can be mobilized in both the capitalist camp and the socialist countries.

Energy and Monopolies

Mr. President, the Sixth Summit rejected the attempts of certain developed countries to try to use the question of energy to divide the developing nations.

The energy problem can only be examined in its historic context, by taking into account the fact that the wasteful consumption patterns of some of the developed countries and the role



"The Sixth Summit considered that . . . principles of peaceful coexistence also include the right of peoples under alien and colonial domination to self-determination, independence, sovereignty. . . ."

played by transnational oil corporations has led to the squandering of hydro-carbons, and by noting the plundering role of transnational corporations, which have benefited from cheap energy supplies—which they have used irresponsibly—up until only recently. The transnationals have been exploiting both the producers and consumers and reaping unjustified windfall profits, while at the same time falsifying facts by shifting the blame for the present situation onto the developing countries that are exporters of oil.

Permit me to recall that in my opening remarks to the conference I pointed out the desperate situation of the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries, especially the least developed ones, and at that time I expressed the confidence that the Nonaligned oil-producing countries would devise formulas to help alleviate the unfavorable situation of those countries that had already been hit by the world inflation and by the inequalities of trade relations, and who suffer serious balance-of-payments deficits and sharp increases in their foreign debts. But this does not obviate the principal responsibility of the developed countries, their monopolies, and their transnational corporations.

The heads of state or government, when considering the matter of energy from this standpoint, stressed that this subject should be the main focus of global negotiations within the United Nations, with the participation of all countries and linking the energy question to all the development problems, to financial and monetary reforms, to world trade and raw materials, so as to make a comprehensive and global analysis of the aspects which have a bearing on the establishment of the new international economic order.

In reviewing the main problems confronting the developing



"Some may think that we are asking too much, but I think that the figure [\$300 billion] is still modest. . . . Humanity wastes this much every year on its military spending."

countries within the context of the world economy, we could not fail to examine the functioning of the transnational corporations. Once again their policies and practices were declared unacceptable. It was charged that in their search for profits they exhaust the resources, distort the economy, and violate the sovereignty of developing countries. They undermine the rights of people to self-determination. They violate the principles of noninterference in the affairs of states. And they frequently resort to bribery, corruption, and other undesirable practices, through which they seek to subordinate—and they manage to subordinate—the developing countries to the industrialized countries.

In view of the inadequate progress achieved in the work carried out within the United Nations for drawing up a code of conduct to regulate the activities of transnational corporations, the conference reaffirmed the urgency of early completion of this work, in order to provide the international community with a legal instrument with which at least to control and regulate the activities of the transnational corporations in accordance with the objectives and aspirations of the developing countries.

In setting forth all the overwhelming negative aspects in the economic situation of developing countries, the Sixth Summit called special attention to the mounting problems of the least developed, the most disadvantaged, the landlocked countries, and those isolated in the hinterlands, and asked that urgent measures be adopted to alleviate their problems.

That, Mr. President, distinguished representatives, was the far from optimistic, rather somber, and discouraging picture which the members of the nonaligned movement had in mind when they met in Havana. But the nonaligned countries did not allow themselves to be swept into positions of prostration or exasperation, however understandable that might have been. While drawing up strategic concepts for advancing and continuing in their struggle, the heads of state or government repeated their demands and defined their positions.

Eliminating Unequal Exchange

The first and fundamental objective in our struggle consists of reducing and finally eliminating the unequal exchange that prevails today and converts international trade into a very useful and helpful vehicle for the plundering of our wealth. Today, one hour of labor in the developed countries is exchanged for ten hours of labor in the underdeveloped countries.

The Nonaligned countries demand that serious attention be paid to the integrated program for commodities, which up until now has been manipulated and juggled in the so-called North-

South negotiations. In the same way, we demand that the Common Fund, which was projected as an instrument of stabilization that would establish a permanent linkage between the prices we receive for our products and those paid for our imports, and which has scarcely begun to have an impact, be given a true impulse and impetus.

As far as the nonaligned countries are concerned, this linkage—which permanently ties the prices of their export items with the prices of basic equipment, industrial products, raw materials, and technology that they import from the developed countries—constitutes an essential pivot for all future economic negotiations.

The developing countries demand that the countries that have created inflation and have stimulated it through their policies adopt the necessary measures to control it and thus put an end to the aggravation of the unequal exchange between our countries.

The developing countries demand—and will continue their struggle to achieve—access to the markets of the developed countries for the industrial products of their incipient economies; a halt to the vicious protectionism that has been reintroduced in the international economy and that threatens once again to lead us into a murderous economic war; and that nonreciprocal tariff preferences be applied generally and without deceptive falsehoods so that the young industries of the developing countries can be developed without being crushed in the world market by the superior technological resources of the developed countries.

The Nonaligned countries consider that the negotiations which are about to be concluded on the law of the sea should not be used as certain developed countries seek to use them—to ratify and endorse the existing imbalance as regards sea resources—but should serve as a vehicle for equitable redress. The conference on the law of the sea has once again brought out and stressed the arrogance and imperialist determination of some countries which, placing their technological possibilities ahead of the spirit of understanding and accommodation requested by the developing nations, threaten to take unilateral action in carrying out deep-sea mining operations.

The foreign debt of the developing countries has now risen to \$335 billion. It is estimated that about \$40 billion a year goes to servicing this foreign debt, which represents more than 20 percent of their exports. On the other hand, the average per capita income in the developed countries is now fourteen times that of the underdeveloped countries. This situation is insupportable.

The developing countries need the establishment of a new system of financing, enabling them to obtain the necessary financial resources to ensure continuous and independent develop-

ment of their economies. These financing methods should be long-range and low-interest. The use of these financial resources should be completely at the disposition of the developing countries. This will enable them to establish a system of priorities for their own economies, in accordance with their own plans for industrial development, and it will help prevent those funds from being absorbed, as they are today, by transnational corporations, which use alleged financial contributions for development to aggravate the distortions of the developing countries' economies and reap maximum profits from the exploitation of these countries' resources.

The developing countries, and on their behalf the movement of Nonaligned nations, demand that a substantial portion of the immense resources now being squandered by humanity on the arms race be dedicated to development, which in turn would contribute to reducing the danger of war and to helping improve the international situation.

Expressing the position of all the developing countries, the Nonaligned countries call for the establishment of a new international monetary system, which will put an end to the disastrous fluctuations to which the main currencies used in the international economy, especially the United States dollar, are today subject. The financial disorder also hits the developing countries, which hope that when the outlines of the new international monetary system are drawn up, they, as the majority of the countries in the international community, representing as they do more than 1.5 billion men and women, may be given a voice in the decision-making process.

Summing up, Mr. President, distinguished representatives:

Unequal exchange is ruining our peoples. It must end!

Inflation, which is being exported to us, is crushing our peoples. It must end!

Protectionism is impoverishing our people. It must end!

The existing imbalance in the exploitation of the resources of the sea is abusive. It must be abolished!

The financial resources received by the developing countries are insufficient. They must be increased!

Arms expenditures are irrational. They must cease and the funds thus released must be used to finance development!

The international monetary system prevailing today is bankrupt. It must be replaced!

The debts of the least developed countries, and of those in a disadvantageous position, are burdens impossible to bear, to which no solution can be found. They must be cancelled! [Applause]

Indebtedness oppresses the rest of the developing countries economically. There must be relief!

The economic chasm between the developed countries and the countries seeking development, is not narrowing but widening. It must be closed!

These are demands of the underdeveloped countries.

Mr. President, distinguished representatives:

Response to these demands, some of which have been systematically presented by the developing countries in international forums through the Group of 77 and by the movement of Nonaligned countries, would permit a change of course in the international economic situation that would provide the developing countries with the institutional conditions for organizing programs that would definitely place them on the road to development.

Funds for Development

But even if all these measures were implemented, even if all the mistakes and evils of the present system of international relations were rectified, the developing countries would still lack one decisive element: international financing.

All the domestic and internal efforts, all the sacrifices that the peoples of the developing countries are making and are willing to make, and all the opportunities for increasing the economic potential that could be achieved by eliminating the inequality between the prices of their exports and those of imports and by

improving the conditions in which their foreign trade is carried out, would not be enough.

In the light of their true financial situation at present, they need further resources to be able both to play their debts and to make the enormous expenditures required on a global level required for the jump into development. Here again, the figures are far too well known to require repeating.

The Sixth Summit Conference was concerned not only because the debts of the underdeveloped countries were practically unbearable, but also because that debt was growing yearly at a rate that could be termed galloping and alarming. The data contained in the recent World Bank report, which came out while we were holding the conference in Havana, confirmed that the situation was growing worse daily. In 1978 alone, the foreign public debt of ninety-six of the developing countries rose by \$51 billion. This rate of growth has raised the foreign debt to the astronomical figures already mentioned.

We cannot, Mr. President, resign ourselves to this somber prospect!

Bombs may kill the hungry, the sick, and the ignorant, but bombs cannot kill hunger, disease, ignorance. Nor can bombs kill the righteous rebellion of peoples . . .

The most renowned economists, both Western and those who ascribe to Marxist concepts, admit that the system of international indebtedness of the developing countries is completely irrational and that its persistence could lead to a sudden interruption that might endanger the entire precarious and unstable balance of the world economy.

Some try to explain the surprising economic fact that the international banking centers continue to provide funds to countries that are technically bankrupt by arguing that these are generous contributions to help those countries meet their economic difficulties. But this is not so. In fact, it is an operation for saving the international capitalist order itself. In October 1978, the Commission of European Communities admitted by way of clarification:

"The present balance of the world economy depends to a considerable extent on continuing the flow of private loans to non-oil-producing developing countries . . . on a scale unprecedented prior to 1974, and any obstacle to that flow will endanger that balance."

World financial bankruptcy would be very hard, most of all for the underdeveloped countries and the workers in the developed capitalist countries. It would also affect even the most stable socialist economies. But it is doubtful that the capitalist system would be able to survive such a catastrophe. And it would be difficult for the resulting dreadful economic situation not to inevitably engender a world conflagration. There is already talk of special military forces to occupy the oil fields and the sources of other raw materials.

But if it is the duty of everyone to be concerned over this somber prospect, it is first of all the duty of those who possess the greatest wealth and material abundance.

In any case, the prospect of a world without capitalism is not too frightening to us revolutionaries. [Laughter and applause]

It has been proposed that instead of a spirit of confrontation we employ a sense of world economic interdependency that will enable us to call on the resources of all our economies to obtain joint benefits. But the concept of interdependency is acceptable only when you start by admitting the intrinsic and brutal injustice of the present interdependency.

The developing countries will not accept the unjust, arbitrary international division of labor which modern colonialism imposed on them with the English industrial revolution and which was widened and deepened by imperialism as "interdependency."

If we wish to avoid confrontation and struggle, which seem to

be the only road open to the developing countries—a road that offers long and arduous battles whose proportions no one today can predict—then we must all seek and find formulas for cooperation to solve the great problems, which, while affecting our peoples, cannot be solved without also affecting the most developed countries in one way or another.

Not so many years ago we stated that the irrational squandering of material goods and the subsequent waste of economic resources by developed capitalist society had already become intolerable. Is that not the cause of the dramatic energy crisis that we face right now? Who, if not the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries, has to bear the main brunt of it?

This sentiment of the necessity of putting an end to the waste of the consumer societies in regard to resources is very widely held.

World financial bankruptcy would be very hard most of all for the underdeveloped countries and the workers in the developed capitalist countries. It is doubtful that capitalism would be able to survive such a catastrophe . . . In any case, the prospect of a world without capitalism is not too frightening to us revolutionaries . . .

A recent document of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization states, "The present way of life, especially in the industrialized countries, may have to undergo a radical and painful change."

Naturally, the developing countries cannot and do not hope that the transformation they seek and the financing they require will come to them as a gift following mere analyses on international economic problems. In this process, which implies contradictions, struggles, and negotiations, the Nonaligned countries must first of all depend upon their own decisions and their own efforts.

That conviction emerges clearly from the Sixth Summit Conference. In the economic portion of the final declaration, the heads of state or government acknowledge the need to carry out in their countries the necessary economic and social structural changes, considering that this is the only way to eliminate the present vulnerability of their economies and to turn a simple statistical growth into genuine development.

Cuba's Example

The heads of state and government recognize that only thus will their people be willing to pay the price required of them to become the main protagonists in the process. As I said on that occasion, "If the system is socially just, the possibilities of survival and economic and social development are incomparably greater."

The history of my own country provides irrefutable proof of this.

The emerging and crying need to solve the problem of underdevelopment brings us back, Mr. President, to the problem I mentioned a little while ago, and which is the last one I should like to submit to this Thirty-Fourth Session of the General Assembly. I refer specifically to international financing.

One of the most serious phenomena that accompany the accelerated indebtedness of the developing countries, as we have already said, consists of the fact that the majority of the funds received from outside by the developing nations have to cover their trade balances and negative current accounts, renew their debts, and make interest payments.

If we take as an example the non-oil-exporting developing countries to whose situation I referred at the Havana conference, we note that in the last six years alone they have run up deficits in their balance of payments of over \$200 billion.

In view of this, the investments required by the developing countries are enormous and they need them primarily, and with

practically no exception, in those branches of production that yield low profits and therefore do not appeal to private foreign lenders or investors.

