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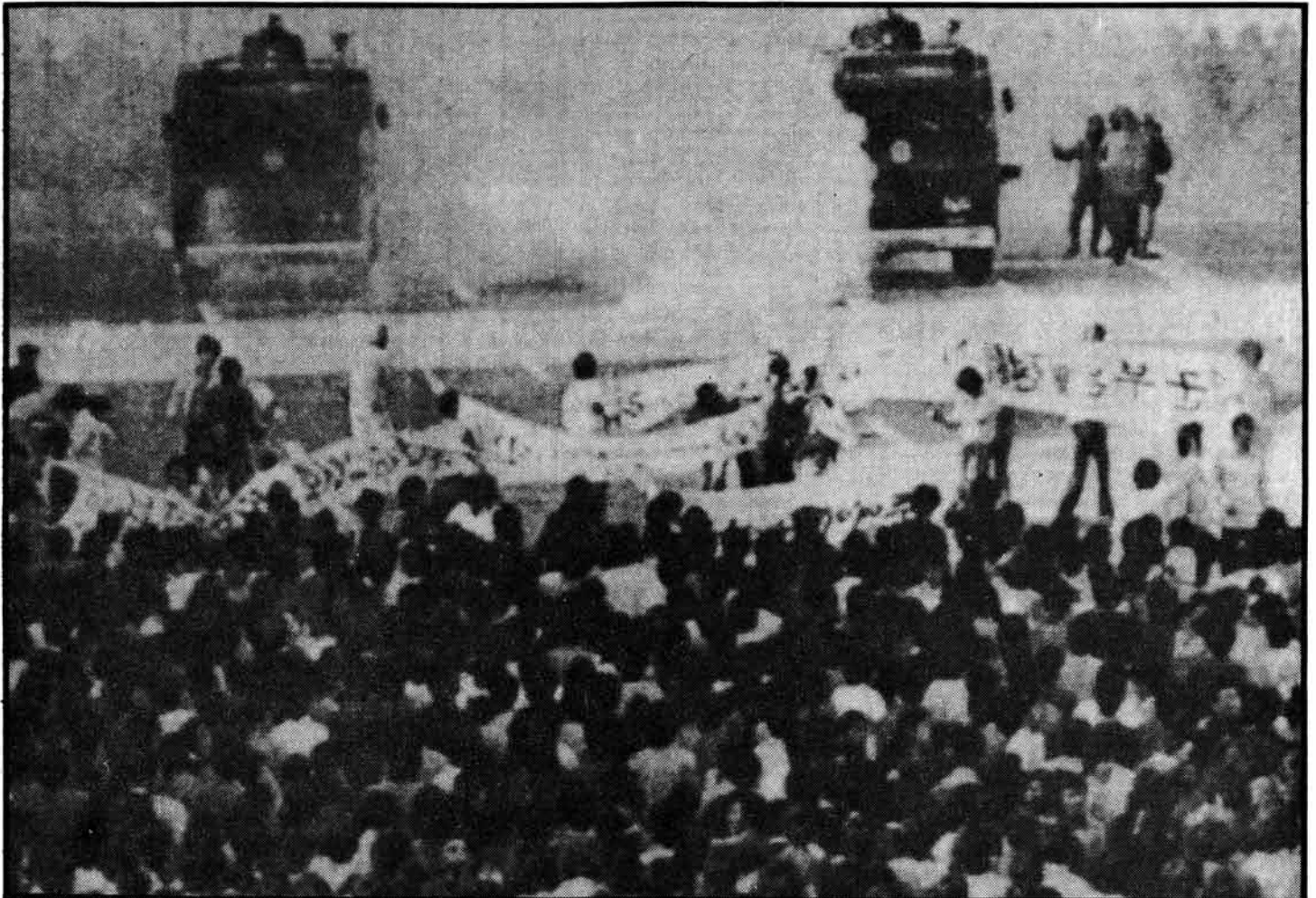
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MILLIONS OF CUBANS MARCH TO ANSWER U.S. THREATS



South Korean Dictatorship Cracks Down as Protests Mount

South Africa: Interview with Black Strike Leader

Cuba's Fighting People Answer U.S. Threats

By José G. Pérez

HAVANA—"Jimmy Carter, you rat, remember the Bay of Pigs!" "Cuba, sí! Yankee, no!" "Fidel, the people are with you!"

These were among the most popular chants, as well over 1 million people marched here in front of the U.S. Interests Section May 17 to protest the Carter administration's attacks on the Cuban revolution.

Simultaneous demonstrations were held in cities throughout Cuba. Radio reports here said some 5 million people—out of a total population of 10 million—took part in this nationwide revolutionary mobilization, the "March of the Fighting People."

This makes it the largest demonstration ever held in Latin America.

The demonstrations were initially called to protest the planned U.S. military's practice invasion of Cuba, which was to have been carried out at Guantánamo Naval Base, on Cuban territory occupied by the U.S. government against the will of the Cuban people. The practice invasion, as President Fidel Castro has labeled it, was to have been part of the "Solid Shield 80" U.S. naval maneuvers in the Caribbean.

Following protests by the Cuban government and people, and the scheduling of countermoves by Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces, the Guantánamo aspect of "Solid Shield 80" was cancelled.

But President Castro told the 1.5 million Cubans who rallied here in Havana on May Day that "The March of the Fighting People will still take place! Because the march was not simply against the maneuvers, but also against the blockade, against the base at Guantánamo, and against the SR-71 spy flights. . . ."

Following the giant May Day rally, U.S. diplomatic personnel here in Havana staged a provocation the result of which was that several hundred Cuban ex-prisoners who had been convicted for counterrevolutionary crimes have been holed up for a couple of weeks inside the U.S. Interests Section (see accompanying article).

Many chants and banners at the Havana demonstration dealt with the counterrevolutionary elements inside the Interests Section. Posters depicting counterrevolutionaries with their pockets stuffed with dollars were a common sight.

The march past the Interests Section lasted more than eight hours in blistering 95 degree heat. I have participated in quite a few large demonstrations in the United States and other countries, but never in one this spirited and combative.

At the head of the march was a contingent of several hundred small farmers carrying a huge banner that said "On a day like today, we expropriated 1,209,015 hectares (1 hectare=2.47 acres) of land from Yankee imperialism."

The reference was to the promulgation of Cuba's first agrarian reform law exactly twenty-one years ago on May 17, 1959.

There was never a moment of silence during the eight-hour march. Among the most popular chants were: "Fidel pitch, because Carter can't bat!" "Down with the Guantánamo base!" "Down with war games!" "Down with spy flights!" "Fidel, for sure, hit the Yankees hard!" "Because we are right, we will be victorious as at Girón [the Bay of Pigs]!" and "For whatever it may be and wherever, the commander in chief's orders!"

Many marchers carried posters that had been used to build the demonstration, such as ones with a picture of Fidel and the quotation from his May Day speech: "We will never surrender!"

But the vast majority of posters were hand-lettered. There were also effigies of Carter and of counterrevolutionaries.

Many signs expressed solidarity with the revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua.

New Provocations Against Cuba

By David Frankel

Blaming it on Fidel Castro, the May 19 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* warned that "a wave of anti-American, pro-Cuban ferment is spreading across Central America and the Caribbean."

Faced with triumphant revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada, with the approach of civil war in El Salvador, and with the Cuban government's defiant solidarity with these struggles, the U.S. imperialists have initiated a violent propaganda campaign and a series of provocations against Cuba.

First there was President Carter's "discovery" of a Soviet brigade in Cuba at the end of last August—a unit which the White House later admitted had been there for at least seventeen years.

This was followed by the establishment of a new U.S. military command in Key West, Florida, and by the landing of U.S. Marines at Guantánamo Naval Base, on Cuban soil.

One said, "Stop the Yankee genocide in El Salvador." Another, "Like Cuba, Vietnam, and Nicaragua—El Salvador will win."

One huge poster had a drawing of Che Guevara and one word—"Presente!"

As this article was being written, complete reports were not yet in on the size of the dozens of other May 17 demonstrations, which occurred not only in provincial capitals but in many smaller towns around the island. Cuban radio did report demonstrations of half a million in Holguín and Camagüey, 250,000 in Las Tunas, and 70,000 on the Isle of Youth. I had not heard reports from Santiago, which was expected to be the second largest demonstration, or from other cities.

Cuban radio said that solidarity demonstrations were held in Laos, Vietnam, Grenada, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Peru, Mexico, Jamaica, Panama, Colombia, India, France, the Soviet Union, Poland, and East Germany.

Following the May Day rally, this demonstration was the third massive mobilization carried out in Cuba in the last month. The first was on April 19, the anniversary of the victory at the Bay of Pigs, when a million Cubans marched past the Peruvian Embassy here. As they had done at the Peruvian Embassy during this prior march, a contingent of unarmed veterans of the Angola and Ethiopia campaigns ringed the U.S. Interests Section to help ensure the discipline of the demonstration.

The March of the Fighting People was proof positive, if any more were needed, that the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people support the revolution and are willing to fight to the death to defend it. □

In April, the anti-Cuba campaign reached an even higher pitch with the provocation at the Peruvian Embassy in Havana and the outcry over the plight of the would-be émigrés there.

Since then, scarcely a day has gone by without new lies in the capitalist media. Meanwhile, the provocations continue.

On May 2, diplomats at the U.S. Interests Section in Havana arranged for some 700 people—mostly former prisoners who had been jailed for counterrevolutionary crimes—to gather at the U.S. offices. Hundreds of these counterrevolutionaries were all given appointments at the Interests Section at the same time.

They gathered outside at 9:00 in the morning. Videotapes of the event made by the Cuban media and played for reporters in Havana showed U.S. diplomatic personnel haranguing the crowd. Among the speakers was Wayne Smith, head of the Interests Section.

Smith and other U.S. officials falsely told the ex-prisoners that they could not emigrate to the United States because the Cuban government wouldn't let them. In fact, as a statement published in the May 3 issue of the Cuban newspaper *Granma* explained:

"More than a year and a half ago the Cuban government made it known to the Government of the United States, both publicly and privately, that all former counterrevolutionary prisoners and their families were authorized to leave the country. It was the United States . . . which deliberately delayed visas and the departure of these elements."

Following the harangue by U.S. officials, the counterrevolutionaries began chanting slogans such as, "Long live Mr. Smith, death to Fidel," and "Yankee Sí, Cuba No," according to the account witnesses in Havana gave to José G. Pérez, editor of the U.S. revolutionary-socialist magazine, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The Cuban government account of the incident reports that "the antisocial elements started to throw bricks and other construction materials that are being used to repair" the Interests Section at the "justly indignant" people who had gathered to watch.

Word spread quickly. Hundreds and then thousands of Cubans rushed to the scene. "The Cuban authorities and the leaders of mass organizations were hard put to contain the people and prevent the incidents from taking on a more serious dimension," *Granma* reported.

Meanwhile, the counterrevolutionaries broke into the U.S. Interests Section, with the help of the diplomats there, and that is where nearly 400 remain.

Washington is pretending that its Interests Section, which is not an embassy, has the right to offer political asylum to the counterrevolutionaries. This is counter to international law. The Cuban government is demanding that the counterrevolutionaries be handed over unconditionally.

"Unofficially," Pérez reports, "Cuban authorities say they have no desire to prosecute those who fled into the U.S. Interests Section. Instead, the Cubans merely want the U.S. government to acknowledge Cuba's laws and grant the *gusanos* (worms) visas so that they can leave."

But the provocation at the Interests Section continues. Washington refuses to hand over those inside. On May 14, the State Department ordered the withdrawal of almost all the U.S. government personnel in Havana, citing the "threat" posed by the massive May 17 protest.

Yet another provocation against Cuba took place on May 11, when a Bahamian gun boat opened fire on two Cuban fishing vessels. The fishing boundaries between the Bahamas and Cuba have never been precisely determined, and the Cubans

maintain that their boats were in international waters when attacked.

The Cuban boats were taken in tow by the Bahamian vessel, but in the meantime Cuban jets, responding to a distress signal by the boats, arrived and sank the Bahamian patrol boat.

A Cuban government delegation was dispatched to the Bahamas to discuss the incident, but in the meantime, the State Department announced that Washington was in close touch with the Bahamian

government, and, in a thinly veiled threat, the British government announced that a Royal Navy warship was in the area.

The Pentagon also took advantage of the incident to announce that it was beefing up its force of fighter-bombers in Key West.

It is clear that all these events are part of a single counterrevolutionary campaign. Not only Cuba, but the Latin American revolution as a whole is the target. It is essential for the working-class movement around the world to rally to Cuba's defense and to answer the imperialist lies. □

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So. Korea: Weakened Regime Faces Mass Opposition

By David Frankel

Will the kind of popular revolution that toppled the shah of Iran and the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua also overtake the U.S.-backed generals in South Korea?

"We're keeping our fingers crossed," one worried Western diplomat told *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Mike Tharp.

"A lot of banks are watching Korea pretty carefully these days," says Chemical Bank Vice-president James Whitely.

By taking to the streets in powerful mass demonstrations, South Korean students have dramatically revealed the underlying weakness and instability of the Seoul regime. "The size and ferocity of the protests are reminiscent of the student riots that brought down President Syngman Rhee's government in 1960," Tharp reported May 15.

Hoping to avoid the fate of Rhee, the U.S.-appointed dictator who had himself named president for life in 1954, the regime cracked down on May 18. It closed all universities and sent military units to occupy them; political gatherings and labor strikes were banned; rigid press censorship was imposed; and martial law was extended to the entire country.

As police arrested opposition leaders, the U.S.-backed dictatorship blamed alleged provocations from North Korea, and events in Afghanistan and Iran for creating the "grave crisis" that it faces.

The truth, of course, is that the regime's strong-arm measures are aimed at the workers, peasants, and students of South Korea—not at any alleged foreign threat.

Last October, workers and students took to the streets in antigovernment demonstrations in the industrial cities of Pusan and Masan. These actions then spread to Seoul, Taegu, and Chongju. Former dictator Park Chung Hee was forced to declare martial law and call out the army to contain the protests.

Divisions within the regime over how to meet the crisis led to Park's assassination. An open power struggle within the military hierarchy following Park's death further weakened the grip of the dictatorship and fanned expectations of democratic reforms.

Strikes Illegal

Although strikes are illegal in South Korea, workers took advantage of the situation to press their demands. The country has been hard hit by the world economic crisis. Inflation and unemployment are increasing sharply, and resentment against government-appointed union officials has been growing. (See *IP/I*, May

19, p. 505.)

During the first four months of 1980, there were nearly seven times as many labor actions as in all of 1979. The example of coal miners who took over the city of Sabuk in April, noted Shim Jae Hoon in the May 9 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "now threatens to inspire similar troubles in the major industrial cities of Seoul, Pusan and Masan."

