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The American Presidential Election Campaign



**IS THE
U.S.
MOVING
TO THE
RIGHT?**



Workers' dissatisfaction with two-party system a key feature of 1980 elections.

**SALVADORAN JUNTA
VERSUS
FREEDOM OF PRESS**

Speech by Fidel Castro:
**'THE REVOLUTION IS
STRONGER THAN
EVER BEFORE'**

USA: Anti-Black Terrorists on the Rampage

By David Frankel

Acting with impunity, anti-Black terrorists in the United States have gone on a rampage.

Four Blacks—three men and a teenaged boy—were shot down by a white gunman in Buffalo, New York, within one thirty-six-hour period in September. Two weeks later, in early October, two Black cab drivers were found murdered, their bodies mutilated, and their hearts cut out.

The day after the latest of these grisly murders, a Black patient at a Buffalo hospital was nearly strangled by a man with a cord who told him, "I hate niggers." He was saved only by the unexpected entry of a nurse.

In Atlanta, meanwhile, the bodies of ten Black children, aged eight to fifteen, have been found over the last fifteen months. All were strangled, shot, or stabbed, and four more Black children are currently missing. There is also evidence indicating that an explosion at an Atlanta day care center, which took the lives of four Black children and a teacher October 13, may have been the result of a racist bombing.

Although the most extensive wave of terror has been in Buffalo and Atlanta, racist attacks have taken place in cities across the country. Vernon Jordan, president of the National Urban League, was seriously wounded by a sniper in Fort Wayne, Indiana, May 29. On August 20, two Black youths jogging in Salt Lake City were gunned down by a sniper with a high powered rifle. Similar murders have taken place recently in Indianapolis, Indiana; Cincinnati, Ohio; and Florence, Kentucky.

Not a single suspect has been arrested and charged in any of these attacks.

Government officials, while verbally deploring this racist terrorism, have in fact encouraged the climate in which such attacks thrive.

Many Democratic and Republican Party officials, from Carter on down, are on record in opposition to the busing of students to desegregate schools, and their stance has given the green light to racist attacks by antibusing groups. Schools in New York and Boston were temporarily closed in October after gangs of white racists attacked Black students.

Moreover, U.S. government agencies are not above doing some of the dirty work themselves. There have been innumerable cases of white policemen shooting to death Black youths, murders that almost never lead to convictions. On October 16, for example, a federal grand jury refused to

indict a white Boston policeman for the murder of an unarmed, fourteen-year-old Black.

As Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley pointed out, "Racist cops have murdered Blacks in New York City, Miami, Philadelphia, and other cities around the country and they've gotten off scot-free. Racists feel they can kill with impunity under the Carter administration.

"And it wouldn't be any different under Reagan. The Klan has even endorsed Reagan."

Pulley's statement was made in Buffalo October 19, where he had gone to participate in a rally of several thousand Blacks and whites to protest the racist killings.

Linking anti-Semitism and anti-Black racism, Rabbi Sholom Stern, president of the Buffalo Board of Rabbis, told the crowd:

"The stench that rose from the crematoriums and ovens of Auschwitz and other concentration camps in Europe . . . continues to pollute the air of our community whenever violent acts are perpetrated against one group because of the color of their skin."

Stern tied the recent anti-Semitic bombings in Paris carried out by French ultrarightists to the Buffalo murders:

"The bomb which exploded in the parking lot outside of a synagogue in Paris

during recent Jewish holidays and the bullets that killed six innocent Black civilians are the workings of the same satanic and evil minds of racism.

"How many disasters do we have to endure to realize that when one group is attacked, discriminated against, and murdered, we all are potential victims? What begins as the inequality of some, inevitably will end up as the inequality of all."

Following the anti-Semitic bombing in Paris, the French labor movement took the lead in helping to build a massive protest demonstration. On October 7 the streets of Paris were filled with 100,000 antiracist demonstrators, and the trade unions called a two-hour strike to allow workers to take part in the march.

A similar protest in Brussels on October 20 drew some 50,000 participants.

Such massive protests play an essential role in demonstrating the isolation of the ultraright terrorists and in encouraging and organizing the forces that can effectively drive back the racist gangs.

Racist and anti-Semitic attacks are on the upswing in the United States and Western Europe as a result of the capitalist economic crisis and the deepening class polarization it is provoking. Any failure to answer such terrorist attacks will embolden the ultrarightists and lead to an extension of the outrages.

Whoever the immediate victims of such attacks are, the organized labor movement is an essential part of the coalition needed to drive these racist and ultrarightist forces back. And the labor movement has a vital stake in lending its power to this fight. The same groups that are now bombing synagogues and murdering Blacks will be used by the bosses to attack the trade unions as the capitalist crisis worsens. □

H-Block Prisoners Launch Hunger Strike

By Gerry Foley

At midnight October 26-27, twelve prisoners in the H-Block of Long Kesh prison in Northern Ireland began an indefinite hunger strike. They are demanding that the British government stop its campaign to humiliate and break Irish political prisoners, which has gone on now for more than five years.

The protesting nationalist prisoners in H-Block and in the corresponding special punishment wings of Crumlin Road Jail in Belfast and the Armagh women's prison have decided that they would rather die than continue to endure the degradation and torture to which they have been subjected or surrender to the British government's attempt to make them accept the status of criminals.

The first twelve hunger strikers, who were chosen by their fellow prisoners, will

be joined progressively by the remaining 340 male and 40 female prisoners in the special punishment cells.

The start of the hunger strike was marked in Belfast by a march of more than 30,000 persons, the largest mass demonstration in the past decade of struggle, according to veteran civil rights leaders. A protest movement against the mistreatment of the nationalist prisoners in Northern Ireland has been building up throughout the country, with action committees in most areas and with broad support.

The onset of the long-expected hunger strike opens an intense confrontation with the British imperialist jailors.

The nationalist prisoners have been pushed beyond the limits of psychological and physical endurance. Beaten, humil-

iated, forced to live in filth, darkness, isolation, and deprived even of reading material, the prisoners have chosen the last recourse available to them.

The British government is determined to show that it has restored "normality" in Northern Ireland by presenting the continued mass opposition to imperialist rule and military occupation of the nationalist ghettos as an ordinary crime problem, even if it is somewhat worse than in the "rest" of Britain.

The chief British jailor for Northern Ireland, Michael Alison, made the objective of the British government clear in a documentary on Ulster TV on September 25. He was asked to justify why the British government had granted political status to anti-imperialist prisoners after a hunger strike of internees in 1972, and then decided arbitrarily to define the same sort of prisoners arrested after March 1976 as criminals. He said:

"Special category status was won not just by a hunger strike, it was won by the enormous outburst of lawlessness, concentrated like a dam bursting into a particular moment in history which made it impossible . . . to introduce a normal prison regime."

What this "outburst of lawlessness" included was the first general strike in Ireland since the war of independence, marches of tens of thousands, and massive uprisings in the nationalist ghettos of Northern Ireland. Thus, for the British jailors the entire struggle of the Irish people against imperialist domination is simply "lawlessness."

The fact is that this "outburst of lawlessness" has not ceased in Northern Ireland.

What changed after 1972 is simply that the active solidarity of the population in the formally independent part of Ireland with the struggle in the northern ghettos ebbed, as did international support and attention. That was a result of confusion created, among other things, by various maneuvers of the British government. For example, the authorities formally ended mass internment, but then put even more nationalists in jail on the basis of extorted confessions.

But the British treatment of these prisoners has quickly removed the confusion about the imperialists' real objectives, or what is actually going on in Northern Ireland. As a result, support throughout Ireland and internationally for the victims of imperialist repression has been growing again. This is obviously putting more and more pressure on the British authorities.

It explains, for example, why they resorted to a last-minute maneuver to make it appear that they were granting the prisoners' demand to be allowed not to wear convict uniforms. In reality, all the British authorities did was change the standard uniform.

This maneuver made it very clear how

important it is to mobilize international support for the prisoners. If this is not done, there will be deaths.

The British authorities are afraid of international public opinion. They can and must be defeated. □

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The U.S. Presidential Election and American Politics Today

By David Frankel

Working people all over the world are watching the U.S. presidential election with deep concern. What is the significance of the Reagan candidacy? If Ronald Reagan becomes the next president of the United States, will it mean a dramatic shift to the right in U.S. foreign policy? Will Reagan drive forward with his reactionary program and quickly commit U.S. military forces to new counterrevolutionary wars?

Other questions are also raised. Do the differences between Reagan and Carter represent a substantive division, even if only on a tactical level, between different sections of the U.S. ruling class? Does Reagan's campaign indicate a shift to the right among the American people?

Reagan's Rightist Program

If one were to judge the temper of American working people by the content of Reagan's electoral platform, the conclusion that there has been a shift to the right would be inescapable.

By pointing to Reagan's foreign policy stance, Carter has tried to portray himself as the peace candidate in this election. Carter—the originator of the Rapid Deployment Force, the architect of a five-year, \$1 trillion (\$1,000,000,000,000) military budget, the man who introduced draft registration, who ordered U.S. forces to attack Iran last April, and who is now threatening to go to war in the Persian Gulf. What a peace candidate!

But Reagan says he would go even further. He has raised the idea of blockading Cuba, he has called for giving military aid to South African-backed guerrillas in Angola, and he insists that Carter's huge arms budget is not big enough.

Speaking of the Vietnam War, Reagan told supporters, "It is time we recognized that ours was, in truth, a noble cause."

The Republican Party platform goes out of its way to condemn the Carter administration's paltry \$75 million in aid to Nicaragua and to denounce "the Marxist Sandinista takeover of Nicaragua and the Marxist attempts to destabilize El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras."

As Reagan put it in one interview: "Let's not delude ourselves. The Soviet Union underlies all the unrest that is going on. If they weren't engaged in this game of dominoes, there wouldn't be any hot spots in the world."

Within the United States, Reagan stands for tax cuts that would benefit the huge corporations, for rolling back govern-

ment safety and pollution standards, and for antiunion "right to work" laws. But the cutting edge of Reagan's attack on the working class is his aggressive attempt to deepen the divisions within it and to rally opposition to the demands of the most oppressed.

Appeal to Racism

Reagan appeals openly to racism. For example, while speaking to an almost wholly white crowd in Mississippi August 3, Reagan said: "I believe in states' rights." If elected president, Reagan said, he would "restore to states and local governments the power that properly belongs to them."



Susan Ellis/Militant
Ku Klux Klan rally in Decatur, Alabama. Reagan campaign has served as a pole of attraction for the most bigoted and reactionary forces in American society.

"States' rights" was the rallying cry of the slaveowners during the American Civil War, and of the diehard racist forces that sought to preserve legal segregation in the South during the 1950s and 1960s.

Referring to the 1964 murder of three civil-rights workers, Andrew Young, the former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, correctly pointed out that "when you go to Philadelphia, Miss., where James Chaney, Andy Goodman and Michael Schwerner were killed—murdered—by the sheriff and the deputy sheriff and a government posse protecting states' rights, and you go down there and start talking about states' rights, that looks like a code

word to me that it's going to be all right to kill niggers when he's President."

Not surprisingly, opinion polls show Carter leading Reagan among Black voters by a margin of 8 or 9 to 1. It is not that Carter is popular among Blacks—far from it. It is just that Reagan is viewed as more of a threat than an answer.

An Enemy of Women's Rights

Reagan is also an open enemy of women's rights. He supports a constitutional amendment that would outlaw abortion. At the same time, he opposes the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

The issue of women's rights came to the fore at the Republican Party convention in July. Ultrarightist forces from the Stop ERA movement and Christian fundamentalists opposed to abortion, equality for women, and civil rights for homosexuals played a highly visible role in the debate there. With Reagan's support they were able to put their stamp on the party platform.

In general, Reagan's campaign has served as a pole of attraction and an organizing center for all of the most reactionary, bigoted forces in American society. Reagan himself has set the tone, surrounding himself with ultrarightist advisers such as Joseph Churba, a longtime associate of Rabbi Meir Kahane, the founder of the U.S. Jewish Defense League and of the quasi-fascist Kach movement in Israel, and Robert Tucker, who wrote a notorious article in 1975 advocating a U.S. military take-over of Persian Gulf oilfields.

Last August Reagan was the honored guest at a rally of 15,000 right-wing Christian fundamentalists. The tone of the meeting was indicated by the Rev. James Robison's speech, in which he declared:

"I'm sick and tired hearing about all the radicals and the perverts and the liberals and the leftists and the Communists coming out of the closet. It's time for God's people to come out of the closet, out of the churches and change America."

It was at that meeting that Bailey Smith, the president of the Southern Baptist Convention, told his audience: God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew, for how in the world can God hear the prayer of a man who says Jesus Christ is not the true Messiah? It's blasphemous."

These are the forces—reactionary, antiunion, racist, anti-Semitic, and antiwomen—that are most enthused by Reagan's candidacy.

Far from applauding Reagan's reaction-

ary program or looking to him for answers to the problems they face, working people have reacted to the Reagan-Carter race with anger, disgust, and dismay.

'Like a Trip to the Dentist'

One journalist, commenting on the large number of undecided voters only two weeks before the election, wryly noted, "Voters are viewing this election as though it were a trip to the dentist, and they are putting off the unpleasantness for as long as possible."

U.S. News & World Report summed up the mood in a September 29 article: "Angry, frustrated and discouraged, Americans are heading into the 1980 election unhappy with the choices for President and convinced that—whatever the outcome—it will do little to rekindle the nation's spirits."

The ruling class had hoped that Anderson's candidacy would serve to soften the intensity of dissatisfaction over a Carter-Reagan race, and to contain the growing conviction that a break with the capitalist two-party set-up is needed.

As the editors of the *New York Times* put it April 25: "A large body of voters is dissatisfied with a Carter-Reagan choice in November. To deny them an independent alternative risks harming something larger than the two-party system: confidence in the whole political process."

But the program offered by Anderson—more arms spending, tax cuts for the giant corporations, and austerity for working people—is hardly the "independent alternative" that so many are looking for. This fact has been widely perceived, and Anderson's campaign has ceased to play any significant role in this election.

Meanwhile, dislike of Reagan's rightist program is matched by disgust with Carter's record. It remains to be seen which of these negative sentiments will determine the election.

Behind the Reagan Candidacy

If it is true that the Reagan candidacy does not reflect the pressure of a rightward moving working class, what is behind it? Is Reagan's reactionary campaign simply an accident, something unrelated to larger political forces and events?

The shift to the right by capitalist parties and candidates in the United States, along with the increasing visibility of ultraright and quasi-fascist political currents, is hardly accidental. It is a direct response to the crisis of the capitalist economy and to the upsurge of the world revolution since the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. And it indicates the kind of political, economic, and military measures that the U.S. ruling class must move toward implementing.

Henry Kissinger gave an inkling of the urgency with which the imperialists view the current world situation in a speech last April, in which he warned:



'Are they still there?'

"We are sliding toward a world out of control, with our relative military power declining, with our economic lifeline increasingly vulnerable to blackmail, with hostile radical forces growing in every continent, and with the number of countries willing to stake their future on our friendship dwindling."

Ever since the end of the Vietnam War, the entire U.S. ruling class has been united in its desire to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and to free its hands from the political restraints that have hampered its ability to use U.S. military forces against revolutionary upheavals around the world. However, it has been unable to get the working class to go along with its plans. That is where the 1980 election and the Reagan campaign come in.

By openly and bluntly stating the real perspectives of U.S. imperialism, both for American workers and for the workers and peasants in the rest of the world, the Reagan campaign is being used by the ruling class to move the entire framework of capitalist politics in the United States to the right. The imperialists hope to influence the thinking of the working class and to make it easier for *whoever* is elected president to carry out the program of the imperialist rulers.

Imperialist War Drive

While Carter plays soft-cop to Reagan's hard-cop on the issue of U.S. military intervention abroad, his actual policy has been to move as rapidly as possible toward carrying out such intervention. Carter has taken every opportunity to try to whip up sentiment for military action among the American people. High points of this ongoing campaign have been:

- The uproar over Cuban aid to the Ethiopian revolution in the beginning of 1978. Carter even dispatched two U.S.

warships to the Red Sea in February 1978 to threaten Ethiopia.

- The outpouring of racist hysteria and anti-Cuba threats following the May 1978 uprising in Zaïre's Shaba Province. U.S. Air Force transport planes were used to fly French troops into Zaïre.

- The mobilization of U.S. naval and air power off the Arabian Peninsula in March 1979 after a clash between North and South Yemen.

- Carter's August-September 1979 scare campaign over the alleged presence of a Soviet "combat brigade" in Cuba. This was followed by the establishment of a permanent Caribbean military command, U.S. naval maneuvers in the Caribbean, and the provocative practice-invasion of Cuba by U.S. Marines at the Guantánamo Bay naval base.

- Using the pretext of the seizure of American hostages in Iran, Carter has maintained a massive U.S. naval fleet off the coast of Iran for the past year. In April, he ordered a U.S. commando raid on Iran.

- In early 1980, the Carter administration initiated a destabilization campaign against the Manley regime in Jamaica, funneling money and arms to the proimperialist opposition party and encouraging right-wing terrorist actions that have claimed nearly 500 lives so far this year.

- Meanwhile, Carter has also revived registration for the draft, and has called for its extension to young women as well as men. The real mood among working people in the United States was indicated by the burst of protests that greeted this proposal, and by its massive rejection among the youth called upon to register. Opposition to revival of the draft in workplaces around the country was overwhelming.

- Finally, Carter has been feeding arms

and advisers to the brutal military junta in El Salvador, preparing the ground for more massive U.S. intervention as the crisis there deepens.

Far from being a response to pro-war attitudes among American workers, these moves have been part of a consistent campaign to try to arouse such sentiment. But the results have been a resounding flop. A *Newsweek* poll taken between October 8 and October 15 found that there was a 14 percent decrease in support for the draft between July and October, and a similar decrease between February and October in the willingness to support the use of U.S. troops in other parts of the world.

In the current campaign, Reagan's belligerent foreign policy stance has become his biggest electoral liability. In his search for votes Reagan is increasingly being forced to insist that he is not for war, that he would not send U.S. troops into battle at the drop of a hat, that he has been unjustly smeared as a warmonger by Carter.

Attacks on Working Class

Just as the militarization drive that has been taking place over the past several years has been carried out by Carter and the Democratic-controlled Congress, so has the ruling class drive against the living standards of working people and against the rights of Blacks and women. If Reagan wins the election it will be because of the awareness of this fact among American workers.

For example, a solid majority of the American people support the right of women to abortion and back the Equal Rights Amendment. But the Democratic-dominated Congress, with Carter's backing, has cut off government funds that had enabled women on welfare to obtain abortions. While professing support for the ERA, Carter has not lifted a finger to campaign for its passage.

Reagan, as usual, takes a more right-wing position than Carter, solidarizing with the bigoted religious fundamentalists and extreme rightists who charge that the movement for women's rights is undermining morality and the American family.