To increase the production of foodstuffs so as to do away with the malnutrition that afflicts those 450 million persons I mentioned earlier, we must provide many new land and water resources. According to specialized estimates, 76 million more hectares of land in the developing countries would have to be cultivated, and over 10 million more hectares of land irrigated in the next ten years to meet these needs.

Irrigation systems for 45 million hectares of land would have to be repaired. And therefore, even the most modest estimates admit—and I refer to aid and not the total flow of resources—that between \$8 billion and \$9 billion a year will be required to obtain an agricultural growth rate of from 3.5 to 4 percent in the developing countries.

With regard to industrialization, the estimates are far higher. The United Nations Conference on Industrial Development, when defining the goals for the Lima session, stated that at the heart of international development policy there should stand a target to be achieved in the year 2000 of annual levels of between \$450 billion and \$500 billion a year, of which a third, that is, from \$150 billion to \$160 billion, will have to be financed from external sources.

But, Mr. President, distinguished representatives, development includes more than agriculture and industrialization. Development primarily involves attention to human beings, who should be the protagonists and goal of all development efforts.

To cite the example of Cuba alone, I will point out that during the last five years our country has invested an average of nearly \$200 million a year in school construction. Investment in medical equipment and construction of public health facilities averages over \$40 million a year. And Cuba is only one of nearly 100 developing countries, and one of the smallest in terms of geography and population.

Therefore, it can be deduced that the developing countries will need tens of billions of dollars more invested every year to overcome the results of backwardness in education and in public health services.

This is the big problem that faces us.

And that is not, gentlemen, our problem alone, a problem solely for the countries victimized by underdevelopment and insufficient development. It is a problem for the international community as a whole.

Redressing Imperialist Plunder

On more than one occasion it has been said that we were forced into underdevelopment by colonization and imperialist neocolonization. Therefore the task of helping us to emerge from underdevelopment is first and foremost a historic and moral obligation for those who benefited from the plunder of our wealth and the exploitation of our men and women for decades and for centuries. [Applause] But it is at the same time the task of all mankind as a whole, as was stated at the Sixth Summit Conference.

The socialist countries did not participate in the plunder of the world and they are not responsible for the phenomena of underdevelopment. But even so, because of the nature of their social system, in which international solidarity is a premise, they understand and assume the obligation of helping to overcome it.

Likewise, when the world expects the oil-producing developing countries to contribute to the universal flow of external financing for development, it does not do so as a function of historic obligations and duties that no one can impose, but because of a hope for and a duty of solidarity among underdeveloped countries. The big oil exporting countries should be aware of their responsibilities.

Even those developing countries that are relatively more advanced should make their contributions. Cuba, which is not speaking here on behalf of its own interests and which is not defending here a national objective, is willing to contribute, in accordance with its means, thousands or tens of thousands of technicians, doctors, teachers, agronomists, hydraulic engineers,



"Cuba alone has invested an average of nearly \$200 million a year in school construction."

mechanical engineers, economists, middle-level technicians, skilled workers, and so on.

The time has therefore come for all of us to join in the task of drawing entire peoples, hundreds of millions of human beings, out of the backwardness, poverty, malnutrition, disease, and illiteracy that keep them from enjoying full human dignity and pride. [Applause]

We therefore must mobilize our resources for development, and this is our joint obligation.

Mr. President, there are so many special multilateral funds, both public and private, whose purpose is to contribute to one or another aspect of development, be it agricultural or industrial, or meeting deficits in the balance of payments. Therefore it is not easy for me, on presenting to this Thirty-Fourth Session of the General Assembly a report on the economic problems discussed at the Sixth Summit Conference of Nonaligned Countries, to formulate a concrete proposal for the establishment of a new fund.

But there can be no doubt that the problem of financing should be discussed thoroughly and fully in order to find a solution to it. In addition to the resources already mobilized by various banking channels, loan organizations, international bodies, and private finance agencies, we must discuss and decide upon the strategy

for the next development decade, so that in that strategy we will include an additional contribution of not less than \$300 billion at 1977 real value, to be invested in the underdeveloped countries and to be made in yearly installments of at least \$25 billion from the very beginning. [Applause] This aid should be in the form of donations and long-term moderate- and low-interest credits.

It is imperative that these additional funds be mobilized as the contribution of the developed world and of other countries with resources to the underdeveloped world over the next ten years.

Money for Arms or People?

If we want peace, these resources will be required. If there are no resources for development there will be no peace. Some may think that we are asking too much, but I think that the figure itself is still modest. According to statistical information, as I stated in the inaugural session of the Sixth Summit Conference of Nonaligned Countries, the world is making an annual investment in military expenditures of more than \$300 billion.

With \$300 billion you could in one year build 600,000 schools with a capacity for 400 million children; 60 million comfortable homes for 300 million people; 30,000 hospitals with 18 million beds; 20,000 factories with jobs for more than 20 million workers;

or you could build irrigation systems to water 150 million hectares of land, which with appropriate technology could feed a billion people. Humanity wastes this much every year on its military spending.

Moreover, consider further the enormous waste of human resources in full youth, of technicians, of scientists, of fuel, raw materials, and other items. This is the fabulous price of preventing a true climate of confidence and peace from existing in the world.

The United States alone will in the 1980s spend six times this much on military activities.

We are requesting less for ten years of development than is spent in a single year by the ministries of war, and much less than a tenth of what will be spent for military purposes in ten years.

Some may consider our demand irrational. But where the true irrationality lies is in the world's madness in our era and the peril that threatens humanity. The enormous responsibility of studying, organizing, and distributing these amounts of resources should be entrusted entirely to the United Nations. These funds should be administered by the international community itself on a footing of absolute equality for all countries, whether they be contributors or beneficiaries, without any political conditions, and without the amount of the donations having anything to do with the voting power and deciding when loans are to be granted and to whom.

Enough of words! Now to deeds! Enough of abstractions! We want concrete action . . .

Even though the flow of resources should be measured in financial terms, it should not consist only of money. It may well be made up of equipment, fertilizer, raw materials, fuel, and complete factories valued in the terms of international trade. Aid in the form of technical personnel and the training of cadres should also be considered a contribution and counted as such.

We are convinced, Mr. President, distinguished representatives, that if the secretary general of the United Nations, with the assistance of the president of the General Assembly, with all the prestige and weight of this organization behind them, and further supported from the very outset by the backing that the developing countries and especially the Group of 77 could and would give that initiative—we are convinced that we would be able to call together the various factors we have mentioned and initiate discussions in which there would be no room for the so-called North-South, East-West antagonisms, joining together instead all forces in a common undertaking, a common duty, a common hope. And that is how this idea that we are now submitting to the General Assembly could be crowned with success.

This is not a project that will benefit only the developing nations. It will benefit all countries.

As revolutionaries we are not afraid of confrontation. We have placed our trust in history and peoples. But as spokesman and interpreter of the feelings of ninety-five nations, I have the duty to struggle to achieve cooperation among people, a cooperation which if obtained on a new and just basis will benefit all countries comprising the international community and will especially improve the prospects for peace.

Development at the short-term view may well be a task entailing apparent sacrifices and even donations which may seem irrecoverable. But the vast world now living submerged in backwardness with no purchasing power and extremely limited consumer capacity will, with its development, add a flood of hundreds of millions of consumers and producers to the international economy. It is only in this way that the international economy can be rehabilitated and help the developing countries emerge from the crisis in which they are submerged.

The history of international trade has shown that development is the most dynamic factor in world trade. A major portion of the trade of today takes place among fully industrialized countries. We can assure you that as industrialization and progress spread throughout the world, so trade will also spread to the benefit of all.

And it is for this reason that on behalf of the developing countries we advocate our cause and we ask you to support it. But this is not a gift which we seek from you. If we do not come up with effective solutions we will all be equal victims of the catastrophe.

Humanity's Rights

Mr. President, distinguished representatives, human rights are very often spoken of, but we must also speak of humanity's rights.

Why should some people go barefoot, so that others may travel in expensive cars?

Why should some live only thirty-five years, so that others may live seventy?

Why should some be miserably poor, so that others be exaggeratedly rich?

I speak on behalf of the children of the world who don't even have a piece of bread. [Applause] I speak on behalf of the sick who lack medicine. I speak on behalf of those who have been denied the right to life and to human dignity.

Some countries are on the sea, others are not. [Applause] Some have energy resources, others do not. Some possess abundant land on which to produce food, others do not. Some are so glutted with machinery and factories that even the air cannot be breathed because of the poisoned atmosphere. [Applause] And others have only their own emaciated arms with which to earn their daily bread.

In short, some countries possess abundant resources, others have nothing. What is their fate? To starve? To be eternally poor? Why then civilization? Why then the conscience of man? Why then the United Nations? [Applause] Why then the world?

You cannot speak of peace on behalf of tens of millions of human beings all over the world who are starving to death or dying of curable diseases. You cannot speak of peace on behalf of 900 million illiterates.

The exploitation of the poor countries by the rich must cease.

I know that in many poor countries there are exploiters and those who are exploited.

I address myself to the rich nations, asking them to contribute. And I address myself to the poor nations, asking them to distribute.

Enough of words! Now to deeds. [Applause]

Enough of abstractions. We now want concrete action! Enough of speaking about a speculative new international order, which nobody understands. [Laughter and applause] We must now speak of a real, objective order which everybody understands!

I have not come here as a prophet of the revolution. I have not come here to ask or to wish that the world be violently convulsed. I have come to speak of peace and cooperation among the peoples. And I have come to warn that if we do not peacefully and wisely solve and eliminate the present injustices and inequalities, the future will be apocalyptic. [Applause]

The noise of weapons, of threatening language, and of overbearing behavior on the international arena must cease. [Applause]

Enough of the illusion that the problems of the world can be solved by nuclear weapons. Bombs may kill the hungry, the sick, and the ignorant but bombs cannot kill hunger, disease, and ignorance. Nor can bombs kill the righteous rebellion of the peoples. And in the holocaust, the rich, who are the ones who have the most to lose in this world, will also die. [Applause]

Let us say farewell to arms, and let us in a civilized manner dedicate ourselves to the most pressing problems of our times. This is the responsibility, this is the most sacred duty of the statesmen of all the world. Moreover, this is the basic premise for human survival.

I thank you. [Ovation]

Statement of the Fourth International

Nicaragua: Revolution on the March

[The following statement was adopted October 1 by majority vote of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

1. The July 1979 revolutionary overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship opens the way to the socialist revolution in Central America. This constitutes the most serious blow to U.S. imperialism in Latin America since the opening of the Cuban revolution in 1959. The Pentagon considers the entire area of the Caribbean and Central America, from Florida to the southern end of the Panama Canal, to be a direct military preserve. This includes Cuba (with the Guantánamo base), Puerto Rico, Haiti, and Santo Domingo, as well as Nicaragua.

After the victory of the Cuban revolution U.S. imperialism tightened its grip on this region. The military dictatorships of Central America especially were more thoroughly integrated, militarily and politically, into the counterrevolutionary imperialist system. In 1961 the invaders of Cuba, who suffered a stinging defeat at the Bay of Pigs, left from Somoza's Nicaragua. An anti-Cuban press campaign was then organized by the Interamerican Press Association, whose vice-president was none other than Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, a leading bourgeois political opponent of Somoza.

The revolution in Nicaragua has exploded as the crisis of the dictatorial regimes in Central America, particularly in El Salvador is intensifying. Led by the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN), the victory of the Nicaraguan masses over the Somoza regime has great attractive power for the workers, peasants, and revolutionists throughout Latin America. It is part of a more general renewed upsurge of the toiling masses of the region which we have seen in the massive protest mobilizations in Colombia in 1977, the rise of workers militancy in Brazil in 1978 and 1979, the general strike and political radicalization expressed in the support to the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP) in Peru in 1979, the struggles and general strike in Bolivia in 1979, the accentuation of working-class resistance in Argentina, and the popular uprising in Grenada in 1979.

The imperialist strategists and politicians will do everything possible to contain and then smash the unfolding revolution in Nicaragua.

2. The death agony of Somozaism lingered for nearly two years. Beginning in

September 1977, demonstrations, guerrilla actions, strikes, and urban uprisings gradually multiplied, culminating in a popular insurrection that lasted one-and-a-half months.

The activities and goals of the mass movement, as well as its degree of organization, demonstrated the tendency of the masses to play an independent role—to refuse to subordinate themselves to the class needs of the opposition bourgeoisie. The latter mustered all its energy to come up with a negotiated solution to the crisis of Somozaism, to ensure the continuity of the National Guard and, aside from a few modifications, the rest of the state structure.

The Somozaist regime was largely the creation of American imperialism. U.S. military forces operated in Nicaragua from 1911 on. The United States government placed Anastasio Somoza García at the head of the National Guard in 1933. In 1936, through a power grab ratified by fake elections, he became president. The origin of Somozaism—a regime imposed and propped up by the United States—was an important factor in explaining why any broad opposition movement that developed immediately combined struggle against the dictatorship with anti-imperialism.

To try to bolster its legitimacy, the dictatorship allowed a bourgeois opposition party, the Conservative Party, to exist. But the Somoza family's complete control of the state apparatus, the National Guard, and the Liberal Party demonstrated the real content of this "two-party" system. The dictatorship resorted to fake elections (1957 and 1967), constitutional maneuvers (1963), a state of siege (1974-77), and fierce repression in an attempt to solve the festering crisis of its system of domination.