Inspired by the struggles of the workers, the students stepped up their campaign for democratic rights. They took their demonstrations, which had been previously confined to the campuses, onto the streets. Reports in the capitalist media said that more than 50,000 marched in Seoul on May 14 and 15. In addition, tens of thousands demonstrated in other cities, including Taegu, Kwangju, Chonju, Suwon, and Incheon.

Troops with automatic rifles and armored personnel carriers sealed off much of Seoul, and the downtown area was paralyzed by the protests. Apparently fearful of provoking even wider opposition, the police did not open fire on the demonstrations. However, hundreds of students were seriously injured due to savage beatings by riot police, and hundreds more were arrested.

Student demands include the lifting of martial law; freedom of the press; the elimination of the Yushin Constitution imposed by Park; free elections; dismissal of professors who had maintained ties with the Park government; and support for the demands of industrial workers.

The resignation of Lieut. Gen. Chon Too Hwan, head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency and of the powerful Defense Security Command, has also been demanded by the protesters. Chon is the dominant military figure in the regime.

In the past, Washington has attempted to give the appearance of supporting democratic reforms in South Korea. That is the U.S. government's stance wherever it is helping to prop up dictators. Such an approach is essential for public relations abroad and for deceiving the American workers at home.

But during the last struggle, there has been a studied silence from the State Department, the White House, and the U.S. Embassy in Seoul. Apparently U.S. policymakers are afraid that even the mildest claims of support to democratic rights might backfire and encourage further mobilizations. Gen. John Wickham Jr., commander of the nearly 40,000 U.S. troops in South Korea, was sent hurrying

back to Seoul from a trip to Washington.

After President Carter visited South Korea last June, over the objections of opposition leaders, and after Secretary of Defense Brown delivered promises of more military aid in October, U.S. officials defended Washington's support to the dictatorship by claiming that South Korea is an independent country and that the U.S. government cannot intervene in its internal affairs. This argument would be more convincing if Washington had not saddled the Korean people with the military dictatorship in the first place.

Meanwhile, General Wickham not only commands the U.S. forces in South Korea—he is also the head of the joint command, which includes Korea's armed forces. The one thing that bothers Washington about Chon is not his attacks on democratic rights. It is that when he moved his troops into Seoul to take control of the government last December, he "broke a long-standing agreement that U.S. authorization must be sought to move any substantial number of South Korean troops." (*Washington Post*, April 30.)

Government Promises

Government leaders have attempted to defuse the opposition movement with promises that despite the new crackdown, there will be progress toward democratic rights. The only condition that the rulers insist on is that the South Korean workers and peasants make no use of the promised rights to fight for improvements in their social status. As President Choi Kyu Hah expressed it May 18, "There can be no political development without public safety and social stability."

But the aspiration for democratic rights and social progress, and the hatred of Park's dictatorial legacy, is too deep and too widespread to be so easily sidetracked. Already, on the first day of the new crackdown, students in Kwangju have defied the regime and battled police and soldiers who tried to break up their protests.

Once again, as in Iran and Nicaragua, an oppressed people is fighting to take control of its own country and to throw out a dictatorship imposed from abroad. Once again, U.S. imperialism stands with the dictatorship, against the will of the masses.

It is necessary to demand that U.S. forces be withdrawn from South Korea immediately, and that all U.S. aid to the dictatorship be halted. Despite the repression, the showdown in South Korea is just beginning. □

Hugo Blanco Emerges as Leading Left Candidate

By Jean-Pierre Beauvais

[The following is excerpted from an article that appeared in the May 9, 1980, issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*. The translation is by IP/I.]

* * *

As Peru's May 18 presidential and parliamentary elections approach, the election campaign being waged by the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), the Peruvian section of the Fourth International, has achieved considerable scope and is having a marked impact on Peruvian politics. The PRT's presidential candidate is Hugo Blanco, the best-known and most popular figure on the Peruvian left.

According to crowd estimates published in the Peruvian bourgeois press, 100,000 people attended meetings to hear Hugo Blanco speak in the first month of the campaign alone. Many tens of thousands more are expected to attend campaign rallies in the two weeks remaining before the election.

Between eight and ten thousand people gathered at the March 28 Lima rally that kicked off the Blanco campaign. By contrast, the day before in the same place some two to three thousand people attended the kick-off rally of the Left Unity campaign. Left Unity is an electoral slate made up of the Peruvian Communist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, which is a party of so-called progressive generals.

Blanco's first tour of the provinces has been a resounding success. Six thousand people attended a Blanco rally in Cajamarca, ten to twelve thousand in Chiclayo, six to seven thousand in Trujillo, ten thousand in Chimbote, eight thousand in Iquitos, fifteen to seventeen thousand in Arequipa, and twenty thousand in Tacna, to cite some examples.

It is generally acknowledged that in many towns and cities Blanco's meetings have been the largest for any candidate.

Many local meetings have also been organized in the poor neighborhoods surrounding Lima. Each of these has drawn two to three thousand people.

The Blanco presidential campaign will wind up with another tour of the south, especially the Cuzco area, the Puno region, and then a final mass meeting in Lima's central square. The PRT hopes to draw thirty to forty thousand people to the wind-up rally.

The PRT has also made good use of the free television time that each campaign is entitled to. Many PRT leaders and activists have taken part in these broadcasts, each of which is organized around a spe-

cific topic. The impact of the PRT's television broadcasts led Peru's military dictatorship to penalize the PRT for so-called violations of election rules, particularly stemming from a broadcast that assessed the results of twelve years of military rule.

It is felt that the military may be planning to use this broadcast as a pretext to withdraw Blanco's remaining television access rights in the final leg of the campaign.

The PRT campaign is not being waged simply to amass the largest possible vote total. It is popularizing the need for the Peruvian workers to organize themselves independently of the capitalists and generals. The central theme of the PRT's campaign is that only a workers government

can solve the drastic and pressing problems of Peru's workers and peasants.

In addition, the campaign is being used to build the PRT's influence and strengthen its organization. To this end many support committees have been or are now being established in Lima and the rest of the country. These committees are composed of active sympathizers of the PRT, who participate in the campaign in an organized fashion.

The support committees hold meetings and carry out regular activity. In addition, they organize classes on basic Marxist principles for their members.

In Lima alone, several hundred active sympathizers have already been organized into the support committees. □

Nutrition in Cuba and Peru

[The following article is taken from the April 30 issue of the Peruvian weekly *Marka*. The translation is by IP/I.]

* * *

While complaining of the social and political regime in their country, the Cuban "gusanos" (worms) have not been able to hide the objective advances in Cuba in the areas of health, of jobs, and of nutrition. In a country such as Peru, where these three problems are a scourge for the masses of people, the declarations of the gusanos have really boomeranged.

"In Cuba, the children only get milk until the age of eight," complained one unhappy "refugee" mother to a reactionary magazine. In Cuba, at least until that age, this vital food for normal growth is *guaranteed to all* the children on the island. After that age, we suppose, the ration of milk corresponds with that of other foods. And what happens in Peru?

According to statistics of the Ministry of Health, of the 7,300,000 children under the age of fourteen, 4,307,000 are undernourished—that is, 59 percent. *Sixty out of every 100 children* suffer from malnutrition. Of these, 250,000 suffer to the degree that they have irreversible cerebral lesions.

We can see the root of this in the consumption of milk. According to the same sources, of the 400,000 metric tons of milk needed by children up to the age of four, only 95,000 metric tons (23.9 percent) was actually utilized in 1979. That is, *only 24 out of every 100 children* were lucky enough

to get milk in this country.

The same "refugees" complain that in Cuba "the monthly ration for each person is only 2.5 kilograms of rice and of sugar, 0.75 kilograms of butter, 0.25 kilograms of coffee, 0.5 liters of oil, 0.75 kilograms of meat, and 2.24 kilograms of beans." This does not count other foods that are in greater abundance, such as fish, tubers, etc.

But let's look at the situation in Peru. At current prices, all these products would cost one person, for one month, 1,768 soles [one U.S. dollar equals 250 soles at official exchange rates], and for a family of six, it would cost 10,304 soles. If we add to this minimum diet other products to round out the basket, (74 breads, 0.25 kilograms of spaghetti, 4 kilograms of potatoes, and five bottles of milk) the cost per person per month rises to 2,437 soles, and for a family to 14,612 soles.

But here in Peru only 20 percent of the economically active population get more than the 18,000 soles minimum wage; the other 80 percent get less. Thus, they are unable to buy most of the products indicated in this family diet.

Doesn't it have the ring of a farce, then, when certain elements come to Peru and complain that they cannot have the pleasure of living like capitalists or like wealthy gusanos in the United States?

How many Peruvians have the luxury of feeding ourselves, dressing ourselves, or working with the security that *all* Cuban citizens enjoy? □

Settlement Reached in Swedish Labor Conflict

By Thom Gustaffson

STOCKHOLM—Sweden's biggest labor conflict ever was brought to an end on the night of May 11-12 through a preliminary agreement. The conflict had involved 900,000 blue- and white-collar workers on strike or on lockout and another million who were refusing to work overtime.

The settlement is preliminary until it has been ratified by the employers' associations in industry and trade and the state and municipal authorities on the one hand and on the other by the Landsorganisation (LO—National Federation of Trade Unions) and the federation of white collar workers in the public sector.

This might take some time. The trade-union federations have carried on collective bargaining with their employers parallel to the central bargaining, and the result of these negotiations must be clear before the preliminary central agreement is finally ratified.

This, however, will hardly change the general contents of the preliminary settlement. The union leaderships are well ensconced in the central union apparatuses, so the members are not given the right to approve or reject the proposed settlement.

A further stage in the wage negotiations will be local bargaining for every workplace. This might add a bit more to what has been accomplished in the central settlement, depending on the local relationship of forces.

Both the employers and the trade-union leaderships claim that the central settlement amounts to a wage increase of 6.8 percent for LO's members in the private sector (the majority of whom are industrial workers) and 7.3 percent for blue- and white-collar workers in the public sector (including hospital workers, bus and subway drivers, and several categories of teachers).

But this is a clear exaggeration. The wage increase is not to be paid retroactively from the beginning of the contract period (November 1, 1979), but either from April 15 to even later this year, depending on which part of the rather complicated settlement one refers to.

In fact, the overall wage increase will be about 2 percent lower than what is generally claimed by employers and union leaders. And this in a situation where inflation is expected to be around 12 percent this year.

Earlier in the negotiations, the bourgeois government of Premier Thorbjörn Fälldin had given the state mediators very strict guidelines, which stipulated that absolute wages should be kept about the same as before. The government claimed that it

would "save the interests of the workers" through minor tax reductions and "strict price controls." Formally, these guidelines did not bind the hands of the mediators, but in reality they did.

The government, however, was obliged to step back from its wage freeze program. At one point, it had investigated the possibility of enforcing a parliamentary decree imposing a "wage and price freeze." It was not, however, able to carry this through thanks to trade-union resistance and a rejection from the Social Democratic opposition.

The government then hoped that the trade unions would be weakened through the conflict and thus after a period of time become more ready to accept a minimal wage increase. But it obviously underestimated the sentiments of the bulk of the union members.

As a result, Sweden was half paralyzed through strikes and lockouts, which threatened to engage a growing number of workers as the days went by. It finally became clear to the government that time was not on its side. It then became politically necessary for the government to shift course before its own position was substantially weakened or even threatened.

Through informal contacts with the government, the state mediators got a green light to make a new "final" proposal that was three times higher than the first "final" offer, although only about half of what the unions were demanding.

This new proposal was accepted by the trade-union leaderships and the employers in the state and municipal authorities on May 4. But it was at first rejected by the Swedish Employers Association (SAF), the main federation of private employers. The SAF stated in a communiqué that such a "giant" wage increase would threaten the export industry and Sweden's international competitiveness.

After a so-called urgent appeal from the Fälldin government, the SAF finally gave in.

So after a number of maneuvers, the central settlement was finally reached, although the employers' association was obviously very unhappy and openly said its goals had not at all been fulfilled.

While the big bulk of workers went back to their jobs, the overwhelming majority of dock workers instead went on strike. The majority of them are not members of the LO. The dockworkers have now paralyzed nearly all transport of goods in Stockholm and Göteborg.

There is also conflict, involving threats of a new strike, between the LO-organized

Seamen's Federation and their employers. It is not a conflict over wages, but over working conditions in general.

Also, other LO federations that are now engaged in further bargaining with the bosses can end up in new conflicts, and as long as these conflicts are not solved and the local LO negotiations are not concluded, it is too early to speak too loudly about a restored "peace."

Objectively, the central settlement is a setback in terms of real wages. Important groups of workers seem to be quite skeptical of the settlement, although many workers also have illusions in it.

But this is not the whole story. The self-confidence among Swedish workers seems to have grown a bit over the past weeks, although unevenly.

"We showed them they couldn't go as far as they wanted"; "we broke the SAF and government wage freeze"; "if we hadn't fought, we wouldn't have gotten anything" were some of the responses in workplaces and trade-union circles.

The conflict was an important experience for coming struggles, an experience that must be followed up through a consistent program of struggle for building democratic and fighting trade unions and a militant workers movement as a whole.

At the same time, it is necessary for trade unionists and socialists inside the trade unions to point out that the union leaderships stopped the fight much too early. The strike funds were still very substantial. The union demand for an 11 percent wage increase was widely supported. The union members could be mobilized in growing numbers to meetings, demonstrations, and other initiatives. The union leaderships, however, were distrustful of their own members.

The ink on the preliminary settlement had not dried before the employers and the bourgeois government began to press for new austerity measures as one consequence of a "too expensive, although unavoidable" settlement.

The government has now prepared a series of cutbacks in social expenditures, which will hit working people very hard.

It is obvious that it is necessary to combine the fight inside the trade-union movement with new efforts to oust the bourgeois government, revitalize the workers movement, and strengthen its revolutionary socialist current.

The first big confrontation of the 1980s has taken place. Now it is urgent to prepare for the next one. □

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Thousands March in Chicago for Women's Equality

By Suzanne Haig

[The following article is taken from the May 23 issue of the U.S. socialist news-weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

CHICAGO—In a mood of exhilaration and confidence, thousands of cheering demonstrators marched down Columbus Drive here Saturday, May 10, to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in the critical state of Illinois.

Three more states must ratify before June 30, 1982, to make equality for women the law of the land. The ERA is now before the Illinois legislature.

The giant action—as the front page *Chicago Sun-Times* headline labeled it—was truly a triumph for the women's movement. At least 30,000 people marched and rallied (and some estimates of the crowd went as high as 50,000)—making it the largest ERA rally ever in this or any state. It was surpassed only by the national march for the extension of the ERA ratification deadline, held in Washington D.C. on July 9, 1978. The media called it one of the biggest political demonstrations in Chicago history.

And what an inspiring sight—a sea of marchers dressed in white, carrying banners of purple, white and gold, the colors of the suffrage movement.

The march was organized by the National Organization for Women (NOW)—a fact that was clearly evident by the contingents of NOW chapters from numerous states.