But not many feminists are confident that a vote for Carter will help the struggle for women's rights. This was reflected at the convention of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in early October. Even though the NOW leadership is thoroughly pro-Democratic Party, it felt unable to press for a formal endorsement of Carter because of the mood in the ranks of the organization.

Nor has there been any letup in the attack on Black rights under Carter's presidency. Although the murder of unarmed Black youths by the police is a daily occurrence, Carter's Justice Department has regularly resisted demands to intervene in such cases. Instead of enforcing

the law against segregation in education, the Justice Department has given its seal of approval to token deals that will do nothing to end segregated schooling, as in a recent agreement in Chicago.

The chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission charged October 15 that eight "riders" added to fiscal appropriation bills currently before Congress would effectively prevent the government from acting to enforce school desegregation and laws against discrimination in jobs and education. Nothing has been heard from the White House on this issue.

No wonder racist, ultrarightist groups feel the wind in their sails! This has been reflected in a spate of terrorist attacks against Blacks, including a series of gruesome murders in Buffalo, New York and Atlanta, Georgia.

As in the case of the ultrarightist campaign against women's rights, these attacks do not reflect a shift to the right among American workers. In fact, because of the pressure of the capitalist economic offensive, many workers have begun to see the issue of racism from a class point of view, as a divisive force that is an obstacle to unionization and to the struggle for a better life.

This perception has forced a shift in the stance of the trade-union officialdom. While most unions officially supported Allan Bakke's racist suit against affirmative action in education when it was brought before the Supreme Court in 1976, they opposed a similar suit against affirmative action in the workplace that was brought by Brian Weber in 1978. Affirmative action plans are now part of the contract demands of unions such as the United Steelworkers.

What If Reagan Is Elected?

Suppose Reagan is elected president on November 4, as he may well be. Will the policy of the U.S. government lurch to the right? Will the United States be any closer to a war than if Carter manages to hold onto office?

What this really comes down to is the question of how U.S. foreign policy is made. In general, what the capitalist presidential candidates say in their campaigns, the promises and threats that they make, and the forces that they appeal to for votes, has little to do with the course of American foreign policy when the election is over.

There are no lack of examples from American history showing how presidents often followed a foreign policy that was the exact opposite of what they promised. Woodrow Wilson campaigned in the 1916 election on the slogan, "He kept us out of war." That did not stop the U.S. imperialists from entering World War I just five months after Wilson's reelection.

Lyndon Johnson campaigned as the "peace candidate" in 1964, warning that if Goldwater were elected president he would

send American boys to fight a war in Asia.

Richard Nixon, known as a witch-hunter and Cold Warrior, was the one who initiated détente with Moscow and Peking and presided over the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

These examples are not meant to imply that Reagan would not follow a militarist course. Whoever is elected will do that. But when the U.S. ruling class makes important policy decisions—such as whether or not to go to war—it naturally tries to make an accurate assessment of the real relationship of class forces and of the real problems involved.

The whole point of the electoral set-up in the United States is to obscure the real relations between classes and to confuse the real political questions facing working people. Therefore it would be self-defeating for the capitalists to base their decisions on the presidential vote, and nobody knows it better than them.

Lenin touched on the process of how the ruling class makes such decisions in *The State and Revolution*. "Take any parliamentary country," he said, "from America to Switzerland, from France to England, Norway and so forth—in these countries the real business of 'state' is performed behind the scenes and is carried on by the departments, chancelleries and General Staffs." (See box.)

At some point, no matter who is in office, the U.S. imperialists will be forced to use their massive military power to try to halt the spread of revolution. But Reagan's campaign has not altered the opposition of American workers to war, and any decision to test the relationship of class forces on this issue will not be made because of some whim of his.

Of course, it is true that the president, as chief executive, is not merely a figurehead. Under normal conditions he functions as the arbiter within the state apparatus, and when a decision could go either way the president's voice can be decisive. But any idea that the U.S. ruling class is going to be dragged into a war against its will or without carefully calculating the pros and cons flies in the face of common sense, not to mention Marxist analysis.

Resistance to 'Lesser Evilism'

The claim that the election of one or another Democratic or Republican Party politician will make a basic difference in the course of the country over the next four years is one of the fundamental myths that underlies capitalist politics in the United States. In congressional elections, the argument is that the future of the country, or at least the immediate interests of working people, depends on which capitalist party wins control of the legislative branch.

Since neither the Democrats nor the Republicans act in the interests of the working class, the small farmers, or the oppressed Black and Hispanic population,

we are told to vote for the candidate who represents "the lesser evil."

In the current campaign, people are being told that the election of Reagan will put a dangerous warmonger in office. That is certainly true, but so will the election of Carter.

Those who are unable to see beyond the two capitalist parties are caught in a trap. Thus, longtime civil-rights leader Ralph Abernathy announced October 16 that he

was endorsing Reagan, a hard-nosed racist, because "I campaigned for Carter four years ago, but President Carter has not kept his campaign promises."

Pointing to inflation and other problems facing the Black community, Abernathy declared: "We don't need this doctor anymore, because we as the patients are getting sicker and sicker, and we need to change doctors."

Reagan was unable to contain his amazement. He said of the endorsement, "I just didn't realize such a thing could happen. I was overwhelmed."

Although Abernathy is obviously dead wrong about the chance of Reagan doing anything to help Blacks, his criticism of Carter had some merit. Far from acting as a shield for Blacks against the racist forces being encouraged by the Reagan

How U.S. Foreign Policy Is Decided

Perhaps the clearest example of how crucial U.S. foreign policy decisions are actually made came in March 1968, following the Tet offensive carried out by the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

Details of what happened in the top echelons of the U.S. government came out in three separate accounts, the longest of which appeared in two installments in the March 6 and March 7, 1969, *New York Times*. (*Intercontinental Press* reported on this in an article by Joseph Hansen in the March 17, 1969, issue.)

Speaking of the Tet offensive, the *Times* article said:

"Confident and secure one day, Gen. William C. Westmoreland, then the American commander in Saigon, found himself on the next dealing with a vast battle the length of South Vietnam.

"The psychological impact on Washington had outrun the event: The capital was stunned."

Lyndon Johnson sent Gen. Earle Wheeler, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on "an urgent mission" to Saigon to find out what had happened and what should be done about it.

Wheeler returned from Vietnam on February 28, 1968, and gave a reassuring report. "The enemy had been thrown back with heavy losses and had failed to spark a popular uprising against the South Vietnamese regime."

However, "more—many more—American troops were needed because the allied forces were off balance and vulnerable to another offensive."

Westmoreland's request, which was endorsed by Wheeler, added up to 206,000 U.S. troops, in addition to the 535,000 already in Vietnam.

On March 1, 1968, a meeting was convened in the secretary of defense's private dining room in the Pentagon. It was charged with expediting Westmoreland's request for more troops.

Besides Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, the group included, according to the *Times*, "Walt W. Rostow, the President's assistant for national security affairs; Ri-

chard Helms, Director of Central Intelligence; General Wheeler; General Maxwell D. Taylor, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, former Ambassador to Saigon and a Presidential adviser on Vietnam; Paul H. Nitze, Deputy Secretary of Defense; Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach; Paul C. Warnke, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Affairs; Phil G. Goulding, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs; William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs, and, for financial advice, the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry H. Fowler."

These twelve men, not one of them elected to anything by the American people, took up questions of life-and-death importance to everyone in the United States, Vietnam, and for that matter, the entire world.

But this select group was divided over what to do. As the *Times* put it, "The Tet offensive had punctured the heady optimism over the military progress reported to Congress by General Westmoreland and by Ellsworth Bunker, the Ambassador to South Vietnam. . . .

"If tolerance for the war had worn thin, so had the nation's military resources—so thin, indeed, that there was almost nothing more to send to Vietnam without either mobilizing, enlarging draft calls, lengthening the 12-month combat tour or sending Vietnam veterans back for second tours of duty—all extremely unappealing. . . .

"More fundamentally, the nation was seriously divided. The fabric of public civility had begun to unravel as opinion on the war polarized."

Faced with a growing antiwar movement in the streets and deep division among his own advisers, Johnson agreed to convene what the *Times* called a "secret council of trusted advisers" constituting "a 'who's who' of the American foreign policy establishment."

On March 25, 1968, this "secret council" gathered at the State Department. According to the *Times* those present were:

"Dean Acheson, Secretary of State under President Truman; George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State in the Kennedy

and Johnson administrations; Gen. Omar N. Bradley, retired World War II commander; McGeorge Bundy, special assistant for national security affairs to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; Arthur H. Dean, President Eisenhower's Korean War negotiator; Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury under President Kennedy.

"Also Associate Justice Abe Fortas of the Supreme Court; Mr. [Arthur J.] Goldberg [present by special invitation of Johnson]; Henry Cabot Lodge, twice Ambassador to Saigon; John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner in West Germany under President Truman; Robert D. Murphy, ranking diplomat in the Truman-Eisenhower era; Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, retired Korean War commander; Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a constant Presidential adviser on Vietnam, and Cyrus R. Vance, former Deputy Defense Secretary and President Johnson's trouble-shooter."

In his 1969 article cited above, the late *Intercontinental Press* editor, Joseph Hansen, said: "The composition of the council deserves to be noted. It was a twin-party grouping, no attention being paid to whether the members were nominally Democrats or Republicans. . . .

"The Pentagon, White House, State Department, and Supreme Court were represented, but not a single congressman was included, although the discussion was the war in Vietnam and, under the constitution of the United States, the warmaking powers reside with Congress.

"Nonetheless, as will be seen, Johnson listened to this unrepresentative, unelected, secret council as if it spoke for the real masters of the country. In this he was, of course, dead right."

On March 31, 1968, Lyndon Johnson, speaking on nationwide television, announced a partial halt to the bombing of North Vietnam, appealed for the opening of negotiations to end the war, and told the American people: "I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your President."

—D.F.

campaign, Carter gives protection and legitimacy to these forces.

After Andrew Young nailed Reagan for his "states' rights" demagoguery in Mississippi, the White House repudiated Young's statement. Carter's press secretary declared that "the President . . . does not believe that Governor Reagan is a racist or is running a campaign of racism."

According to Carter "the racial issue"—that is, the needs of Blacks (which are the same as those of the working class as a whole) and the attacks on Black rights—should not be "injected" into the campaign!

Most Black leaders are still backing Carter, but one of the striking characteristics of this presidential campaign is the degree of resistance to "lesser evilism." Working people find it hard to believe that things will be any better if Carter is elected as opposed to Reagan.

'Bitterness Against Carter'

"There's such bitterness against Carter in our union, and concern that he's cut back on services to the needy and he's using unemployment as an economic policy, that our members want to lash out at the betrayal they feel," remarked Jerry Wurf, president of the one-million-member American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, during the Democratic Party convention last August.

Wurf, who joined with the big majority of the trade-union bureaucracy in backing Carter, was worried because, "The issue of the lesser of two evils is lost. Maybe it can be turned around, but I don't know."

New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis, another Carter-supporter, complained October 16: "How many people do we meet who are enthusiastic Carter supporters? . . . In my experience, almost none. People who say they will vote for Carter tend to say it with resignation or even apology."

Syndicated columnist Ellen Goodman pointed out October 11: "It's easy enough to think of Reagan as a hawk. But it is hard to think of Carter as a dove when he harbors rifle-toting Brzezinski under one wing and the draft registration plan under the other."

Why the Massive Dissatisfaction?

Bourgeois commentators such as Lewis argue that the widespread rejection of the capitalist candidates is a result of their individual failings. He blames Carter for not having Franklin D. Roosevelt's "realistic optimism" and for lacking "the self-confidence that Roosevelt communicated."

However, Roosevelt's New Deal was not based on a sparkling personality, but on substantial concessions to the working class. Unemployment insurance, social security benefits, job programs, and the removal of some of the legal obstacles to union organization were among the changes initiated under Roosevelt.



Lou Howort/Militant

Massive rejection of Carter's draft registration plan, especially among youth, showed real mood of American working people.

Similarly, during the Johnson-Goldwater race in 1964, Johnson called for a "war on poverty" and promised major programs to provide jobs, housing, and health care. These programs, of course, did much less than promised, but they made an impact.

In Carter's case, something far more important than optimism and self-confidence is lacking. He is not even pretending to promise real improvements in the conditions of American workers.

Even the Democratic Party platform, which is usually filled with promises never intended to be kept, offers no new jobs programs and calls for "spending restraint" and "fiscal prudence." Instead of new social programs, the platform boasts of the "real increase in our defense spending in every year since 1976," and urges "self-discipline."

Underlying the discontent of American working people with the current electoral alternatives is a simple fact: American imperialism is no longer able to promise the masses a better life. It offers instead attacks on real wages and civil liberties, more racism and oppression at home, and war abroad.

Changes in Trade Unions

There is only one force in American society that has the potential of leading an effective struggle against the grim future being prepared by the imperialist rulers.

Only the working class can chart a new road leading out of the dead end of capitalism. What is needed is for the organized labor movement to take the lead in rallying the working class and its allies—the oppressed nationalities, the small farmers, the women and youth—all those who suffer under capitalist oppression and who are seeking a way out.

Because of the default of the trade-union bureaucracy, which remains committed to the Democratic Party and to the capitalist system which it represents, the anger and dissatisfaction of the working masses will only be expressed indirectly in the current election. At the same time, it is clear that there are big changes going on in the thinking of the union ranks.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of this came September 2-10 at the convention of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM). The IAM has 980,000 members, and there were some 2,500 delegates and observers at the convention.

The tone of the gathering was set by IAM President William Winpisinger in his opening speech. The union movement, he said, is "facing bargaining table take-away drives and union-busting power plays."

Winpisinger described "Ten million idle minds and hands, marking time in a standing army of unemployed."

He blasted the energy cartel: "Big oil is pig oil."

"They own uranium, coal, and natural gas, and now they're going to hang a meter on the sun."

"And they've milked every last penny from OPEC imports and brought us to the brink of war."

Winpisinger concluded: "The causes of economic decline and stagnation in Canada and the U.S. are locked in the structure of corporate America and corporate Canada."

"Government doesn't control them, they control government. The Carter and Trudeau administrations are corporate caretakers and the handmaidens of corporate strategy and tactics."

Dennis McDermott, president of the Canadian Labor Congress, received a standing ovation when he spoke about the founding of the New Democratic Party—Canada's labor party—in 1961.

"I submit to you," McDermott declared, "that when you have got two parties that are almost identical in philosophy and outlook, then that ain't a hell of a lot different than having a one-party system."

"It's like a community of mice who get to vote for a black cat one year, and a spotted cat the next year, and a white cat the year after."

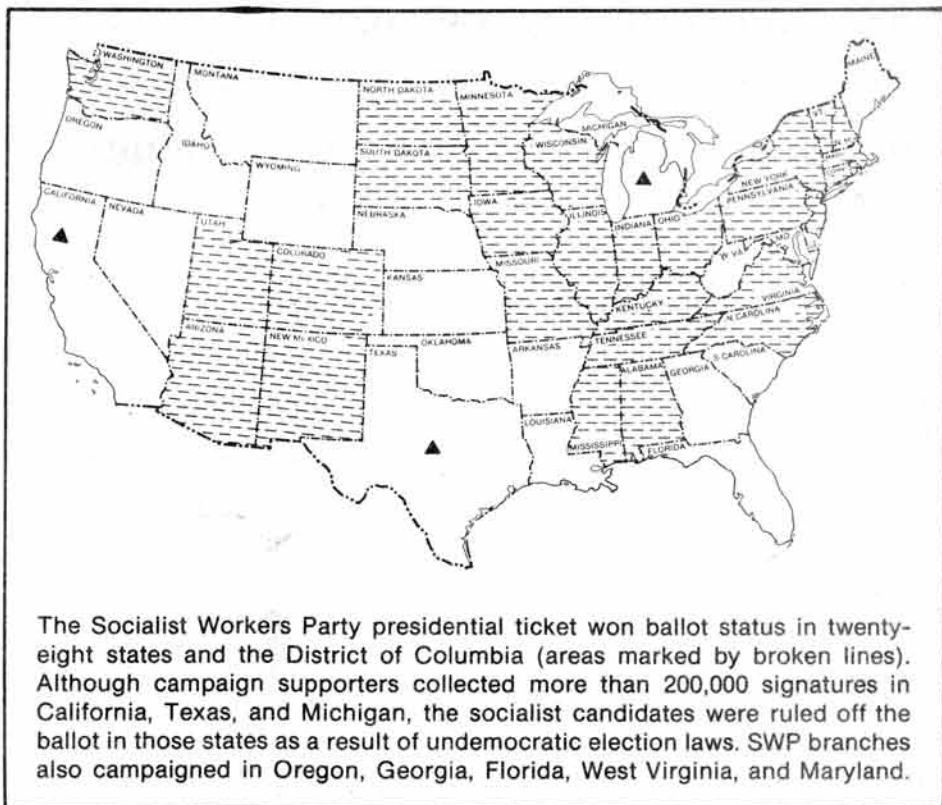
Machinists Discuss Labor Party

Despite appeals from Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO (the U.S. labor federation), and an impassioned speech by Senator Edward Kennedy, who was backed by the IAM for the Democratic Party presidential nomination, the IAM delegates refused to endorse Carter.

Instead, by an overwhelming voice vote, the convention approved a resolution "to determine the extent to which grass roots support might be developed for an independent pro-labor party dedicated to the principles of social democracy."

Winpisinger and the rest of the IAM leadership are hardly revolutionaries. Their decision to take their distance from Carter, to project a more militant image, and to take part in the discussion on the formation of a labor party that has been going on in the American trade-union movement is an indication of how they view the mood of the union ranks.

The assessment of the IAM leadership in this respect is confirmed by the experience of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which is running its own presidential campaign. SWP campaigners have collected more than 600,000 signatures to put the party on the ballot in twenty-eight states and the District of Columbia. Although socialist petitioners gathered more than enough signers to also put the party on the ballot in Michigan, Texas, and California (the SWP filed more than 150,000 signatures for its presidential ticket in California), the party has been



The Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket won ballot status in twenty-eight states and the District of Columbia (areas marked by broken lines). Although campaign supporters collected more than 200,000 signatures in California, Texas, and Michigan, the socialist candidates were ruled off the ballot in those states as a result of undemocratic election laws. SWP branches also campaigned in Oregon, Georgia, Florida, West Virginia, and Maryland.

undemocratically ruled off the ballot in those three states.

SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, a Chicago steelworker, and vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann, have been crisscrossing the United States talking to working people about the issues in this election.

'An Avid Audience'

An article in the September 2 issue of the *Chicago Defender*, a daily oriented to Chicago's Black community, quoted Pulley as saying: "My main reason for running is to popularize the idea that working people need to organize their own party."

The *Defender's* front-page profile of Pulley quoted the socialist presidential candidate extensively. "Working people must stop relying on the two capitalist parties (Democrats and Republicans)," Pulley says. "The time has come for labor to use its power in the political arena, to organize its own political party, based on unions, to fight for the interests of the vast majority—the workers."