The opposition bourgeoisie strengthened its economic position during the 1960s. Integration in the Central American Common Market fostered the development of agribusiness and industry. Established bourgeois groups profited and broadened their base in industry, agribusiness, and banking. They opposed the Somoza family and its hangers-on because they were "unfair" competitors. However, they needed the regime's army to guarantee the general conditions for superexploitation of the workers and agricultural laborers and to combat the military initiatives of the FSLN.

The state of siege decreed in December 1974, after the FSLN captured many digni-

taries of the regime, gave impetus to the political crisis of the bourgeoisie. They all took advantage of the state of siege to crush the workers demanding higher wages (the 1973-74 strikes in the construction industry and hospitals). This helped the bourgeoisie carry out the necessary structural transformations of the economy stemming from the development of the international capitalist recession. But the Somoza clique took advantage of emergency legislation and military tribunals to monopolize speculative operations and get their hands on profitable business. The opposition bourgeoisie found this unequal match more and more unbearable as the economic crisis deepened.

No oppositionists were any longer safe from the repression, the ferocity of which was eliminating the last traces of legitimacy of the regime at the same time that it legitimized the masses' use of armed struggle as a component of political action. The opposition bourgeoisie began to take its distance from the dictator more clearly and call for his departure. By September 1977, the Somozaist regime was politically isolated within the country, and its international decline was accelerating.

3. From the end of 1977 to the end of 1978, the different factions of the opposition bourgeoisie tried, unsuccessfully, to secure the departure of Somoza and his kin while keeping a lid on the mass movement.

On January 10, 1978, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal, owner of the big daily *La Prensa*, was assassinated by Somozaists. An entire process was set in motion. The opposition bourgeoisie and imperialism were robbed of an alternative leadership to Somoza having a following among broad layers of the petty bourgeoisie and to some degree a following among the popular masses. From 1974 on, Chamorro had brought together significant sectors of the bourgeoisie within the Democratic Union for Liberation (UDEL). As the head of *La Prensa*, he had forged an image as a resolute oppositionist. His elimination both accentuated the crisis among the bourgeoisie and made it more difficult to dam up the mass movement.

The UDEL issued a call on January 24 for an employers "strike," which paralyzed a big part of the economy. Under this pressure the Conservative Party broke its pact with Somoza's Liberal Party. Despite the repression, street demonstrations developed in Matagalpa and Managua, in which the FSLN showed itself politically. In early February, with attacks on National Guard barracks in cities like Gran-

ada and Rivas, FSLN armed initiatives acquired a new dimension.

When the UDEL suspended the employers "strike" on February 6, the effort by the trade-union leadership to transform it into a genuine workers strike failed. This reflected the relationship of class forces that shaped the broad opposition movement at that stage. But a few weeks later the popular uprisings in Monimbó (a district of Masaya) and Subtiava (a district of León) foreshadowed the dynamic of the coming insurrections. The prerevolutionary crisis intensified.

Under the spur of mass activity and the growing prestige of the FSLN, the opposition bourgeoisie reorganized its forces and sought, once again, to negotiate the dictator's exit. In July 1978 the Broad Opposition Front (FAO) was created. Along with others, it incorporated the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN) of Alfonso Robelo Callejas, an industrialist; the UDEL; and the Group of Twelve (public figures tied to industry, commerce, and the liberal professions). This latter group established links with the current of the FSLN called the "Tercerista" tendency. Both factions of the Stalinist Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN) also participated in the FAO. The Catholic church publicly called for Somoza's withdrawal.

But Somoza resisted, using the relative autonomy acquired during several decades of control over the state apparatus, the army, and a section of the country's economy. This placed the bourgeois opposition in a difficult position, especially in light of the FSLN's armed actions such as the spectacular occupation of the National Palace on August 22-24, which resulted in the freeing of FSLN prisoners. To the masses it was clear that the FSLN was the only opposition force that had turned its back on behind-the-scenes negotiations to assure the succession of the regime and was determined to slug it out with Somoza.

The FAO, pushed to the wall, issued a call on August 25 for a total economic stoppage. The employers association—unlike in the January protest stoppage called by the UDEL—supported the action. Its consequences were three-fold: the economic crisis deepened and the workers were the first to pay the price for it, which intensified the class division within the anti-Somoza forces; the mass movement displayed a growing independence from the bourgeois leadership in comparison to the manufacturers "strike" of January; on this momentum, the FSLN launched its military offensive of September 9 in the cities of León, Estelí, Masaya, and Chinandega, where the popular uprisings culminated in takeovers by the masses.

The counterattack by the National Guard was strong and brutal. By the end of September it had succeeded. A massacre of youth and anyone suspected of FSLN sympathies was unleashed. But the FSLN forces swelled as thousands of youth es-

aped the cities and joined its ranks to avenge those who had been slaughtered.

Somoza had won a military battle, but he came out of it politically isolated internationally. The opposition bourgeoisie sought to use this weakness, as well as the momentary retreat by the masses, to make one last attempt to negotiate what the FSLN dubbed "Somozaism without Somoza."

Under the aegis of a mediation panel—on which the United States was flanked by Guatemala and the Dominican Republic—the FAO began a "dialogue" with the dictatorship. American imperialism's direct intervention in the negotiations led the "Tercerista" wing of the FSLN to break with the mediation efforts in October 1978. Followed by the Group of Twelve, both cut off relations with the FAO, gutting its negotiating authority. Despite the multiple concessions made by the FAO, the "dialogue" with the dictatorship came to an end in mid-January 1979.

This division initiated a new stage in the organization of the anti-Somoza forces. The National Patriotic Front (FPN) was formed, reflecting the weakening bourgeois role in the anti-Somoza camp. It encompassed a few minor bourgeois formations, the Group of Twelve, and the United People's Movement (MPU), which included various trade unions as well as mass organizations largely led by the FSLN. Very importantly, two of the labor federations, the Federation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN) and the Independent General Confederation of Labor (CGTI), affiliated. On January 10, 1979, the anniversary of Chamorro's assassination, tens of thousands of demonstrators came out into the streets of Managua at the call of the FPN. In the afternoon, the workers who had demonstrated initiated a one-day general strike.

Three changes found expression in this new phase of the struggle. First, the FPN more clearly took up the demands of the popular masses who were hit by the crisis, and called—for the first time—for expropriation of the Somoza clique's assets as well as for dissolution of the National Guard. Second, the FSLN consolidated the political organization of the mass movement under the umbrella formation of the MPU, and thus prepared the way for organizing popular committees. Third, convergence among the different tendencies in the FSLN was facilitated by the "Terceristas'" break with the FAO. The struggles against the dictatorship and imperialism were now inseparably intertwined in the movement against Somoza. The conditions for the insurrection were ripening.

4. The revolutionary overthrow of the Somozaist regime by a nationwide general strike that was transformed into an insurrection in the main cities of Nicaragua was

preceded and prepared by the military offensive organized by the FSLN.

The social forces that supported and participated in the heroic battle against imperialism and the dictatorship were concentrated among the proletarian and semiproletarian forces of the cities, the agricultural proletariat, the semiproletarianized and pauperized peasantry, and sections of the radicalized petty bourgeoisie (the student movement and women's movement, organized in AMPRONAC—Association of Women Concerned with the National Problem), all of whom were brought under the banner of the MPU.

During the last two decades, imperialist and native capitalist penetration of the countryside and the development of agribusiness—based on the cultivation and exportation of cotton, coffee, sugar and meat—had a twofold consequence: the impoverished peasants were driven into the cities and the ranks of the agricultural proletariat employed in the big modernized estates swelled.

Industrial development was tied to agricultural exports (canning, food industries), to industries aimed at exports to the Central American Common Market (textiles, pesticides, fertilizers, food) and to a new wave of imperialist investments (assembly or finishing plants, including in the tax-free and duty-free zone of Managua, the city where 85% of light manufacturing was concentrated). Thus, even though it remained relatively weak, the industrial proletariat grew and consolidated itself during the last few years. If we add construction workers (whose numbers grew rapidly immediately after the earthquake in 1972), and transport workers, the industrial proletariat in 1978 represented a force of approximately 100,000 out of an economically active population of roughly 700,000.

The urban population grew by 50% between 1970 and 1978 when it reached a total of 1,265,000 persons out of a population of 2,400,000. This was reflected not only in the swelling of the proletariat but also of the underemployed or unemployed semiproletarian masses who crowded around the major cities. These changes in the social structure are related to the central role of the urban insurrections in the fight against the dictatorship.

The majority of the agricultural proletariat of 300,000 work in the cotton, coffee, and sugar industries. Women and children constitute a significant proportion of this labor force, which is largely dependent on temporary work and which migrates according to the agricultural cycle. Savagely superexploited, these workers see their wages taken back by their employers, who own the stores that sell the necessities they must have.

The concentration of land ownership is demonstrated by the fact that 1.5% of the landowners own 41.2% of the arable lands. The Somoza family itself grabbed between a quarter and a third of these *latifundia*. At the opposite end of the spectrum, 78.2% of working farmers owned only 17.7% of the land. This includes a large number of poor peasants, who in addition to working their plots are also compelled to sell their labor power in order to survive.

The economic crisis, which had intensified after 1975, dealt a brutal blow to the working class, the rural proletariat and the semiproletarianized small peasants, who already lived in some of the worst poverty in Central America. The economic collapse in 1978-79, the disruption of the agricultural cycle during the civil war, and the devaluation of the cordoba by 43% in April 1979, which caused an inflationary explosion, made the life of the toiling masses unbearable. An ever higher percentage of them—approaching 50% of the active population in mid-1979—were doomed to unemployment. The urban petty bourgeoisie was also hard hit. To this should be added the massive repression, which became the sole instrument of rule after the failure of the FAO negotiations. With their backs to the wall, the masses saw the overthrow of the tyranny as the only way to survive. Social polarization was widened to the utmost.

In Nicaragua, the working class, like the agricultural proletariat and the pauperized peasantry, did not have a long tradition of *organized* struggles as in Cuba and Guatemala. Nevertheless, beginning in 1973-74, the trade-union movement made significant progress. In 1977, the formation of the Agricultural Workers Association marked a step forward in the organization of this social layer.

In the final months, land occupations, general strikes and urban uprisings combined with the military attacks on the cities by the FSLN and guerrilla operations, demonstrating the convergence of those exploited and oppressed social layers which were the motor force of the Nicaraguan revolution in the head-on battle against Somoza.

The two years of open combat against the dictatorship acted as a powerful stimulus to the development of mass consciousness. The widespread organization of the masses in neighborhood committees and self-defense units gave a distinctive character to the last ten months of the struggle. The intervention of the masses in this form was to be a factor in unleashing the dynamic of the permanent revolution.

Sandinism gave a common ideological and political element to the fight against the dictatorship. The power of the Nicaraguan ruling classes was almost entirely dependent on American imperialism, and this was obvious to the masses. After the ouster of Santos Zelaya by the United States in 1909, no substantial sector of the local oligarchy mounted any resistance to



Managua's Santa Rosa neighborhood in August.

Gary Bridges/Militant

American domination. Thus, Augusto César Sandino's military struggle against imperialism from 1927 to 1933 was inseparable from the struggle against the dictatorship established by the U.S. Marines. The armed struggle against imperialism and the dictatorship thus expressed a class division. The essential features of Sandinism incorporated a type of revolutionary nationalism of petty-bourgeois origin, but with very deep popular roots.

5. From the time of its formation in 1961 under the impact of the socialist revolution in Cuba, the FSLN was able to tap the tradition of this radical anti-imperialist movement. Thus, in comparison with other armed struggle movements that arose in Latin America during the same period, it had a somewhat broader appeal once the masses began to enter into struggle.

Furthermore, the very origin of the dictatorship, the crushing weight of the National Guard in the Somozaist apparatus, the regime's inability to broaden its social base and acquire legitimacy and the absence of any political niche whatsoever for the petty bourgeoisie, created fertile ground for the FSLN's activity.

Against a backdrop of economic crisis, all these factors came to the fore in the second half of the 1970s. Starting in mid-1978, masses of young workers, poor peasants, agricultural laborers, students, and

unemployed youth began to join the FSLN's military actions. Large numbers of young women—workers and students—took part.

The division of the FSLN into three tendencies in 1975 (in reality three separate parties) revealed the sharpness of the debates over the forms of struggle against the dictatorship. But the content of the discussions reflected the ripening of objective conditions favoring the overthrow of Somoza. These debates were over the relation between armed struggle and the mobilization of the masses, the role of urban mobilizations and those of the peasantry, the importance of the radicalization of sections of the petty bourgeoisie, the relation between military and political activities, and the purpose of pacts with the opposition bourgeoisie.