The march was genuinely national. Representatives and contingents came from states all across the country, including Hawaii and Alaska. Every region was represented, with the largest numbers coming from the Midwest.

The presence of major union contingents added to the political impact of the march. They received some of the most enthusiastic applause from other participants of the march.

Contingents of several hundred came from United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and United Auto Workers (UAW) locals. There were also groups of marchers from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; United Electrical Workers; Communications Workers of America; United Transportation Union; Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks; Illinois Education Association; International Association of Machinists; American Postal Workers; United Food and Commercial Workers; and other unions.



Part of crowd at rally for ERA in Chicago.

Suzanne Haig/Militant

Several chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) also marched. Chicago CLUW has been a central part of the ERA campaign in Illinois this spring.

While representing a cross-section of people, a large portion of the marchers were youthful.

The relation of the ERA to fights around other key issues was underlined by the presence of such contingents as: Coalition Against Registration and the Draft, War Resisters League, Daycare Action Council for ERA, and several antinuclear groups. Hand-lettered signs linked ERA and jobs, and some put forward a woman's right to choose abortion.

There were also contingents of women of the oppressed nationalities, including the League of Black Women, Mujeres Latinas, and Asian-Pacific Women for the ERA.

The action reflected the breadth of majority support for the ERA.

Spirits ran high. Along with chants such as "What do you want? ERA. When do you want it? Now!" and "No draft, no way; ratify the ERA," people sang songs such as "When the States are Ratified" (to the tune of "When the Saints go Marching In").

The steelworkers contingent was especially exuberant—stomping, clapping, and cheering all the way down to the Old Band Shell where the rally was held. Their chants "USWA for ERA" and "What time is it? Steelworkers time" were among the loudest.

The march refuted all claims of equal strength made by the right-wing, anti-ERA forces. In her own home state, Phyllis

Schlafly, head of "Stop ERA," could muster only 6,000 people at a May 7 Springfield rally.

She was reduced to stating on national radio that people had been paid ten dollars to come to May 10.

In her remarks at the rally NOW President Eleanor Smeal scoffed at Schlafly's ludicrous charges, sending a roar of glee through the crowd.

She pointed to the May 10 action as proof that this country is not moving to the right.

Two themes were underscored by the composition of the crowd, from interviews with participants, and by several of the speakers: ERA is at the center of labor's and women's defense against the brutal attacks on our standard of living. Only a fighting coalition that mobilizes the power of labor, women's and civil rights organizations can hope to achieve victory.

As William Stevens, leading the UAW delegation from Detroit Diesel, told the *Militant*, "ERA is definitely a union issue. More and more families see that they can't make it on pay and a half."

And Dani McFadden, a shop steward of the Pittsburgh Metro Area Postal Workers Union, commented, "The only way we're going to win ERA in the southern states is by labor and NOW working together. If everybody would work together—NOW, the unions, Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the civil rights organizations, all the different groups—it would be no problem getting ERA ratified."

May 10 solidarity rallies were also held in Salt Lake City, Utah, and San Diego, California. □

Statement of the Fourth International

Hands Off the Iranian Revolution!

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

* * *

President Carter sent U.S. commandos into Iran with total disregard for the lives of the hostages or the rights of the Iranian people. This adventure cost the lives of eight Americans and could have led to disaster—to a broader military conflict. Consistent with its pattern of lies and secrecy, his administration was saying the day before the raid that not even a tentative decision had been made to use military action. Carter now admits that preparations for the “rescue mission” began in November 1979.

Washington's decision to undertake the gamble of using U.S. forces was made in the context of its politically weak position in relation to the Iranian revolution.

When massive mobilizations drove the shah from his throne in early 1979, U.S. imperialism lost one of its most loyal allies in that part of the world.

Iran is no longer a gigantic profit bonanza for U.S. corporations, especially the oil monopolies.

It is no longer a policeman for Washington throughout the Persian Gulf, or a close ally of Zionist Israel against the Arab peoples.

And SAVAK, the hated instrument of repression, whose secret police and torturers were trained by the CIA, has been dismantled.

Since the overthrow of the shah, there has been a deepening social revolution in Iran, and workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities have begun to make major gains.

From the very beginning of this revolution, the Carter administration has tried to reverse it. It has been probing for a way to find a governmental solution that can halt the revolutionary dynamic and stabilize the situation on a basis favorable to imperialism.

In order to counter the anti-imperialist struggle of the Iranian people and the widespread sentiment of Americans against another Vietnam-type war, Washington has waged a racist campaign against the “Muslim fanatics.” The shah, on the other hand, has been portrayed as a progressive modernizer.

Then, last November Carter invited the shah to the United States in spite of a warning from U.S. officials that hatred of the despot was so strong that this could provoke an embassy occupation.

Since then, Carter's moves have not

been calculated to release the hostages or negotiate a just settlement. He has tried to whip up anti-Iranian hysteria in the U.S. by harassing and deporting Iranians.

He has refused to negotiate with Iranian officials. He broke diplomatic relations and threw the Iranian Embassy staff out of the U.S. on short notice.

He has tightened an economic blockade on Iran and intensified pressure on Washington's imperialist allies to go along with economic sanctions.

A series of military threats, including keeping a twenty-seven-ship armada stationed in the Arabian sea has kept tensions high.

On April 17 he banned travel from the United States to Iran and is trying to curtail U.S. news coverage from there.

But all of these measures have not achieved what Carter had hoped. The American people have not snapped to attention behind the administration. After their initial shock and anger when the embassy was occupied, they have been learning more about the crimes of the shah, Washington's reactionary role in Iran, and Carter's two-faced approach to the American people.

Adding to Washington's problems, it has secured little support from its imperialist allies in Western Europe and Japan for tougher sanctions against Iran, much less military action.

And U.S. actions against Iran have deepened, not lessened the anti-imperialist sentiments of millions of oppressed throughout the Middle East, raising the spectre of major outbreaks in other countries in the region.

Each new attack by Washington has served to strengthen the anti-imperialist feelings of the Iranian masses and has been countered by massive mobilizations of workers, peasants, and other oppressed layers against imperialism. When news of Washington's abortive military raid circulated throughout Iran spontaneous victory rallies were held celebrating this most recent setback for imperialism. But the raid was also a very tangible warning that the U.S. will try to use military means against the Iranian revolution. It clearly underlines the importance of the demand of the masses for the general arming of the workers and peasants. It further reinforced support in Iran for the demand that the shah be returned to stand trial for his crimes.

At the moment when massive anti-imperialist mobilizations are taking place, however, the Iranian bourgeois government still refuses to recognize the national

rights of the Kurdish people. It continues to wage savage military attacks against them, killing hundreds. The Khomeini regime warns other oppressed nationalities that they will get the same treatment if they struggle for their rights. President Bani-Sadr has ordered the Kurdish population to be disarmed. This is in spite of the fact that the Kurdish leaders hailed the occupation of the U.S. Embassy and Kurds are participating in the anti-imperialist mobilizations. But the Kurds do not feel that fighting imperialism means that they have to subordinate or abandon their just struggle for their rights. The government's policy can only be an obstacle to a united mass mobilization against imperialism.

On another front the government's order for all political organizations to leave the university campuses had the effect of weakening militant anti-imperialist forces and encouraged right-wing organizations to launch physical attacks on several radical organizations, including the Mujahedeen and the Fedayeen.

The Fourth International reiterates its support for the right of the Kurdish people and other oppressed nationalities to self-determination and the defense of full democratic rights for workers, peasants, and students.

The failure of its “rescue mission” has weakened U.S. imperialism further in its goal to reverse the Iranian revolution. This setback makes it more difficult to win support for its objectives from the American people or its imperialist allies. But, it has far from given up on this goal. It is continuing to probe for opportunities to deal the revolution blows.

The Fourth International reaffirms its solidarity with the struggle of the Iranian people to be totally free from the yoke of imperialism. We condemn all measures taken by imperialism against the Iranian revolution.

Return the murderer shah to be tried for his crimes!

No economic sanctions! Give back the wealth stolen from the toiling masses of Iran!

Hands off Iran! Withdraw the imperialist fleets from the Arabian Sea!

You won't miss a single issue if you subscribe.

'Granma' Condemns Carter's Iran Raid

[The following article by Virgilio Calvo is taken from the May 4 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*, the newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party.]

* * *

The extraordinarily irresponsible nature of the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism was once again demonstrated in a very dangerous fashion on April 25 when U.S. troops entered Iran to try to rescue the U.S. prisoners held by the students for the last six months.

The operation ordered by President James Carter was an open violation of international law, ended in a complete disaster and further strengthened Carter's image as an irresponsible and erratic leader whom few will take seriously in the future.

If we review what the United States has done in its anti-Iran campaign, we can see that during the last few weeks its main objective has been to obtain support from Western Europe and Japan for the economic sanctions imposed by Washington in order to secure the release of the prisoners from a position of strength.

However, if we look further into the issue and review U.S. foreign policy per se, we will see that its stand on Iran is not an isolated case; quite the contrary, it is part of a strategy and tactics that spread from Southeast Asia to the Caribbean, Southwest Asia, the Middle East and northern Africa.

In the last few months the Carter administration has initiated a drive to make up for the large-scale defeats suffered by imperialism all over the world. Thus, it intervenes along with China in operations against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and People's Kampuchea, and it aids and encourages the counterrevolutionary bands in Afghanistan in order to prevent the consolidation of the popular government in that country. It campaigns against the people of Iran and maneuvers with Israel and Egypt to neutralize the Palestinians and other progressive Arab forces, supplies arms and money to Morocco for its colonial war against the people of the Sahara, intervenes against the patriots in El Salvador and promotes vile campaigns against the Cuban Revolution, and supports and protects racist and reactionary regimes everywhere.

This reckless and aggressive foreign policy coincides with the interests of the most reactionary sectors among its chief allies most of the time, but it frequently gives rise to contradictions especially when economic matters are at stake. Such is now the case in the adventurist measure taken by Washington against Iran which could result in tremendous problems for

the developed capitalist countries which import oil through the Persian Gulf.

Another factor which has a bearing on the foreign policy decisions of U.S. leaders is the domestic situation, especially when elections are in the offing.

Carter is faced with a recession and growing inflation which he has been unable to control, much less eliminate. The increasing strains in the ruling machinery of the United States, where corruption reaches into the upper segments of Congress and the government, make chances for control very unlikely.

Given this situation Carter seems unlikely to be reelected, which is perhaps one of the reasons for bringing the world to the brink of a war of unforeseeable magnitude.

But the scheme flopped.

Few U.S. presidents have had to endure such unfortunate moments as the one Carter is now going through.

Bars American From Visiting Her Husband

Carter Enforces Iran Travel Ban

[The following article appeared in the May 23 issue of the U.S. socialist news-weekly the *Militant*.]

* * *

NEW YORK—Susan Lyons, a twenty-one-year-old electrical worker from Birmingham, Alabama, was looking forward to being reunited with her husband, Abdol Arefi.

But on May 9, at Kennedy Airport here, she was barred by airline officials from boarding a Scandinavian Airlines plane for Tehran, Iran. The airline employees acted on orders they had received from the U.S. State Department.

The State Department is also threatening to prosecute Lyons if she goes ahead with her plan to see her husband in Iran. They claim travel to Iran by American citizens carries a penalty of as much as \$5,000 and up to two years in jail.

"My husband is an Iranian oil worker," Lyons told reporters at the airport. "We met while he was a student at the University of Washington in Seattle and were married two years ago. After the shah was overthrown my husband returned to look after his parents.

"My husband always opposed the shah while he was a student in this country," she continued. "He convinced me that the shah is regarded by the Iranian people as another Hitler. I've always thought that Carter's support for the shah is a disgrace. And this ban on traveling to Iran is

discredited by his own inability to handle foreign policy and held up to ridicule by the failure of his abortive schemes against Cuba, Carter must now face condemnation for having taken an irresponsible and adventurist step which has been criticized by even his own allies.

The image of Carter as an irresponsible and incapable leader has again taken root, at a time when it becomes especially damaging, but the imperialist system is the real loser once again and its power has long ago been called into question.

Carter's Iranian adventure is simply another example of imperialist arrogance and now, having learned nothing from their failure, they are preparing dangerous maneuvers in the Caribbean which include a "training invasion" of Cuba.

In Iran they lost five helicopters, a plane, eight men and the little prestige they had left. Has Carter considered what the United States might lose if it attacks Cuba? Maybe he is thinking about it now. □

another disgrace."

Although her main reason for going to Iran is to be with her husband, Lyons said that she is "anxious to see for myself what the effects of the revolution have been in Iran.

"As a member of the Socialist Workers Party, I have been trying to explain Iran's side of the story to the American people. I think many people agree with me that the U.S. government has wronged Iran by backing the shah and that the best way to get the hostages safely released is to send the shah and his stolen billions back to Iran."

Lyons' attempt to travel to Iran was widely covered by the media in New York.

Because of State Department threats to have Lyons arrested and prosecuted, she was accompanied to the airport by her attorney, Margaret Winter.

Winter said there is no legal basis for the government's action in barring Lyons from boarding her flight. "The Supreme Court has ruled that the right to travel is a basic right of Americans. All attempts to punish Americans for defying travel bans have been ruled unconstitutional. But Congress has never enacted any law to punish Americans for traveling to Iran."

Lyons said she plans to continue fighting for her right to visit her husband. "I think any American has the right to travel to Iran or any other country to see for themselves what's happening there or to visit loved ones. And the government has no right to stop us." □

DOCUMENTS

Daniel Ortega's May Day Speech in Havana

'The Force of the Revolution Cannot Be Held Back'

[The following is the text of the speech given by Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega, a member of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, before the May Day rally of 1.5 million Cubans in Havana. The translation has been taken from the May 11 issue of the English-language *Granma* weekly review.]

* * *

The people united will never be defeated!
The people armed will never be put down! (SHOUTS AND APPLAUSE!)