After Pulley spent a day campaigning in Vermont, the *Burlington Free Press*—the state's main daily—carried a feature article on Pulley's activities.

"Socialist Workers Party presidential

candidate Andrew Pulley found an avid audience Wednesday when he gave a pep talk to striking workers at the Waterbury Companies Inc.," the paper reported October 2.

The strikers, it continued, "members of United Auto Workers Local 2133, gathered around the Chicago man as he told them they should distrust Republican and Democratic candidates. . . ."

"Only by self-organization, including forming a strong labor party, can workers achieve economic and political gains, Pulley told the strikers, who nodded appreciatively."

Such responses among workers are typical. More than ever before, American workers are convinced that an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties is necessary. Within the trade unions, there is a growing discussion about the possibility of forming a labor party. And socialist candidates and socialist ideas receive a good hearing, often an enthusiastic one.

Regardless of whether Carter or Reagan wins the election November 4, this process of radicalization within the labor movement will continue to deepen. It is this growing polarization between a leftward moving labor movement and the rightward moving parties of the ruling class that is the real key to American politics today. □

American Unionists Say 'No' to Nuclear Power

By Jon Hillson, Stu Singer, and Aníbal Yáñez

[The following article appeared in the October 24 issue of the U.S. socialist news-weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

PITTSBURGH—It was standing room only for the nearly 1,000 people who filled the ballroom at the Pittsburgh Hilton Hotel October 10-12 for the first National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

This large gathering, overwhelmingly union members, served notice on the energy barons that opposition to nuclear power is a labor issue.

The conference was initiated by nine international unions and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.*

The most powerful group there was the coal miners.

More than 100 working miners and union officials, including United Mine Workers International President Sam Church, put their stamp on the conference in numerous ways. Many people remarked on the continuity of the role of the UMWA in this gathering and its historic contributions to the labor movement.

In his keynote speech Sam Church said: "For too long [energy] decisions were made by the 'energy elite.' Their concerns were not in providing jobs and efficient energy, but in providing continued and soaring profits."

The nuclear industry, Church said, promised energy so cheap, "we wouldn't need electric meters. . . . But they gave us the meters. They gave us Three Mile Island. They gave us countless tons of nuclear waste. They even gave us the bill for the cost of their own mistakes. They gave us lies."

Citing the major problems connected with nuclear power, "from the mining of uranium to the disposal of the radioactive waste," the UMWA president told the crowd that "America's immediate energy problems can only be solved by safely mining and cleanly using coal."

*The sponsoring unions, which have a combined membership of 3.5 million in the United States and Canada, were the United Mine Workers of America, United Auto Workers, International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, Service Employees International Union, Graphic Arts International Union, International Chemical Workers Union, United Furniture Workers of America, International Woodworkers of America, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Charles Komanoff, a leading environmental researcher, participated in the conference. He stated that the gathering marked the end of opposition by some environmentalists in the antinuclear movement to coal as the main energy alternative. New evidence was presented by Komanoff and others about progress in clean burning of coal to produce electricity and large cost advantages of coal versus other methods of generating electricity.

Disruption

The threat to nuclear power represented by the conference was recognized by the nuclear industry. Supporters of nuclear power tried to disrupt the meeting, but failed.

A group of almost 100 from Local 5 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) broke into the meeting hall through a back door during the early moments of the Friday evening kickoff rally. Carrying picket signs with pronuclear industry slogans on them, the electricians surrounded the stage and occupied the center aisle of the meeting room.

IBEW Local 5 represents electricians in the construction industry.

The original conference marshaling force was badly outnumbered. UMWA President Sam Church and Service Employees International Union Vice-president Rosemary Trump were among those on the stage when the disruption occurred. Quickly, one of the miners who was part of the defense team grabbed the microphone and shouted, "UMWA members front and center."

The crowd burst into cheers as fifty miners trooped to the stage, protecting it against a takeover by the disrupters. They were disciplined in the face of physical provocations by the IBEW officials who led the attack. The miners opened discussions with the IBEW members who were involved. Unlike the piccards [union bureaucrats] at their helm, they were willing to talk and evidently had not been informed about the nature of the gathering they were supposed to break up. Some said they thought it was an antilabor meeting and that participants were against technology in general.

Clusters of union members from the conference debated the outnumbered electricians throughout the hall.

"Nuclear power is just too dangerous." "Electricians jobs aren't threatened. You need electricians whether the electricity is

generated by coal or nuclear." The debates raged on.

The IBEW industry supporters were not only failing to break up the conference, but their own members were shaken by the discussions.

With the conference members singing "Solidarity Forever," the IBEW group left. The packed ballroom broke into a roar.

While thirty to forty Local 5 members, undoubtedly paid for their time, picketed the front of the hotel each of the next two mornings, no further disruption was attempted.

An October 13 article in the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* reported, "The gathering was closely observed by pro-nuclear forces, including large segments of the electrical utility industry and corporations that build and supply nuclear plants."

The disruption attempt symbolized the real debate in the labor movement over energy policy and many other issues.

Eyes Opened

John Finnerty, the official observer for the United Transportation Union (UTU), in reporting the proceedings of a workshop on nuclear waste transportation, seemed to speak for many in attendance.

"I really didn't have a position on nuclear power pro or con when I came here," the white-haired, working railroad engineer told the crowd.

"But I thank God I had the privilege to come here. I've had my eyes opened."

That was the comment over and over. "It was a real eye-opener."

A welcome addition to the workshop discussions was the participation of members and officers of a Pittsburgh-area IBEW local, which represents utility plant workers. This local had originally threatened to picket the conference as Local 5 was doing, but instead accepted an invitation to participate.

Some of these electricians changed their views as a result of the conference.

Trade unionists bought antinuclear books, talked with environmentalists, watched slide shows, and met with each other outside the conference hall. Workshops covering coal, nuclear accidents, jobs and energy, democratic control of energy, radiation in the workplace, and other topics attracted almost all the conference participants.

At the general session on the morning of October 11, nuclear physicist Michio Kaku showed a chilling slide show on nuclear accidents. He refuted the myth incessantly

peddled by the nuclear industry that no one has ever been killed in a nuclear plant accident. He documented at least seven people killed in the United States alone.

Jane Lee, who works a farm right across the river from the Three Mile Island nuclear plant, went from one workshop to another. Her powerful presentation described the nightmare of birth defects and health problems already affecting livestock and starting to affect humans in the contaminated area. Many people were convinced about the nuclear danger by her talk.

Like Tony Wynn, a young union president who works in a uranium recovery plant in Florida. His union, the International Chemical Workers, was a conference sponsor. But, "I came here pronuclear," Wynn told the *Militant*. The conference made him rethink everything. Wynn plans to report back to his local and fight for job safety in a new way. He says he doesn't care if the company threatens to close the plant down, because it's probably too dangerous anyway. "We ought to have more conferences like this," Wynn said.

Solidarity

It was not just nuclear power on the minds of these unionists. They discussed other issues as well. Nationalization of energy. Public ownership of utilities. Whether or not President Carter's multi-billion-dollar give-away to the oil companies to make liquid fuels from coal, the synfuels program, is worthwhile. They listened to different opinions, exchanged ideas and experiences.

The conference had an international character.

Arthur Scargill, president of the Yorkshire National Union of Mineworkers in Britain, sent solidarity greetings urging "no nukes."

Australian Railway Union executive board member James Fraser was at the conference. He roused the gathering with a report on union efforts to stop the mining of uranium. This is the unanimous position of the Australian labor organization equivalent to the AFL-CIO.

The labor party idea was raised a number of times in workshops and on the conference floor. It was popular, receiving loud cheers. On the other hand, buttons for

For Trade-Union Action Against Nuclear Energy

The nine sponsoring unions and the Coalition of Labor Union Women agreed before the conference on a resolution on safe energy and full employment. It was approved unanimously by the conference.

The resolution said in part:

"Sentiment in the labor movement in support of safe energy and against nuclear power is rapidly growing. This is reflected by the large number of anti-nuclear resolutions adopted by international unions as well as by regions, districts and local unions, and by the broad sponsorship of this [conference].

"The extremely serious problems associated with the use of nuclear power are increasingly recognized. These include: the potential catastrophic effects of nuclear accidents; the harm caused by even 'low' levels of radiation; the inability of the nuclear industry or the federal government to dispose safely of radioactive

wastes; the virtual impossibility of mass evacuations from areas around nuclear facilities; skyrocketing costs of nuclear construction; and the uncertainties and high costs involved in 'decommissioning' retired reactors. It is also clear that safe alternatives to nuclear-generated electricity exist: coal—mined safely and burned cleanly. . . .

"Employers engage in job blackmail, and harass workers who voice skepticism about nuclear power or organize on behalf of alternatives. . . ."

In the Program of Action, trade unionists were urged to:

Conduct educational activities; organize regional safe energy/full employment conferences; build united actions in coalition with the rest of the antinuclear movement during the period of November 8-16, 1980, observing the death of Karen Silkwood.

Carter, Reagan, and Anderson were as scarce as pronuclear buttons. This is remarkable at a large labor gathering less than a month before the presidential election.

There was strong sentiment expressed against the threat of war. Spirited applause greeted UMWA President Sam Church's statement: "War is not a solution. It is just destruction. We wouldn't have gotten ourselves into the crisis in the Mideast if it wasn't for America's lust for their oil."

In addition to Church and Rosemary Trump of the Service Employees International Union, the conference was also addressed by William Winpisinger, president of the one-million-member International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, and Martin Gerber, international vice-president of the United Auto Workers.

Black political columnist William Worthy spoke on Saturday and broadened the scope of the issues considered. "If we oppose the murder of nuclear worker Karen Silkwood [who died mysteriously while trying to expose radiation hazards at the plant where she worked] we should also oppose the murders of workers in Guatemala, El Salvador, South Africa, South Korea. . . ."

The Coalition of Labor Union Women and the nine unions sponsoring the conference hammered out a resolution prior to the gathering expressing their views on nuclear power and some energy and employment questions.

That resolution, which was approved unanimously by the conference, represents an important advance in the official posi-

tions of most of the unions involved (see box).

The 828 union members who registered from fifty-seven unions returned home armed with that resolution and the intensive learning process from the two days of discussion. The experience will spur on a great deal of new discussion and action against nuclear power.

At the end of the conference on October 12 a number of resolutions were put on the floor. Most related directly to the purpose of the conference. They included condemning uranium mining on Indian land and support to the striking utility workers from the Steelworkers union in northern Indiana. These were unanimously approved.

But in addition, a proposal was made for the antinuclear conference to take a stand in opposition to U.S. intervention in the Iran-Iraq war or in Ethiopia. Another proposal was made to oppose Russian intervention also. These were overwhelmingly voted down.

The proposal to take a stand against U.S. policy was not voted down because of pro-war sentiment. In fact no one spoke in defense of U.S. policy. One unionist who spoke expressed what seemed to be a common reaction: "I am against a war. I want to go back to my local in Oklahoma and report on this conference and get them to take action against nuclear power. They didn't send me here because of the war."

The danger of the U.S. war drive is a vital one for the labor movement to discuss. In terms of their own opinions, it seemed that the majority at this conference shared an anti-war position.

But a vote by this conference against

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U.S. intervention would not have represented winning over the leadership or membership of the unions who sponsored the conference. They had come together around opposition to nuclear power.

And that is what the brother from Oklahoma wanted to report back: the real achievement—advancing the fight against nuclear power.

Miners Led Conference

This inspiring conference is the real beginning of the discussion in the labor movement on nuclear power. It represents an important example of how the labor movement can get together and discuss questions that affect workers.

It showed the social conscience of the labor movement. As important as the

economic arguments are favoring the use of coal instead of nuclear power, the jobs and cost advantages are not the main factor. Every miner and other union member we interviewed and who spoke on the floor emphasized the unacceptable danger of nuclear power. "It's a life or death question for humanity."

The tremendous power and authority of the UMWA miners made its impression on everyone. As conference leader Jerry Gordon put it, "When that disruption happened, it sure felt good to be on the side of the miners."

This conference was a big step forward in fighting nuclear power. Such a gathering of union members forges labor solidarity.

The UMWA contract with the coal industry expires March 27. Veterans of the 110-

day strike of the winter of 1977-78 pointed to this conference as a beginning for building an even more massive labor solidarity movement than was done for the last strike.

The experience of the conference educated and inspired everyone who was there.

A UMWA local president from Charleston, West Virginia, a working miner, summed up the conference this way. He told the *Militant*, "I'm damn proud to be here. I didn't know much about what it would be like, but it's been something else. Working people need to get together more like this and stick together."

Can the labor movement stop nuclear power?

"No question about it!" □

Socialist Party Presents Electricians Union Leader for Governor

Working-Class Candidate in Puerto Rican Elections

By Richard Ariza

[The following article and interview appeared in the October 20 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language socialist magazine published fortnightly in New York. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

General elections will be held in Puerto Rico on November 4. No one familiar with that country's colonial status expects these elections to provide any solution to the problems the Puerto Rican people face. Nonetheless, more than 90 percent of the island's registered voters usually vote, and election campaigns there serve as a forum for discussions of politics and the future of Puerto Rico.

At the center of the debate is the question of Puerto Rico's status in relation to the United States. Since 1898 the island has been a U.S. colony in the classic sense—a country ruled by another; a nation that cannot make its own laws, decide its own foreign relations, or control its own economic life; a nation that must struggle to preserve its culture.

Because of the current revolutionary upsurge in Central America and the Caribbean, Puerto Rico is taking on special importance for Yankee imperialism. It serves as a base for nuclear weapons and military forces. Thirteen percent of Puerto Rican national territory has been converted into an imperialist fortress, occupied by U.S. military bases. The forces that helped to overthrow the democratically elected Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954 departed from these bases, as did the marines that invaded Santo Do-

mingo in 1965. Today soldiers are being trained in Puerto Rico for a possible invasion of El Salvador.

Puerto Rico's status as a colony of the richest country in the world has not solved the island's economic and social problems. Unemployment is nearly 40 percent and inflation surpasses 13 percent, to mention only two examples.

The main parties of the new ruling class in Puerto Rico are the New Progressive Party (PNP) and the Democratic People's Party (PPD). The PNP seeks to convert Puerto Rico into the fifty-first U.S. state, while the PPD calls for maintaining the island's current status as a "Free Associated State"—that is, as a colony. Both parties consider greater U.S. capital investment to be the solution to economic and social problems. So whatever their differing formulas, the PNP and PPD both call for further submission to imperialism.

The cause of Puerto Rican independence is represented in the elections by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP).

The PIP and its candidate for governor, Rubén Berríos, consider the colonial relationship with the United States to be the root of all the island's problems. But the kind of independence proposed by the PIP only involves implementing certain reforms of the system—leaving capitalism in place.

The PSP opposes both the colonial regime and the capitalist system. While struggling for a proindependence united front with forces such as the PIP, the PSP thinks that independence can only be fully

achieved by bringing the working class to power.

The PSP has presented Luis Lausell as its candidate for governor. Lausell is a leader of the Puerto Rican electrical workers union UTIER. He was in New York on September 28 to participate in a fund-raising banquet for his campaign. Among the nearly 200 persons who attended the event were independence fighters, representatives of Central American and Caribbean solidarity movements, and activists from several New York trade unions.

I had the opportunity to speak briefly with Compañero Lausell; we are publishing here his answers to questions I asked about his campaign.

* * *

Question. What does your campaign mean for the independence movement?

Answer. This is the first time in the political history of Puerto Rico that a worker, a trade-union leader, has ever run for governor.

This is of course part of the Socialist Party's conception of the struggle. It allows us to take our message to Puerto Rican workers—particularly to conscious workers who are concerned about the development and the political fate of our people, about the solution of the problem that colonialism and capitalism present for Puerto Rico as the main causes of the poverty the immense majority of our people suffer.

So in discussions and political debate we socialists raise our proposals with the aim of sowing in the consciousness of each

worker, employed or unemployed, and of the workers' families, the need to struggle for national sovereignty—for absolute and total independence, without chains that would bind us to anyone, and for the construction of a political system, such as socialism, that can resolve the grave problems that affect humanity and our country in particular.

Puerto Ricans have been the victims of eighty-two years of U.S. colonialism, which has kept them from considering effective political solutions to their problems. This has also prevented them from gaining a true understanding of the meaning of socialism and of the independence struggle. The ideas we are raising allow the barriers represented by the ideological hegemony of the bourgeoisie and the colonialists to be broken in the minds of broad sectors of the Puerto Rican people.

We are sowing in order to reap. Perhaps we will not reap in this decade, but we do not have the least doubt that sooner or later the Puerto Rican workers will govern their own future in a free and socialist homeland.

Q. I understand that the PSP is taking its campaign to the workplaces, to the workers themselves. How are the workers responding to your campaign?

A. We are absolutely convinced that the leaders and activists who make up our party enjoy considerable sympathy among the Puerto Rican workers and among a great many of our fellow citizens and compatriots.

Of course, this will not necessarily be translated into votes for the Socialist Party in these elections. The 487 years of colonialism cannot be ideologically broken in the mentality of the colonized with a six-month election campaign.

But we do see something that is very different from previous years: This time socialists and party members are being invited into homes and listened to with great respect and admiration in the big areas where the workers and their families, those dispossessed of wealth, live.

The barrier that the colonial government of Puerto Rico, representing the United States, had managed to implant in the minds of Puerto Ricans to prevent them from developing sympathy for independence and socialism is being broken.

Q. We know that an independent committee of workers and union leaders has been formed to support your campaign. Can you tell us something about the work of this committee?

A. Yes, there is a broad committee. It is led by and made up of leaders of the most prestigious trade unions, associations, and federations that represent sectors of workers and salaried employees in our country. The committee is headed by a council that includes Compañero Serapio Laureano,

president of the Teachers Federation; Compañero Hernán Sánchez, president of the Brotherhood of Social Service Workers; an extraordinary group of outstanding and progressive trade-union leaders. These leaders base their ideological stance on a scientific analysis of reality and on the most progressive positions of Puerto Rican

Italian Bosses Gloat

Fiat Union Forced to Accept Lay-off Plan

By Will Reissner

Italy's biggest labor battle in more than a decade came to an end on October 18 when the giant automaker Fiat signed an agreement with the Metalworkers Federation ending five weeks of strikes that had shut Fiat's auto plants. Fiat's auto division, the company's largest, employs 114,000 workers.

At issue in the strike was Fiat's plan to permanently reduce its workforce by 14,000 in January. Although the company was forced to back down on that plan, the union reluctantly agreed to allow Fiat to lay off as many as 23,000 workers, with the proviso that all would be rehired by June 1983 if they have not found new jobs by then. The company also won the right to determine who would be laid off. This had been bitterly opposed by the workers as a threat to union militants in the plants.