Two tendencies claimed to be Marxist: the "Prolonged People's War" tendency and the "Proletarian" (Marxist-Leninist) tendency. The former, identifying with the Chinese, but above all with the Vietnamese experience, envisioned a war of liberation that would be supported by a strong base in the rural areas and could thus deal decisive blows to the cities. The latter put the emphasis on work in the cities, especially in the neighborhoods, but also in the labor movement, student movement, and the women's movement. This was preparation for an urban uprising which would

coincide with an offensive by FSLN troops. The "Proletarian" tendency was the most dubious about a policy of allying with the bourgeoisie, and did not spare its criticisms of the third tendency, the "Terceristas." The latter represented the biggest force numerically. They were the most involved in military actions and in relations with sectors of the bourgeoisie within the FAO. Part of their leadership had ties with the Second International.

None of the three tendencies developed a clear understanding of the dynamic of the permanent revolution that would come into play with the overthrow of the dictatorship. Some advocated that the struggle be limited to establishing a "bourgeois democratic stage." Others saw such a stage simply as a temporary step on the way to a socialist revolution.

Each tendency consciously worked to maintain the common framework of the FSLN. The debate among them accelerated the political development of the FSLN as a whole.

An important transformation took place in the FSLN after the unification of the three tendencies in December 1978. As the common statement of the new leadership of the FSLN explained, this unification was carried out to "guarantee that our people are not dispossessed of their heroic struggle by the maneuvers of Yankee imperialism and sectors of the local bourgeoisie who are ready to sell out the fatherland."

Under the pressure of the need to lead the civil war and the popular insurrection, the structures of the old tendencies broke up. The leading bodies of the former tendencies were fused. The breadth of the mass mobilizations, and the semispontaneous rise of committees and even popular militias stimulated the ideological development of the cadres of the FSLN who were leading this process. The impetuosity of the mass movement forced them to make constant readjustments. The collapse of the institutions of the Somozaist regime gave rise to a revolutionary process that did not fit the preconceived schemas of the "democratic stage." The FSLN thus underwent a profound transformation; the former lines of cleavage were rendered obsolete.

The intransigent and courageous combat of the FSLN, its leading role in the first phase of the revolution, its ties to the living forces of the mass movement, the lessons that this leadership, still pragmatic and heterogeneous, has drawn from the powerful upsurge of the class struggle, testify to the potential for further political development by the cadres of the FSLN.

6. At the end of May 1979, the FSLN launched a new wave of military attacks. It opened up several fronts, which served to scatter the forces of the National Guard and weaken the control of the repressive apparatus in the cities. On June 4, a general strike, this time called by the

FSLN, paralyzed the entire country.

In the days that followed, insurrections broke out in Chinandega, León, Matagalpa, Estelí, Masaya, Granada, and Carazo. In fact, the leaders of the FSLN had been carefully preparing this insurrection since March. The Civil Defense Committees (CDC) organized a political campaign. With the help of AMPRONAC, they set up small clinics and infirmaries. They built up stores of basic foodstuffs and other necessities. They stockpiled Molotov cocktails and homemade contact bombs to defend themselves against Somoza's murderous assault. They established underground print shops with primitive equipment, ready to start operations whenever necessary.

A spontaneous insurrectional movement began on June 10 in the main working-class neighborhoods of Managua. "Liberated zones" sprang up in the capital. Managua's toiling population—with its youth in the forefront—mounted an eighteen-day siege against the aircraft, artillery, and armored tanks of the National Guard. Their courage and determination enabled them to hold out despite the weakness of their weaponry. On June 28, the FSLN organized an orderly retreat by 6,000 persons to Masaya, a city twenty-eight kilometers away, which demonstrated the FSLN's authority and prestige among the toiling population and the residents of the working-class neighborhoods, as well as their degree of self-discipline.

On June 17, the *Junta of the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction* (GRNN) was set up. Taking the form of a coalition with bourgeois figures, its membership—Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, the widow of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro (leader of the UDEL); Sergio Ramírez Mercado (a member of the Group of Twelve); Alfonso Robelo Callejas (industrialist and founder of the MDN); Daniel Ortega (representing the FSLN); and Moisés Hassan (representing the MPU)—fundamentally reflected the regroupment of forces that had taken place with the

FPN. Its composition remains the same today.

On June 24, the Organization of American States declared its opposition to Somoza, whose isolation within the country was symbolized by his "bunker." Internationally he was supported only by the dictatorships of Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. Israel joined in, delivering weapons to him. Imperialism took its distance from Somoza only with great hesitation and reticence. Its strategy always included the goal of maximizing the genocidal destruction Somoza would bring down on the workers and peasants of Nicaragua. That was considered a prerequisite for making a smooth transition to a new bourgeois regime.

The national bourgeoisies of Venezuela, Mexico, Costa Rica, and Panama, with the consent of American imperialism, stepped up efforts to assure that the unfolding of the civil war would not break the continuity of bourgeois state institutions and to guarantee at least a sector of the National Guard would fuse with the "regular" FSLN troops. To this end, these governments were forced to recognize the GRNN.

The civil war and the developing insurrection had a profound impact on the organization of the masses and the armed forces of the FSLN, as dual power developed in Nicaragua.

In the liberated cities, the CDCs became *organs of people's power*. They replaced the administrative structures of the Somozaist regime. They carried out the multiple tasks related to food distribution, medical care, minimal sanitation, and city administration, while maintaining order and paralyzing the remaining Somozaist capacity for action.

Popular militias were formed in the course of the insurrection, not only in the cities but also in some rural areas. These strengthened the FSLN's military potential, even though they possessed only primitive weapons. Most arose spontaneously in response to the needs of resistance

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to the National Guard's counterattacks. They were generally led by members of the FSLN and placed themselves under the command of the front. The militias appear under various names, such as Popular Action Committees (PAP), Revolutionary Commandos of the People (CRP), and Revolutionary Youth Brigade (BJR).

Finally, the FSLN's *regular troops* increased in number. On the northern and southern front, the FSLN forces more and more took on the features of a regular army whose strength made possible large-scale confrontations with the National Guard.

The latter possessed a hard core of some 7,000 men, which since September 1978 had been reinforced by the compulsory recruitment of 8,000 new members. The FSLN troops, with only light infantry weapons, never exceeded 5,000 men, to which must be added the several thousand irregular fighters in the cities, most often youth. The synchronization of the urban insurrections, the long-term fierce resistance of the population in the working-class neighborhoods of Managua, and the coordinated attacks by the FSLN on several fronts increasingly demoralized the National Guard, confining its activity to defense of its own barracks and Somoza's "bunker."

Somoza's flight on July 17 inaugurated the final phase in the overthrow of the regime. The Somozaist deputy Francisco Urcuyo was supposed to transfer power to the Junta of the GRNN. But above all, according to the American plans, his role was to make a transition that would guarantee a role for at least an important section of the National Guard in the military structure of the new regime. Urcuyo's appeals to the FSLN to lay down their arms, and his proclaimed determination to remain in office through the 1981 presidential elections, were the final provocation in the eyes of the FSLN. The entire house of cards built on the hope for "change with continuity" came tumbling down.

The FSLN launched a final military offensive to remove Urcuyo. The population of Managua again rose up massively. Militia fighters and residents of the working-class neighborhoods captured the "bunker" and distributed among themselves the tens of thousands of weapons that they appropriated. The National Guard shattered. A big section fled, with weapons and baggage, to Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. The FSLN's regular troops made their entry into the capital, and the Junta of the GRNN was installed in Managua.

7. The various decrees adopted by the Junta of the GRNN in the first two months give a clear indication of the initial direction the revolution is taking in the wake of the victorious popular insurrection.

The enormous assets of Somoza and the Somozaists were expropriated by July 20;

these included banking, industry, commerce, transport, fishing fleets, agriculture, real estate, shipyard and port equipment, and media property.

The banks were nationalized and all foreign banking placed under strict control. This is a necessary first step to prepare economic planning.

All maritime, air, and essential land transport have been nationalized.

The agrarian reform has begun, starting with the land taken from Somoza and his cohorts. This represents around 50% of the arable land. Given the lack of farm equip-



SANDINO

ment, fertilizer, other materials, and financial resources, and the small numbers of technical cadres, this reform is being carried out first in those regions where the agricultural proletariat is numerous (the cotton region for instance), and where small farmers live in conditions of extreme poverty. Distribution of the land, establishment of cooperatives or communal ownership of the lands (Sandinist Agricultural Production Units—UPAS), and creation of state farms (State-owned Production Units—UPES) are the basic measures of the present agrarian reform. A decree abolishing the right to expropriate small farmers for reasons of indebtedness rounds out the initial steps. The agrarian reform is being organized by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA), which is headed by one of the nine FSLN commanders of the revolution, Jaime Wheelock. An integral part of the agrarian reform is the independent organization of the campesinos in the Association of Field Workers (ATC).

A state monopoly has been established over the principal exports of food and agricultural products. Somoza's arms debts owed to Israel and Argentina have been abrogated, but the pressure of the massive foreign debt remains and the

question of how to deal with it is unresolved.

The withdrawal of 500- and 1,000-cordoba bills took away the capital of a section of the Somozaists who had taken refuge in the embassies or fled, and dealt a blow to businessmen who had taken advantage of the civil war to sell cattle illegally or to initiate other speculative operations. This radical measure against the capitalists not only makes possible a redistribution of the wealth according to the needs of the masses, but it also foreshadows the possibility of other decrees in the realm of currency to fight economic sabotage.

The educational system was reorganized; a centralized public health system is being established; the social security system is being set up on an effective basis for the first time in Nicaraguan history, and public health campaigns have been launched (vaccination, for example). A literacy campaign to teach 700,000 persons to read and write will begin early in 1980, to be implemented over a two-year period by teachers and students. The first steps have been taken to ensure distribution of drinkable water in the poorest neighborhoods, and establish minimal child-care facilities and health clinics.

After forty years of dictatorship, the democratic rights of the masses have been assured.

The FSLN inherited a country that had been bled dry. At least forty thousand persons died in the civil war, the number of wounded reached 80,000 and the productive apparatus was paralyzed to a large extent by the destruction. The agricultural cycle was disrupted. One million persons have to be fed, 45% of whom are children under fifteen years old. The foreign debt amounts to \$1.5 billion, but the Somozaists left virtually nothing in the state treasury.

In such a situation—given the lack of experienced cadres, the relative newness of the organizations of the masses, the embryonic character of the party the FSLN is starting to build, the constant and real threat of counterrevolutionary military intervention, and all the constraints imposed by international imperialism and its institutions—the FSLN is seeking to gain time. They must have a breathing space, in order to organize the support of the masses, who are becoming more politicized, in order to stand up to a bourgeois counterattack that will without question be unleashed as the revolution deepens.

In the short run a pressing objective is to begin a minimal level of production in the privately owned industries and the big and medium-sized farms that are still in the hands of their owners.

In the same way, it is correct to appeal for aid from all countries to obtain credits and food (even if this may be used as a means of pressure).

"Reconstruct Nicaragua" is a slogan that corresponds precisely to the extreme



A strong regular army is needed to discourage counterrevolutionary invasions.

economic and social crisis in the country, and to the urgent needs of the masses, 60% of whom are at present doomed to unemployment.

But the semicolonial nature of Nicaragua and the depth of the devastation mean that the needs of the masses cannot be met in the framework of a "mixed" capitalist economy combining a state-owned and a private sector which is aided by the former. If private ownership is maintained, if the laws of capitalist accumulation continue to dictate the country's economic development, the immense efforts of the toiling population can only be rewarded by austerity measures and by the continuation of a miserable living standard. That would be the only way to guarantee capitalist profits.

The agrarian reform will not be able to reach its stated goals in the social and economic areas if it does not become closely linked with nationalized industry operating under workers control, with both sectors included in an overall economic plan.

Economic aid from the imperialist countries and the capitalist countries of Latin America will be an instrument for attempting to attach the Nicaraguan economy to the international capitalist market. It will be used to try to impose the decisions reached in the inner sanctums of the International Monetary Fund, which will insist that repayment of loans take prece-

dence over social needs, thus reinforcing the pressure for an austerity program.

The final result of such a course would be to firmly reinstate the bourgeoisie—in collaboration with Somozaists and a sector of the petty bourgeoisie—in command of the country. Repression against the vanguard and the masses would have to be reinstated and imperialism would regain many of its former positions.

Thus the "reconstruction of Nicaragua" in the interests of the workers and poor peasants makes it necessary to extend workers control of production; expropriate the imperialist banks and enterprises; repulse the attempts of the imperialist financial institutions to use the foreign debt as a means of pressure; nationalize the remaining privately owned industries and large firms; and begin overall economic planning. Along this path, the system of capitalist accumulation will be destroyed.

In other words, the tasks before the Nicaraguan masses and their leadership require resolutely continuing along the road opened twenty years ago by the Cuban revolution.

8. Today, to prepare to carry out these tasks means strengthening all the organizations the toiling masses began building during their struggle against the dictatorship and in the first months of their revolution.

The anti-Somoza bourgeoisie saw the overthrow of the dictatorship as the way to install a democratized and modernized bourgeois state that would be able to restructure and revitalize the economy. This, they hoped, would permit the industrialists and business owners to improve their position in the Central American Common Market, and, more generally, to profitably adjust the place occupied by Nicaraguan capital in the international division of labor. A state sector would aid such a reorganization of the economy. This perspective was shared by one faction of the Nicaraguan Stalinists that collaborated closely with the FAO.

The revolutionary overthrow of the tyrant, however, did not put the Nicaraguan revolution on this road. The growing indications of uneasiness among the bourgeoisie offer striking confirmation.