In Nicaragua there is a place called Puerto Cabezas. It is a small town, inhabited by English-speaking blacks, the descendants of slaves who were exploited in the Caribbean islands and fled to our lands. In Puerto Cabezas there are also Mosquitoes, indigenous Indians from the area who speak and sing in Misquita. In Puerto Cabezas, the friends of war, the enemies of peace, trained the counterrevolutionary mercenaries. From Puerto Cabezas came the ships and planes which you tore apart at Girón. (APPLAUSE)

Now, in Puerto Cabezas there are Cuban

doctors, teachers and technicians. (APPLAUSE) And those who invaded Nicaragua, those who invaded the Dominican Republic and those who invaded Cuba, and those who occupy Guantánamo are very irate because there, there are Cubans who care for the people, who love the people, who are the true followers of Martí, Celia, Che and Mella; (APPLAUSE) they are worried about the presence of those Cubans in Nicaragua. And we Nicaraguans are proud that those Cubans are in our country! (APPLAUSE)

We are here today because we have won the right to have fraternal relations with this people, (APPLAUSE) because we have won the right to have relations with the socialist camp, (APPLAUSE) because we have won the right to have relations with Algeria, Mozambique, Angola and other African countries, (APPLAUSE) because we have won the right to have relations with Vietnam and to welcome to Nicaragua a hero of Vietnam, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong. (APPLAUSE)

And the enemies of our peoples are worried and they launch campaigns against us. There is talk of maneuvers,

and the maneuvers are denounced. But the truth is that the enemies of our people are always maneuvering against the struggle waged by the peoples of Latin America, the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

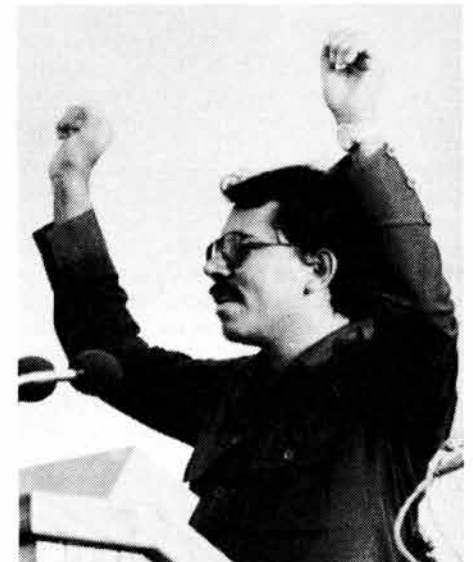
Wasn't it a maneuver to prop up Batista in Cuba? Wasn't it a maneuver to prop up Somoza in Nicaragua, or Gairy in Grenada, or Trujillo in the Dominican Republic? (APPLAUSE) Isn't it a maneuver to launch slanderous campaigns against our peoples? Isn't it a maneuver to pit the countries of Latin America against one another, to try to divide the countries of Latin America? (APPLAUSE)

Our enemies are making a big hue and cry; our enemies show their claws and their teeth; our enemies threaten us. They think they will intimidate our peoples in this way! They think this will make us retreat! They fail to realize that this makes us stronger, more united and invincible! (APPLAUSE)

It isn't us, it isn't Cuba, or Grenada, or Nicaragua, it isn't the peoples of Latin America who launch military maneuvers on U.S. soil. It is not our countries that are threatening to invade the United States, but rather a large portion of Latin America which has been invaded: the invasion is present at Guantánamo, the invasion is in the constant spy flights over Cuban soil, the invasion is the criminal blockade which they fail to eliminate in spite of its failure, the invasion is the strengthening



Sandinista Workers Federation banner at Havana May Day rally. "Cuba and Nicaragua United Will Win."



DANIEL ORTEGA

of the most reactionary, aggressive and criminal positions in the area, the invasion is justifying and supporting those who are murdering the people of El Salvador. Our peoples have not been characterized by a warlike spirit; our peoples have taken up arms as a last resort to defend themselves and obtain freedom. Our peoples are peace-loving. Not peace imposed by the powerful; not peace imposed by Yankee cannons, ships and marines but peace based on mutual respect and dignity. (APPLAUSE)

We feel honored to be in Cuba on this heroic May Day. We know that the blood of those who died in Chicago,* of those heroic workers, has multiplied the world over. We know that the effort of the peoples can overcome the killers of the Chicago martyrs. We know that the effort of the peoples can foil the tanks, spy planes, bombers and gunboats used to repress the workers' movement throughout the world. We know that the force of the workers, that the force of the peasants, that the force of the revolution cannot be held back, which is why we are happy to be here on this glorious date, at this historically significant moment for our hemisphere. (APPLAUSE)

Constant battles are taking place in the hemisphere; Central America and the Caribbean are a spot which concerns our enemies because of the determination of the peoples, the solidarity of the peoples: it concerns our enemies because there is an unconquerable bastion in this area, which is the Cuban Revolution. (APPLAUSE)

Before starting on the journey which brought us here, we visited some Cuban literacy teachers in rural sections of our country, and there we were looking at the Cuban people; there we could feel the determination and internationalist spirit of true Cubans, those worthy of having a leader like Fidel; (APPLAUSE) those who without any kind of praise, undergoing privations and difficult situations, have come to our country as they have gone to other parts of the world, to live as our peasants live, to live as our workers live, to live in the wretchedly difficult conditions that were our legacy from the dictatorship and the old system; those who came to give us the benefit of the experience they have gained here and the immense affection and solidarity of the Cuban people. For them and for you, an embrace and greetings from the Nicaraguan people and their vanguard, the Sandinista National Libera-

tion Front. (APPLAUSE)

Long live the unity of the Cuban and Nicaraguan peoples! (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Long live Latin American workers! (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Workers Demand Union Rights

New Calls for Ouster of Pakistani Dictator

Despite the efforts of the martial law regime of Gen. Zia ul-Haq to stifle all political dissent in Pakistan, open opposition to the military dictatorship has once again begun to surface.

On April 30 and May 1, unionists held public rallies and meetings to celebrate May Day and to air workers' grievances.

In Lahore, three major trade-union federations—the Pakistan Trade Union Federation, the United Workers Federation, and the All-Pakistan Trade Union Federation—held a common action. Among the resolutions adopted at the large gathering were ones demanding the restoration of full trade-union rights, which have been curtailed by the military regime, and the withdrawal of charges against arrested trade unionists.

In addition, May Day rallies were held by railway, textile, tannery, and other workers.

The unpopularity of the Zia regime has also been reflected by increased demands for Zia's ouster, even from his former supporters.

The rightist Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) held a rally of several thousand in late April, at which calls were raised for the removal of the "military dictatorship." Sardar Abdul Qayum, a leader of the PNA, declared that "the junta has so little support it is on the point of collapse."

Former Air Marshal Asghar Khan, a prominent critic of Zia's, held a press conference a week after he was released from house arrest on April 18. Defying martial law, he publicly called for the overthrow of the military regime.

"Zia is a ruthless dictator who has directed an illegal regime for the past three years," Asghar Khan said. "We can no longer sit on our hands and watch Pakistan's structure being broken up by a succession of ambitious generals."

The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) of the late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was hanged last year by Zia, has begun considering the formation of an alliance with other opposition parties to force Zia's ouster.

Both the PPP and Asghar Khan's party, the Tehrik-i Istiqlal, have also criticized Zia for refusing to talk with the government in neighboring Afghanistan and

Long live the world proletariat! (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Patria libre o morir!

Patria o muerte! (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "VENCEREMOS!") (OVATION)



ZIA UL-HAQ

have condemned his provision of sanctuary in Pakistan to the rightist Afghan guerrilla forces.

The increasing boldness of such bourgeois parties reflects a much broader discontent and simmering opposition among the population as a whole, which was dramatically expressed in November 1979 when tens of thousands of Pakistanis marched on the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad and burned it down.

In fact, the bourgeois opposition leaders fear that unless they adopt a more critical stance, they may be overtaken by events and lose even more political influence. The PNA, which originally supported Zia when he seized power in 1977, has already been greatly discredited by its earlier association with the hated dictator.

According to a report in the May 2 *Far Eastern Economic Review* on the PNA's antigovernment rally, Sardar Abdul Qayum "warned that frustration among Pakistanis was mounting to an extent that dangerous and uncontrollable mass demonstrations were inevitable unless the government moved" to hand over power to an interim regime and to schedule elections. □

*On May 1, 1886, thousands of workers in many American cities demonstrated for the establishment of the eight-hour day. The most powerful upsurge was in Chicago. On May 4, at a rally in Haymarket Square protesting police attacks on strikers, a bomb exploded. Thirty-one leading unionists and anarchists were framed up for the bombing and four were subsequently hanged. The founding congress of the Second International in 1889 established May Day as the international workers' holiday in solidarity with the American eight-hour-day movement.—IP/I

Wide Caribbean Support for Grenada Revolution

The first anniversary of the March 13, 1979, seizure of power in Grenada by the New Jewel Movement was marked by mass rallies of up to 30,000 people in support of the revolution. It also provided an opportunity for political activists and trade unionists from throughout the Caribbean to express their solidarity with the revolution and with the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) of Grenada.

Representatives of twenty-three Caribbean organizations in eleven different countries met in Grenada during the anniversary celebrations and issued a joint "Declaration of Solidarity with the Grenadian Revolution."

The declaration read, in part:

"We, as representatives of poor, oppressed peoples in our various territories, deeply appreciate the advances of the revolution in reducing unemployment, in keeping down prices, in feeding school children, in improving health services, in providing expanded opportunities for the further reduction of and generally easing the burden of hardship on the masses of the people.

"Moreover, we have been profoundly impressed by the openness of the Grenada Revolution, the real freedom of speech enjoyed by the people, the new enjoyment of fundamental Human Rights, such as the right of all workers to join and form Trade Unions. . . .

"We must condemn . . . those who, to protect their own status quo of mass unemployment, grossly unequal distribution of wealth and high illiteracy levels, have joined with imperialist forces to attack the flourishing Grenada Revolution. . . .

"We are fully satisfied that the hostility generated in some quarters towards the Grenada Revolution poses a real and continuing threat of external aggression. Therefore, the military preparedness and vigilance of the foreign assistance given in this area, is not only justified, but most necessary and must continue.

"We here assembled in Grenada recognize that it is a small country, of limited natural resources in great need of urgent international assistance—without strings—to advance and develop its own, independent process. We applaud those countries which, in the spirit of true internationalism, have provided such assistance.

"Finally, we note with the greatest joy and satisfaction Grenada's commitment to internationalism and pledge ourselves in response to give increasing support and unwavering solidarity to the struggles of the Grenadian people in building their own revolutionary process."

The signers of the declaration included:

From Guyana, Clive Thomas of the Working People's Alliance and Cheddi Jagan of the People's Progressive Party.

From Jamaica, Trevor Munroe of the Workers Party of Jamaica.

From St. Vincent, Caspar London of the Youlou United Liberation Movement.

From Barbados, Rickey Parris of the Movement for National Liberation and Independence (Monali). □

From St. Lucia, Earl Bousquet of the St. Lucia Workers Revolutionary Movement.

From Dominica, Atherton Martin and Bill Riviere of the Dominica Liberation Movement.

From Antigua, Tim Hector of the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement.

From Trinidad and Tobago, James Millette of the February 18 Movement, George Weekes of the Oilfields Workers Trade Union, Clive Nunez of the Transport and Industrial Workers Union, Basdeo Panday of the All-Trinidad Sugar Estates and Factories Workers Trade Union, and Raffique Shah of the Islandwide Cane Farmers Union. □



Campaign Against Marijuana Cultivation in Grenada

In response to an increase in marijuana cultivation in Grenada, the government of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop has launched a new effort to bring the problem under control.

On April 7, Police Commissioner James Clarkson revealed a sharp increase in the activities of marijuana growers in Grenada's hills. They have cleared large areas of land for the cultivation of the drug, in some cases seizing agricultural lands or destroying trees that had been planted as wind-breaks. The pillaging of farmers' food crops has also increased.

The increase in the cultivation of marijuana—known locally as "ganja"—was "not for the individual to use," Clarkson said, "but for the purpose of distributing on a large scale locally and to supply external markets."

The harassment of Grenadian farmers by the marijuana growers, Clarkson said, "can only be considered as counterrevolutionary, especially when we look at the effort our Revolution is making to encourage our farmers to grow more food and to increase production."

The government has appealed to the marijuana growers to cut down their fields

and to channel their energies into the cultivation of other crops. It warned that those who did not would be prosecuted and have their fields cut down by the security forces.

The April 12 issue of the *New Jewel*, the weekly organ of the ruling New Jewel Movement, declared that the "NJM firmly supports the Security Forces in this move."

"Our Revolution," the *New Jewel* affirmed, "was fought for more food, more housing, more work, more social, economic and political justice, but not for more crimes."

It concluded, "Farmers, growers and all Grenadian people must unite to stop this problem from developing further."

Several rallies by youths and students, organized by the NJM National Youth Organisation, have also condemned the large-scale growing of marijuana. Resolutions passed at the meetings called on the People's Revolutionary Government to implement a land reform program for those youths who voluntarily ceased cultivating marijuana and came down from the hills and to take firm action against land owners who continued to defy the government. □

The Odyssey of an Existentialist Philosopher

By George Novack

The most widely held philosophies of our time have been existentialism and Marxism. Jean-Paul Sartre, who died in Paris April 15 at the age of seventy-four, exemplified the dilemma of one of the most qualified intellectuals and writers of our time tossed between these two incompatible views of the world.

Along with Simone de Beauvoir and Albert Camus, Sartre popularized the ideas and attitudes of existentialism among the post-World War II generation. Any observant visitor to the U.S. campuses during this period could testify to the extent of his influence. He exercised this not only through his novels, plays, and essays, which were translated into many languages, but also through the conduct of his life as a radical French intellectual. Although in a characteristic gesture he spurned the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1964, because he did not want to be "transformed into an institution," he deserved the award more than many of its recipients because of the iconoclastic and humanistic temper of his writings and their impact upon the minds of literate people around the globe.

He represented the left atheistic current of the existentialist outlook that was committed to the support of progressive causes. His philosophy cannot be dissociated from his politics nor his politics from his philosophy. Their interaction is clearly discernible in the evolution of his theoretical positions. These fall into two distinctively different phases.

Being and Nothingness

As a young professor and aspiring writer in the 1930s, he embarked on the quest for an absolute freedom in a universe where everything is relative and materially conditioned. He yearned to be exempt from all determination by objective reality, natural or social. This hopeless enterprise was embodied in a big book of 724 pages entitled *Being and Nothingness*. This metaphysical disquisition brought him world fame but it is as obscure and labyrinthine as his novels, plays, and essays can be straightforward. It was a technical treatise, primarily addressed to fellow professional philosophers, that utilized the categories of Hegel's system filtered through the phenomenological school of the later German thinkers, Husserl and Heidegger, and molded by the traditions of Continental rationalism and idealism.

In this work Sartre set out to show that man is a wholly free subject who by his very nature resists every attempt to trans-

form him into anything objective. To provide an underpinning for this conception of unlimited human liberty he begins by splitting reality into two opposing and irreconcilable parts.

One he calls being-for-itself; the other being-in-itself. The first is exclusively human; it is the pure consciousness of the individual, total negation, absolute freedom. Being-in-itself comprises everything else; it is "dumb-packed togetherness," rigid non-consciousness, materiality, and objectivity.

Sartre does not explain how these two starkly contradictory realms of being, the in-itself and the for-itself, originated. The non-human and the free subject are simply there, given facts. He thus makes a metaphysical mystery out of the natural and historical processes through which the human emerged from the animal, consciousness from the preconscious, the subject out of objective preconditions.