Fiat, Italy's largest corporation, is spearheading a drive by Italian employers to take back gains workers have won in previous struggles and to increase productivity and profitability. According to company Chairman Giovanni Agnelli, the 11-point agreement is "only the first step" in the company's drive to increase its profits.

Although there was considerable anger within union ranks at the terms agreed to by the leadership, the agreement was ratified by a 70 percent vote. The economic hardships of the thirty-eight-day strike led many workers to accept the agreement despite misgivings.

The Fiat workers got the backing of two general strikes in solidarity with their struggle. The second, on October 10, shut down industry and commerce throughout Italy as 18 million workers left their jobs to "express the solidarity of the working class with the Fiat employees." They recognized that if the powerful auto workers were forced to accept layoffs, other employers would try to follow Fiat's lead.

The tone of the business press indicates that this is precisely what the Italian employers have in mind. The November 3 *Business Week*, for example, gloats that the Fiat settlement "could put all Italian

trade unionism in the total and definitive struggle for the demands of the working class.

The committee has been organizing sub-committees at the national level. All its activities up to now have been quite successful, and we are very proud of the work this committee has carried out. □

industry firmly back in the hands of management after a decade of rising union power, continuous strikes, and near industrial chaos."

Wall Street Journal reporter Jonathan Spivak wrote on October 24 that "the Fiat dispute was undoubtedly a watershed." He added that "labor and management leaders agree that the country's unions were defeated earlier this month by Fiat . . . and will avoid confrontations in the short run."

Throughout the strike, the leadership of the Communist Party-dominated Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGIL) hoped for a compromise with management on the question of layoffs. But pressure from the ranks forced the leadership to stiffen its stand. As the strike wore on, however, the economic hardships of the strikers led to pressure for a return to work.

In the wake of the strike, the CGIL leadership has shown signs of being in full retreat. Agostino Marianetti, a CGIL leader, stated that "what's needed is a more flexible attitude on the part of our union." He added that in past disputes the CGIL had been wrong "to defend the employment of its workers while refusing to see the realities of the crisis of industry."

In a period when the bosses are on a general offensive against job conditions and wages, this kind of "flexible" attitude can only encourage the employers to press their attacks further.

But the bosses will not find the road ahead of them all that easy. Despite the setback at Fiat, the Italian working class as a whole still retains a high degree of combativity and a strong sense of solidarity, as shown by the massive support the Fiat workers won.

In the wake of the strike, Italian workers are now trying to assess why they lost this battle. A debate over goals and methods, including a more critical look at the response of the union leaderships, is now unfolding throughout the Italian labor movement. □

The Salvadoran Junta vs. Freedom of the Press

By Fernando Torres

[The following article is scheduled for publication in the November 17 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language socialist magazine published fortnightly in New York. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Death threats and murders of journalists, tight censorship, dynamite attacks on printing plants and radio stations, the falsification of facts—this chilling catalog of the Salvadoran junta's attacks on freedom of the press was the theme of an interview given by Demetrio Olaciregui to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Olaciregui is a Panamanian journalist who has been covering El Salvador for the past thirteen months. He has served as a photojournalist for the San Salvador daily *El Independiente*, as a reporter for several Central American radio stations, and most recently as a full-time correspondent for the United Press International (UPI).

Olaciregui visited the United States recently to attend the El Salvador Solidarity Conference that took place in Washington, D.C., on October 11-12. I spoke with him there several times, and later interviewed him in New York.

Olaciregui, who is a tall, slender man of about thirty years of age, risks his life continually, as do all honest journalists who exercise their profession in El Salvador.

"I have been threatened many times," he said. On March 13, for example, Olaciregui received "a very strongly worded letter from the defense minister, Col. José Guillermo García." In the letter, García told him to stop covering El Salvador. Two days later, "I was kidnapped by a group of armed men who beat us and kicked us and forced us violently into a vehicle. We were threatened with death throughout a long ride of some 250 kilometers that ended at the Honduran border. I wound up being deported."

Unfortunately for the Salvadoran government, however, 150 Latin American newspaper editors were at that moment meeting in Costa Rica. Upon learning of Olaciregui's deportation they put pressure on Salvadoran junta member José Napoleón Duarte to reverse the measure. Duarte had to apologize in the name of his government and guaranteed Olaciregui's return to El Salvador on March 20.

"Since then," Olaciregui said, "I have continued my work, with the aim of being a professional, objective, and truthful journalist."



"We know the Salvadoran general staff has held lengthy sessions to discuss what to do about the international press," Olaciregui said. The military officers "view the press as a grave problem—if it is not their number one enemy then it is certainly one with high priority."

The reasons are obvious, he said: "In El Salvador it is only necessary to report the truth and the reality of what happens, since the facts themselves are so overwhelmingly damaging" to the junta and to the U.S. government as well, since it is up to its elbows in the adventure.

Journalists Murdered

On April 24 of this year René Tamsen Aparicio, a reporter for radio station WHUR of Washington, D.C., was kidnapped by the police in San Salvador. The information on the case provided by the Salvadoran government and by the U.S. embassy in El Salvador has been termed "unsatisfactory" by Tamsen's relatives and by the journalists who have made inquiries about his fate.

What is known for certain is that in July and August three journalists were murdered in cold blood in El Salvador.

On August 9 the armed forces gunned down Ignacio Rodríguez, a reporter for the Mexican newspapers *Uno más Uno*, *Proceso*, and *El Norte De Chihuahua*. Rodríguez had gained the junta's hatred for the excellent photographs of repressive actions that he had provided to various publications.

According to eyewitnesses, Rodríguez was approaching an area from which gunfire had been heard. Accompanied by two UPI reporters, his car was stopped at a National Guard roadblock. The journalists

got out of the car. According to the witnesses, uniformed snipers then opened fire, killing Rodríguez.

The Mexican government withdrew its ambassador from El Salvador following the murder of Rodríguez.

In July, Jaime Suárez and César Najarro—both editors of the San Salvador daily *La Crónica del Pueblo*—were kidnapped and later hacked to death with machetes. Earlier, the editorial offices and printing plant of the daily had been set afire.

La Crónica del Pueblo, Olaciregui explained, was "the newspaper that was most committed to the interests of the Salvadoran people." Since the July attacks it has disappeared from the scene.

Radio Station Blown Up After Criticizing U.S. Envoy

Another medium of popular expression, Olaciregui continued, is the Catholic radio station YSAX. It has been the target of numerous attacks.

"Since January 22 of this year YSAX has suffered five dynamite blasts. The last one was four weeks ago—it totally destroyed the transmitters, causing losses of around \$600,000."

The station had broadcast an editorial criticizing U.S. Ambassador Robert White for his total support to the fierce repression carried out by the junta. White was denounced by YSAX for "serving as an accomplice to the most systematic and merciless massacre Latin America has ever known. He has become such an accomplice by covering up the massacre at certain times, justifying it at others, and encouraging it at all times by backing up his country's aid to those who are killing the people. And he continues to be an accomplice because he sustains the atmosphere of support and encouragement" to the hangmen in power.

On the day this editorial was broadcast the threatening phone calls to YSAX multiplied. At one point the transmission was cut off. The next day, Olaciregui said, "the station was destroyed by five dynamite bombs."

The print shops of the newspapers of the popular organizations have all been destroyed and their editors imprisoned. These included the Revolutionary People's Bloc's *Combate Popular*, the February 28 People's Leagues' *Ligas Obreras*, and the United People's Action Front's *El Pueblo*.

In face of the terror launched against the news media by the government, the Association of Foreign Correspondents in El Salvador (ACOES) was founded last May 6. The group bases itself on international accords that guarantee the right to freedom of expression.

ACOES has been an important medium for denouncing the violation of freedom of the press and speech by the Salvadoran junta. In addition, it seeks to "safeguard the physical integrity and security of its members" and of all correspondents in El Salvador.

The association's first statement demanded that "the Salvadoran authorities immediately present the correspondent René Tamsen Aparicio."

On August 21, after the murders of the journalists Ignacio Rodríguez, Jaime Suárez, and César Najarro, ACOES issued an open letter to the junta. It was handed personally to civilian junta members Duarte and José Antonio Morales Ehrlich.

The document cited the abuses committed against the international press, which it said included "frequent telephone threats and personal intimidation" and the "existence in the immigration offices of a list of foreign journalists whose entry into the country has been restricted."

The ACOES demanded "the immediate halt to the slander campaign against the press" and called for "a detailed report on the progress of investigations into the deaths of three of our colleagues and the unexplained disappearance of René Tamsen Aparicio."

The letter was signed by more than thirty correspondents from Mexico, the United States, Canada, France, Colombia, and other countries.

As of mid-October, Olaciregui said, "the government has turned a deaf ear to our demands."

Get Out the Truth on El Salvador!

The determination of Demetrio Olaciregui and his colleagues to report what is really happening in El Salvador without letting themselves be stopped by threats, murders, or government terror goes hand in hand with the spirit of struggle that the Salvadoran people are demonstrating in their final offensive against imperialism and the local oligarchy.

In the United States information about El Salvador is scarce. The capitalist press censors, alters, and distorts the news from that country. So it is imperative that the movement of solidarity with the Salvadoran people find the means to learn what is happening and make this information widely known.

We must break through the information barriers and publicize the truth about the struggle of the Salvadoran people to their best potential ally—the working people of the United States. □

Junta Launches Offensive in Morazán Province

Thousands Flee Terror in El Salvador

The Salvadoran armed forces have launched a major counterrevolutionary offensive in the northeastern province of Morazán. Up to 5,000 troops are involved, backed up by artillery and helicopter gunships and accompanied by U.S. military advisers. Peasant villages are being attacked with napalm and incendiary bombs.

The troops of the military/Christian Democratic junta are sowing terror among the peasants in an effort to destroy an important stronghold of the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP). The ERP reportedly has up to 3,000 guerrilla troops in areas of Morazán Province along the Honduran border. An earlier government offensive last July failed to break the ERP's strength in the region.

According to reports reaching San Salvador from priests in Morazán, at least twelve towns in the province have been occupied by government forces. Residents are being forced to remain in their homes. All communications into the area have been cut off by the government. Relief agencies such as the Red Cross and the Green Cross have been barred from taking food and medicine into the area, despite direct appeals to the Defense Ministry by Salvadoran Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas.

According to figures made available October 22 by the Salvadoran Red Cross, the terror unleashed by the military/Christian Democratic junta has forced more than 25,000 persons to flee the rural areas of Morazán. Some 65 percent of these refugees are children, and many of the rest are women.

The Red Cross also reports that an epidemic of gastroenteritis has broken out

in Morazán Province, where health centers and rural clinics have been closed by the government's offensive.

There are currently more than 70,000 refugees throughout El Salvador, according to the Red Cross. In addition to those from Morazán, many have fled fighting that is taking place between government troops and revolutionary forces in the provinces of San Miguel, Usulután, Cabañas, and San Salvador.

As the U.S.-backed junta was launching its military offensive in the east, it was announced that a treaty would be signed on October 30 ending the eleven-year state of hostility that has existed between Honduras and El Salvador.

The two countries fought a brief war over a border dispute in 1969 and since then have not had formal diplomatic relations. This has not prevented the Honduran armed forces from cooperating with their Salvadoran counterparts in repressive operations, however. Honduran troops are reportedly helping out with the current offensive in Morazán, and the Salvadoran ERP has reported that one of its leaders, Santo Lino Ramírez, was captured in the Honduran town of La Esperanza on October 14.

The aim of the announced peace treaty between Honduras and El Salvador was made clear in an October 17 dispatch from Washington to the *New York Times*. "The agreement," correspondent Juan de Onís wrote, "was welcomed by United States officials. They expect it to allow more effective control of border areas that have been used by left-wing guerrillas fighting against the military-civilian junta governing El Salvador." □

Fresh Steps Toward Revolutionary Unity

Two important steps have been taken toward further consolidating the broad unity that has been achieved among the various revolutionary organizations in El Salvador.

In early October the formation of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front was announced. The new front is composed of three of the organizations that earlier had made up the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU): the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces, the People's Revolutionary Army, and the Salvadoran Communist Party.

On October 19 the fourth main revolutionary group in El Salvador, the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), issued a communiqué hailing the forma-

tion of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front as "a qualitative leap toward the constitution of the united party of the proletariat. . . ."

The statement also declared that the FARN's withdrawal from the DRU in late August "was a mistaken step, a tactical error that could have brought lamentable strategic consequences." The division of the DRU, the FARN said, "showed the weakness that the revolutionary movement as a whole must overcome in order to make the transition to a new society less difficult."

The communiqué set as an "urgent task" the FARN's "immediate reintegration into the new unitary framework that is taking shape in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front." □

Washington Continues to Prolong Iran Hostage Crisis

By Janice Lynn

As the date for the U.S. presidential election approaches there is speculation that the fifty-two American hostages in Tehran are soon to be released. The November 4 election also marks one year since the U.S. embassy occupation.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini outlined the terms for release of the hostages in a September 12 speech—the release of Iranian assets seized by Washington; cancellation of all claims by banks, corporations, and others against Iran; the return of the former shah's stolen wealth; and a pledge of noninterference in Iranian affairs.

The Iranian parliament, charged with resolving the hostage issue, has been discussing a report by a special seven-member commission.

It is clear that from the beginning the U.S. rulers have been indifferent to the fate of the hostages. Carter's April 24 raid, had it not been aborted, certainly would have resulted in the death of some or all of the hostages.

All the aggressive acts taken by Washington—from the imposing of economic sanctions, to the freezing of Iranian assets, to the buildup of military forces in the Persian Gulf, to the support for Iranian counterrevolutionaries intent on restoring a repressive dictatorship in Iran—were all taken in complete disregard for the hostages' well-being.

The U.S. ruling class has consistently tried to use the hostage issue to convince American working people that they should be willing to go to war in the Middle East.

Even now, after an entire year, Washington is still balking at meeting the Iranian people's reasonable demands.

President Carter, in an October 24 campaign meeting, stated that the safety of the hostages was not in fact his primary concern. "I have an additional responsibility on my shoulders above and beyond, or at least equal to, the safety of the hostages," Carter said—referring to his responsibility to look after the interests of the big banks and oil corporations.

Editorials in big-business newspapers such as the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times* cautioned Carter against agreeing to the Iranian terms.

"... we hope someone spends a little

time pondering the question of what price it would be wise to pay. . . ." the *Wall Street Journal* editors wrote October 24. They complained that Carter had failed to act "more boldly" to protect the U.S. embassy and U.S. oil interests with "a forceful political presence."

Washington is reluctant to meet the Iranian people's just demands because it *does* intend to continue intervening in the Middle East and in Iran. Washington cannot condemn its own criminal record without undermining its ability to carry out its real policies.

The Iranian proposals for resolving the hostage issue expose for all to see who is really prolonging the crisis. Their reasonable offers are an important gesture that will help to reinforce international support for the Iranian revolution.

Throughout the world, and especially in the Middle East, the Iranian revolution has served as an inspiration to the masses of workers and peasants.

The capitalist press has always tried to portray the support for the Iranian revolution as being based on religion, restricted to the Shi'ites in the region. But more and more, they are being forced to admit that it is the social and economic gains won by the Iranian masses that have been the inspiration—and that this cuts across all religious lines.

New York Times correspondent Youssef M. Ibrahim described October 26 how every Friday in mosques throughout the Arab world there are millions of people who demonstrate their support for the Iranian revolution.

Ibrahim noted that at the Friday meeting in Abu Dhabi, in the United Arab Emirates, the message of support for Khomeini and for Iran in the war with Iraq was delivered by a Sunni Moslem. ". . . the Ayatollah's Government is gaining the support of a wider circle in the Arab Sunni majority," Ibrahim confirmed.

He recalled how the Iranian revolution spurred the oppressed masses in countries throughout the Persian Gulf to take part in protests and demonstrations for their own rights.

In Saudi Arabia, Ibrahim wrote, when opponents of the Saudi regime took over the Grand Mosque in Mecca last year there was an "unprecedented uprising" that lasted for several days.

In Dubai, in the United Arab Emirates, posters of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini are displayed throughout the poor neighborhoods.

In Kuwait, there was a march on the American embassy last year in solidarity with the embassy occupation in Tehran.

In Bahrain, where nearly 70 percent of the island's population is Shi'ite, "sympathy for the Ayatollah's government is hardly disguised," Ibrahim wrote. "In June last year, the representative of Bahrain's Shiite community presented the Emir, or ruler, with a petition demanding an Islamic government. . . ." This protest was quickly quelled by the island's security force that consists almost entirely of mercenaries from Oman, Pakistan, and Jordan, and which is headed by a British officer.

In Iraq itself, Ibrahim reported that many people did not have much sympathy for the government of President Saddam Hussein. "If you ask what they really think," Ibrahim was repeatedly told in Basra, "people will tell you that in the heart of their heart they are all for Khomeini. . . . This is a feeling that is sensed elsewhere in the Gulf among Shiites and Sunni Moslems almost equally," Ibrahim noted.

It is this identification with the Iranian masses' overthrow of the hated monarch and with their determination to resist imperialist domination of their country that has Washington worried.

The U.S. government sees that Hussein's invasion of Iran is backfiring, not only in Iraq, but in the Persian Gulf monarchies, with their vast oil reserves.

Fearing the repercussions of Hussein's gamble, Washington has shifted its public stance, calling on the Iraqi forces to withdraw. At the same time, the U.S. rulers are maintaining their buildup of military forces in the Middle East.

When the Iraqi regime first invaded Iran, Washington saw the aggression as directly serving its interests and encouraged the Iraqis. However, after five weeks, it has become clear that both Hussein and the imperialists totally misjudged the depth of the Iranian revolution and the power of its support in the rest of the region.

The Iraqi government bitterly accused Carter of tilting toward Iran, playing "the hostage card" in order to win votes. But Hussein's complaints about being double-crossed are the least of the worries in Washington. What gives the imperialists nightmares is the possibility of their miscalculation over Hussein's invasion of Iran leading to new revolutionary outbreaks in the area. □

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Polish Unions Win Legal Recognition

By Gerry Foley

The confrontation between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Polish independent unions continues to sharpen rapidly. Although the bureaucracy is being forced to retreat in face of the power of the new mass movement, it cannot accept the right of the workers to organize free of its control.

The independent unions followed up their demonstration of strength in a nationwide token strike October 3 with triumphant tours of workers' leaders throughout the country.

A highpoint was the rally in Krakow October 19 addressed by Lech Walesa and other independent union leaders. The atmosphere was described in a dispatch from the Paris daily *Le Monde's* correspondent Bernard Guetta:

"The crowd was immense, so large that it was impossible to estimate the number. . . . It was restrained, it did not chant anything, and no fists were raised. It was a tense and disciplined crowd that was not about to storm anything but was determined not to retreat."

At the same time, the Kremlin and the bureaucratic bosses of other East European countries were making more and more menacing noises about disorder and instability in Poland and their determination to help "People's Poland" fend off "antisocialist forces."