The FSLN is now encouraging and organizing the formation and extension of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS). It has given them the central role in administering not only the neighborhoods (districts) but the municipalities. The neighborhood CDSs democratically elect delegates to Sandinista district committees (CBS). From the CBSs, delegates are elected to the zonal councils. Thus a democratically structured formation is being built which centralizes and coordinates the CDSs on a municipal scale. The CDSs combine these administrative functions

(which continue to increase following the collapse of the old structures) with functions of surveillance, cultural activities, and political agitation and propaganda. They represent at once organs to administer government power and the main political formations through which the FSLN political leadership in the neighborhoods is assured.

The FSLN has likewise encouraged and led the organization of a *Sandinista Workers Federation* (CST). These unions increase the degree of workers' organization; enable them to defend their economic, social, and political demands; and mobilize them for the defense and deepening of the revolution.

The development of the CDSs and their coordination and centralization not only at the municipal, but also at the regional and national level, intertwined with the implementation of economic and social policies made necessary by the economic crisis and the immediate needs of the masses, can only go in the direction of further weakening the economic and social power of the bourgeoisie. All steps in this direction prepare the way for the establishment of a workers state based on these organs, on the trade unions, and on the mass organizations. All major steps in this direction also inevitably exacerbate the confrontations between the classes and the political currents that reflect their interests.

In addition, the FSLN is setting up mass organizations for the youth, students, and women.

That is why maneuvering to gain the time to consolidate the CDSs and CST, to set up a mass youth organization (whose involvement in the struggle against the dictatorship was decisive) fits into a correct policy of preparing for future battles with the forces of counterrevolution. No headlong plunge into ultraleftism can replace this preparation, which is necessary to raise the consciousness of the masses. For it is the masses themselves who would be the main victims of any attempt to precipitate a premature confrontation.

The tempo will be dictated, to a large extent, by the logic of the conflicts involved in solving the social and economic crisis in the interests of the toilers, and by the danger of imperialist intervention. But preparing the masses through their own struggles to understand the inevitability of this confrontation—and doing so without adventuristically forcing the rhythm of the class struggle in its international context—is one of the most important and difficult tasks of the leadership of the revolution.

The unavoidable confrontation with imperialism is exactly what the FSLN leadership is feverishly preparing for. It has correctly devoted a large part of its energy to building an army, the Sandinist People's Army (EPS)—initially based on the "regular" guerrilla troops and on the incor-

poration of a section of the popular militias.

The Somozaist National Guard, with thousands of men, is waiting on the borders; it can be beefed up by CIA-recruited mercenaries and get support from the CONDECA (Central American Defense Council) military forces. Only a strong and efficient regular army can reduce the human cost of repulsing direct or indirect intervention by imperialism and its local allies.

The popular militias in the neighborhoods remain an important element of the revolution's defense system. The leadership of the FSLN has forcefully taken the offensive to defend the militias against the campaign launched by *La Prensa* concerning "abuses" by militia members. The FSLN has declared that it wants universal military training for youth and workers conducted in the barracks of the Sandinist People's Army.

The Sandinist People's Army and the popular militias—led, trained, and disciplined—are complementary to one another. Both are needed to respond to sabotage and military operations of all kinds. Nicaragua is geographically vulnerable to an armed invasion by counterrevolutionary forces.

Any plans the bourgeoisie may have of trying to consolidate a capitalist state and relaunch a rationalized capitalist economy are more difficult to realize because of the total replacement of the old army by the

FSLN troops. For this reason the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, together with the rulers of various Latin American countries, will try to "regularize" the Sandinist People's Army by offering to train the bulk of its officer corp in the military academies of Panama, Venezuela, or Mexico. The FSLN publicly rebuffed Carter's "offer" to initiate this process through bases in Panama.

In order to accomplish their strategic goals, the FSLN leadership places high priority on building a vanguard party, rooted in the masses, organized through the CDSs. The consolidation of the gains of the toiling masses in a workers state based on centralized workers, soldiers, and peasants committees is intimately connected to progress in the construction of a revolutionary socialist proletarian party within which the political vanguard of the Nicaraguan working class can debate out and decide the most important questions facing the revolution.

The character and history of the leadership of the FSLN as well as its role in the first phase of the revolution show that it would be an error to place any a priori limit beyond which decisive sectors of the FSLN cannot go as the process of permanent revolution unfolds.

9. The victorious popular insurrection tore apart the Somozaist bourgeois state structure and destroyed its central pillar, the National Guard. However, a decayed bourgeois state remains whose fundamen-



Nicaraguan children organized by FSLN.

Anibal Yañez/Perspectiva Mundial

tal laws protect private ownership of the means of production (industry and land), hence capitalist accumulation.

The bourgeoisie has its economic organizations (chambers of commerce and industry and various employers associations) which are supported by their counterparts in Central America and international financial institutions.

They own the country's main daily paper (*La Prensa*) and own and operate several radio stations; they are getting support from the Catholic hierarchy; and they are rebuilding their political parties, the Social Democrats, the Social Christians, and the Democratic Conservatives. They have a presence in the government, ministries, and central bank, and even have a finger in the FSLN.

This bourgeois camp faces the growing power of the CDSs, the popular militias, the CST, and the ATC. The prestige of the FSLN is based on these strengthened mass organizations. It is intensifying its educational and propaganda campaign through control of the daily *Barricada*, the only national TV network, and several radio stations.

Through large-scale nationalizations and the implementation of the agrarian reform, the economic and social power of the bourgeoisie has been weakened. Most importantly, the leadership of the FSLN totally and directly controls the armed forces, the Sandinist People's Army.

The FSLN, whose authority and prestige among the masses is undisputed, holds the real political decision-making power. This reflects the social relationship of forces, the FSLN's role in reinforcing and leading the mass organizations, and their total

leadership of the army and militia.

The place and role of the GRNN must be understood in the context of the present *transitional* phase in Nicaragua. While governmental decisions cannot be made without the consent of the leadership of the FSLN, it would be an error to reduce the bourgeois presence in this government to mere decoration. They get support from four sources: the native exploiting classes, which are trying to reorganize; imperialist institutions, which hope to slow down the advance of the revolution while the counterrevolution on the economic, diplomatic, and military planes is prepared; the national bourgeoisies in Latin America, who desire, above all, to prevent a new Cuba; and the international apparatus of the Social Democracy, which is a political tool of imperialism, especially for the European powers.

Progress toward the establishment of a workers state will be reflected in a realignment of social forces that will have repercussions in the composition of the government, including a break with bourgeois forces, and even shifts within the FSLN itself.

10. Revolution and counterrevolution are confronting one another in Nicaragua. In the near future, three different attempts to stall and then brutally reverse the revolution will converge, complement each other, or be jointly organized.

The first attempt is the preparation for a military intervention from the neighboring countries, through the proliferation of sabotage or the formation of a counterrevolutionary "guerrilla" force.

The second attempt—organized by imperialism and some Latin American bourgeoisies—will be to take advantage of

the urgent need for food, financial, technical, and economic aid in general. The pressures will be exerted in many ways. First of all, the imperialists seek to change the relationship of forces in various governmental and nongovernmental institutions (role of the central bank, place and role of the bourgeois ministers, etc.). In addition, aid programs may not only have strings attached, but may be channeled to specific sectors of the economy with the goal of reinvigorating a section of the bourgeoisie (for example, construction, an important sector that is still privately owned). Finally, the aid will be doled out in such a way as to make it appear that imperialism is not trying to strangle the revolution. But aid doled out with an eyedropper is part of a deliberate strategy to bide time until accelerating social and economic difficulties provoke a growing discontent and weaken the popular support and prestige of the Sandinistas. This is the precondition for any potentially successful political and military counterattack.

The third angle of attack is taking shape within Nicaragua itself. Using every weapon of economic sabotage at their disposal, all sections of the ruling classes will seek to prevent the liquidation of an economy based on private ownership.

Among the middle peasants, and even the small peasants, industrialists and latifundists will try to find allies to consolidate a social base of support.

At the present time, having lost control over events since the middle of July, the bourgeoisie is carrying on a political campaign to slow down the revolutionary process and reassert its role. This offensive is focused on trying to actually implement the "constitution of the Republic," which reflects the agreements signed in June. Their goal is to make the country's legal institutions into the sole real decision-making centers. They call for the "institutionalization" of a "Council of State" and demand that the Supreme Court assert its power. In this way they hope to reduce, before obliterating, the power of the CDSs, militias, the joint national leadership of the FSLN, etc.

Tomorrow, if economic dislocation produces a more tense political climate, the bourgeoisie will not wage a battle to "institutionalize" the popular organs of power but to hold "free elections" and set up parliamentary institutions.

The bourgeoisie understands quite well that the anticapitalist struggle combined with the fight against imperialism has replaced the struggle against the dictatorship. On the social and political level, this means that the working class and agricultural laborers and the poor peasantry will spearhead future developments in the revolution. Sabotage by the bosses, a capitalist investment strike, hoarding and speculation with respect to food products, and refusal to sow and harvest will need to be



Fred Murphy/IP-1

San Antonio sugar mill is striking example of reconstruction needs.

met by an extension of workers control over production, greater control over distribution by the neighborhood committees, and extension of the agrarian reform. It is through the CDSs, the CST, and the ATC that these battles can best be organized and led.

"Institutionalization," and tomorrow the campaign for "free elections," are tried and tested methods of the bourgeois counterrevolution when faced with the social dynamic and its organizational expression—the consolidation of the mass organizations.

To raise the slogan of "free elections" for a constituent assembly today amounts to blocking the proletariat's assertion of its anticapitalist strength, to counterposing the establishment of bourgeois parliamentary institutions to the development and nationwide centralization of organs of power of the popular masses. These institutions can only facilitate the bourgeois political counteroffensive, derail the mass movement, and break the dialectical interrelationship that has been established between the activity of the masses and the leftward evolution of the FSLN leadership.

To focus political intervention today on the slogan "all bourgeois ministers out of the government!" would likewise be to succumb to the sectarian temptation of applying an abstract schema. Such an orientation fails to correctly assess the far-reaching break in continuity that has taken place in terms of military power, the location of the real center of power, the character of governmental measures up to now, and the experiences necessary for the consciousness and organization of the masses to develop. Such a slogan amounts to deliberately choosing, today, a direct confrontation on the national and international level, based solely on the correct observation that representatives of antagonistic social forces exist within the governmental structure.

In the struggle to build a workers and peasants government, forces that to many appeared united in the struggle against the dictatorship will openly confront each other. But the coming confrontations can be most effectively prepared for today by explaining and supporting the government measures that help meet the needs of the toiling population and promote the organization of the masses.

11. The Nicaraguan revolution is part of the international confrontation of opposing class forces. A profound political crisis in relation to the U.S. rulers' use of military power, which has been a factor since the 1975 defeat suffered in Vietnam, was evident in Nicaragua. The U.S. had difficulty imposing its proposed solutions in 1978; and in 1979 the Organization of American States rebuffed the U.S.-sponsored drive for a joint military intervention.

But it would be false to draw the conclusion from these setbacks for Carter that

imperialism will not do everything possible to crush this revolution, which has been born right in its own backyard. Washington cannot be caught short by a new Cuba. Thus, the future of this revolution is closely tied to the relationship of forces on an international scale as well.

The Cuban leadership has given decisive support to the struggle against the Somozaist dictatorship. Cuba is massively aiding



Fred Murphy/IP-I

"My cause is the cause of my people, the cause of America, the cause of all the oppressed peoples."

the revolution following the victory, providing material, technical, and food aid. Hundreds of Cuban teachers, doctors, and nurses have come to the aid of the toiling masses in Nicaragua. The internationalism of the Cuban leadership has been clearly shown in support of this revolution.

Each new advance of the revolution in Nicaragua, with the shock waves that it directly spreads throughout Central America, not only raises the possibility of the extension of the revolution, but also poses two objective contradictions for the Cuban leadership.

First of all, to loosen the noose placed around Cuba's neck by American imperialism, the Cuban leadership is correctly seeking to develop economic ties with Latin American countries (Mexico, Venezuela, etc.). However, while these bourgeoisies may accept and even support a movement against a given dictatorship—in the hopes of having easier access to the Central American market—they are determined to prevent a socialist revolution in Central America. They will therefore negotiate the extension and strengthening of their trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba from this standpoint.

Secondly, the entire political strategy of the Soviet bureaucracy is to oppose any

disruption of the international status quo on the political and military level, especially in a part of the world that is so sensitive for the United States. The Cuban leadership must also take this into account, for only the USSR and the workers states could provide the necessary aid for Nicaragua in the event of a break with the capitalist world market.

The counterattack against Cuba launched by the United States, on the pretext of the "discovery" of a Soviet "combat brigade" on the island, is intended to give a warning to Castro, but is also an intervention in the relations between Havana and Moscow, designed to get the Kremlin to try to put a stop to the Cuban aid to the Nicaraguan revolution. Thus defending Cuba against this imperialist pressure and fighting to lift the economic blockade are intertwined with the defense of the Nicaraguan revolution.

12. The shock wave produced by the example of the Nicaraguan revolution is hitting the countries of Latin America. During the long mass struggle against Somoza, ties had already been established between the vanguard movements in the region.