Sartre at no time accepted the theory of evolution. We are certain, he held, only of the existence of human life but have no plausible proof of the emergence of the organic from the inorganic. This retrograde position not only defied the conclusion of modern science that evolution is a primordial and proven fact of nature but runs counter to the Marxist view that the development of nature and society constitute sequential stages and integral parts of a unified historical process.

Sartre's philosophy was literary and academic in inspiration and the spectacular achievements of the physical sciences and mathematics had no influence upon this thought. Existentialists as a rule recoil from the effects of science, industry, and technology as in themselves threats to the authenticity of the inner self.

The mystification of human origins and the unbridgeable dualism of the subject and the object were required to establish the absolute freedom of the individual. In the subsequent pages Sartre expounds the rationale for the most one-sided conception of individualism in contemporary philosophy.

According to this view, I may be hedged on all sides by what Sartre calls "facticity." My place, my past, my surroundings, my fellows, and my death make up the situation into which I have been flung. But all these facts are accidental and incidental, not necessary and intrinsic elements of my existence.

I do not have to accept them; I can reject and refuse to adapt to them. I assert and forge my authentic self in dissociating

myself from these objective conditions and circumstances. Other things and beings have their essence made for them or imposed upon them. I alone have the power of fashioning the character and career I prefer. I can be a fully self-made person in a world I never made.

Such unlimited freedom in which every individual is a law unto himself or herself entails unlimited responsibility, not only for oneself but the fate of humankind. Sartre even maintains that every person then alive is co-responsible for the Second World War they could not prevent. (This left the imperialist warmakers off the hook.) Tormented anguish inescapably arises from the awareness that our choice may be wrong and have dreadful, unforeseen, unpremeditated consequences. But since we cannot avoid choosing at our peril in the dark, we must valiantly take our stand and face the music.

Critics have pointed out the logical inconsistencies in Sartre's idea of absolute freedom and the ethics derived from its premises. Its unrealism is obvious. He starts by excluding all concrete necessity from human action; he ends with the categorical imperative to be free. Man is "condemned to be free," even though his dearest projects are foredoomed to fail and his ventures and aspirations cannot find secure and enduring realization because the "for-itself" can never coincide with the "in-itself." But if I must be free, then I have no real moral choice in the matter. Total freedom thereby turns out to be its opposite: total determination.

Sartre and the Communist Party

Nonetheless, the contradictions in which he was entangled endowed this first edition of his philosophy with an implicit dynamism that impelled this ultra-individualist along the road which held out an enlargement of freedom for humankind, even if no lasting satisfaction was attainable.

That was only to be found in the revolutionary objectives of socialism. Marxism is the scientific theory and method of that proletarian movement. And so the thrust of his existentialist ethics, intermeshed with his situation as a radical petty bourgeois in crisis-torn France, pressed him to come to closer grips with Marxism in philosophy and politics.

Unlike friends such as the Communist Paul Nizan, Sartre at first was unconcerned with the class struggle. He despised the bourgeoisie in a bohemian manner, not in their function as exploiters of the work-

ers and oppressors of the masses, but as philistines who did not appreciate the life of the intellect or the creative arts. His prewar political opinions were vaguely anarcho-libertarian.

In the third volume of her autobiography, Simone de Beauvoir relates: "In our youth we felt close to the Communist party to the extent that its negativism harmonized with our anarchism. We looked forward to the defeat of capitalism but not to the coming of a socialist society which, we thought, would have deprived us of our liberty. Thus on September 14, 1939 [following the Stalin-Hitler Pact] Sartre wrote in a notebook: 'Here I am cured of socialism if ever I needed to be cured of it.'"

His wartime experience and participation in the Resistance changed his mind. After release from a prisoner-of-war camp, he helped organize a small Resistance group of intellectuals baptized "Socialism and Liberty," terms that no longer seemed antithetical to him. He collaborated with Communist fighters without joining the party. In consonance with his philosophy he remained a free-floating sympathizer of the left.

He had checkered relations with the CP in which attraction alternated with repulsion. After the Liberation (the end of the Nazi occupation of France), while avowing that "the Communist Party is the only revolutionary party," he did not affiliate with it since he did not share its philosophy nor approve all its policies. In 1948, together with the ex-Trotskyists David Rousset and Gerard Rosenthal, he founded a short-lived independent socialist group, the Revolutionary Democratic Rally.

Despite his reservations about the CP, the viciousness of the French troops in Indochina and the official repressions of the Communists in France induced him to engage in unrestrained conciliation with the native Stalinists and the Russian leaders in the early 1950s. This came to an abrupt halt when Soviet tanks crushed the Hungarian workers' revolt in 1956. He proclaimed that he would never resume relations with the CP leadership. "Every one of their statements, every one of their actions," he declared, "is the fulfillment of thirty years of lying and sclerosis." He never thereafter placed confidence in the Stalinists, despite illusions he entertained about several of their heads such as Togliatti and Mao Zedong.

Marxism Versus Existentialism

Throughout these years Sartre, the unalloyed existentialist, remained a professed adversary of Marxism. In his 1947 essay on "Materialism and Revolution," he did not spare a single one of its fundamental principles. His indictment rejected its claim to scientific truthfulness, its materialism, its rationalism, its determinism, its dialectical view of nature, its conception of object-subject relations, and its

derivation of social consciousness from social-historical conditions.

Midway in his career Sartre stood forth as the proponent of a pre-Marxian socialist humanism framed in existentialist terms which he offered as the predestined replacement for the false and outmoded teachings of dialectical materialism.

Then, in a dramatic turnabout, Sartre announced in his second major treatise, *The Critique of Dialectical Reason*, published in 1960, that Marxism was "the ultimate philosophy of our age." Frustrated in his previous effort to overthrow the theoretical foundations of scientific socialism by frontal attack, he now sought to undermine them by insisting that his brand of existentialism could supply the ingredients of individuality and subjectivity hitherto lacking in Marxism. He prepared to rescue contemporary Marxism from its bondage to the petrified and institutionalized version peddled by the opportunistic Soviet bureaucracy and its echoers.

It is generally recognized that Sartre's unfinished attempt to remodel dialectical materialism according to existentialist specifications was a failure. Instead of supplementing Marxism with existentialist amendments, as he promised, he virtually liquidated Marxism into the method of existentialism. For example, he construed social evolution as a succession of freely made choices by the individual, not, as Marx does, as the lawful rise and fall of successive forms and levels of social organization determined by the unfolding of different degrees of humanity's productive powers in its collective struggle with nature for sustenance and development.

In both phases Sartre held fast to his root assumption that the Self is Sovereign

in all domains of human endeavor. As Wilfred Desan pointed out in *The Marxism of Jean-Paul Sartre*: "There is no room in the writings of Karl Marx for a self with such an amplitude." The extreme subjectivism of the existentialist creed cannot be harmonized with dialectical materialism or blended with it; the two philosophies and methods stand at opposite poles.

The Sartre of the 1960s and 1970s had a different slant on the roles of literature, philosophy, and politics than the Sartre of earlier days. When he published his first novel *Nausea* and wrote his first brilliant plays, *The Flies* and *No Exit*, he was an ambitious young author elaborating the appropriate literary forms for the imaginative projection of his feelings and attitudes and the most vivid representation of his ruling ideas. Moreover, he esteemed the written word in both artistic production and philosophy, not simply as his chosen vehicle of individual expression, but as the most effective way for him to recreate the world. This he fervently believed.

In *Les Mots* (The Words), intended as the first volume of his autobiography and published twenty years later when he had become a world-renowned personality, he renounced this notion of the world-transforming function of literature. Without repudiating his previous work or regretting his dedication to a literary vocation, he declared that he had erroneously exalted literary creation into a sacred thing with an absolute value. This was the product of a personal neurosis and the illusion of a middle-class intellectual. Contemporary writing derives its authenticity and importance, he said, from its capacity to deal with the malaises of our time and the pressing problems they pose to humanity.

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It may seem strange that so celebrated a proponent of a literature of involvement should chastise himself for his failings in this respect. Sartre explained the point of his self-criticism in an interview printed in the April 18, 1963, *Le Monde*.

We live in a world where two billion people go hungry. The writer who remains unaware of this reality or is indifferent to it, who does not elucidate or tries to elude it, caters to the privileged minority and even partakes of its exploitation. To be relevant, "to be able to address everyone and be read by all, the writer must align himself with the greatest number, the two billion hungry people." Sartre did not minimize the great difficulty in doing this. But he believed that writers would remain crippled to the extent that they fall short of attaining such universality.

Unlike the repentant Tolstoy in his old age, Sartre did not call for a literature restricted to the horizon of peasant folk nor urge a politicalized literature in the prescribed mold of "socialist realism" that served the aims of the Stalinist state propaganda machine. He did not recommend any particular style of expression so long as the writer was sensitive to the undernourishment, exploitation, oppression, threat of nuclear annihilation, and alienation of human beings emanating from capitalism.

Sartre called attention to a similar shift in his philosophical perspectives. *Being and Nothingness* insisted on the irreducible and irremediable split between the individual and the objective world, the impossibility of the "for-itself" to fuse into a living unity with the "in-itself," as the source of the inevitable failure to realize our freedom. He still believed that this metaphysical evil was lodged in the very heart of reality and human existence and could not be overcome.

While clinging to the end to this existentialist interpretation of reality, Sartre came to look at life in a new light. The immediate importance of the gulf between man's freedom and his environment had lessened; the gnawing absurdity of the universe and humanity's insuperable limitations receded into the background. He now gave priority to the social wrongs which had to be combated and can be corrected.

"The universe remains dark," he said. "We are sinister animals. . . . But I've suddenly discovered that alienation, the exploitation of man by man, undernourishment, relegate metaphysical evil to a secondary plane. Metaphysical evil is a luxury; hunger is nothing but an evil."

This reversal of values was tied up with the hardening of his revolutionism. "I am on the side of those who think that things will go better when the world will have changed. When I wrote *Nausea*, I lacked a sense of reality. I have changed since then. I have undergone a slow apprenticeship to reality. I have seen infants die of hunger

In the face of a dying infant, *Nausea* does not carry any weight."

Before there can be either a universal morality or universal literature, man's conditions of life would have to be radically altered and improved, he declared. This liberation can be brought about only through revolutionary action. While the projection of unrestricted freedom outlined in *Being and Nothingness* is not ruled out, it will have to be postponed until everyone's material needs are satisfied through the abolition of capitalism and colonialism. Then a socialist humanism can create the setting for a concrete experience of genuine liberty and a corresponding theoretical and artistic expression of this new situation.

Sartre dismissed trust in absolutes of any sort. There would be no more ultimate salvation in revolutionary politics than in literature or philosophy. In the last years he saw no hope in any party in France. There were only "innumerable tasks to be done, among which literature has no privileged place."

Sartre's final credo, like his previous oscillations, registered the impact of the upheavals of our time on an intellectual seismograph of the utmost sensitivity. He progressed from a conception of literature and philosophic thought as self-sufficient activities to regarding them as means of political commitment and social renovation. The existentialist emotions and judgments that elevated absurdity, ambiguity, and alienation to metaphysical heights became subordinate to a sense of urgency in coping with economic and social ills.

Sartre's Odyssey

The spiritual and intellectual odyssey of Sartre from *Nausea* to *Les Mots*, from *Being and Nothingness* to the *Critique of Dialectical Reason* proceeded from speculative illusion and mystification toward a firmer grasp of social reality and a deeper understanding of "what is to be done." Humankind is not so much freer by definition; it must be made freer by revolutionary action.

In the last two decades of his life Sartre demonstrated on countless occasions that he acted on his convictions. He occupied a place comparable to that of Bertrand Russell in England and Noam Chomsky in the United States in defending victims of persecution, defying the imperialists, and resisting their state power. He opposed the Gaullist regime and was a principal figure in the International War Crimes Tribunal in 1967 and 1968 which exposed the crimes of U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

He actively supported the Algerian independence struggle at a time when the French Communist Party and Socialist Party leaders betrayed it and his erstwhile associate Albert Camus stood aloof from it. He was a staunch partisan of the movements of the colonial peoples to throw off imperialist domination and was one of the

earliest among the reigning intellectuals to hail the Fidelista victory in Cuba. He expected this fresh revolution, not saddled with a Stalinist leadership, to come forward with a new ideology beyond Marxism. Instead, under the spur of their anti-capitalist battles, Castro and his associates proclaimed allegiance to scientific socialism. Truly, Marxism was the "ultimate philosophy of our age!"

He vigorously protested the Kremlin's suppression of dissidence within its reach from Moscow to Prague. After the French student demonstrations and general strike in 1968, he became more and more captivated by a Maoist-spontaneism so congenial to his anarchistic temperament. The actions he undertook issued from a capricious impressionism, not from any systematic analysis of the given situation or disciplined working-class course. He believed that only the pristine impulse of revolt was creative and trustworthy and it afterwards inevitably degenerated into reactionary institutionalization. He confused the Leninist form of organization of the proletarian vanguard with Stalinism.

He could easily veer off course, as in the reactionary backing he gave to Zionist Israel against the Palestinian cause. One of his last political acts was to join the intellectual cold warrior Raymond Aron in demanding that the French government boycott the Moscow Olympics to penalize the Soviets for their role in Afghanistan.

His informal and permissive companionship with Simone de Beauvoir for half a century became a model of paired relationship that was widely imitated by admiring younger men and women. It was made easier by their planned childlessness.

Apart from his voluminous literary works, Sartre's significance as a public figure consisted in his bold confrontation with the excruciating contradictions and social tensions of the age of permanent revolution we are living through. The fascination of his evolution lies in his passionate and restless grappling with the issues these present and the good and bad sides of his mode of participation in the struggles for liberation. The pathos of his career is that this eminent intellectual came so close and yet remained so far from either the theoretical or practical solution of the central social and political problems of his time. □

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South Africa—Black Workers Take the Lead

By Ernest Harsch

In late 1979 and early 1980, several hundred Black workers employed by the Ford Motor Company in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, waged a determined struggle for their economic and political rights.

While strikes by Black workers in South Africa are frequent, two things distinguished this strike from most of the others:

- The workers at Ford explicitly linked their economic grievances against the company with their opposition to South Africa's racist system of apartheid, which denies the country's more than 22 million Blacks their most basic democratic rights.

Furthermore, in waging their strike, the Ford workers turned for leadership to the most influential Black political formation in the area, the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO). The central leader of PEBCO, Thozamile Botha, was himself a Ford worker and emerged as a key leader of the strike.

"The strike at Ford," Botha said in an interview, "is a contribution to the struggle for the liberation of the Black man in South Africa." (See following interviews.)

Such combined working-class action and political organization is still a relatively rare occurrence in South Africa.

- Just as significantly, the Ford workers won. After more than two months of a hard-fought battle, the Ford management backed down and agreed to the workers' central demand that they be reinstated with full seniority and benefits. Not very many strikes by Black workers in South Africa have been as successful.

Revival of Political Activism

The struggles of the Ford workers—and of the Black residents of Port Elizabeth as a whole—were greatly influenced by the upsurge of the Black freedom struggle during the 1970s.