The Polish bureaucracy itself, terrified and driven back by the mass movement, tried to maintain the principle of its right to exercise control over all areas of life. Such an intense contradiction produces strange twists and turns.

Thus, on October 24, the Warsaw district court granted legal status to the independent union confederation, Solidarity. This was another victory for the workers and another wedge driven into the totalitarian system. Now the independent unions can

legally collect dues and set up bank accounts and are in a stronger position to demand the right to receive printing equipment donated by unions abroad.

But at the same time, the judge tried to deny the basic rights of the unions to govern themselves, and thus assured that the conflict would continue to escalate.

Immediately after granting legal status to the unions, the judge announced that since the statutes adopted by the unions were out of order, he had taken it upon himself to rewrite them to suit "socialist legality."

Thus, the judge himself wrote into the statutes recognition of the Communist Party's leading role and took out features designed to insure that the workers would retain control of their own organization.

In an October 24 dispatch to the *New York Times*, John Darnton quoted a Solidarity leader as saying: "They wrote in everything we didn't want and excluded what we wanted."

Walesa told the crowd that greeted him as he left the court building that the union would continue to operate in accordance with the statutes it had originally adopted and would appeal the judge's action.

"They can't do things to us we don't want done," Walesa said, as shouts of "Strike! Strike!" went up from the crowd.

As the confrontation sharpens, however, the union leaders face more and more difficult tactical decisions. They have to fight in order to win concessions and maintain the power and discipline of the movement. But they have to be careful to keep it absolutely clear that the responsibility for disruptions lies with the bureaucracy.

There is evidence that at least a section of the bureaucracy is trying to promote conflict and disorder, presumably to prepare the way for some power play.

For example, false leaflets, issued anonymously, were distributed in at least two areas, Poznan and Walbrzych, calling a strike on October 20, the day after the ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact countries began meeting in the Polish capital.

The day the meeting opened, there was a new flurry of attacks on the Polish opposition in the Soviet press.

Izvestia ran an article, allegedly based on one in the Polish CP organ *Tribuna Ludu*, saying that the "so-called Polish opposition" was being backed by reactionary forces in the West such as the Springer newspaper chain in West Germany. It said that a series of articles in the Springer

chain talked about plans for "synchronizing" the efforts of "all antisocialist elements to bring about so-called political changes in Poland and throughout Eastern Europe."

The article said that the Polish antibureaucratic leader Jacek Kuron favored "liquidation of the socialist system" and a "so-called United Germany that would give Poland a common border with a 'noncommunist country.'"

Such a program, *Izvestia* said, "speaks for itself." It certainly does. Such a crude falsification shows that the Stalinist bureaucrats continue to use the frame-up methods of the Moscow trials of the 1930s. Kuron's defense of the collectivized economy and his support for socialism is well known and has been evident in his writings over the past fifteen years.

On the same day, *Pravda* quoted the Rumanian CP leader Ceausescu condemning the workers movement in Poland.

Apparently on this point the Kremlin can form a common front with Ceausescu, who collaborates with Israel and Peking.

What really worries the Kremlin and the bureaucratic bosses of the other East European countries was illustrated by a report from a correspondent for the Swiss revolutionary-socialist weekly *Bresche* from one region of Poland. This is what happened in Walbrzych after the October 3 token strike by Solidarity:

The independent union here immediately got from the authorities an electric duplicating machine, a car, additional space for headquarters, and a weekly column in the local daily. In addition, it got a promise that gifts from unions in the West, in particular paper and printing presses, would be allowed to cross the border.

Two days later, an incredible spectacle took place. For the first time in the history of the People's Republic, the population gathered to participate in a genuine people's court.

At 9:00 a.m. sharp, the meeting began in the independent union hall. The state attorney and the vice-chairman for the district were present. Accusations were made publicly. Evidence was collected. The workers could take the floor.

Miners especially took the microphone, exposing crooked dealings in which the local party tops were involved. The meeting became a political forum, in which it became clearer and clearer how the bureaucracy had brought Poland to the brink of ruin.

The highpoint was the accusation against Walbrzych First Secretary Grochamlicki and radio and TV director Barlicki, the successor of Szczepanski [who was removed for corruption after the August-September strikes]. The workers proved that as former secretary of the Walbrzych district, during the March 1968 disturbances, Barlicki distributed rubber truncheons in various plants and paid workers to attack the students in Wroclaw.

So, it's obvious why the bureaucrats are afraid. The union leaders have repeatedly said that they want a system in which the workers would in fact control the economy and the society, which is what socialism really means. That is hardly the program of the Springer press. □

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How Jamaican Official Was Murdered

By Ernest Harsch

The October 14 assassination of Jamaican official Roy McGann was a further indication of the danger of a U.S.-backed military coup against the government of Prime Minister Michael Manley. As details of the killing emerged, it became clear that McGann was shot down in cold blood by a group of policemen.

McGann, a leader of the ruling People's National Party (PNP) and parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of National Security, was the first sitting member of parliament ever to be assassinated in Jamaica.

According to eyewitnesses, the events that led up to McGann's murder began around midnight on October 13-14, in Gordon Town, nine miles from the Jamaican capital, Kingston.

A group of several hundred supporters of the opposition Jamaica Labor Party (JLP), many of whom had been based in from other areas, had occupied the town square and started to clash with a much smaller group of PNP supporters. McGann and two companions, who were returning from a nearby PNP campaign rally, inadvertently drove in toward the square. The hostile JLP crowd began to surround McGann.

McGann called for help on the party radio network, while his bodyguard, acting police Corporal Errol White, radioed the police for assistance.

A jeep finally arrived, carrying eight to ten policemen dressed in blue fatigue uniforms. Some took up positions on the roofs of nearby buildings. The rest advanced toward McGann.

Upon seeing the policemen, according to the witnesses, McGann stepped out onto the road and shouted, "I am McGann, the Member of Parliament. I am McGann." The police continued to advance, and opened fire.

McGann's voice was picked up over the PNP radio, shouting, "My God they are firing on us!" Meanwhile, White called out to the advancing police, "I am police! I am police!"

McGann was then shot in the back by a high-powered rifle. The autopsy report later indicated that his arms had been raised in the air while he was shot. White, who was trying to help McGann, was also killed, having been hit by two bullets. One of them, the autopsy report revealed, had been fired from less than eighteen inches away.

McGann's other companion, who was wounded, was arrested by the police on

trumped-up charges of "illegal possession of firearms."

The reactionary *Gleaner* newspaper, which supports the proimperialist JLP, tried to brush aside the murder by claiming that McGann had fired on the police, and was killed in a shoot-out. This was contradicted by the witnesses. Investigators, moreover, found that McGann's gun had not been fired.

The evening following the assassination, a conversation was monitored over the police radio network discussing plans to assassinate D.K. Duncan, Hugh Small, and Dudley Thompson, all prominent leaders of the PNP's left wing.

Small and Thompson have both been victims of recent assassination attempts, as has Prime Minister Manley himself.

Coming just a little more than two weeks before the October 30 general elections, the McGann assassination was part of the U.S.-initiated destabilization plan to topple the Manley regime. Since the beginning of the year, nearly 500 Jamaicans have been killed in right-wing violence designed to intimidate supporters of the PNP, either to

prevent the reelection of the PNP or to prepare the way for a proimperialist coup.

The assassination was promptly condemned by numerous organizations in Jamaica, including the PNP, the Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ), the Communist Party of Jamaica, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (the organization founded by Marcus Garvey in 1920), and the National Union of Democratic Teachers.

The WPJ and other groups have also stepped up calls for a rapid strengthening of the Home Guard—local community defense groups—to help guard against terrorist attacks. A number of rallies have been held around the island to begin mobilizing against the danger of a military coup.

On October 12, several thousand youths attended an anti-imperialist rally in Kingston. Eleven youth groups represented at the rally drew up a statement outlining proposals for fighting unemployment and expressing opposition to the campaign of Edward Seaga's JLP to oust the Manley regime.

Responding to Seaga's pledge to adopt a "Puerto Rican model" for Jamaica—greater concessions to foreign investors and closer ties with Washington, the groups declared, "What we want is a Jamaican model, free from imperialist destabilization, free from CIA saboteurs, free from the brutality of reactionary police and soldiers." □

Address by Grenada's Prime Minister

Bishop: Jamaica Must Not Forget Lessons of Chile

[On Sunday, August 27, Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop addressed a rally in solidarity with the people of Jamaica. It was held on the occasion of the ninety-third anniversary of the birth of Marcus Garvey, a Black nationalist leader of Jamaican birth who won a mass following among Blacks in the United States and elsewhere during the 1920s.

[The following article summarizing Bishop's speech appeared in the August 23 issue of the *Free West Indian*, published weekly in St. George's, Grenada. The article was subtitled, "History Lessons for Jamaica."]

* * *

In an address delivered at a rally in solidarity with Jamaica last Sunday [August 27] and in commemoration of the 93rd anniversary of the birth of Marcus Garvey, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop said there are five basic points about Garvey's life and works which are rarely spoken of.

First, he referred to Garvey's call for "the right of native labour," which Garvey

made as far back as 1909. This call included the rights of workers to accident insurance, which Cde. [Comrade] Bishop said, "today, many countries in our region still have not passed into law," 71 years after.

Second, Cde. Bishop said, Garvey called for a minimum wage for working people, who were then working for 16 and 17 hours a day, for only about \$2.

Third, Garvey called for an eight-hour work day, "a revolutionary demand," said Cde. Bishop, "considering the time in which it was made."

Fourth, Garvey called for land reform in Jamaica, when he saw the land still being dominated by a few foreigners.

And fifth, Garvey called for "regulation of big business," when he saw big companies sucking Jamaica dry.

Cde. Bishop noted that it took some 35 years after Garvey's death before any of these demands were complied with by any government in Jamaica. He said that "government after government, after Jamaica's independence in 1962, ignored

these demands, up until 1972, when Prime Minister Michael Manley won the election.

"Up to 1972, 90 per cent of Jamaica's workers were working for less than \$20 a week, and 75 per cent were working for less than \$10 a week. And in 1969, only seven big companies owned more than a quarter of the entire land mass of Jamaica," said Cde. Bishop.

"It was not until 1972-80 that we began to see in Jamaica that the calls made by Garvey were being implemented," he said.

Cde. Bishop said there are also several principles Garvey stood for, from which we can still learn today.

Firstly, he referred to Garvey's anti-imperialist and anti-colonial stand. "This is one principle that all of us in the Caribbean who believe in peace, justice and progress must continue to fight for," he said.

Secondly, he spoke of Garvey's principle of organising and mobilising the people for self-reliant activity. "Garvey understood the principle of getting the people involved in whatever activities are being carried out on their behalf," he said.

Thirdly, he pointed to Garvey's realisation of the need for consistency, individual self-determination, and individual courage. "Throughout his lifetime, Garvey exemplified these traits," said Cde. Bishop.

"He never allowed himself to be a coward, nor did he ever lose his dream of a black people that were politically and economically free, notwithstanding the attacks from the planters, from the notorious *Gleaner* newspaper, or the attempts of US imperialism, first to kill him, and to frame him successfully and put him in jail."

Fourthly, there was Garvey's realisation, that in the shortest period of time, benefits have to be brought to the people, and their quality of life has to be greatly improved. "That is why Garvey founded the UNIA [Universal Negro Improvement Association] in 1914, as well as the Black Star Line shipping company," said Cde. Bishop.

Fifthly, Cde. Bishop noted that Garvey understood the need to defend the country and the organisation. "This is an important principle for all the struggling people of the world to remember," he urged.

Cde. Bishop said Garvey also understood that once imperialism sees a people moving in a direction to their own benefit, imperialism will "come for them."

"It is a law that we have seen throughout the world," he said. "We saw it in Chile, where, notwithstanding the fact that Allende had won a popular election, that he continued to allow parliament to function, that he refused to arm the industrial workers, that he refused to disband the *El Mercurio* newspaper, that he refused to crush the reactionaries who were promoting counter-revolution, that he was preparing to hold free and fair general elections, or that four days before he was

overthrown there was a massive popular election in his favour, imperialism and local reaction went for Allende on September 11, 1973, and Allende and thousands upon thousands of Chilean patriots were murdered in the streets of Chile."

"Therefore," said Cde. Bishop, "one of the things we say to our friends in the PNP government and the progressive movement in Jamaica is: Do not forget Allende and Chile, because it is clear to us in Grenada that exactly what was taking place in Chile during the last three to four months of Allende's time, is now taking place in Jamaica."

"We can see there too, the violence being unleashed by imperialism and local reaction," said Cde. Bishop. He referred to the Orange Lane and Eventide fires, Manley's preparations to hold free and fair elections, the continuous attacks against Manley by the *Gleaner*, Manley's continuous holding of parliamentary sessions, and the people

Venezuelan Regime Aids Anti-Cuba Terrorists

A noted Venezuelan journalist, Alicia Herrera, has documented the guilt of four terrorists who blew up a Cuban passenger plane on October 6, 1976, as it was taking off from the Barbados airport. The seventy-three passengers and crew members aboard were all killed.

Herrera's charges, first made public at a recent press conference in Mexico City, come at a time when a Venezuelan military court is planning to release the four killers.

She declared that if the four were released, the government of Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campíns would be held responsible "for whatever crimes these despicable individuals commit in the future."

On the fourth anniversary of this monstrous crime, the October 6 English-language weekly *Granma*, published in Cuba, gave extensive coverage of Herrera's disclosures. Two *Granma* reporters traveled abroad to interview Herrera in order to present the information she uncovered to *Granma* readers.

Herrera told the *Granma* journalists that as a result of a prior friendship with one of the culprits, the Venezuelan Freddy Lugo, she developed a relationship over a period of time with the others, who began to tell her of their murderous crimes.

"... counting on the trust they had in me," Herrera said, "I kept visiting them at San Carlos garrison and day after day, week after week, they went on confessing their guilt with regard to many crimes."

One of the murderers, the Cuban counter-revolutionary Orlando Bosch, boasted to Herrera that in addition to taking part in the Barbados bombing, he had also participated in an attack on the life of the Cuban ambassador in Argentina; the planting of a high-powered bomb in the

of Jamaica being murdered in the streets daily, without being given arms to defend themselves.

Cde. Bishop said Grenada was urging Jamaica not to forget the lessons of history: "a people without guns to defend themselves cannot carry a process forward."

It is a duty that Manley and the progressive forces in Jamaica have, not only to the people of Jamaica, he said, but also to the people of the Caribbean, Latin and Central America and the entire "Third World," for which Manley is a powerful spokesman.

Cde. Bishop also spoke of the importance of the upcoming elections in Jamaica and the United States.

He said Reagan's having an ally like [Edward] Seaga in Jamaica would be a "monstrous and deadly development," and "that is why it is our duty to support Manley." □

Cubana Airlines office in Mexico City; the kidnapping of two Cuban officials in Argentina; and the ordering of the assassinations of Carlos Muñiz in Puerto Rico and José Eulalio Negrín in New Jersey, both active opponents of the U.S. blockade against Cuba and supporters of the "dialogue" between the Cuban government and Cubans living abroad.

"What's more," Herrera said, "according to him, he is thinking up more and more attacks on Cuban exiles whom he considers to have sold out to Castro."

Washington officials conceded in 1976 that Bosch and his partner, the Cuban exile Luis Posada, had been trained by the CIA and used in various operations against Cuba.

Herrera also told of the connections Bosch boasted of having with the counter-revolutionary terrorist outfit, Omega 7, which has taken credit for the September 11 murder of Cuban diplomat Félix García in New York.

Bosch also told the Venezuelan journalist that he intended to assassinate Carlos Andrés Pérez, who was president of Venezuela when the Barbados saboteurs were arrested.

Herrera told how witnesses who had testified against the four killers in 1976 had been summoned to appear before the court again. "And, of course, under official pressure," Herrera said, "they testified in their favor this time." Their case files have now been altered to reflect this false testimony.

"I want to make it clear," Herrera told the *Granma* reporters, "that the Venezuelan Government has become their accomplice by falsifying a dossier that will allow them to go free very soon." She appealed to the people of Venezuela and elsewhere to raise their voices to protest this "outrage that is about to be committed." □

DOCUMENTS

Speech by Fidel Castro

'Today the Revolution Is Stronger Than Ever Before'

[The following is the text of a speech given by Cuban President Fidel Castro September 27 at a rally in Havana held to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs). The text has been taken from the October 5 issue of the Cuban English-language weekly *Granma*.]

* * *

Compatriots:

Actually, it's exactly 20 years tomorrow but the leadership of our Party decided we should celebrate today so that the members of the CDRs and the rest of the people of Havana wouldn't have to give up their day of rest tomorrow. (APPLAUSE) This is why we're celebrating the 20th anniversary today, here in Revolution Square. And what a celebration! On our way here we witnessed the same scene of completely empty streets that we saw when we staged the Marches of the Fighting People on April 19 and May 17, or when we held the May Day rally. (APPLAUSE) We had thought that no rally in the Square would ever be as big as the one held on May Day. (APPLAUSE) But we can see, in this new demonstration of our people's enthusiasm and of the strength of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, that this rally is equal to that held on May Day. (APPLAUSE)

In the last 20 years, this wonderful, powerful mass organization has accumulated a worthy record of service to our country and the Revolution. For many years we met in this Square, on a different rostrum to celebrate September 28, until the reasonable decision was taken to hold these mass rallies at regular intervals. In every one of those meetings the achievements of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and their yearly work were analyzed.

It would be impossible to conceive of the history of our Revolution without the CDRs. (APPLAUSE) In the first place, on account of their defense of the Revolution during the most difficult years, when the enemy's hostility was greater, when its plans of aggression, subversion and sabotage were most actively put into effect. That was, is and will always be—and I repeat, was, is and will always be—the first and foremost task and the first duty of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, (APPLAUSE) because the form the struggle takes changes, and, as Armando pointed out, we may be faced with difficult times again. This may depend, as he said, on the outcome of the next election in the United States: whether a platform of war or a platform of peace wins out. The prospects for our country, Latin America and perhaps the entire world of moving in the direction of détente and peace, or to a situation of cold war or even hot war depend on that. However, since nobody can predict the future, we must always be ready to face up to the most difficult situations.

In addition to fulfilling their first, basic duty, the Committees have served the country in an exceptional way in many fields: in developing the political and revolutionary awareness of the masses, in the constant mobilization of the people for different tasks, in public health. Who knows how many tens of thousands of lives the Committees have helped to save? We must not think that the Committees' work is symbolized only by the fact that on a beautiful day like today we have introduced to you from the rostrum a young girl who was born the day the Committees were founded. I'm sure that here in the Square and all over the country there are tens of thousands of young people and others who owe

their lives to the work of the Committees. (APPLAUSE) The organization has distinguished itself in the struggle against epidemics and such terrible and painful diseases as polio and tetanus; in the struggle to prevent diseases and to detect them in time; in the matter of blood donations. We could also mention the work of the Committees in the field of production: readying the land for mechanized canecutting, taking part in the sugar harvest and other agricultural projects, weeding canefields and planting trees.