The FSLN victory has had a powerful impact on El Salvador, the Central American country where the social and political crisis is the most mature.

The agrarian question is at the center of the crisis in El Salvador, a country where more than 4.2 million inhabitants are crowded into a territory one-sixth the size of Nicaragua.

Underemployment and unemployment are having devastating effects. More than 30% of the "economically active" rural population works only two to three months a year, and 20% works a maximum of six months a year.

While American imperialism firmly supports the military government, it would like to install some safety valves. At U.S. urging, President Arturo Armando Molina initiated a limited agrarian reform plan in 1977. It was rapidly shelved, not only because of the resistance of the landed oligarchy, but because the militancy of the agricultural laborers and impoverished peasants threatened to burst through the narrow limits of the reform.

In an ever more constricted economic climate the social and political crisis has intensified since 1978. The imperialist enterprises have frozen their investments; capital is fleeing the country. Strikes are proliferating, and the workers more and more often occupy factories that close or lay them off. They are defying the security forces with greater and greater confidence. The boldness of actions carried out by the armed urban resistance fronts is increasing. Despite the brutality of the military repression, mass demonstrations in the capital of San Salvador are becoming a common occurrence.

American imperialism is redoubling its

efforts to encourage a "democratic opening" that could defuse the explosion. The efforts are aimed at making use of an existing alternative bourgeois leadership.

However, the close relationship that exists between the agrarian question and any plan for a "democratic opening" increases the odds against the success of the fake liberalization measures being plotted by Washington. A massive explosion against the tyranny, which will be met by violent attacks from the army, becomes more and more likely.

This advance of the popular forces in El Salvador weakens the opportunities for launching a direct counterrevolutionary attack against Nicaragua from this country. At the same time, however, the overthrow of the Romero dictatorship would increase the pressure for imperialist intervention and would raise the stakes for the anti-imperialist forces in the region.

Throughout Latin America as a whole,

the impact of the Nicaraguan revolution and of its direct consequences in Central America is considerable. First, the oldest dictatorship in Latin America, which weighed heavily on the entire region, has been thrown out. Moreover, this revolutionary upsurge fits into a rising curve of mass activity on the continent since 1977, and can only strengthen it. Finally, the general features of the revolutionary process in Nicaragua, those that go beyond the unique aspects, can now be assimilated by the most conscious sectors of the proletariat seeking to develop a revolutionary strategy.

This revolution has once again highlighted:

In the current climate of economic crisis the internal contradictions within the bourgeoisie and its crisis of leadership are sharpened;

The combined activity of the semiproletarian urban masses, the working class, the agricultural laborers, the impoverished

peasants and sectors of the petty bourgeoisie can open a breach;

The interrelationship of the struggles against imperialism and a dictatorial regime, and their anticapitalist dynamic;

The central role of the organization of the masses themselves in the struggle against the dictatorship, especially in developing the conditions under which a general strike, guerrilla actions, and popular insurrection converge;

The predominance of proletarian forms of organization in the final phase of the struggle—trade union pickets and defense guards, people's militias, civil defense committees, armed detachments—and the dislocating effects these forms have on the bourgeois army;

The way in which the industrial and rural proletariat and the impoverished peasants move to center stage as the permanent revolution deepens;

The vital necessity of a revolutionary leadership to bring this process to its conclusion—that is, to expropriate the capitalists and nationalize all means of production, to destroy the bourgeois state, its institutions, and its army, to build a state based on the organs of workers power, to establish an overall economic plan corresponding to the interests of the toiling population, and to defend the gains of the revolution by arming the people.

13. The Fourth International and its sections must mobilize all their forces to defend the Nicaraguan revolution and support the FSLN.

American imperialism is already organizing an intervention to prevent the birth of a new Cuba in Latin America. It will need the more or less open complicity and participation of the Latin American bourgeoisies.

To stay the criminal hand of the American government and its henchmen and the counterrevolutionary maneuvers of the Latin American bourgeoisies, a vast solidarity and aid movement must be built through the broadest possible outreach and education work, and through the proliferation of united-front initiatives.

Members of the Fourth International in all countries of the world, first and foremost those in the Latin American sections, and their comrades who are struggling in the very heart of the bastion of Yankee imperialism—will be able to revive the example of proletarian internationalism provided by the movement against the imperialist war in Vietnam, which contributed to the resounding political defeat inflicted on Washington.

Economic aid and food are also weapons in the arsenal of revenge the international bourgeoisie will use against a revolution that has inherited the ruins of a bloody dictatorship!

The unified solidarity and aid movement must use every means to provide material help to Nicaragua.

It will demand that the mass working-



Anibal Yáñez/Perspectiva Mundial

Women have played a big role in the Nicaraguan Revolution.

class organizations, humanitarian and church groups, contribute their resources to meet the immediate needs of the Nicaraguan people.

It will expose governments that indulge in humanitarian rhetoric while doling out sums that are ludicrous by comparison with the needs of a population deprived of food and medical care. It will demand that these governments immediately provide massive aid, unconditionally and with no strings attached, to the authorities of free Nicaragua.

The organizations of the Fourth International, in building the solidarity and aid movement, will strive to create a united front of all parties and trade unions in order to forge the chain of class solidarity with the Nicaraguan workers. Within this framework, they are renewing the urgent appeal to the workers states that was made by Che Guevara for the defense of the Vietnamese revolution. Following Cuba's example, all the workers states must provide massive material aid to the Nicaraguan revolution with no strings attached!

By furthering this campaign of solidarity and aid, by rejecting any routinist or passive attitude, the Fourth International can best contribute to defense of the revolution on the march in Nicaragua.

By explaining its program and ideas the Fourth International places itself firmly on the side of the FSLN's battle to ensure the victory of the socialist revolution.

By acting as loyal militants in the framework of the organization which led the overthrow of Somoza and leads this revolution, the members of the Fourth International in Nicaragua will defend the fundamental ideas of revolutionary Marxism. For these ideas reflect the interests of the workers and poor peasants and point to the strategic tasks to be carried out that can culminate in the establishment of a workers state based on the democracy of workers and peasants councils. □

Statement on Simón Bolívar Brigade

In August the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) expelled the non-Nicaraguan members of the "Simón Bolívar Brigade" from Nicaragua. The world capitalist press has portrayed the Simón Bolívar Brigade (SBB) as "Trotskyist." The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the worldwide Trotskyist organization, is issuing this statement to clarify its relation to the Simón Bolívar Brigade.

The Simón Bolívar Brigade was formed in June of this year by the Colombian Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party). Its ostensible purpose was to recruit a military brigade to fight with the FSLN in the final offensive against the Somoza regime.

Although individuals who passed through the brigade found their way to the front and were integrated into the FSLN units, the brigade as a unit entered Nicaragua after the fall of Managua. Sections of the brigade went to Managua, Bluefields, and other cities.

The Simón Bolívar Brigade not only presented itself as part of the FSLN, but claimed to be acting for the FSLN and its leadership. However, it never in fact accepted the discipline of the FSLN, but instead set its own course. Falsely posing as an armed unit of the FSLN, the brigade endeavored to impose its own leadership on workers involved in organizing unions in various factories, in some cases through authoritarian and manipulative methods. It even introduced the outrageous rule of "double affiliation" of these unions to both the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) and the SBB! This activity received broad notoriety in Nicaragua. In Bluefields, a town on the east coast largely cut off from the rest of the country where there were few FSLN cadres, the brigade presented itself as the FSLN leadership of the city and surrounding area. The FSLN was obliged to send in an armed unit into Bluefields to establish its authority.

Faced with this situation, the FSLN leadership publicly called for a meeting with the Simón Bolívar Brigade. The Brigade responded by organizing a demonstration of workers near the meeting site. The workers involved were brought to this demonstration under the false pretense that they were there to discuss their problems with the FSLN leadership.

The FSLN leadership held two meetings with the Simón Bolívar Brigade, lasting many hours, to try to resolve the situation. They proposed that the brigade become a disciplined and loyal part of the FSLN, as an international brigade. But the brigade leadership refused to place itself under the discipline of the FSLN, despite its public stance that it is a military, and not political organization. Consequently, the FSLN

leadership expelled the brigade's non-Nicaraguan members. They were sent to Panama, as a first step on their way. When the Torrijos regime utilized the opportunity to arrest and beat members of the brigade before sending them on, which we condemn and denounce, the FSLN leadership issued a statement that it had not arrested or mistreated any member of the brigade, and that its intention was solely to expel them from Nicaragua.

* * *

The Colombian PST is a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. However, the entire project of setting up the Simón Bolívar Brigade was not done under the guidance of, or in collaboration with, the elected leadership bodies of the Fourth International. It set its own course, against the policies of the Fourth International.

The disregard for and contempt of the Fourth International on the part of the leaders of the Simón Bolívar Brigade was exemplified by their refusal to allow a representative of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International who was present to attend the meetings between the FSLN and the Simón Bolívar Brigade, although this was agreeable to the FSLN.

Documents of the Colombian PST state that the project of the Simón Bolívar Brigade was largely conceived and executed as a factional operation against the FSLN and the majority of the Fourth International. The Colombian PST placed its own factional interests above those of the Nicaraguan revolution.

This behavior of the brigade could provide a pretext to forces opposed to the advance of the revolution to advocate the use of repression in the workers movement to settle political differences, against the policy of the FSLN.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International condemns and repudiates the Simón Bolívar Brigade and its activities.

At the same time, the Fourth International considers the expulsion of the Simón Bolívar Brigade from Nicaragua to be a mistake. We don't want to minimize the fraudulent and irresponsible character of the Simón Bolívar Brigade operation. But we believe that the prestige and political authority of the FSLN are sufficiently great to have enabled it to solve the problem of the Simón Bolívar Brigade by using public criticism and condemnation.

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FSLN Strengthens Unions, Militias, Defense Committees

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—The government and mass organizations have redoubled their efforts to put a stop to counterrevolutionary terrorism following the October 4 murder of FSLN militant Marcel Pallais Checa. Pallais's bullet-riddled body was found near the Central American University campus here early October 5.

Pallais had been in charge of an effort to stop sabotage at the Villa Fontana Telecommunications Complex. It is thought that supporters of the Somoza dictatorship whom Pallais had dismissed from their posts may have had a hand in his death.

Immediately after Pallais's murder, units of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) were deployed on all the main streets of Managua. Checkpoints were set up and all vehicles were searched for weapons. Substantial quantities of weapons were recovered. During subsequent nights, there was a diminishing of terrorist gunfire in Managua.

The FSLN has continued to urge citizens

to be on the alert for counterrevolutionary activity. In the neighborhoods the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS)—“the eyes and ears of the revolution”—remain on alert.

The Pallais assassination is the most recent incident in a resurgence of counterrevolutionary terrorist activity since late September. In response, the FSLN has launched a “Control Somocismo, Defend the Revolution” campaign through the CDS and taken social and economic measures to deepen the revolutionary process initiated by the overthrow of Somoza in July.

Through the “Control Somocismo” campaign, the CDS are being organized on a block-by-block basis to gather data on suspicious incidents and on the whereabouts and activities of known Somocistas who may be involved in counterrevolutionary crimes.

The FSLN is also taking important steps to reorganize and strengthen the militias.

Many fighters have now been integrated into the EPS, essential for defense against the ominous possibility of invasion by National Guard units in Honduras and El Salvador, backed up overtly or covertly by Washington and its client dictators in Central America. Other fighters have now joined the Sandinista National Police.

As the revolution moves to get production back under way and begin the other crucial reconstruction projects in the war-ravaged country, full-time militia duty is being replaced by regular part-time training and drilling.

In the face of internal and external threats to the revolution, the FSLN has announced its intention to expand the militia to increase the masses' preparedness for self-defense. (See box.)

Involving the Masses

Marches and rallies have been held in Managua and other parts of the country to explain the need for the “Control Somo-



Anibal Yáñez/Perspectiva Mundial

“All of imperialism's power could not stop Vietnam and will not be able to stop Nicaragua.”

cismo" campaign and to encourage mass participation in it. On October 3, FSLN Comandante Jaime Wheelock spoke at one of the largest of these, a rally of several thousand at the Casa del Gobierno (Government House) in central Managua.

The efforts of the army and the Ministry of Interior are "not enough" to defeat the counterrevolution, Wheelock explained. Victory will come only if the workers and peasants "prepare themselves to control the productive wealth of our country."

In the workplaces confiscated from the Somocistas, Wheelock said, "we need to have unions with full participation in power. . . . There must be neither exploiters nor exploited. There must be just and equitable relations. The workers must know their jobs in order to govern their production. The task of the state is solely that of administration. The workers are the true owners of the national wealth."

Social and Economic Measures

Along with this extension of workers control over production through the unions, the FSLN leaders plan to respond to the Somocista terror—and to Washington's military threats in the Caribbean—by deepening the social transformations in other ways, as well.

Among the steps recently taken or announced are the following:

- "Intervention" by the government of more than 200 housing developments in which the owners were evading real estate laws by denying tenants vital water, electricity, and sewage facilities. Residents will now make their payments directly to the government and will be provided with such facilities.

(In the early months of the Cuban revolution, "interventions" often preceded direct nationalization. The government would appoint managers who ran the enterprises in conjunction with committees of workers.)