To a great extent, that upsurge was initially led by students. Members of the Southern African Students' Organisation (SASO) and Black People's Convention (BPC), based largely on the Black campuses, popularized their nationalist views—which were known as Black Consciousness—in an effort to spur political activism and to forge closer unity among the three sectors of the Black population: Africans, Coloureds (persons of mixed ancestry), and Indians.

Workers also moved into action, as during the massive strike wave in Natal during 1973, but for the most part their strikes were confined to immediate economic issues.

This upsurge came to a head in 1976

when the high-school students of Soweto, a large Black township just outside Johannesburg, revolted against the apartheid regime's racist education policies. Their actions—and the regime's ferocious repression—spurred similar uprisings in Black neighborhoods around the country, including Port Elizabeth.

Thozamile Botha first became politically active in the wake of the Soweto revolts. When 400 Black students were arrested in the Eastern Cape, Botha initiated a fundraising campaign in their defense, for which he was arrested and charged with "incitement."

In October 1977, the regime outlawed the BPC, SASO, and other major Black Consciousness groups, causing a temporary lull in overt political activity in the Black townships.

But by 1979 there was a revival. New groups emerged, many of them adhering to the positions of the Black Consciousness movement: the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the Congress of South African Students, the Writers Association of South Africa, the Azanian Students Organisation, and others.

Marking a maturation in the political thinking of young Black activists, some of these groups put a greater stress than before on the leading role of the Black working class in the struggle for national liberation.

The formation of PEBCO was a product of this political revival. It emerged from several local community-based groups in the city's Black townships, which were originally set up to deal with issues such as high rents, poor housing, and other immediate grievances. Botha, who had been chairperson of the Zwide Residents Association, was elected to chair PEBCO when it was set up in late September 1979 to coordinate the struggles of Blacks in all the townships around Port Elizabeth.

From the beginning, PEBCO made clear its militant opposition to the regime's entire apartheid policy. It condemned the system of Bantustans (or "homelands"), the fragmented reservations where Africans are supposed to seek their political "rights" in exchange for losing *all* their rights in the rest of the country. PEBCO also denounced the imposition of Community Councils, bodies of Black collaborators set up by the regime to help administer the Black townships.

In an especially defiant act, Botha publicly proclaimed his solidarity with Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned and exiled Black leaders, telling his audiences that

they were the real leaders of the struggle.

From Township to Factory Floor

It was not long before the ferment in the Black townships began to spill over into industry. And since Port Elizabeth was the center of South Africa's auto industry (the city is known as "little Detroit"), auto workers were soon affected.

The conflict at Ford, one of the largest American firms operating in South Africa, was initially sparked by the management's victimization of Botha. The young political activist, who was employed as a trainee draftsman, was forced to resign because of his role as head of PEBCO.

On October 31, 1979, about 700 Black workers at Ford's Struandale assembly plant laid down their tools and walked off their jobs to protest Botha's firing. The next day they rallied outside the plant gates. The management quickly caved in and agreed to rehire Botha. When Botha returned to the plant he was greeted with a rousing welcome by the workers.

Soon the workers began to raise other issues. Although Ford has tried to portray itself as a "progressive" employer in South Africa, one that claims it favors Black advancement, its employees had much to be angry about.

A study of conditions at the Ford plants later revealed that between 80 percent and 90 percent of the company's Black workers were earning below the minimum poverty level; that the real incomes of workers in the lower grades had actually declined over the past eight years; that the promotion of Blacks into higher job positions was still quite limited; and that racism in the factory was still apparent, despite Ford's much-publicized "desegregation" moves.

On November 13, Black workers again briefly downed their tools and launched a boycott of the canteens to protest compulsory overtime and the racist attitudes of some of the white workers in the plant. Two days later, about 300 workers at Ford's engine plant held a meeting to discuss their grievances and a similar mass meeting was held after hours in the Ford assembly plant. Botha played a prominent role in these meetings.

Finally, on November 21, the workers at the Struandale assembly plant again struck, since their grievances had not been settled. The management fired them all. With that, the central demand of the workers became for reinstatement. Ford refused, saying it would only rehire the strikers individually, as "new" workers

with no seniority or accumulated benefits.

In the meantime, another 600 Black workers in Port Elizabeth employed by the General Tire and Rubber Company, a partially-owned subsidiary of the American firm, had also struck, in response to the victimization of two workers, for improved pay, and for union recognition. They too were all dismissed.

Some 1,000 Black workers at another Ford plant were carrying out a boycott of canteens, and 120 workers walked off their jobs at a local paper plant.

PEBCO Shows the Way

When the Ford workers struck, they did not look for leadership to the existing Black union at the plant—the United Automobile, Rubber, and Allied Workers' Union (UAW). Although the UAW attempted to negotiate on behalf of the workers, it was seen by them as being too subservient to the bosses. It was explicitly opposed to raising political demands and it accepted Ford's "offer" to rehire the workers without seniority.

So the workers looked instead to PEBCO for support. Besides Botha's own direct involvement in the strike, PEBCO organized rallies and meetings to generate popular support for the strikers and called on Black unions throughout the country to show solidarity. More and more workers at Ford and General Tire and Rubber began to wear PEBCO insignia. The strikers formed a committee that affiliated with PEBCO.

The struggle of the Ford workers in turn strengthened PEBCO's community actions. By mid-November, the organization was holding mass meetings attended by more than 10,000 persons in Port Elizabeth. Several thousand went to PEBCO rallies in Uitenhage and the group began to extend its influence to other cities. In the Walmer township near Port Elizabeth, PEBCO launched a struggle against the proposed eviction of 4,000 of the township's residents.

At these rallies, Botha repeatedly stressed the social power that Black workers hold as the producers of South Africa's wealth. At one mass meeting in Walmer, Botha, speaking symbolically on behalf of all Black workers, declared, "The country rests in my hands and in my numbers. If I don't go to work tomorrow the country is in trouble."

In face of the growing ferment in Port Elizabeth's Black townships and the strike of the Ford workers, the apartheid regime sent in its police. Several dozen Ford workers and PEBCO members were detained by the security police and some were later charged with "intimidation" of nonstrikers. In December, two PEBCO leaders were "banned," a form of restriction that limits movement and prohibits any involvement in political or trade-union activity; they were Lizo Pityana, the PEBCO vice-president, and Moki Cekisani,

a former leader of the outlawed Black People's Convention.

Despite this repression, the strikers and their leadership stood firm. Ford and General Tire and Rubber tried to hire scab labor, with only very limited success.



The workers also won broad support from around the country. Pledges of solidarity came from Bishop Desmond Tutu, the secretary of the antiapartheid South African Council of Churches; Curtis Nkondo, the then-president of the Azanian People's Organisation; and Dr. Nthato Motlana, a central leader of the Soweto Civic Association. Azapo also began organizing a national campaign on behalf of the strikers and collected financial support for them.

The workers' determination paid off. On January 9, 1980, the Ford management agreed to accept their demand for full reinstatement. The workers were rehired at the same pay and with the same pension, medical aid, and sick pay benefits they had before the strike.

It was an important victory, and showed that Black workers could take on their employers and win.

Interviews with Thozamile Botha

'Our Strength Lies in Our Numbers'

[The following two interviews are with Thozamile Botha, the head of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) and a leader of the Ford workers during the October 1979-January 1980 strike. They were obtained in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, in early January shortly before the settlement of the strike.]

* * *

Question. How did the strike at Ford start?

Answer. We had grievances. We wanted

Spurred by the Ford victory, PEBCO redoubled its efforts on behalf of Port Elizabeth's township residents. The day after the Ford settlement was announced, Botha addressed mass meetings in the townships of Kwazakhele and Walmer.

Alarmed by the political implications of the Ford strike and PEBCO's mass activities, the apartheid regime decided to crack down hard.

The January 10 rally in Walmer was attacked by the police, who fired tear gas into the crowd. That same night, Botha was detained by the security police. Another crowd gathered in Walmer to protest Botha's detention and was also attacked by the police.

Several other Black figures were also detained that night, including PEBCO Secretary Phalo Tshumo and Mono Badela, a reporter for the *Transvaal Post* who had covered the Ford strike. The three were later held under the regime's draconian Terrorism Act, which allows indefinite detention without trial.

In subsequent days, thousands of Blacks turned out for rallies in New Brighton, Uitenhage, and other areas to protest the arrests. Police reinforcements were flown into Port Elizabeth.

On February 27, the police announced that Botha, Tshumo, and Badela had been released from custody. The regime, however, immediately banned them.

Despite this setback, the struggles that Botha had led had already provided Blacks around the country with many rich political lessons. They showed how the immediate struggles of Black workers around shop-floor issues could be directly linked to the broader fight for national liberation, and how Black workers themselves can take the lead in that fight.

As the decade of the 1980s opened, the class battles in Port Elizabeth provided an important signpost for the future course of the Black freedom struggle. □

ment to come and address us as to whether they had considered our other grievances or not. We got no response from management.

We sent out members of the liaison committee to the management. When they came back they began addressing us. But then one of the directors came and took the megaphone and said that the meeting was illegal and that we should leave the plant or go back to work. So we demanded our money on the spot.

They refused. They went away and when they came back they said that the police were at the gates and that if we did not leave that spot we would be arrested, all of us. We refused and after five minutes seventeen police vans and four trucks came in and the police charged on us.

Mr. Church again came to address us and he told us that this was the last chance, if we did not leave the premises at that moment he would order the police to take us.

I appealed to the workers to either go back to work or to leave the premises. I knew that if we were arrested the spirit of the workers would break. So we all went out of the plant. We met the following day and we took a resolution that we would not go back to Ford until Ford met our grievances.

Q. Now, in what capacity are you involved in the Ford strike?

A. The strike started because I was forced to resign. After I had resigned the workers in sympathy with me stood down and walked out. They demanded that I go back and address them on the reasons that Ford made me leave.

During the second strike I had to be involved because I happened to be the leader of the people outside [the plant]. Unfortunately, the body that ought to represent the workers—the trade union—did not come, so PEBCO had to see to the welfare of the people.

Q. What is your attitude towards the dissenters, those people who have gone back to work despite the fact that the demands have not been met?

A. Our attitude to these workers is that they should come back and join us. We are not by any means forcing them, but we are appealing to them not to leave us in the lurch. They should join us until the end of the strike. Because what we have left the company for has not yet been put right.

Q. Have any negotiations been made with Ford and what were the results?

A. The workers wanted to negotiate with Ford, but Ford refused to negotiate with us. They said they would only negotiate with a trade union. The trade union did, in fact, negotiate and Ford told them that they would only rehire workers, not reinstate us as the workers demanded.

Q. So the trade union did manage to negotiate with Ford?

A. The trade union managed to negotiate with Ford for the reinstatement of the workers, but Ford refused to reinstate. They were adamant that they would only rehire workers. They said they were not bothered about those who refused to go back, because they had enough people from outside. In fact they have already employed people from outside.

Q. How are you going to strike back at Ford?

A. Well, one of the ways of pressuring Ford is to boycott Ford parts, nationally and internationally. In order to achieve this goal we've got to involve the trade unions nationally and internationally to assist us in this strike. And one other thing that has got to be done is to involve other people, the business sector, to pressure Ford to reinstate everybody.

Q. Can you describe the aspirations of your endeavors?

A. We are not doing this only for the present generation. The strike is not only unique to Ford. It is a problem of Blacks in the Republic of South Africa as a whole. The problem that is experienced by Ford workers is a problem that is experienced by other workers in other businesses. Therefore what we do at Ford, we are not only doing it for Ford workers, we are doing it for the people of South Africa as a whole.

The strike at Ford is a contribution to the struggle for the liberation of the Black man in South Africa.

Q. Now, was there a strike at Ford before, that is, is history repeating itself?

A. Not to my knowledge. I haven't heard of any strike at Ford previously. I realize that Ford is one of the best companies in South Africa in keeping good relations with the workers. They have introduced training courses for the workers. Blacks have been promoted into positions, some managerial positions. But in spite of this a strike has begun at Ford. This shows beyond doubt that what Ford has done for Blacks in the plant is insufficient.

The problem of the Ford worker is not only on the shop floor. The worker is a worker inside the plant and outside the plant. For instance, Ford has built houses for its workers, which are the worst houses, the most expensive houses in the township, for R85 a month¹, without electricity and water. How does Ford hope that its people will cope with this kind of rent when the workers are getting something like R40 a week or less?

Instead of Ford improving the standard of the Black man in the urban area, they

1. One rand equals US\$1.24.

have been deteriorating.

Q. Anything you want to add?

A. All I can say in general, in order to avoid further strikes in any company, the company should realize that Blacks are human beings and they have as much right to the wealth of the country as any other human being. Their color is not the thing. What is important is the contributions Blacks make in this country.

Blacks have for so long sold their energy to the white man at a condition set by the white man. But Blacks are now becoming impatient. They are realizing that they wield power and that if they remove the power the economy of this country will be wrecked. That's where our power lies: Our strength lies in our numbers, and we can use our numbers effectively.

A time will come when they will not have the option of going to the Coloureds when Africans strike, to say, "Okay, we have an alternative if the Africans don't want to work. We can go to their cousins."

Coloureds are Black, which they've got to realize. The Indians are Black and they are all oppressed. Once they realize that they are being used, that they are being exploited, that they are being used against other Blacks, industry will suffer, because Blacks cannot afford to be used against other Blacks.

Companies have got to allow the trade unions to operate within the plants, independent trade unions that are not restricted by laws put down by the government that, for instance, trade unions should not involve themselves in politics.

It is impossible for a trade union—a relevant trade union that is prepared to articulate the aspirations of Blacks—to work without involving itself in politics, because the very existence of the Black man on the floor of a plant is political. One can never divorce himself from politics at any stage.

As long as there is racial discrimination, the republic must expect more strikes to come. And as long as the Blacks are treated as slaves in this country, strikes must be expected.

* * *

Question. Could you tell us something about your background, the important influences on your political development?

Answer. I was born in 1948 in Port Elizabeth. In 1975 and 1976 I was at the University of Fort Hare, but I could not complete my education. I left during a strike in 1976 and could not go back because of financial problems.

The influences on my political development were in fact the conditions Blacks live under. I don't think there is anything that motivated me to indulge in politics more than feeling that we, the Blacks in this country, are treated as inhuman. Also that we were made to accept these things

by our so-called leaders, who would accept things without question.

Because of this I got fed up and felt that something had to be done. A body was required that would articulate the aspirations of the people, that would represent exactly what the people want, and that would reject the bodies that are imposed by the government on us without consultation.

I realized that Blacks were being robbed of their birthright in this country and were being channeled to the "homelands." Blacks are told to go and seek their political say in their "homelands." [Former Justice Minister James T.] Kruger has said himself that in five years time there is no Black who will belong to South Africa. It is disturbing when one realizes that about 88 percent of this country is for whites and only 12 percent is for Blacks. All the barren pieces of land in this country are allocated to Blacks and only the fertile land and all the big cities are given to whites.