The Committees have helped embellish our cities and gather raw materials for recycling, thus saving our country tens of millions of pesos in foreign exchange. The Committees have taken part in organizing every large-scale activity in our country. The Committees not only defend the Revolution, they also defend the wealth of the people, and this is shown by the fact that, night after night, not counting emergency situations, 30,000 men and women who are members of the Committees stand guard over our factories, public buildings and homes. (APPLAUSE)

Therefore, the organization's services to our country and Revolution can be described as extraordinary.

But there's more: the Committees contribute to our political defense not only at home, but also they contribute to defending us against attacks from abroad since their work helps to improve the combat readiness of our Revolutionary Armed Forces and to boost their morale. (APPLAUSE)

However, we should not gauge the merits and importance of the organization solely on the basis of its services. The implications are more important, more far-reaching. The CDRs represent an experiment that other sister nations have begun to put into effect. They also represent an extraordinary political experience, what a revolution really needs to protect itself and to be strong, something that no Marxist-Leninist Party can ever ignore, and that is, the closest ties possible with the masses! (APPLAUSE)

In our country we have the most complete mechanism to link the party with the masses, and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution are one of the pillars of that mechanism . . .

The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, along with our glorious trade unions, the Federation of Cuban Women, the National Association of Small Farmers, the student organizations and the Pioneer organization, represent a powerful mechanism and an insuperable instrument to link our Party to the masses. (APPLAUSE) And I dare say that they are unique in the world. (APPLAUSE) It isn't that many other revolutions and many other Parties are not linked to the masses, since all really revolutionary parties have always been characterized by such links. What I mean is that in our country we have the most complete mechanism to link the Party with the masses, and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution are one of the pillars of that mechanism. (APPLAUSE) Facts show and experience shows that no Marxist-Leninist Party can ever neglect its links with the masses. (APPLAUSE)

This reality in Cuba gives us great confidence in the future of

our Revolution. And our Revolution is no longer a baby. It's not two, five, ten, or 15 years old. It's already over 20 years old! (APPLAUSE) And today the CDRs are 20 years old! (APPLAUSE) Every 20, 50 and even 100 years, the Cuban Revolution will recount its history and celebrate its victories! (APPLAUSE)

It's not true that time dampens enthusiasm. Our own experience has shown that time multiplies the enthusiasm and adds to it revolutionary awareness. (APPLAUSE)

Several months ago, our enemies deceived themselves as to the power of our Revolution. But our people showed their power, to such an extent that they had to be asked to control themselves. (APPLAUSE) Our people showed their spirit, their awareness, and today the Revolution is stronger than ever before. (APPLAUSE)

With a Party closely linked to the people, with a just, honest policy, a revolution is indestructible. (APPLAUSE) And that is what we, the Cuban revolutionaries of this generation and of future generations, the present leadership of our Party and the future generations of leaders must preserve: the close links with the masses, and a just, honest policy. (APPLAUSE) Our revolutionary generation could have made mistakes and did so, but it

**With a Party closely linked to the people,
with a just, honest policy, a revolution is
indestructible . . .**

always remained loyal to the principle of a just and honest policy! (APPLAUSE)

These are reflections that have come to mind today.

The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution already have over 5,350,000 members; (APPLAUSE) there are almost 81,000 CDRs; and, unless my memory fails me, there are almost 10,000 Zone Committees. However, what's important is the number of members: 5,350,000, that is, practically 80 percent of the adult population. And the only reason for the membership not being larger is that, in the past few years, the organization has been especially careful in choosing new members. (APPLAUSE)

This is why, whereas 20 years ago the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution were founded on a relatively small avenue in front of the former Presidential Palace, today, the members of the CDRs practically don't fit in this gigantic Square. (APPLAUSE) It's not a question of figures in the millions, but a question of millions of active men and women, a question of the degree of commitment. When I read that the Committees had set themselves the goal of bringing over a million people here, I thought it'd be quite a difficult thing to accomplish. And yet today we see more than a million people here! (APPLAUSE)

You all know that we don't like to exaggerate. And the size of rallies like this one can only be really appreciated from atop the tower or from the air, aboard a plane or a helicopter. Even so, I believe that the photos of this rally will also form part of the documentary evidence of the history of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. (APPLAUSE)

In these past few days our people have experienced happy, emotion-filled, brilliant moments. They have experienced days of the greatest satisfaction and pride over the extraordinary feat of being able to send a man into space. (APPLAUSE) We don't intend to take full credit for the feat or boast about it, for we realize how many things were necessary for our country to have the opportunity and the honor to be the first in Latin America to send a man into space. (APPLAUSE) And when we say the first country in Latin America, we can also say in Latin America and Africa, because, out there in space, Arnaldo Tamayo didn't represent just Cuba but also Latin America, (APPLAUSE) Africa, and the Third World as well. (APPLAUSE)

How many events were necessary to make this a reality? We could go back, first of all, to the glorious October Revolution; (APPLAUSE) to the extraordinary efforts of the Soviet people and to their heroism; (APPLAUSE) to their extraordinary advances in

science and technology; and to the tens of millions of workers who, with their sweat, created the vast resources needed for such complex and important activities. (APPLAUSE)

We should also bring to mind the work of tens of thousands of scientists, engineers and technicians in general who made possible the development of those powerful, precision machines. (APPLAUSE) We'd have to recall the precursors, like Gagarin, (APPLAUSE) that courageous, heroic young man who one day was here with us in this very Square. We'd have to recall the dozens and dozens of Soviet cosmonauts who were the pioneers of



LT. COL. ARNALDO TAMAYO

spaceflight (APPLAUSE) and who contributed with their experience and improved the instruments. We would also have to recall, among them, those who died in their attempt to travel to space, or when they returned from space or during their training period, for many of the first Soviet cosmonauts died, that is, they gave their lives for the sake of the conquest of space. I don't mean there were many of them in absolute numbers, but one day, while visiting the Gallery of Martyrs, I saw that the percentage among the first cosmonauts was relatively high. Later, the degree of safety increased steadily. Today we are honored by the presence of Liakhov, who holds the record for staying longest in space

**Tamayo represents what the revolution has
meant to the poor people of our
country . . .**

(PROLONGED APPLAUSE) and whom you're very familiar with because he's been in our country for several days now and his presence here has been given wide coverage by our mass media. We would have to recall many more things, for example the Soviet Union's internationalist spirit (APPLAUSE) that gave small countries like Cuba, Vietnam and others this opportunity and this honor.

However, it would have been impossible for a Cuban to fly to space at this time without our Revolution, (APPLAUSE) without the heroic struggle waged by our people in the last 20 years, without Cuba's internationalism, without the principled policy of our Revolution, (APPLAUSE) without the spirit of justice and

without the opportunities that the Revolution gave to our youth.

Without the Revolution, what would have become of that young man of poor and humble origin who is now a hero of our country and a source of international prestige? What kind of future would he have had? (APPLAUSE) For Tamayo represents what the Revolution has meant to the poor people of our country; (APPLAUSE) what it has meant for hundreds of thousands, for millions of citizens of this country, where 20 years ago there were many hundreds of thousands of illiterate and millions of semilliterate people; this country where there is no longer talk of illiteracy but where people talk of a sixth grade minimum education and a junior high school minimum education. The Revolution meant for Tamayo what it has meant for many thousands of present-day engineers, doctors, researchers, technicians, administrators, etc. Our Revolution made possible this miracle, because it gathered up the best values of our people and then educated and developed them. Thus Tamayo is the pride of our people since he represents the spirit of our youth, the courage of our youth, the honesty of our youth and the heroism of our people. (APPLAUSE)

Just as one day we said that there were many Camilos among the people, (APPLAUSE) today we can proudly say that our people are a people of Tamayos! (APPLAUSE)

That's why we will all turn out in a few days, on October 10, to give heroes Arnaldo Tamayo and Yuri Romanenko (APPLAUSE) the welcome they deserve. (APPLAUSE) Our country will award them the title of Heroes of the Republic of Cuba, (APPLAUSE) which will be added to that of Heroes of the Soviet Union. (APPLAUSE) Our Party and Government leadership also plan to confer that title on the two Soviet cosmonauts who worked with them in space, (APPLAUSE) because they are beyond a doubt a source of pride for humanity. The Camilo Cienfuegos Order will be awarded to the other pilot cosmonaut, José Armando López, (APPLAUSE) because, although he didn't make the journey, he was ready and able to do so had he been given the order. (APPLAUSE)

Today we must mention certain international situations. I'm referring first of all to the dangerous, grave situation created in the Middle East as a result of the war between Iraq and Iran.

You may remember that in this Square on May Day we expressed our concern over this danger, and we urged that a war between these countries be avoided, because it would be a war between two countries that are carrying out revolutionary processes, two Islamic and non-aligned peoples, two peoples of the Third World whose countries, furthermore, are located in one of the sensitive areas of the world through which, it is reported, 60 percent of the oil for the Western world passes. It is a war between two big oil producing countries. That war divides the forces that oppose imperialism; that war divides the forces that oppose Zionist aggression; that war divides the forces of the Non-Aligned Countries and of the so-called Third World; that war is weakening both countries due to considerable mutual destruction.

This war may also have catastrophic consequences for the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries, that are already paying over 300 dollars a barrel for their oil—a price so high it is practically beyond the means of many of those countries.

If a just political solution to this war is not found soon, the economic consequences could be disastrous for many Third World countries, making the already critical international economic situation even worse.

In keeping with those principles and in view of its position as the country which heads the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Cuba is making efforts to find a just political settlement of the dispute given our relations with both countries.

It's a well-known fact that when national feelings and emotions are aroused it is often much more difficult to seek peace than to make war. We will join our best efforts to those of other progressive forces and international institutions to reach these objectives, and we will not be disheartened regardless of the problems we encounter in trying to achieve this noble and humanitarian purpose. (APPLAUSE)

There is also a bitter and painful piece of news that affects us directly. We are referring to the decision of the prosecutor of the Venezuelan military court. He has now decided to drop the charges or not press them; he has requested that those responsible for the monstrous murder of 73 people aboard a plane on October

The Venezuelan authorities know they are acquitting the guilty . . .

6, 1976, be acquitted. And then, a few days later came the news that the criminals had been acquitted by the military court.

We remember this Square then; we remember the day when we came to pay our respects to our brothers and sisters who were so atrociously murdered; we recall the grief and tears of all our people. When the blood of the victims is still warm, when our people's cheeks are still wet from that infinite grief, we receive this news. What's more, we've received this news when our country has just made an important contribution to put an end to air piracy. Our effort has been recognized by all countries, for if air piracy virtually began in Cuba, when our enemies began to seize our planes, it is possible that the measures recently taken by Cuba with a great sense of international responsibility will mean the beginning of the end of air piracy. And at this very moment there is an incident which, in our view, is as monstrous as the crime, more monstrous than the crime. For whereas the crime was committed by a group of crazed terrorists filled with hatred, this crime is being committed by a state—and a state commits crimes in a colder and more deliberate manner. This is worse than the crime and has more serious consequences than the crime, because if a group of criminals was capable of carrying out such an act of sabotage, the fact that the culprits go unpunished—after having been in the hands of the authorities, after having been in prison—can go a long way toward encouraging similar incidents, and then instead of one, it will be ten, 20 or 100 times that the peoples will have to mourn over atrocities of that sort. (APPLAUSE)

No excuses or pretexts of any sort are valid in this case. Everybody knows they were responsible for the sabotage, everybody knew it right after the crime was committed and the proof was irrefutable. The Venezuelan authorities know they are acquitting the guilty. Months ago we knew what the Venezuelan Government planned to do with the culprits. We knew of its intentions to release them. We knew, and know, what they planned to do to protect them once they were free and what country they planned to send them to, at least the main ones, to what country they planned to send the main culprit: to Chile, with whose regime this individual maintained and still maintains the best of ties. They can't use the sophistry or excuse of an alleged separation of powers.

We remember very well those days in 1976 when pressure began to be exerted to protect the saboteurs and former President Carlos Andrés Pérez, whose political and ideological differences with our Revolution are well known, nevertheless acted in a totally responsible way and showed deep concern for the national honor of his country, taking firm, forceful measures to foil those plans to protect the culprits.

The president of the Republic is the commander in chief of the armed forces. What's more, according to Article 28 of the Venezuelan Military Penal Code, he is also the top official of military justice. It is clear, it is beyond question, it is a known fact that the prosecutor of the military court was given orders to request the acquittal of the killers. During the first months of the trial, this same prosecutor, in the same court, basing himself on the evidence in hand, had asked for a 30-year sentence for the killers, and now he suddenly asks that they be acquitted.

Everybody knows what sort of underhanded dealings and tricks are involved, to then hide behind an alleged separation of powers. The method has been as simple as it is repugnant: simply to instruct the prosecutor of the military court to ask that the defendants be acquitted, which means almost automatically that

they will go free. The impunity of this crime will be an eternal blot on the Venezuelan armed forces, on the Venezuelan state and on the Venezuelan Government.

If those responsible for the repugnant crime are in fact released, Cuba will hold the prosecutor, the judges and especially the Venezuelan Government responsible for the monstrous crime committed on October 6, 1976. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) What justification can there be for this provocation against our country? And it isn't the only one nor is it the first, because, as we all know, the embassy problem—harboring antisocial and lumpen elements and criminals—started at the Venezuelan embassy long before it started in the Peruvian one. What happened was that the Peruvian embassy was where the accident in which one of our fighters was killed occurred. Those problems started in the Venezuelan embassy, and today there are 21 antisocial elements there who entered the embassy by force.

The Venezuelan Government still has a chance to prevent this monstrosity, because the Supreme Military Court of Venezuela will have the last word on October 11. We will await the final decision of the Court and the authorities and Government of Venezuela.

But nobody must expect our people to ever forget or forgive such an affront, such an offense, such an attack. And those who don't respect principles and international laws should not protest or make demands as a result of the steps Cuba takes to defend its dignity, its sons and daughters, its legitimate rights. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FIDEL, FIDEL, LET'S MAKE THEM RESPECT US WELL!")

For the moment, although official relations are formally maintained, we have instructed our diplomats, our students and the rest of the Cuban personnel in Venezuela—27 in all—to return to Cuba. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) The embassy is closed, and if relations are broken we do not plan to have any country—I repeat—we do not plan to have any country handle Cuban interests in Venezuela. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FIDEL, FIDEL, LET'S MAKE THEM RESPECT US WELL!")

I think that world public opinion will be able to appreciate the difference between the attitudes of the two states: the Cuban Government has taken a decisive step to put an end to air piracy, while the Government of Venezuela takes steps that may not only encourage acts of air piracy but also a repetition of such monstrous crimes as that perpetrated off Barbados. This is proof to Latin American and world public opinion of the disgraceful, cynical, insolent way that acts of provocation and attacks against our country are being carried out. (APPLAUSE) We could say that it's not strange for a government that supports a genocidal junta like the one in El Salvador—the way the Christian-Democratic government in Venezuela is doing, without attaching any importance to the fact that that genocidal junta has assassinated over 7,000 Salvadorans in the course of this year—to have the nerve to acquit those responsible for the infamous assassination of 73 persons in the sabotage of an airliner. (SHOUTS AND APPLAUSE)

As far as the Venezuelan people are concerned, we have absolutely nothing against them. The people of Venezuela unanimously condemned the crime at the time, and today we are aware of their strong opposition to the monstrous acquittal of the criminals. Many Venezuelan political leaders and public figures have forcefully condemned the conduct of the prosecutor, the court and the government. Regardless of the acts of provocation committed by the pharisaical, hypocritical COPEI [Christian Democratic] clique ruling Venezuela today, we will always consider the people of Venezuela a noble and fraternal people. (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS)

Our country is facing a number of immediate and important tasks. And, as happened before, when we were involved in taking a number of measures to improve efficiency and to be more demanding, the acts of provocation began with the incidents in the Peruvian embassy. Now that we're engaged in other important tasks and are getting ready to extend a joyful welcome to our



Part of the crowd at the September 27 rally in Havana.

hero and to the Soviet hero, again there are acts of provocation. But let nobody think that we're going to be diverted from our course. On more than one occasion our country and our Revolution have been able to wage simultaneous battles, (APPLAUSE) and, if necessary, we shall mobilize for action. (APPLAUSE)

We will not waste time doing anything unless it's necessary. But if we are faced by acts of provocation, the Fighting People are ready to struggle. (APPLAUSE) The enemy will never make us lose our coolheadedness and serenity. (SOMEONE SHOUTS "LET'S GIVE THEM A MARCH OF THE FIGHTING PEOPLE IN FRONT OF THEIR EMBASSY!")

I meant important tasks that lie ahead, among them drawing up the next five-year plan and the 2nd Congress of our Party. (APPLAUSE)

Our country has made a tremendous effort in terms of organization and institutionalization in the last five years. So many things were achieved in such a short period of time! The Constitution of our socialist state, approved by over 90 percent of our people; the political-administrative division of the country, which is now a reality; the establishment of the organs of People's Power, which are working with increasing efficiency; the adoption of a series of measures for the progressive implementation of the economic management and planning system; and the increased controls over finance and the economy.

In the next five years especially we will begin to reap the fruits of the decisions taken at the 1st Congress of the Party and which

have been gradually applied in the last five years. Many industrial centers have been built which are already beginning to produce or will begin to produce in the very near future; other important projects will be completed in the next five-year period. These new factories will increase production and will make available more important products for our economy. For example, the production facilities for cement, steel for use in construction and textiles, to name only a few, have increased substantially. We have been working on a realistic plan for the next five years, and we hope that with the experience we have accumulated and the measures we have adopted it will be carried out in full.

While there will be no spectacular leap in our people's living standard, there will be a progressive improvement over the next five-year period. We will, for example, have many more domestic appliances: there will be approximately one million new television sets for the population over the next five years, hundreds of thousands of refrigerators, hundreds of thousands of washing machines, a considerable number of electric fans, tens of thousands of Soviet-made air conditioners. (APPLAUSE) Over the next five years, 58,000 cars, largely Soviet-made, will be imported into the country; 15,000 will be to replace in part the current cars for hire, around 30,000 will be for sale to the people, and the other part will be assigned to institutions.

Housing construction will increase considerably each year, bearing in mind materials available. Repair work will also continue to have preferential treatment over this next five-year period. And a special effort will be made with regard to growing root and other vegetables, fruit and other foodstuffs.

Under the current agreements on coordinating plans, we are guaranteed all the fuel we need for our country over the next five years. (APPLAUSE) We will have enough fuel, although this does not exonerate us from our obligation to economize as much as possible in this direction. Many other raw materials are also assured: a growing amount of sheet metal, chemical products, fertilizer, etc.