- A big increase in social security pensions. Under the dictatorship payments to the aged, invalids, widows, and orphans had remained at the same level since 1963 and even at that time were grossly inadequate. Retroactive payments will be made to those who were denied pensions because of technicalities in the laws.

- The Nicaraguan Institute for Agrarian Reform has announced that it is considering further land expropriations in the provinces of Masaya, Nueva Segovia, Madriz, and Estelí, where huge expanses of private landholdings exist side by side with hundreds of tiny peasant plots. At a news conference October 4, Wheelock, who is the Agrarian Reform Minister, reiterated that under Nicaragua's new Bill of Rights, land ownership is subject to restrictions on the basis of "public utility and social interest." Therefore, no holdings are necessarily exempt from intervention if they should be needed to improve the conditions of the poor peasants.

If these lands are taken over, it will represent further inroads into the property rights of the "anti-Somoza" landlords.

- On October 5, state prosecutor Ernesto Castillo announced that in addition to ongoing investigations into the extent of Somocista property holdings—all of which are subject to immediate expropriation—his office is also launching probes into the dealings of some ostensibly anti-Somoza capitalists.

Castillo said that the Banco de América and Banco Nicaragüense financial groups—the two main power centers of the capitalist opposition to Somoza—are being investigated.

"The Government of National Reconstruction will deal harshly with all those whose operations turn out to have been in collaboration with Somocismo," Castillo said.

- The Ministry of Economy has established controls on meat prices that are to be enforced in collaboration with the CDS—through neighborhood price committees, in other words. Similar controls on other basic necessities are expected soon.

Bourgeois Maneuvers

While no open opposition to these moves has been expressed by the small capitalist political parties here—the Social Democrats, Social Christians, and Democratic Conservatives—there are growing signs that the bourgeois forces are looking for ways to put a brake on the revolution. The Chamber of Commerce has organized several meetings to press for convoking the "Council of State," a legislative body

called for in the program of the Government of National Reconstruction published just prior to Somoza's fall.

This council was to be made up of thirty-three representatives from the bourgeois parties, Chamber of Commerce and Industry, FSLN, trade unions, the Catholic Church, and other groups. Its proposed composition was disproportionately weighted toward the most conservative sectors of the anti-Somoza front. The bourgeois forces hoped it would serve as a check on the social and economic measures taken after Somoza's fall.

Since that time, however, the Sandinista-led government has charted a course that shows it to be far more representative of the interests of the workers and peasants than the forces that were to have made up the "Council of State."

No date has been set for the convocation of the "Council of State." Junta member Moisés Hassan pointed out October 5 that, in any event, its composition would have to be reconsidered, since a number of groups that were to have seats no longer exist.

The FSLN's refusal to bend to the capitalists' demands for immediate convocation of a nonrepresentative, bourgeois-dominated body is consistent with its overall radical course. When agreements reached with bourgeois forces prior to Somoza's fall stand in the way of this course, the Sandinistas increasingly rely on the principles laid out in the August 21 "New Bill of Rights," interpreted in the interests of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. □

'We Are Going to Have a Militia of 300,000'

MANAGUA—At a news conference here October 9, interior Minister Tomás Borge gave the following response to a question on plans for strengthening and reorganizing the militias:

"The compañero's question is very important, because it is necessary to clarify our plans regarding the militias. The present militias are being integrated into the army, into the police, into production. It has been a rather slow process, owing to the material limitations that exist, to other problems of organization, and so on.

"Once the present militias are integrated into the army, the state security organs, or the centers of production—or into the universities and high schools, because there are many *milicianos* who are university or high-school students—we will then create a national militia.

"In fact it is already being created. This means that workers in the factories, students in the universities and high schools, and employees and officials in the government ministries who

want to voluntarily join the militias (and we emphasize the word "voluntary," because joining is not going to be obligatory) will be able to do so.

"We calculate that in several months we are going to have 300,000 *milicianos* in Nicaragua.

"These *milicianos* will be integrated into their centers of production—the workers in the factories will themselves be the *milicianos*.

"They will have their weapons. These won't be carried through the streets; they will be kept in a certain place inside the factories, and will of course be controlled by the *milicianos* themselves.

"These arms will be used to stand guard over the factory, to help keep order in the city, or to join in combat if necessary—if our country is attacked.

"Therefore, the militias will also have military training at least one day a week, so that if it is necessary to defend the country the Nicaraguan people, through their organized militias, will surely be able to do so without delay."

Selections From the Left

[The Sixth Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries, held in Havana September 3-9, was not given extensive coverage in the press of the world radical movement. Here, however, are excerpts from some assessments of the conference, taken from newspapers received by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *



"*Sekai Kakumei*" (*World Revolution*), central organ of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (Japanese section of the Fourth International). Published weekly in Tokyo.

The September 17 issue features an editorial under the headline: "Anti-Vietnam Maneuvers Smashed—Nonaligned Conference Registers Advance for Anti-Imperialist Forces."

"The Sixth Nonaligned Summit Conference, in which ninety-five countries participated, has attracted international attention as a major event affecting the course of world politics."

The editorial went on to comment on the four most noted points in the outcome of the conference, which it listed as the refusal to seat the Pol Pot delegation as representatives of Kampuchea, the censure of Egypt for its betrayal of the Arab cause, the condemnation by name of major imperialist powers including Japan for their collaboration with the South African apartheid regime, and the admission into the Nonaligned Movement of Nicaragua, whose representative appealed for aid to the revolution there.

"As these four decisions show, despite a crisis that could have split it, the Nonaligned Conference went on, with the anti-imperialist positions of Cuba and Vietnam setting the tone throughout. On the eve of the conference, U.S. imperialism stirred up a campaign about '3,000 Soviet troops stationed in Cuba' in an attempt to isolate Vietnam and Cuba, but this met with no success at all.

"The bourgeois media have portrayed the conference proceedings as a conflict of 'pro-Soviet radicals' vs. 'moderates,' and have frowned at 'the excesses of the Cubans.' But that was not the case.

"On the contrary, the course of the conference reflected the fact that, despite the difficulties facing the working-class side internationally (such as the Sino-Soviet conflict), the world situation is tending to strengthen anti-imperialist forces. It favors the spread of revolution, and is driving the imperialist powers and their colonial stooges into a corner.

"The conference shows that the slogan

of 'Nonalignment' has lost its content, that the semicolonial world is rapidly being polarized between revolution and counter-revolution, anti-imperialism and proimperialism. . . .

"What we see today are the youth, the workers, the people of the entire world rising up to carry on the fight that Vietnam began, to fight for a new world. The revolutions in Nicaragua and Iran are nothing but the harbingers of uprisings to come by the peoples of countless other countries.

"In response to the Nicaraguan revolution, even here in Japan there are those who cry about how it 'was instigated by the USSR and Cuba' (the Revolutionary Marxist Faction [sectarians who hold the view that the Soviet Union is "state capitalist"]), or who scream 'don't let Nicaragua become another Cuba' (the [pro-Peking] Labor Party). These are the same people who chime in with the bourgeoisie denouncing 'Vietnam's aggression against Kampuchea,' and calling 'for the return of our Northern Territories [parts of the Japanese Empire occupied by Soviet troops in World War II].' And it won't stop there. Frightened by the advance of the world revolution, even self-proclaimed 'revolutionists' are losing their sense of direction under the impact of the historic changes that are starting to shake the world."

QUÉ HACER?

"What Is to Be Done?" *Fortnightly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Organization, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Costa Rica.*

A headline in the September 24 issue asks "Who Are the Nonaligned?" A secondary head answers, "Tyrants, dictators and . . . Cuba!"

The article argues that "it is the worldwide confrontation between the two fundamental classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—that ultimately determines the social character of nation-states. . . .

"There are no intermediate modes of production. A country is capitalist or it isn't.

"In this context, take countries such as Argentina, Cuba, Bolivia, Vietnam, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Panama, Syria, Arabia, etc., which form part of the Nonaligned Movement. What common basis do they have? What common interests do they represent? . . .

"The apparent 'common objective' of the nonaligned countries is the 'anti-imperialist struggle.' This is the sorry pretense of the rulers of nations subject to imperialist domination, rulers who are obliged by the powerful mass movements in their own countries to rely directly on the strong

hand of imperialism to maintain themselves in power. . . .

"In this context, the nonaligned movement is mainly an instrument of the bourgeois governments which take part in it in order to give themselves cover in face of their own people in struggle. . . . These governments are direct agents of imperialism. It is through them that imperialism is able to subject the masses to superexploitation. . . .

"The presence of the Cuban bureaucracy in this movement of the nonaligned has a clear purpose: to legitimize this organization, to usurp the prestige of the Cuban revolution in order to give credibility in the eyes of the masses to the bourgeois politicians, presidents, and proimperialist dictators who protect the bosses' interests in their respective countries."

rouge

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

Under the headline "A Tempest in a Teapot," Vincent Kermel writes in the September 7-13 issue:

"Would the sixth summit conference of the Nonaligned movement become the site of a battle for the political clarification essential to the anti-imperialist struggle? This was undoubtedly the position of the Cuban minister of foreign affairs, Isidoro Malmierca. . . .

"The proof, we were told, was that the Carter administration awaited the opening of the summit meeting to make public the presence in Cuba of a Soviet brigade of 3,000 men—something Moscow had never denied. And wasn't it Castro who declared that the United States had engaged in 'feverish contacts' to try to torpedo the final document drafted by Cuba?

"The fact remains, however, that all the reactionary bourgeois states in the Nonaligned movement will end up supporting such resolutions. For in the final analysis, all the states present, including Cuba, are perfectly comfortable with the heterogeneity of the Nonaligned movement.

"So, what will emerge from this diplomatic tempest? A few vehement condemnations, some fine-sounding resolutions polished and passed by consensus, and agreement to meet again at the seventh Nonaligned summit.

"The popular masses of the so-called Third World states therefore have no stake in these resolutions, any more than they have in the ritual formulations denouncing imperialism and calling for a new economic order—formulations that are usually passed unanimously at this sort of meeting.

"And it will take more than Castro's blistering statement on solidarity with the Soviet Union—addressed to an assembly

of kings, heads of state, and governmental ministers—to convince us of the contrary.”

Socialist Action

Published twice monthly in Auckland, New Zealand.

“Cuba Summit Victory for Workers” was the headline of an article by Peter Collins in the October 5 issue.

“The [Nonaligned] conference was a major setback for the capitalist powers, particularly the United States which did everything it could to disrupt the conference,” the article said.

According to Collins, “The capitalist governments in the Nonaligned Movement are being pushed by the pressure of their own people, and now by the Cuban example, to denounce or even take steps against the powerful imperialist countries. . . .

“The Cuban policy aims to bring together the strongest front against the imperialist powers. In doing so it undermines the power of other regimes in the Non-Aligned Movement who are committed to the status quo.”

DIRECT ACTION

Socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia. Presents the views of the Socialist Workers Party.

Fidel Castro’s complete speech to the Nonaligned conference is printed in the September 27 issue. The editors note that Castro’s speech, “a blistering denunciation of imperialist crimes against the semicolonial world—set the political tone for the discussion and debate that followed.”

THE MILITANT

A socialist weekly published in the interests of the working people. Printed in New York City.

“American working people have every reason to hail the outcome of the Sixth Summit Meeting of Nonaligned Nations in Havana,” the editorial in the September 28 issue declared.

The editorial—a statement adopted by the Political Committee of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party—said:

“The Havana summit condemned U.S. war moves in the Middle East and Central America. It demanded independence for Puerto Rico, which is today a colony of the U.S. It called for removing U.S. troops from Cuba and South Korea. It gave new inspiration to the fight for the massive international aid that the peoples of Nicaragua and Indochina desperately need to rebuild their war-ravaged lands.

“These actions put new obstacles in the way of the Carter administration’s war drive, which threatens to use American working people as cannon fodder, as it did in Vietnam.

“The conference registered the hatred that hundreds of millions of people feel for apartheid, Zionism, and every other form of racist oppression. That will strengthen the fight against racist oppression and discrimination here in the United States as well.

“The Cuban government, which hosted the gathering, argued forcefully for the adoption of these progressive stands. The leadership displayed by the Cubans at the conference is an extension of their anti-imperialist actions in Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere.

“This heroic and self-sacrificing example—not ‘Soviet troops’ or ‘Soviet domination’—is the reason for the escalating U.S. attacks on Cuba. The capitalists who run this country have an undying hatred for a government that, in Fidel’s words, cannot be bribed, bought, or intimidated. . . .

“War, economic misery, and social catastrophes are built into the capitalist system—not only for the peoples of the colonial and ex-colonial countries but for the American working class as well. . . .

“More and more workers in this country are realizing that their interests lie in opposing the policies of the capitalist government at home and abroad. Their thinking is beginning to converge with the consciousness of superexploited millions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

“They are coming to the realization that the fate of the American working people and of the peoples whose demands were voiced in Havana are completely tied together.”

A two-and-a-half page article in the same issue examines in greater detail the debate at the conference, the role of the Cuban government, Washington’s campaign against the Nonaligned meeting, and the significance of the outcome.

The previous issue of the *Militant* printed the full text of Castro’s speech at the Nonaligned Conference.

Guardian

An independent radical newsweekly published in New York.