Until somebody stands up against this, the whites will not realize that we reject this type of thing.

Q. Were you involved in any previous organizations?

A. I was never involved in any political organization, but I've always been interested in politics.

Q. When and how was PEBCO formed?

A. PEBCO was formed sometime in September 1979.

It began as a Zwide branch. We had a Zwide Residents Association, which was formed because people were made to pay for water at Zwide. At that time people had to pay more than R100 for two months of water. People were not told when they took occupation of the houses that they would pay for water. So people rejected this and they revolted against this type of thing.

A meeting was convened where an action committee was elected. This committee was sent to inquire about the metering of water at Zwide. After that we had other grievances. We were dissatisfied about the poor craftsmanship of the houses. We were also dissatisfied about the high rents.

We decided to form a larger body, an all-embracing body that would represent the aspirations of the people, for we knew that the problem we were faced with at Zwide was not unique to Zwide. It was a problem facing every Black man in this area. So everybody had to be involved.

We called a mass meeting at Centenary Hall where a steering committee was formed. We drafted a constitution and two weeks thereafter PEBCO was formed, at the end of September.

Q. At the time of its formation, did PEBCO intend to take up factory-based issues?

A. Well, when PEBCO was formed we intended handling all matters that affect the Black man in the urban area, be it a work problem or a civic problem. Because, in fact, the problem of a Black man is the same; it is an economic problem. Blacks are being evicted from houses because they cannot afford to pay rent. This problem comes from work. So we cannot divorce ourselves from the problem of the workplace.



THOZAMILE BOTHA

Q. Does PEBCO have any relationship with trade unions in the Eastern Cape? If so, which unions and can you tell us something about the relationship to these unions?

A. PEBCO has a relationship with the United Automobile, Rubber, and Allied Workers' Union. But relations are not good, because this union—which is handling the Ford issue presently—has explicitly stated that they do not want to involve themselves in politics.

Q. Does PEBCO intend forming specifically worker branches organized around factory issues?

A. That is the question. If we could get a relevant trade union—in other words if this Allied Workers' Union could be a relevant body representing people—then we could fully reinforce that point and strengthen it. Otherwise if it does not, we

shall be forced to form a trade union that will represent the people.

Q. How do you see the relationship between community issues and worker issues?

A. The community issues are closely related to workers' issues because the problem of a worker, as I've stated, is that he finds it difficult to rent his house because he is not paid well. Also he finds it difficult to get a house if he does not get work. Or if he loses a job he is automatically going to lose that house.

Q. Do you believe that trade unions should define their areas of activity and interest more broadly?

A. Yes, I believe so. In fact, the trade union and the community have got to work hand-in-glove.

Q. Does the term "Black" in PEBCO's usage include Indians and Coloureds?

A. Yes, exactly that.

Q. Does PEBCO have any relationship with the official or unofficial Coloured organizations and management committees in Port Elizabeth?

A. We have got relations with all those that act outside the government institutions. But we cannot associate ourselves with any body or organization that is working within the system. We have got good relations, for instance, with the Indian Ratepayers Association in Molapo, which is soon going to form a branch of PEBCO.

Q. Can you spell out PEBCO's non-negotiations stand?

A. The Community Council was never designed by the people. It was imposed on the people. And the people reject this type of thing. We can't therefore be negotiating with an irrelevant body like the Community Council or the Bantu Administration Department. They are just a burden on us. They are exploiting us.

So all we are prepared to do is to pressure the local authorities and the government to recognize Blacks. All we want is direct representation. We want one municipality in Port Elizabeth. If there has to be a mayor in Port Elizabeth, there must be one mayor. We are all people of Port Elizabeth, whether black or green or yellow.

Q. How many members does PEBCO have?

A. PEBCO has more than 3,000 already, registered members. There is a big following behind PEBCO. Our objective right now is 10,000 members.

Q. What support does PEBCO receive

from the unemployed?

A. Quite a lot of support. In fact, all those people, the majority of them are for PEBCO.

Q. What is PEBCO's attitude towards organizations and structures like Inkatha?²

A. PEBCO's attitude towards Inkatha is that we shall not recognize Inkatha. For one reason, Inkatha is operating in the system, because the leader of Inkatha is in a "homeland" and such bodies are dangerous to the community. You cannot accept the "homelands" or "separate development" and yet criticize it. I do not think that such a person can ever achieve anything.

Q. Now what about the political parties in the Bantustan?

A. We don't even recognize the "homelands." We therefore can't recognize its parties.

Q. And the Coloured Labor Party, the CRC politics?³

A. As long as they operate within the system we shall not recognize them. We don't recognize anything that works within the system.

Q. Are you an office bearer or prominent member of the Azanian People's Organisation?

A. I am a supporter, not a member.

Q. Does PEBCO cooperate with, or have support from, groups like the Port Elizabeth Students Representative Council, Congress of South African Students, and the Azanian Students Organisation?

A. Of course. PEBCO's objective is to coordinate all bodies that exist, be it a youth body or an adult body. All existing bodies that are relevant to the aspirations of the Black man must work together.

Q. What is your attitude to the Black Consciousness ideology and movement?

A. I am for the Black Consciousness ideology. The Black Consciousness ideology, first of all, was meant to coordinate the Blacks and made them conscious of their being oppressed, not necessarily of being Black, because when we talk of

Black Consciousness we talk of an attitude of mind. If all those who are oppressed want to free themselves, they've got to unite. They must solidify and work together towards their liberation.

Q. You have had quite a sudden rise to prominence as an acknowledged leader in the Eastern Cape. Many of those who preceded you in the 1970s were young students who emerged from the tradition and environment of the South African Students' Organisation and the Black People's Convention, people like Steve Biko, Mapetla Mohapi, Barney Pitso, and so on. In a recent interview you said that Govan Mbeki, Wilton Mkwayi, and Raymond Mhlaba⁴ have the right to represent Port Elizabeth. Do you see any difference between this earlier group of leaders and the later group, who emerged in the 1970s?

A. The group that emerged in the 1970s emerged to represent those leaders who are outside the country. I do not regard myself as a leader. I regard myself as a representative of the people who are outside the country [or in prison], people like Govan Mbeki, Nelson Mandela, and Walter Sisulu.⁵ All those people are my leaders and I will always regard them as my leaders. They are there suffering for me and they know what they want.

What was done by the people in the 1970s, they wanted to fill [the vacuum in] the country. There should be no space left unfilled. Something must always be going on. After the banning of the organizations in 1977, there was a lull. But it was not quiet, because even if they ban, they cannot ban my mind.

Q. About how many public meetings does PEBCO hold in an average week? How many people attend?

A. There are mass meetings, of course. We have reached a record of more than 10,000 people, especially when we hold our mass meetings in New Brighton. We have at least two meetings a month.

Q. How does democracy work within PEBCO, that is, how are the leaders chosen, decisions taken?

A. We try to be as democratic as we can. Leaders are elected by all the members. The president is elected from the branches. PEBCO has branches in each area, New Brighton, Kwazakhele, Walmer, Thembalethu, Zwide. For the election of the PEBCO officers, each branch sends four delegates, from which we elect a permanent secretary and a president.

4. All three were leaders of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) and are currently serving life sentences on Robben Island.

5. ANC leaders Mandela and Sisulu are also serving life sentences on Robben Island.

Q. The Port Elizabeth area has often been the area where the struggle has been most intense in South Africa. Often conflict there has been greater and more prolonged than elsewhere. For instance, after the June 1976 rebellion in Soweto, the Eastern Cape revolts continued on a large scale for a long period. Now what do you think it is which makes for such a militant tradition of resistance in the Eastern Cape?

A. I think in the Eastern Cape there is more unity than in the Transvaal. I think this all comes from the people like Govan Mbeki, who were here. It's traditional.

There is also a mutual understanding. I think one of the reasons for this is that there is only one ethnic group, one language.⁶ So at least it's easy for people to understand each other.

Q. What employment areas are most PEBCO leaders drawn from, workers, teachers, traders, businessmen, students, or what?

A. It is the workers. We have also drawn support from the traders and from the ministers. And lawyers. From students, obviously a lot of support.

Q. Anything general you wish to add?

A. Well, I might just say that PEBCO is aiming at forming a larger body. PEBCO is going to go, first of all, to the Eastern Cape, the whole Eastern Cape, and form an all-embracing body. Further, we are hoping very soon to form a national civic body.

Q. Do you have representation from areas such as Grahamstown, Queenstown, other Black areas?

A. We have got already a steering committee in Grahamstown. We have got a body formed, a very strong body, in Uitenhage. We have got a steering committee in Graaff-Reinet. We have got a steering committee in Queenstown.

Q. What about Cape Town, Durban, other areas?

A. We haven't been to Cape Town, though we hope to form a body there. We haven't been to Durban, because Durban is predominantly Inkatha infested. I've already met with some gentlemen from East London who are thinking along the same lines of forming a civic body.

So when we form an Eastern Cape body we shall have formed bodies in all these towns. We shall be a body formed democratically from all the people of the Eastern Cape. Then, in turn, we shall have to form a national body. □

6. The predominant African language in Port Elizabeth and the rest of the Eastern Cape in Xhosa.

2. Inkatha YeNkululeko YeSizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement), a Zulu-based organization headed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the chief minister of the KwaZulu Bantustan.

3. Until its dissolution in March 1980, the Coloured People's Representative Council (CRC) was the main body through which the apartheid regime sought to elicit collaboration from a layer of the Coloured population. The Labour Party was the largest group that functioned within the CRC.

Class Polarization Deepens in Nicaragua

By Charles-André Udry

On April 19, 1980, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro resigned as one of the five members of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, citing health problems. But "there are official reports indicating that Mrs. Chamorro is far from satisfied with the plan to enlarge the Council of State, which was initially to be composed of 33 members" (*International Herald Tribune*, April 21, 1980).

Then on April 22, Alfonso Robelo Callejas, leader of the bourgeois Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN) also resigned. In his press conference he stated: "The fundamental bases of the country's political unity have been broken, and the changes made in the composition of the Council of State show aspects of a totalitarian plan" (*El País*, April 24, 1980).

Robelo also explained that Violeta Chamorro had quit the junta for the same reason. The MDN called on its members to resign their positions in the government and public administration. Arturo Cruz, former high-level functionary of the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington and director of the Central Bank, resigned. A turning point in the Nicaraguan revolutionary process could be seen, one that had been brewing since mid-March.

In the relationship between the private, mixed, and state sectors of the economy, the weight of the private sector requires that sector actively participate if the economic recovery projected by the Plan for Economic Reactivation is to be achieved.

According to the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL), the level of industrial production at the beginning of 1980 stood at the 1962 level (*Barricada*, March 18, 1980). Federico Cerda, the vice-minister of planning—after having explained that there are "ample possibilities for private initiative" and that various guarantees have been given to the industrialists (credits, collective contracts)—declared that "in the industrial sector, out of a total of 663 enterprises, some 296 have resumed operation, and of the sixty-three most important textile plants, an even higher proportion of factories are not functioning" (*Barricada*, March 29, 1980).

According to the minister of industry, those companies that are functioning are, on the average, functioning at only 50 percent of capacity. As Federico Cerda notes: "This process of 'decapitalization' has given rise to a watchful and suspicious attitude among the workers, who then respond by occupying factories as soon as

they suspect the slightest moves toward 'decapitalization.'"

In this situation the employers are stepping up their recriminations and arguing that respect for private property is a precondition for their participation in the recovery plan, where their projected role is by no means negligible.

In agriculture there are many large- and medium-scale property owners who are hesitating to get involved in the process of "reconstruction" given the present social and political context. Planning Minister Henry Ruiz indicates that production of corn, beans, and rice is lower than projected (*Barricada*, March 14, 1980).

Through their organizations, the ranchers, the big coffee producers, and the cotton growers are all demanding a halt to decisions to confiscate "intervened" lands (which they portray as contradicting the November 1979 decree) and are demanding that the Rural Workers Association (ATC) control its members and restrain the attempts by agricultural workers to occupy lands in their struggle against their extremely harsh conditions of exploitation. The crucial question of whether planting will take place on a large portion of the cotton lands remains unresolved.

In the distribution sector, big problems remain. Under the aegis of the Chamber of Commerce, merchants have formed an organization called ACOPORBAMA. They are openly opposed to Decree 323, whose aim is to freeze the prices of basic necessities.

Thus crises are developing in industry, agriculture, and distribution. The class polarization is deepening. The declarations of different sectors of the bourgeoisie express both their deep uneasiness—given the social, military, and political relationship of forces—and the precariousness of "reconstruction" along the guidelines outlined by the 1980 plan.

The April 11 London *Financial Times* commented: "An impasse is appearing in the relations between the government and the private sector. . . . The businessmen are also uneasy about the fact that the government closes its eyes to the occupation of farms and factories that do not belong to Somoza or his cronies."

Then Arturo Cruz confides to the London bankers: "We do not know what might happen tomorrow"

Reconciling the Irreconcilable

In this context, the leadership is forced somewhat to shift the axis of its approach to the problems of economic recovery.

Of course, they repeat: "On the economic

plane, the Reactivation Program is the concrete demonstration of the Sandinista willingness to recognize and stimulate the participation of every producer and merchant who wants to work for the restabilization of his homeland" (declaration of the FSLN leadership—*Barricada*, March 18, 1980).

In the same vein, during an early March demonstration of workers demanding the confiscation of "intervened" enterprises, junta member Moises Hassan and Ramon Medrano, who is propaganda secretary of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), indicated that while they understood the reasons behind the workers' initiatives, they asked the workers not to precipitate events (*Barricada*, March 12, 1980).

But increasingly the FSLN leadership has had to issue warnings to the big landowners, to the industrialists who are carrying out sabotage, and to their business associations.

Henry Ruiz blasted the "reluctance of the bosses even though they have received loans." After attacking the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), Ruiz added that "we have instruments to suppress [the destabilizing forces] and we are not going to hesitate to do so. . . . There are problems with the production of cotton, but these are political problems. [The big landowners] are making political demands, using production as a weapon" (*Barricada*, March 14, 1980).

This line of attack is often combined with another: The bosses and big landowners are attacked for trying to use their place in the productive process to launch a counteroffensive on the political level.

In line with these injunctions, the minister of planning indicated that banking operations would still be carried out according to normal practices, but that there was no longer any reason for banking and commercial secrets to exist, as they have in the past. Similarly, measures are being studied to end the parallel dollar market.

The April-December 1980 budget gives priority to expenditures in education, health, social services, and defense. The tax system included in the budget is highly progressive in regard to landlord income, and aims to prevent tax evasion by corporations (*Barricada*, April 4, 1980).

Finally, workers' control is regularly pointed to as the weapon the workers must use to fight "decapitalization."