We are assured of the number of trucks and public transportation vehicles we need, as well as agricultural machinery and equipment. And I think I can say that, if we keep up the level of efficiency we have reached over the last few months in terms of public transportation in the capital, there will be no more critical

While there will be no spectacular leap in our people's living standard, there will be a progressive improvement . . .

problems where that form of transportation is concerned. (APPLAUSE) Some months ago there were only 19,000 trips a day in all; now there are about 26,000. And if workers and management of the bus enterprise pull together with us in this, we hope that there will be 29,000 trips a day by the end of the year. (APPLAUSE) Despite this, however, given that we only have bus transportation, that a city of over two million inhabitants does not have a subway, say, which is what most big cities rely on; the fact that we have to depend on buses alone will always mean a certain strain on public transportation.

The number of doctors today stands at 16,000; at the end of the next five-year period it will be 24,000. (APPLAUSE) Although our basic educational needs are well on the way to being met, as are our needs for health institutions, we will continue to build more polyclinics, dental clinics and hospitals; we will continue to build schools, although at a slower pace, given the number of schools we already have. But medical services will continue to improve, as will education and services in general. The internal order services will improve with the measures we have been taking; our Revolutionary Armed Forces will continue to further their combat

readiness; (APPLAUSE) the Territorial Militia will be set up; (APPLAUSE) financial and economic controls are to be implemented and the economic management and planning system is to be fully functioning. It is to be expected, then, that the next five-year period will be one of considerable advances.

We hope that discipline will improve, due not only to recent legal measures but also to the work of the Party, the trade unions and mass organizations and to the fact that people are better informed and more aware of this problem. We also hope that there will be greater efficiency and a greater sense of responsibility on the part of management as a result of legal measures and the efforts of the Party and state to this end. We hope that not a minute will be lost and that people will become more exacting in their work. (APPLAUSE)

The world needs peace; our country needs peace to be able to devote its energies to work . . .

Although there are international problems and dangers, although we must realize that the already grave international situation can become much more critical, we don't have the right to be pessimistic. We must not renounce the right to struggle and do our part for détente and world peace. The world needs peace; (APPLAUSE) our country needs peace to be able to devote its energies to work.

In the face of the international economic crisis, we have the advantage of our economic relations with the socialist camp, and this year world sugar prices have also risen. We will possibly have another year of good prices, which will help our development and our meeting our economic plans. We mustn't have any illusions as to spending more because the price is up; now while the price is up, we must economize and administer our resources more efficiently than ever. (APPLAUSE)

This year we have done more weeding than ever before during the revolutionary period—I don't mean the gigantic weeding out of the scum, I mean weeding sugarcane. (LAUGHTER) We did more, I repeat, than ever before during the revolutionary period. According to reports we have, the spring planting is also the best of the revolutionary period, to counteract the effects of cane smut; and a great effort has been made for the sugar mills to start on time, to make the most of the harvest. Now that prices have risen, we have no right to waste even a grain of sugar. It is of decisive importance that we do everything to ensure an optimal harvest.

This is the immediate outlook. In this spirit and with this enthusiasm, we approach the 2nd Congress of our Party, (APPLAUSE) with around 400,000 Party members and candidates to membership (APPLAUSE) and with a strong youth organization. A force of 400,000 revolutionary combatants is extraordinary, especially considering how careful the Party has been in ensuring its quality and how careful it has been over recent years in recruiting members working directly in production and the services. Four hundred thousand members is a considerable force, especially bearing in mind that there is alongside it a vanguard people, (APPLAUSE) a people in whose ranks there are millions of men and women like you. (APPLAUSE) This is what makes our Revolution indestructible.

We have everything practically; all we need is that those in positions of responsibility be on top of their work. (APPLAUSE) We will march forward with you, our unionized workers, our peasants, our women, our students, our children. Which is why, on a day like today, we have even more right to say:

Patria o muerte!
Venceremos!
(OVATION)

Evolution of the Thai and Philippine Communist Parties—II

By Paul Petitjean

[This article, the second of two parts, appeared in the September 25 issue of the French-language fortnightly *Inprecor*, published in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[The first part of this article, published in the October 27 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, discussed the growth of the Thai and Philippine Communist parties, their positions on various international questions, and some of their assessments of the Chinese government's foreign policy.]

* * *

The military conflicts in Indochina and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan have made the Chinese theory of "social-imperialism" and the view of a world dominated by the conflict between two "superpowers" seem more credible to many militants in Southeast Asia.

In a declaration adopted at its Third Congress, the Thai Socialist Party "condemns" both "the occupation of Kampuchea and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan."²²

In an article in *Ang Bayan*, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) also denounced the invasion of Afghanistan, recalling the precedents of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. The article analyzed Soviet policy as part of a conflict between two "superpowers" (the U.S. and the USSR) for control over the Third World and its wealth.²³

Undoubtedly, the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy should be denounced since they do considerable damage to the cause of socialism in the world. But when these two parties see Soviet policy as "social-imperialism," similar to U.S. policy, but avoid subjecting the positions of the Chinese bureaucracy to an in-depth critique, the Thai and Philippine CPs end up covering over some of the worst crimes committed in the name of communism and ignoring the establishment of counterrevolutionary blocs.

Thai CP's Positions On the Sino-Indochinese Crisis

Until July 1979 the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) had a radio station that broadcast from the Chinese province of Yunnan. On July 7, 1979, the Voice of the Thai People aired a long declaration by Sri Inthapanti, a representative of the Committee for Coordinating Patriotic and Democratic Forces (CCPDF). The declaration

sharply attacked Vietnam for occupying Kampuchea (and Laos) and for posing a threat to Thailand.

The world has witnessed a revolution of a new type, exported by the Soviet Union. . . . It can manufacture or build up all sorts of united fronts to spark civil wars in any country, prior to sending in its own troops or those of its lackeys, as happened in Angola. It can also send its own or its satellites' troops to overthrow legitimate governments and shamelessly occupy one or another country with the help of traitors—like Heng Samrin—who open their country's doors to the enemy. Such is the socialist revolution in Kampuchea. . . .

The truth is that Vietnam has sent its troops close to the Thai border and is ready to invade the country at any time. It has made attempts to set up a puppet united front and army. In Bangkok, the Soviet Union is now trying to get certain military groups to foment a coup.

We Thai people should take heed of the disaster that lies in wait for us, learning from the war of destruction and genocide in Kampuchea, from the tears of the Lao people, from the suffering of the Vietnamese themselves, who risk their lives to escape being sent to fight a fraternal country and to escape the oppression exercised by the ruling class and those in power. And finally we should learn from the infiltration of Vietnamese spies as part of the flood of refugees. . . .

The Thai people will unite to defend their country. . . . Instead of creating a sentiment of solidarity among the people, the ruling class continues [to repress], with nine-tenths of the army assigned to repression and the remaining one-tenth sent to the borders. . . . There is every reason to promote national unity. . . . The government must stop repressing the people and committing injustices because these activities are an obstacle to defense of the country against the aggressors, who represent the real threat today.²⁴

For a long time this declaration, broadcast less than a month before the Voice of the Thai People went off the air, was the only official CCPDF or CPT statement on the Sino-Indochinese conflict. It seemed to exclusively define the Soviet Union and Vietnam as the "principal enemies" of the moment, using words and arguments taken directly from Chinese propaganda (including on questions like Angola). It gave the appearance of being an as yet veiled appeal for the formation of a national union that would include the temporarily reconciled CPT and governmental forces.

This declaration was the Thai acknowledgement of the split between the Thai and Vietnamese CPs. The Thai CP had long been getting simultaneous aid from China (equipment, political training), Laos (base

camps, aid routes), Vietnam (transport, military training, medical training), and the Khmer Rouge (camps in Kampuchea after 1975).

For a long time political differences had existed between the Thai and Vietnamese CPs. For example, the Vietnamese reproached the Thais for lining up with Peking in the Sino-Soviet dispute and criticized their weak national strategy.

Despite these important earlier political differences, the real split took place only in 1978-79. In 1975, after the victory of the Indochinese revolutions, the Vietnamese leadership had offered the Thai CP massive aid to give the liberation struggles in Thailand a shot in the arm. The Thai CP rejected that aid.²⁵

The split actually took place around the Kampuchean affair. Hanoi told the CPT (probably in 1978) that it would no longer provide aid unless the Thai Communists broke with the Chinese-Kampuchean bloc against Vietnam.

But the Thai CP refused to publicly break with "Democratic Kampuchea." During a visit to Bangkok in September 1978, Pham Van Dong, the prime minister of Vietnam, publicly announced that Vietnamese aid to the CPT had been terminated. The final break, however, was consummated in early 1979 following the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime. The Thai CP's camps in Laos were closed several months later.²⁶

Undoubtedly the Vietnamese leadership bears a heavy responsibility for this split, or at least for the deep confusion that the split and the intervention of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea provoked in Thai

25. Sources close to the Thai CP assert that one condition for this aid was the inclusion of Vietnamese and Lao soldiers in the ranks of the Thai resistance. This led the Thai CP to refuse, fearing it would fall under their thumb. Other sources, however, state that the aid was proposed "à la carte," with the Thai CP free to decide what aid it needed, and that its rejection of the Vietnamese proposal was due to Chinese pressures, with Peking not wanting a revolutionary development in Thailand. See in particular *Bulletin thai d'information*, No. 19, pp. 10-11.

26. Various local underground publications gave a very harsh description of shameful treatment of CPT members in Laos in 1979. See especially the references given by Santi Mingmonkol, "Laos Deserts Old Comrades," in *Southeast Asia Chronicle*, No. 73, pp. 24-25. According to other sources, including some from the CPT, the withdrawal from the camps in Laos was carried out under proper conditions. *Southeast Asia Chronicle* published two partially contradictory articles on the evolution of the CPT in its issue No. 69:

22. *TIC News* (Sweden), May 31, 1980, p. 2.

23. *Ang Bayan*, December 31, 1979.

24. The text of the declaration is reproduced in the *Bulletin thai d'information*, No. 19, pp. 27-32.

anti-imperialist circles.

Vietnam had never publicly and politically explained the real nature of the problems posed in the Indochinese crisis. It went directly from silence to vilification. In its denunciations of the Pol Pot regime it used documents previously forged by rightists and it called the Maoist CPs in the region "reactionary parties" that were docile instruments of Peking's policy of territorial expansion in Southeast Asia.²⁷

But whatever responsibility the Vietnamese bear does not diminish the responsibilities of the Thai CP leadership. The declarations of official bodies of the Thai resistance on the question of Kampuchea paint a picture that has little relation to Kampuchean reality. The Thai leadership, which had a front-row seat, cannot claim ignorance of what was going on there.

While guarding against yesterday's Western and today's Vietnamese propaganda, it is now possible to draw up a partial assessment of the Khmer Rouge leadership's policies after it took power in 1975.²⁸

There is widespread agreement on three aspects of that policy. First, there is agreement that very early the Kampuchean Communist Party leadership, and especially the Pol Pot faction, began to settle differences within the party and army through the physical elimination of "deviants." These purges became enormous in 1977-78.

Second, although the new regime des-

"Crisis for Revolutionaries" by Helen Chaunev, and "Another View of the Crisis" by Martha Winnacker.

27. See in particular the pamphlet *La vérité sur les relations vietnamo-chinoises durant les trente dernière années*, published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi, 1979, p. 17: "In Southeast Asia, for the goals of expansionism and hegemonism they used several tools: the 'fifth column' made up of the Chinese citizens, the so-called Communist organizations following Peking, the ethnic minorities of more or less Chinese origin living in the region."

28. For an analysis of the Kampuchean events one can go to two studies published in the *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, No. 1-2, 1980: "Conflicts in the Kampuchea Communist Movement" by Ben Kiernan and "The Kampuchea Revolution 1975-1978: The Problem of Knowing the Truth" by Gavan McCormack.

See also Stephen Heder's mimeographed study "From Pol Pot to Pensovan to the Village," prepared for the International Conferences on Indochina, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, June 19-21, 1980.

All three of these authors are longtime supporters of the Khmer Rouge. Today they have differing points of view regarding the Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea. Stephen Heder, who is presently working under contract for the U.S. State Department, describes it as a colonial situation. McCormack thinks that it is the only situation possible today. But all three, based on high-quality studies, draw an essentially identical assessment of the Pol Pot regime.

troyed the power of the old ruling class and the imperialist grip on the country, it immediately subjected a large part of the working population to an authoritarian regimen of forced deportation (the "new people") and it never tried to set up any mass democratic structures whatsoever. Little by little, as a result of the blind brutality of the system that was established, it lost the popular base it had had earlier in the liberated zones.²⁹

Finally, the Pol Pot leadership played an active role in starting the border conflict with Vietnam, playing the "Chinese card" to the hilt against Hanoi.

As a result of all this, the Kampuchean CP government rapidly lost whatever popular representativeness and legitimacy it had won during the liberation war. It is among the regimes that committed the worst crimes against its own population. And it did this in the name of Communism! But this is the regime that the Thai resistance groups now call on us to support! For example, the New Year's message published by the CCPDF deals almost exclusively with condemnations of the USSR and Vietnam.³⁰

The Thai Socialist Party went so far as to hail the "correct" character of the new front established by the Khmer Rouge leadership (the Patriotic and Democratic Front of the Great National Union of Kampuchea) and the "political line of the government of Democratic Kampuchea"³¹ (the Pol Pot government).

In the resolution of its Third Congress the Socialist Party called on "all countries to use every effective means to force the

29. We should note that even the Chinese leadership can no longer completely deny the gravity of the Khmer Rouge policy. In an interview with journalist Nayan Chanda, Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs Han Nianlong, while seeking to justify the continuation of multilevel aid to the Pol Pot forces, was forced to recognize that what Nayan Chanda said (that the population's fear of the Khmer Rouge sweeps away their fear of the Vietnamese) is true: "I believe what you say entirely, and I believe they are all facts." He notes that the Khmer Rouge went "rather far in carrying out some of their wrong policies." Han expresses the hope that the Khmer Rouge have changed their policy but seems skeptical: "Of course, we will have to see whether they genuinely change. . . . It is only then that we will have hope."

Han Nianlong does not try to defend the Khmer Rouge as representatives of the Kampuchean people. The only real argument he puts forward to call on the Kampuchean to support the Khmer Rouge is that they are the most effective force for fighting the Vietnamese. See *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 18-24, 1980, pp. 19-20.

30. The basic sections of this CCPDF message can be found in the *Bulletin thai d'information*, No. 20-21, pp. 20-22. The whole text is published in the January 31, 1980, *TIC News*.

31. Thai Socialist Party's solidarity message with Democratic Kampuchea, *TIC News*, May 15, 1980, pp. 2-3.

Vietnamese troops . . . to immediately withdraw from Kampuchea. . . ."³²

A regional CPT cadre interviewed in the Phu Phan Mountains declared that "the struggle waged by Pol Pot for the liberation of the country . . . is correct" and merits "full support," adding that the Kampuchean CP is a party that seeks to "stand up by its own means." He stated that he did "not want to comment on the political problems that arose in Kampuchea itself," because those were "internal problems."³³

Implications of Defending Pol Pot

This apology for a leadership with such a well-known criminal policy is sickening for revolutionaries. And the problem is not just moral. It has deep political implications, first of all for the Kampuchean people. It is correct to defend their right to self-determination, and to say that as long as the regime now in place in Pnompenh is so heavily dependent on the Vietnamese presence, that right cannot be truly exercised.

But it is impossible to pretend that the Khmer Rouge (who are hated by the bulk of the populace) and the Khmer Serei and Khmer Serika (who are agents of imperialist forces or simple profiteers) are leading a national liberation struggle. As a result of the arming of Khmer Rouge and Khmer Serei guerrillas on the Thai border, part of the Kampuchean population views the continued Vietnamese presence as indispensable protection!

And knowing what happened in Kampuchea, it is clearly unacceptable for internationalists to argue that discussion of the "problems" posed by the Kampuchean CP's policies after the 1975 victory would be interference in the "internal affairs" of a fraternal country or party.

Under the circumstances, the Thai CP's attitude adds up to refusal to extend solidarity to the Kampuchean people. Such solidarity, moreover, should have been expressed even *before* the Pol Pot regime fell and *against* that regime.³⁴ That would have been the best way to avert Hanoi's final decision to apply a military solution to its conflict with the Pol Pot regime.

We could say that under the circumstances the Thai CP followed the same policy Hanoi had followed until 1978 (with dramatic consequences). In the name of relations between fraternal parties, and for opportunist reasons as well, the Thai CP maintains public silence about the crimi-

32. *TIC News*, May 31, 1980, p. 2.

33. *TIC News*, July 15, 1980, p. 12.

34. On this subject see especially Pierre Rousset's article "Towards a Critical Solidarity," in *AMPO*, second quarter 1980. *AMPO*, a Japanese publication published in English, opened a discussion on Indochina and the fundamental problems raised by the Sino-Indochinese crisis in its issue of the first quarter of 1979, and that debate has continued in each subsequent issue.

nal character and policies of the Khmer Rouge. Worse yet, it becomes involved in the Chinese bureaucracy's game and great-power realpolitik.

The policies of the Thai CP leadership place the Thai resistance movement in an insoluble contradiction. On the one hand the CPT still defines the Bangkok regime and imperialism (especially U.S. imperialism) as the principal enemy. On the other hand the CPT calls on these same forces to intervene more actively in the region against the USSR and Vietnam.

This policy, which is fundamentally contradictory, has helped to create the confusion around these questions that is seen in the anti-imperialist milieu of Bangkok. The policy also runs the risk of encouraging the growth of strictly nationalist sentiments that, in the final analysis, would benefit the right-wing and far-right currents.

This policy also explains the CP's lack of reaction to the counterrevolutionary maneuvers by the Thai regime and imperialism to fight the Indochinese revolutions.

Bangkok and Washington (as well as Tokyo and the main European capitals) are obviously not fighting against the bureaucratic deformations of the Indochinese workers states, nor are they fighting for the rights of the peoples! Fundamentally, they are not even fighting Soviet influence.

Washington, in particular, is seeking above all to strangle the Indochinese revolutions that it was unable to defeat. It seeks to reconsolidate its presence in Thailand and in Southeast Asia, including the reestablishment of its influence in Laos and Kampuchea.

For several weeks Bangkok imposed an economic blockade on Laos, whose impoverished economy is extremely dependent on trade moving through Thailand. An editorial in the official *Bangkok Post* clearly revealed the real aim of this particularly severe measure: "The Laotian government," according to the editorial, "is receiving an important lesson with the closing of the border. The lesson consists of making Laos realize that it is more dependent on Thailand than on Vietnam. . . . Thailand has always considered Laos as a younger brother needing our help."³⁵

Did the CPT protest Bangkok's high-handed policy? Not to our knowledge. Would the Thai CP favor an even longer blockade of Laos, in the name of the battle against the USSR? One hopes not.