An editorial in the September 26 issue cites as the first achievement of the Nonaligned conference in Havana that the governments involved “sharply upheld their independent, nonbloc character.”

The heart of the editorial is a polemic against the role of Cuba, which sought to place responsibility for oppression and exploitation around the world squarely on U.S. imperialism.

While claiming that “the U.S. is the main danger to the working peoples and oppressed nations of the world,” the editorial argues that the Soviet Union should also be viewed as an enemy.

According to the editorial, the USSR “has become transformed into a big-power hegemonist state, posing long-term dan-

gers to the struggle for independence, liberation and revolution.”

Echoing Washington’s propaganda about Soviet “imperialism,” the editorial warns: “With thousands of troops stationed permanently outside its borders, naval fleets throughout the world, a vast arsenal of nuclear weapons and significant economic clout, the Soviet Union is in a position to back up its superpower aims with concrete actions.”

Expressing its opposition to the stand taken by the Cuban and Vietnamese governments somewhat shamefacedly, the *Guardian* says:

“By nature, the question of nonalignment is a complex question. Some countries are fronting for the interests of U.S. imperialism; many are genuinely striving for a firmly independent and nonaligned path; and a few are independently putting forward views that would move the Nonaligned Movement toward uncritical alliance with the USSR and reduce its independent character.”

In the *Guardian*’s view, it is at least as important for the Nonaligned governments to take their distance from the Soviet workers state as to take a stand in opposition to U.S. imperialism.

Socialist Worker

Newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party. Published weekly in London.

Ian Birchall sums up the view of the British SWP—a group that believes all the existing workers states are capitalist countries—by declaring in the September 22 issue:

“The recent conference of non-aligned nations held in Cuba was, as far as the real struggle against imperialism is concerned, an irrelevant charade.”

Dismissing the dispute over whether to seat the genocidal regime of Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot, or the current Kampuchean government of Heng Samrin as “the sickiest joke of the conference,” Birchall insisted that one was just as bad as the other.

“Tito was backing the Pol Pot government, which butchered a fair proportion of its citizens, while Castro backed the present regime, imposed on the Kampuchean by the Vietnamese Army.

“The final compromise, to leave the seat empty, was worthy of the best traditions of nit-picking imperialist diplomacy. At least the Kampuchean people weren’t misrepresented.”

Birchall makes no mention of Washington’s attacks on the conference, and in particular on Cuba’s leadership role in it. He concludes that the oppressed masses have “nothing to hope for from alignment with Washington or Moscow—nor will non-aligned conferences help them. The struggle against imperialism must go hand in hand with revolution at home.”

New Zealand: General Strike Challenges Muldoon Government

By Philip Ferguson

AUCKLAND—Major factories and hundreds of other workplaces across New Zealand were silent on September 20 as industry here ground to a halt. The country's first-ever general strike was on, as working people responded with enthusiasm to the strike call issued by the Federation of Labour (FOL) on the evening of September 17.

The FOL was backed up by the Labour Party leadership and the Combined State Unions which groups together unions in the state sector. It was the most impressive show of labour unity in New Zealand history.

The national stoppage caused the employers 80 million New Zealand dollars in lost production, with up to 85 percent of the industrial work force out in the main cities. It was the strongest expression yet of working people's determination to get rid of the hated national government of Robert Muldoon.

In Auckland the strike was accompanied by a 3,000-strong march of unionists in the central city.

The strike was sparked by government interference in an agreement negotiated by

the drivers' union.

The stage was set when the government passed the Remuneration Act in August. This act allowed the government to gain more direct control over wage levels, with Muldoon stating that he would not tolerate increases above 10 percent.

First in line for the government were the drivers. After months of fighting for a decent increase, including widespread strike action, they had managed to wring an 11 percent rise from the wealthy trucking companies.

Muldoon then stepped in, declaring that the government would cut the drivers' pay rise back to 9.5 percent.

As it was, the drivers' rise was quite modest—certainly below the annual level of inflation—and only put \$114 per week in the hands of the average driver.

The drivers announced that they would take direct action nationally if the government cut back the increase.

They were backed up by the Federation of Labour (which incorporates almost all the unions of industrial workers) and the unions in the state sector.

On September 14 workers at one of the

major Wellington car plants walked out over Muldoon's interference in the drivers' agreement. Two days later 2,000 workers attending the last of a series of local meetings organised by the Wellington Trades Council to oppose the new act, voted for the FOL to call a national stoppage and launch an ongoing campaign to smash the act.

In Auckland on the morning of September 17, 900 delegates from unions throughout the city met and unanimously voted for a general strike.

Workers' anger at the interference in the drivers' agreement was capped off by the fact that the government had just had its own round of big pay rises. Muldoon's rise took him to a salary of \$1,000 a week.

Massive solidarity developed around the drivers as working people saw that a threat to one agreement put everyone's right to decent wage increases in jeopardy.

Meat workers' union leaders announced that they would not negotiate a pay agreement for the upcoming season so long as the government interfered in the drivers' agreement. This would hold up New Zealand's major export industry, a vital area



Auckland Trades Council leaders march at head of demonstration September 20.

Ross Hampton/Socialist Action

for the capitalist class.

Leaders of the Public Service Association—the country's largest union, which covers 50,000 state sector workers—announced their support for the drivers, as did leaders of the Combined State Unions.

The Labour Party parliamentary leadership also gave its support.

Caught between the militancy of their members and the government's intransigence, the FOL leaders called a general strike. This was backed by Labour Party leader Bill Rowling.

Support for the strike was overwhelming among industrial workers, and many white-collar workers joined in as well, with their unions declaring support for the strike but not insisting that they all go out.

Most of the capitalist dailies claimed that the strike had failed, largely pointing to the number of white-collar workers who had not stopped work in the central business districts of major cities.

But their claims were belied by the fact that overall, the vast majority of workers stayed home. The newspapers themselves did not come out on the day of the strike.

It was clear that the bosses, their news media and their government received a major knockback. They were surprised at the unity of all sectors of the labour movement and the degree of union organisation which developed in the two days before the strike and on the day itself.

In particular, flying pickets were organised in Auckland, Wellington, and other places to help ensure the closing down of industrial areas.

The Socialist Action League is raising the call for the whole labour movement—the unions and the Labour Party—to wage a massive campaign to bring down Muldoon's government, replacing it with a Labour government committed to the interests of working people in every area.

The time has never been better for such a campaign. Discontent has been brewing for several years over the Muldoon government's attacks on living standards and democratic rights. This paved the way for the success of the strike.

In 1977 trade unions in Wellington organised a 20,000-strong march against a government bill increasing the powers of the Security Intelligence Service, New Zealand's secret police.

There has been massive opposition to the government's 1977 anti-abortion legislation and important struggles over Maori land, climaxing in the seventeen-month occupation of ancestral land at Bastion Point in Auckland city. Mass revulsion followed a 700-strong police and army invasion of the Point in May 1978 which ended the occupation and resulted in the largest mass arrest in New Zealand history.

Opposition to the government's reactionary social policies has increasingly gone hand-in-hand with workers' militancy on economic issues and cutbacks in state

Trotskyist Paper Well Received

The Trotskyists of the Socialist Action League mobilized for the September 20 general strike. With a big majority of its members in the industrial work force, the League was right in the thick of the action.

The strike coincided with a sales campaign launched by the Trotskyist fortnightly, *Socialist Action*, to get out the word to NZ workers about the revolution in Nicaragua.

On the day of the strike, supporters of the paper took to the streets in working-class suburbs in Auckland and Wellington, selling more than 1,400 papers.

spending. In particular the industrial workers have moved to the centre of politics as the most powerful and militant opposition to the government.

Workers were particularly angered when the Muldoon government won the most seats in the November 1978 elections, although it was outpolled by Labour. Since then there has been a growing sentiment for an all-out confrontation with the Tories.

There was a major confrontation between the government and rail workers earlier this year which could have sparked a national stoppage. This ended in a standoff. On May 17, 10,000 workers marched through winter rain in Wellington at the opening of Parliament to show their opposition to the government.

Workers feel that not only does the government have to be fought, but that they have the strength to beat it.

The general strike certainly showed this, pointing the way ahead and marking a turning point in New Zealand politics. Workers have gained a real taste of the power they have in united mass action. As Wellington Trades Council president Pat Kelly commented afterwards, "Things will never be the same for the boss class in this country." □

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(signed)
Harvey K. McArthur
Business Manager

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AROUND THE WORLD



Rudolf Bahro Freed

East German socialist dissident Rudolf Bahro was released from prison October 11, in a victory for the two-year long international defense campaign that has been waged in his behalf.



Bahro was one of the first political prisoners to be released under the special amnesty decreed to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic.

Bahro had been jailed in August 1977 after his book *The Alternative in Eastern Europe* was published by the West German Metalworkers union.

His case was taken up by a broad, labor-based defense campaign in Western Europe, which included a four-day international conference in West Berlin in November 1978.

Czechoslovak, Polish, and Soviet dissidents spoke out in his defense, as did representatives of the Italian Communist Party.

Greek Trotskyist on Trial for 'Insulting the Authorities'

Greek Trotskyist and trade-union leader Giannis Felekis was scheduled to appear before a court of appeals in Athens October 15, to appeal his previous conviction and ten-month prison sentence on charges of "insulting the judicial authorities."

Those charges stem from testimony by Felekis at the 1978 trial of four other Trotskyist activists, who had been arrested for putting up posters that "insulted the police authorities." Felekis explained that the judicial system was not really impartial since it is designed to defend capitalist property.

Support to the defense effort can be sent c/o S. Zaphiratos, P.O. Box 2083, Central Post, Athens.

Civilian Regime Installed in Ghana

After more than seven years of military rule, a civilian regime was inaugurated in Ghana September 24. Hilla Limann, the head of the People's National Party (PNP), was sworn in as president. The bourgeois PNP is a revival of the Convention Peo-

ple's Party of Kwame Nkrumah, who was overthrown by an imperialist-backed military coup in 1966.

The new regime may face considerable difficulties in administering the country. The economy has been hit by rampant inflation, shortages of basic commodities, and a decline in the output of the main export crop, cocoa, all at a time of rising mass discontent.

The widespread discontent in Ghana was reflected to an extent by the June 4 uprising in the ranks of the military, which led to the overthrow of the military dictatorship of Gen. Frederick Akuffo. The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), composed of junior officers and enlisted men, took power. Under mass pressure it executed eight top military officers, arrested dozens of corrupt officials and businessmen, seized some companies, and imposed price controls and measures against hoarding.

Flight-Lt. Jerry Rawlings, the chairman of the AFRC, later explained that the uprising was intended to head off a mass upsurge. "I knew this country was going to explode," he said, "and I tried to prevent it by my actions. . . ."

Although designed to divert mass anger over the country's problems toward a few corrupt individuals, the AFRC's actions were nevertheless extremely popular, and raised mass expectations. Increasingly, workers began to raise their own demands: for rent controls, for the removal of corrupt managers, for the reinstatement of dismissed workers, and for higher pay.

Rawlings warned the new regime, which was elected to office under the AFRC, that if it was unsuccessful in controlling the situation, "I can see waves of revolution worse than what is happening in the country right now. . . ."

Kampuchea Hails Cuban Aid

The Kampuchean government of Heng Samrin has sent a message of thanks to the Cuban people and armed forces, thanking them "for the considerable aid they have provided in all fields to the Kampuchean people and armed forces."

The statement, issued by the Kampuchean Defense Ministry and made public by the Kampuchean news agency SPK October 2, added: "We are proud to have the Cuban armed forces as our close comrades in arms."

Brazil Strikers Clash With Police

The center of São Paulo was turned into an armed camp September 13, as striking bank workers supported by office workers, street vendors, and townspeople confronted the police.

According to the September 14 *Folha de São Paulo*, the clashes with police began after nearly a thousand bank employees organized a demonstration demanding "an end to the military dictatorship, better wages, and freedom of assembly."

Office workers in nearby buildings showed their solidarity with the demonstrators by throwing confetti, but as the police repression escalated they began throwing typewriters, wastebaskets, containers of water, telephones, and chairs, which were obviously aimed at the police.

Four members of the bank workers union leadership in São Paulo who supported the strike were removed from their posts by Labor Minister Murilo Macedo.

In Rio de Janeiro the strike was more peaceful and also more effective, with nearly all bank agencies in the center of the city remaining closed for lack of personnel. The labor minister removed the entire leadership of the union in Rio.

The political police arrested thirteen demonstrators in Rio and São Paulo, including members of Socialist Convergence, a legal organization that calls for the formation of a workers party.

In the southern city of Porto Alegre, where bank workers were also on strike, union leader Olivio Dutra was arrested and held incommunicado for thirteen days. This was despite the fact that Brazilian law does not allow a prisoner to be kept incommunicado for more than ten days.

The bank workers struggles are part of a series of labor actions in defiance of the military regime in recent weeks. There have also been strikes by metalworkers, bus drivers, and construction workers, including a massive walkout by 250,000 metalworkers in Rio de Janeiro September 12-18.

The government has given a lot of publicity to its upcoming "wage reform" package, which will give organized workers a raise of 12 to 22 percent as of November. But this is far below the rate of inflation, which in the past twelve months has reached 51.9 percent, the highest level since 1965. Unorganized workers will not receive even this stingy raise.