None of this does much to pacify the worries of the possessing classes, especially since the workers and peasants are using the new relationship of social forces

and their higher degree of organization to press their demands.

The FSLN's declarations very consistently stress the primary role of the workers and peasants in leading the revolutionary process to its ultimate conclusion.

The press of the FSLN and of the CST also stress the role of the Assemblies of Economic Reactivation (ARE). The role of these bodies will be to simultaneously stimulate the production effort and to increase the possibilities for the workers to control production in the private sector and to help determine policies in the state-controlled sector.

The development and activity of these bodies is still uneven. *Poder Sandinista*, the weekly newspaper that provides orientation for FSLN members, explained the function of the AREs in these terms:

"The AREs are schools where the workers and peasants can learn about the process of production better than they could simply through direct involvement in production. This is the first step toward their being able to directly intervene in the functioning of their enterprise and of the whole economy. Obviously this project is still subject to strong limitations. . . ."

The article also asserted that the AREs should coordinate their activities throughout entire branches of the economy: "In the case of sugar, for example, we ought to be able to organize AREs in which delegates from all the sugar mills participate, along with the administrators and representatives of the state, so that the workers could learn about and oversee the production plans for the entire branch."

The outbreak of a series of strikes (in construction, in sugar mills, and in Managua factories) during the first months of the year shows both the problems that the FSLN continues to face in the process of organizing unions and trying to achieve trade-union unity and also the difficulties that the FSLN's orientation itself creates.

In fact, the CST, asserting that the workers already effectively have power, focuses the main thrust of trade-union activity on pushing the recovery of production. The position the FSLN puts forward on trade-union unification, and its often virulent denunciation of the other union organizations—some of whose leaders do not favor unification but have real influence in certain sectors*—does not facilitate the process of trade-union unification. In order to overcome the obstacles and to challenge these leaders, there must be an attitude that combines *real discussion* with a defense of trade-union *democracy*. The FSLN's conception of these questions is too narrow.

The most important mass activity dur-

*The leaders of the CUS (Confederation of Trade Union Unification) and the CTN (Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers) are opposed to a united union federation. The CAUS (Confederation of Trade Union Action and Unification) led a series of strikes in the last period.

ing the present phase is the literacy campaign. Since the campaign began there have been arguments about it between Robelo, the "private enterprise" sectors, and the FSLN. The bourgeois views the campaign as too politicized and as a pro-FSLN propaganda campaign.

The formation of the Sandinista People's Militias began around the theme "our defense is organized with the people in the militias." The FSLN leadership declaration entitled "The Present Period and Our Tasks" stated: "Imperialism and countries with reactionary governments feel it is fine to create a regular, professional army. For them, the danger lies in the formation of militias, because that means that the people are armed to defend the revolution."

At the first national meeting called by the National Inter-Commission (CNI), Eden Pastora "stated the militias stand shoulder to shoulder with the EPS [Sandinista People's Army], the army of the people, the army of the workers and peasants. When a revolution is deep-going, it gives rise to counterrevolution, and that is why the enemies of the revolution, who are preparing to attack us, will rapidly find that the workers and peasants have an army of the poor people: the Sandinista People's Militias" (*Barricada*, April 14, 1980).

Support to the Salvadoran Struggle and Accords with the USSR

Since the end of March, in the press there has been increasing support to the struggle of the Salvadoran people and denunciations of the Salvadoran junta's "reform and repression" policy. There have also been a number of demonstrations supporting the struggle of the Salvadoran people. The communiqués of the Salvadoran revolutionary organizations are published in *Barricada*.

The newspaper of the July 19 Sandinista Youth, *El Brigadista*, which is widely distributed among the literacy teams, published an interview with a leader of the Association of University Students of El Salvador (which is linked to the BPR, the Revolutionary People's Bloc), who explained that "it is necessary to deepen and strengthen the revolutionary process in Nicaragua in order to effectively strengthen the revolutionary process in El Salvador" (April 1, 1980).

In response to the imperialist threats to intervene in El Salvador, Tomás Borge clearly indicated that an imperialist attack on the people of El Salvador would be considered an attack against the people of Nicaragua as well.

This is part of the growing anti-imperialist mobilizations following the "revelation" of CIA activities (at the time of the vote in the U.S. Congress on the \$75 million loan), the report of this vote, and various subversive operations stemming from Honduras.

On March 19, discussions took place with the representatives of a group of

international private banks on renegotiating Nicaragua's foreign debt. The managing director of the International Reconstruction Fund let it be known that the Nicaraguan delegation had rejected loans at the current 19 percent London interbank interest rate, and that "in our proposals and in our renegotiation plan we do not contemplate asking for aid from the International Monetary Fund." Various loans have already been obtained from European countries and from Venezuela.

In terms of aid, the most significant developments are the loans and bilateral treaties reached with Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and the Soviet Union. The Nicaraguan delegation to the Soviet Union was made up of Tomás Borge, Humberto Ortega (minister of defense), Henry Ruiz, and Moises Hassan representing the Government of National Reconstruction.

According to the April 15, 1980, issue of the London *Guardian*, "the total aid obtained during the trip to Eastern Europe is not known. But press reports in Prague indicate that Czechoslovakia has agreed to a \$20 million loan, and a Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman said that East Germany had also agreed to provide \$20 million in aid."

The freezing of the American loan—which the private sector was counting on—along with the opening of economic relations with the USSR and Eastern Europe can only increase the nervousness of the industrialists, the landlords, and their representatives in the halls of government and in the higher levels of the administration.

The Coalition Breaks Up

Along with the collisions with a portion of the private sector, the FSLN had increasing run-ins with Robelo, who has been pushing his attempt to pump up the MDN since his trip to the U.S. On its front page, the March 18 *Barricada* published the opinion of workers on the MDN and Robelo. "They are bourgeois who exploited us, and now they want to appear like great revolutionaries who defend the interests of the workers," said one of those quoted. The editorial in the FSLN daily stressed that the platform published by the MDN tries "to hide the MDN's real roots and class character." The attacks have continued.

Commander Carlos Núñez Téllez has denounced the insistence with which Robelo is calling for elections. He said he was afraid that "the MDN could become the reactionaries' Trojan horse" and could be "utilized by those who are carrying out decapitalization and are boycotting production" (*Barricada*, March 19, 1980).

The MDN stated in a communiqué that it "is not and will never be a refuge for reactionaries." Instead it wants to be "the legitimate banner of true revolutionaries who, whatever their social origin, want to lead our country to a genuinely Nicaraguan socialism with freedom" (*Barricada*, March 24, 1980). This is the classic lan-

guage of a bourgeois or social-democratic opposition that is confronting a revolution on the march.

The FSLN's warnings and reproaches

member Council of State, including representatives of the parties in the Broad Opposition Front and employers' organizations belonging to the COSEP. The plan to

fell into step and presented a series of demands to the junta—now made up of three FSLN members—and on the FSLN leadership. Negotiations began.

Washington immediately responded by threatening to break relations with Managua if "the Nicaraguan government's commitment to pluralism is abandoned by the Nicaraguan authorities."

The FSLN-controlled media severely criticized Robelo. Humberto Ortega characterized the MDN point man's maneuvers by noting that "he has not been able to identify with a political plan that restricts unlimited wealth in Nicaragua and benefits the country's dispossessed majority" (*El País*, April 25, 1980). For now, the leadership of the FSLN continues to proclaim its attachment to the mixed economy and to pluralism.

Robelo precipitated this conflict in a context marked by important events in the economic field (cotton and the stagnating industrial production), by the blackmail regarding international economic aid, and by U.S. imperialism's increasingly concrete intentions of striking a blow in Central America. Robelo's move is a warning shot aimed at trying to wring concessions from the FSLN and, in this context, reorganize the forces opposing the revolution.

This crisis has logically taken the form of a split in the coalition at the governmental level and resignations from the state apparatus. The crisis strikes at the heart of the special situation of dual power that developed with the July 1979 victory over Somoza.

Regarding the FSLN's immediate responses to COSEP, general statements about the mixed economy will be less important than any potential agreement that might put a damper on the activity of the laboring masses, which would have a direct effect on the evolution of the relationship of forces between classes.

The outcome of the crisis will depend on several things. It will especially depend on whether there is a continuation of mass mobilizations, whether the workers and peasants union organizations are consolidated, and what kind of measures are developed to control against sabotage.

In turn, all these things relate back to extending and coordinating the various forms of independent mass organization, and to the mass organizations having an input in the Council of State and in the future functioning of that body. Military preparations against a reactionary offensive have long been a major FSLN concern.

Depending on how the FSLN and the mass movement respond, the governmental and institutional crisis provoked by the resignations of Chamorro, Robelo, and their allies could result in a decisive step toward the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

April 25, 1980



Cartoonist's view of Robelo's resignation

Barricada

aimed at the MDN do not appear to be aimed at a split. The FSLN is stressing the need to maintain the "patriotic bloc" (the alliance between the FSLN, the MDN, and others). Rather, the FSLN has been trying to pressure the MDN, to push it to take its distance from those who resist increasing their investments, to get it to endorse the government's policy (which would strengthen the FSLN position in its campaign against decapitalization), and, finally, to prepare for the establishment of a new Council of State, a "consultative and legislative" body that will begin functioning on May 4.

The question of the Council of State is going to exacerbate the contradictions. It will show the fragility of a course that combines increased FSLN control on the political-military level and a greater degree of mass organization with the application of a plan based on a "mixed economy," at a time when a very large percentage of the companies remain closed.

The June 1979 Program of Government that was developed in Costa Rica before Somoza fell contemplated a thirty-three-

enlarge the Council of State from the thirty-three members to forty-seven makes possible the inclusion of delegates from the Sandinista Defense Committees, the Sandinista Trade-Union Federation, the Rural Workers Association, and other mass organizations led by the FSLN.

At the time of his resignation, Robelo protested the fact that "the Council of State includes at least twenty-seven members linked to the FSLN, while his movement has only a single delegate" (*Le Monde*, April 24, 1980).

In an editorial, the April 11 *Barricada* repeated the statement of junta member Sergio Ramírez that "in the first place, this consultative-legislative body will have broad national representation, and in the second place the living forces of the revolution will be present in it in accord with their real following."

Robelo chose to use the composition of the Council of State to take the initiative in opening the crisis. He called on all those in the MDN to quit their government and administrative posts, asserting that they held 26 percent of the positions (*El País*, April 24, 1980). Several high officials did resign in response to Robelo's call. COSEP

WORLDWIDE CAMPAIGN FOR AID TO NICARAGUA



'The Majority Belongs to Those Who Fought'

By Arnold Weissberg

[The following article appeared in the May 23 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly the *Militant*.]

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NEW YORK—Representatives of Nicaragua's revolutionary government were the featured speakers at a one-day educational conference here May 3 that drew more than 300 people.

The conference offered an answer to the "media boycott and actual campaign of malinformation" about Nicaragua, declared Alejandro Bendaña, a member of that country's United Nations delegation. "We are going to educate people about Nicaraguan reality."

Bendaña noted that Nicaragua's Council of State, a legislative body, would convene for the first time the next day. He explained that a majority of the council's seats would go to "the majority of the Nicaraguan people"—workers and peasants—organized in trade unions and other mass organizations.

Despite efforts of the U.S. news media to label this as "totalitarian," Bendaña said,

"those with the right to have a majority in this Council of State are not the ones who shipped their capital and their children out of the country or who lived comfortably in Miami during the fight against Somoza. The right to a majority belongs to those who fought."

Joining Bendaña in the morning panel discussion was David Funkhouser, national coordinator of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People. Funkhouser reviewed the history of the solidarity movement in this country and listed some of its accomplishments, which included tours of Sandinista leaders, as well as the raising of nearly \$90,000 for Nicaragua's literacy campaign.

Funkhouser said the solidarity movement here, however, needed to broaden its appeal and reach more people, including those in the trade unions. He urged linking up with struggles in this country, in particular the antidraft movement.

The Carter administration, Funkhouser said, does not develop a separate policy for each country. "Rather it is a policy for the region as a whole and it is reflected in the

U.S. Activists Send Motors and Medical Supplies

Although the U.S. government continues to stall on much-needed aid for Nicaragua, solidarity committees in the United States are doing what they can to help the Nicaraguan revolution. Milwaukee's Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy has sent more than \$100,000 worth of aid, including forty boat motors which are being used to transport literacy workers in areas of Nicaragua where there are no roads.

In April, the coalition put 2,040 pounds of medical supplies, including badly needed antibiotics, on planes to Nicaragua. A joint project with solidarity groups in Dallas, Houston, and New Orleans also provided \$62,000 worth of pharmaceuticals for Nicaragua.

On April 19, a truck with six tons of medical supplies bound for Nicaragua arrived in New Orleans from Dallas. The truck was donated complete with fuel by the Ryder Rental Company.

continued militarization of the region, in the support militarily and economically toward the repressive military junta of El Salvador, in the increasingly belligerent attitude toward Cuba, and finally in the attempts to isolate Nicaragua as Cuba was isolated."

A representative of the El Salvador Human Rights Commission also spoke to the conference.

Workshops covered a range of topics from the literacy campaign to health care to the role of women in the new Nicaragua.

In a workshop called "Education: the Second War of Liberation," speakers described the vast task the Nicaraguan government has undertaken in its priority campaign to erase illiteracy.

The cost of the literacy crusade is estimated at \$20 million. Funkhouser said that such materials as audio-visual equipment, tape recorders, and mimeograph supplies are still in short supply and badly needed.

Nicaraguan musicians Los de Palacagüina, Otto de la Rocha, and El Guadalupe performed at a concert following the conference. Nearly 1,000 people jammed the auditorium, with many demanding their favorite Nicaraguan songs and singing along. □

Danish Workers Back Central American Revolution

Working class organizations in Denmark have recently taken a number of actions in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution. On May 2-4, the National Organization of Apprentices and Young Workers (LLO), which has a membership of more than 25,000, held its tenth national conference. The conference made a special appeal for support to the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), and took up a collection for it.

Three weeks earlier, a conference of the Copenhagen Trade Union Youth voted to collect money for a Workers Center in Managua. Branches of the metalworkers union in Copenhagen and Aalborg have also voted donations to the CST.

Nicaragua Committees took up collections for Nicaragua at May Day demonstrations in Copenhagen, Aarhus, and Haderslev.

All together, more than \$5,000 has been raised for Nicaragua in recent weeks.

Meanwhile, a statement in solidarity with the struggle in El Salvador has won wide support. The statement's demands are: "Stop repression in El Salvador; No to U.S. military intervention in El Salvador; and European solidarity with the struggle of the Salvadoran people."

Signers include six members of Parliament from the Left Socialist Party; eleven members of the Parliament from the People's Socialist Party; the Danish Communist Party and the Danish Communist Youth; the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Danish section of the Fourth International; the National Organization of Apprentices and Young Workers; and the chairman of the Danish Seamen's Federation.