The Thai CP did, however, very quickly make its position known regarding the border skirmishes and the Vietnamese incursion into Thailand in the spring. The June 27 issue of *Forward News* criticized the Thai government when Bangkok was obliged to acknowledge that the initial alarmist reports of the fighting had been

exaggerated. It concluded that "in the face of this situation, the Thai people must draw closely together and organize themselves in order to be fully prepared to unmask and resist the Vietnamese invasion and oppose the internal repression pursued by the government."³⁶

Like its predecessors, the article was silent about Thai responsibility for the worsening of border tensions. For example, Thai military patrols, in contact with American officers, enter Kampuchean territory with Khmer Serei and Khmer Rouge groups. Do Thai revolutionaries think this is acceptable? If they do, would the Thai CP want to incorporate its forces into the Holy Alliance that has been set up on the border, and would it participate in the operations aimed at Kampuchea (and, by the way, would it still call on government soldiers and officers to desert)?

The position of the Thai CP is very dangerous in that it covers up imperialist maneuvers aimed against the Indochinese revolutions from Thai territory. It is important that this be stated by militants who are actively involved in supporting the struggles of the Thai people. The appeals made by the official bodies of the Thai resistance for support to the Khmer Rouge (and more generally in favor of the anti-Vietnamese bloc) have placed militants who are involved in the struggle in a difficult position. Many of them want to continue their support for the Thai resistance, but do not want to give any aid to the Khmer Rouge, the Khmer Serei, or the Thai and American maneuvers on the border. In addition, many of them do not agree with Peking's international policy.

The Committee for Coordinating Patriotic and Democratic Forces (led by the CPT) seems to have understood this. In a letter, the CCPDF, while reaffirming its own position, asserted it was ready to "develop the broadest ties with progressive political organizations in different countries with a view toward mutual support and solidarity. Such organizations need not necessarily have the same political views or analyze the world situation in the same terms that we do, as long as they truly wish to support our fight."³⁷

More fundamentally, a debate now seems to be taking place in Thai (and Philippine) anti-imperialist circles, including on Indochina and the Chinese policy.

First Signs of a Deepgoing Debate

The Communist Party of Thailand officially defends the *international* line of the Chinese bureaucracy, but also tries to define its own national objectives within

36. "The Patriotic Thai People Must Be United and Fully Prepared to Resist the Invaders," an article from *Forward News*, June 27, 1980, reproduced in the *TIC News*, June 30, 1980.

37. Letter from the CCPDF dated July 15, 1980 and signed by the secretary of that body, Thirayudh Boonmee.

Thailand. Peking's regional policy, however, has direct implications in Thailand itself. The Chinese bureaucracy wants to develop the broadest possible anti-Vietnamese alliance, while developing special ties with the Bangkok regime. And in an interview with the *Bangkok Post*, a Chinese leader publicly laid out the conclusions that Peking feels the Thai Communist Party should draw from the situation.

Vice-premier Ji Pengfei told the *Bangkok Post* that the Thai communists should set up a united front with the government to respond to the Vietnamese "threat."³⁸ But this is precisely what the Thai CP does not want to do.

The existence of differences between the leadership of the Thai CP and the Chinese leadership have now publicly surfaced. Kem Kongdul, a member of the Thai CP's Northeast Regional Committee, specifically noted:

It is true that there are some differences of perspective between our party and the Chinese party. Regarding the attitude toward the United States, for example, we still see the United States as our principal enemy, while China sees the USSR as its principal enemy. Moreover, regarding the attitude toward ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations], we feel that ASEAN is an enemy of the Thai people's revolution. . . . On this point [our position] is different from China's. In regard to the Chinese position, they perhaps look at ASEAN from an overall strategic viewpoint. Perhaps China is seeking to win the support of these countries. But we are involved in a political struggle. We are not yet in a position to act as the government of a country. Therefore our attitude on such a question differs from China's, as we understand it today.³⁹

Kem Kongdul is still trying to present the problems that have arisen between the Thai and Chinese CPs as flowing from their different situations rather than as, in fact, opposing lines. He reiterates that "China continues to give us its support as its international obligation toward the working class."

But public acknowledgement of these "different perspectives" on key questions is quite new and significant.

This context probably explains why radio broadcasts by the Voice of the Thai People have been suspended since July 11, 1979. The shutdown of the radio station in Kunming in southern China seems to reflect a temporary compromise. Apparently the Thai CP agreed to scuttle its main propaganda instrument as the price for Bangkok's support to the Khmer Rouge. But it seemingly preferred to stop its transmissions completely rather than continue them without any denunciations of the Thai regime. While this is only a hypothesis, it seems logical.

The Thai CP apparatus does not want to break with Peking. But it also does not

38. *Bangkok Post*, October 21, 1979.

39. "Phuphan Interview," conducted by Peter Kistemaker, *TIC News*, July 15, 1980, pp. 12-13.

35. *Bangkok Post*, July 17, 1980.

want to follow the Chinese bureaucracy's positions to their logical conclusion. Furthermore, it is probably subject to very strong internal tensions, given the contradictory situation it is in.

There seems to have been strong pressure on the national CPT apparatus from some of the ranks and the apparatus of some regions to open a discussion on the whole gamut of questions, including questions concerning Chinese policy. In mid-1980 the magazine *Siam Nikorn* published a series of contradictory articles on Kampuchea that reflected certain concerns current in the Bangkok anti-imperialist activist circles.⁴⁰

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) adopted a position similar to the CPT's (and thus to Peking's) on the Indochinese conflicts, although using milder terms. In an article in *Ang Bayan*, the CPP mainly denounced the hand of "Soviet social imperialism" in the invasion of Kampuchea and reproached the "Vietnamese leadership" for "allowing itself to be used" by the USSR. It also called on the Vietnamese to "correct their grave errors and break completely with social imperialism." The article provided a totally distorted view of the real situation in Kampuchea and the history of the Kampuchean CP.⁴¹

A similar approach could be seen in a declaration adopted by the Preparatory Commission of the CPP-led National Democratic Front, which declared its "support for the just struggle of the Kampuchean people to regain their national independence and sovereignty." The declaration made reference to the "rapid formation of an international united front against hegemonism" (meaning the USSR), without making clear in advance who was part of that front.⁴²

Later *Ang Bayan* published an article that essentially justified the Chinese invasion of Vietnam. The article was uncon-

cerned by the fact that this so-called socialist "lesson" had been paid for by the deaths of thousands of Chinese and Vietnamese workers and peasants.⁴³

But behind these seemingly orthodox repetitions of Peking positions, it could be seen that there was a debate taking place within the Philippine CP. In July 1978 *BMP* carried an article on the Sino-Vietnamese conflict. The article noted that the cut-off of Chinese aid to Vietnam "in some ways recalled July 1960, when the USSR suddenly withdrew hundreds of Russian engineers, economic advisers, and technicians from half-finished Chinese factories and sent them home. The factors at work in the two confrontations were not unrelated: border dispute, hegemonic power, attitude toward the Third World, and, in particular, cooperation with the United States."

In a certain respect, the article put Hanoi and Peking on the same level. It stressed the "open support" that China has given to ASEAN for "purely national interests," while "refusing to raise the problem of ASEAN's counterrevolutionary structure." Vietnam, the article maintained, is "doing the same thing" by opening Southeast Asia to the USSR "perhaps partly in order to neutralize ASEAN." And the article concluded that "for the Third World national liberation forces who still reject the 'logic of the lesser evil' between hegemonic choices, the China-Vietnam conflict is not a happy event."⁴⁴

Two months later, in a "Forum" column that is now closed, *BMP* printed two articles. One criticized the position expressed in July and asserted that Chinese policy remained the policy of a socialist and internationalist power (as opposed to the Soviet Union's policy). The other article took the July position further, denying that there was any internationalist character to the Chinese policy and asserting that the Philippine CP had to make it clearly known that it would not abandon armed struggle, as the old CP (PKP—Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas) had done on Stalin's orders in 1945.⁴⁵

A Difficult Legacy to Shake

To understand why such a debate, which is developing in an informal way, takes so long to come to fruition, we must take note of the depth of the Maoist commitment of these parties.

In Southeast Asia militant commitment to Maoism was seen as a two-sided break with reformist "models" that had failed. On the international level the Chinese leadership was denouncing Moscow's willingness to establish "détente" with imperialism, its policy of "peaceful coexist-

ence," and the illusion that there was a "peaceful road to socialism." That was a period in which China seemed to be the potential center for the revolutionary regrouping of the world Communist movement and the most active supporter of liberation movements.

On the national level, adherence to Maoism was seen as a response to serious difficulties (in Thailand) or bloody setbacks (in the Philippines) and became an element in the struggles taking place between different political tendencies.

The ferocious repression unleashed in Thailand in 1958 put an end to the Thai CP's attempt to carry out more or less legal trade-union, political, and urban work. It led the members of the party to fall back into the countryside and then to take refuge in the jungle. The CP turned toward the outlying regions of the country, seeking zones where it could organize a mass base that would be sheltered from preemptive repression. The Maoist wing of the party steadily gained control over the reins of leadership in the course of a little-known tendency fight.⁴⁶

The new (so-called reestablished) Communist Party of the Philippines was set up on the basis of a thoroughgoing criticism of the "right and left errors" successively committed by the former organization, which was paralyzed by clique functioning and subject to sudden policy changes worked out by Moscow.⁴⁷

The failure of the PKP (the pro-Moscow Communist Party) was, in fact, sealed in the 1940s. First it greeted the returning American Army as "liberators." Then with the change in the international and national situations and the beginning of the Cold War, the PKP launched an ill-prepared guerrilla struggle that was carried out in an adventurist manner (the Huk uprising).

Under the blows of the repression most of the surviving leaders of the PKP politically capitulated in the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1970s the PKP advocated an orientation of critical collaboration with the Marcos regime.

Adherence to Maoism as seen first and foremost as a commitment to revolution. This adherence was strengthened by the fact that often the only knowledge the new generations of activists had about Marxism came through the writings of Mao. Of course there were individuals who had a much wider acquaintance with the classical works of Marxism, but on the whole the political training of these movements was based almost exclusively on pamphlets

46. See Sylvia and Jean Cattori, *L'enjeu thaïlandais*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1979) p. 161.

47. This analysis appears in one of the principal documents adopted at the founding congress of the Communist Party of the Philippines, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," December 26, 1968. Recently published by the Filipino Support Group in Britain.

40. These were: a typically pro-Chinese article that analyzes the world situation in terms of a confrontation between "superpowers" and makes an abstraction of the class struggle; an article that is very critical of Pol Pot's regime; and another article presenting an analysis of the "errors" of the Pol Pot leadership. For the last article see also excerpts of a document of a CPT work group (and not its Political Bureau) quoted by Marcel Barang in *Le Matin*, December 27, 1979, and *Far Eastern Economic Review*, January 11, 1980.

In a February 1980 interview, a member of the CPT, speaking in its name, defined "three errors" of the Pol Pot government: absence of any tradition of work in an urban milieu; evacuation of Phnompenh in fear of CIA activities; absence of international work. He explains these "three errors" by the fact that the Kampuchean CP fought almost exclusively in the jungle. But he considered the Pol Pot leadership as a sister leadership.

41. *Ang Bayan*, January 15, 1979.

42. *Liberation*, special issue, February 1, 1980.

43. *Ang Bayan*.

44. *BMP*, July 29, 1978.

45. *BMP*, September 1978.

that spelled out their parties' national policy and short writings and speeches by Mao, such as those gathered under the title *Five Articles*.⁴⁸

It was only very recently that the Philippine CP published its first somewhat systematic work on basic Marxist education and began to distribute a series of works by Lenin. The Thai CP still does not seem to have done this.

In this context, the bulk of the revolutionary activists in Southeast Asia saw, and often still see, the works of Mao as "not only a correct and fully worked out response to the problems of the people's democratic revolution in a semicolonial and semifeudal country, but also the most recent and most complete summary of the experience of the proletariat and the peoples of the world."⁴⁹ In a general way, international events are examined through the Chinese leadership's eyeglasses.

The introduction to the main document of the founding congress of the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968 clearly expresses the place of Mao Zedong Thought and China:

All proletarian revolutionaries must express themselves and act in accordance with Mao Zedong Thought, which is the highest level of Marxism-Leninism in this world epoch. . . . Under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao, the People's Republic of China has become the central base of the world revolution. It is the center of gravity of the countrysides of the world that are encircling the cities of the world.⁵⁰

In addition to the political and ideological attraction to Maoism, in the case of the Communist Party of Thailand we should add the weight of an apparatus that includes many ethnic Chinese Thais, who through culture and language are close to China. Many of them spent a long time in Peking or Kunming. The Communist

48. *Five Articles*, a 60-page pamphlet published by Foreign Languages Press, contains short politico-moral essays by Mao. The five are "Serve the People," "In Memory of Norman Bethune," "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," and "Combat Liberalism."

49. This evaluation was made by the Central Committee of the Philippine CP at its June 1976 meeting in its resolution "Our Urgent Tasks." The mere fact that Mao's works are characterized in this way when Mao's works do not say very much about class struggles in the imperialist centers shows how far removed these parties in Southeast Asia are from developments in other parts of the world, including other parts of the Third World, such as Latin America for example.

We should note that there are members of the Thai and Philippine CPs who specifically recognize the role Mao played in applying Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese reality, without making him a new theoretician of the world revolution.

50. "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," p. 2. This basic document of the Philippine CP also salutes Lin Biao (then the heir apparent) and the Chinese Cultural Revolution, a person and event that are now denounced in Peking.

movement in Thailand was, in fact, established largely by ethnic Chinese members (and Vietnamese in the northeast).⁵¹

This is not the case in the Philippines, where the Chinese community occupies a different role than in Thailand. We should note, for example, that the Philippine CP is the only party in the region that never had a radio transmitter in Yunnan.

Peking probably has means of applying very direct pressure on the CPT apparatus, more so than in the case of the Philippine CP. But in both cases a reevaluation of their relations with the Chinese leadership is not an easy thing. It is too late for subtle distinctions. Today one cannot even be pro-Mao and pro-Peking at the same time!

Yesterday's followers of the "capitalist road" are now at the summits of power in China, like Deng Xiaoping (the "second Chinese Khrushchev"), or have undergone spectacular rehabilitation, like Liu Shaoyi himself (the "first Chinese Khrushchev"). Yesterday's heirs apparent, like Lin Biao and the "Four," have in turn been denounced.

There are more and more sharp official criticisms of Chairman Mao for the policies he followed in the late 1950s. The highly touted "models" of the Mao era, like the Daichai peasant commune, are now attacked as frauds. One by one all the specific developmental approaches and ideological themes of Maoism are being abandoned in favor of the lines that Mao fought against while he was alive. Symbolically, the Chinese press "forgot" to write about the fourth anniversary of Mao's death, and slowly but surely Mao's pictures are being taken down from the walls. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is now viewed as one of the biggest calamities ever to hit China.

In a recent interview Deng Xiaoping put forward an unambiguous assessment of the role of Mao Zedong. Deng referred to Mao Zedong Thought in laudatory terms, but dated it specifically to the Yanan period and stressed that Mao's role had changed in the 1950s.

Deng stated that Mao:

gave such a contribution that, without him, in the least the Chinese would have spent much more time in groping their way in the darkness. . . . It was Chairman Mao who combined the principles of Marxism and Leninism with the realities of China. . . . Yes, until the Sixties, or to be exact before the latter part of the Fifties,

51. The Vietnamese implantation in the northeast probably disappeared a long time ago. But the fact that the Thai CP first developed roots in non-Thai sectors and that its apparatus still partially reflects that state of affairs posed a lasting problem. Some members of the Thai CP recognize that this created difficulties within the apparatus but assert that this situation has today been overcome with the rise to responsible posts of younger people who are more uniformly integrated into Thai society as such. This is probably true on the local and perhaps the regional levels. But on the national level?

some [!] ideas of Chairman Mao were very correct, and many of the principles through which we achieved victory.

But Deng describes the Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s as a "mistake" and notes that "in the last part of his life, he committed mistakes. Particularly the Cultural Revolution mistake. And as a result many misfortunes were brought upon the party, the country, the people."

During that part of Mao's life:

Unhealthy thinking emerged, both by his actions and his style of work. . . . Well, maybe victory had made him less prudent, or maybe he had lost contact with reality. . . . He enjoyed a tremendous prestige among the Chinese people and so he received many praises. Too many. He thus failed to institutionalize the very good principles he had set up for years, such as democratic centralism. . . . A patriarchal behavior began to develop in him. And the life of the party, the life of the country, ceased to be normal.

According to Deng, Mao was wrong when he chose his own successor (Lin Biao), stating that "choosing his own successor is a feudal practice for a leader." Mao also covered up Jiang Qing's rise to power, a woman whom Deng describes as "a thousand times a thousand below zero."⁵²

Deng's assessment of Mao is clear: overall, the historic role of Mao remains positive, due to his activity during the struggle for power. But the Chairman's policies and practices since the mid-1950s deserve condemnation.

Present developments in China should make it possible to open a broad, critical debate within the world revolutionary movement on the balance-sheet of the Chinese revolution since the taking of power, a debate that goes far beyond the Deng/Mao differences alone and touches on basic questions of the transition to socialism and workers' democracy.

Reevaluation of the character of the Chinese leadership's policies means opening a whole series of discussions, which are both indispensable and explosive. It means opening discussions on Maoism itself, on the history of the Thai and Philippine CPs, on the international situation and the perspectives of the world

52. The first part of this interview with Oriana Fallaci was published in English in the August 31, 1980 *Washington Post*. We should note that Deng also criticizes Stalin's role and the role of the Soviet bureaucracy. Deng, aligning himself with remarks made earlier by Mao, states that "Stalin committed errors with regard to the Chinese revolution as well: for example, after the Second World War he did not want us to break with the Kuomintang and begin our liberation war" (see *Corriere de la Sera*, August 29, 1980, p. 3).

This is also what happened in the Philippines where the PKP agreed to follow a line decided in Moscow, the same line that was rejected by the Chinese CP. It is unfortunate that this question has never been dealt with in Philippine CP documents.

revolution, on the USSR and the bureaucracy in the workers states. It is easy to see why the leaders of the CPT and CPP hesitate to open such a multifaceted discussion. However, it is even more important that this be combined with a steady reorientation of the national strategy of these parties.

Evolution of the National Strategy

One of the special features of the Thai CP (except perhaps in certain zones) and the Philippine CP is that they got involved in armed struggle without having a previous mass, organized presence in key sectors of society. As a result, their struggles developed quite differently from the Chinese or Vietnamese precedents and are closer (especially in the case of the Philippine CP) to the experience in Latin America in the 1960s.

In his own way Kem Kongdul noted this difference when he remarked that in China the CP already had at its disposal a considerable military strength when the guerrilla movement began, which was not the case with the Thai CP.⁵³ This difference stems from the fact that the guerrilla struggle in China followed important worker and peasant uprisings that marked the history of the second Chinese revolution, while the Thai and Philippine guerrillas were organized independently of a real mass uprising.

It is difficult to analyze the relationship between military work, political work, and mass work in Thailand, especially due to the clandestine character of the party and the big differences in regional situations.

The Thai CP is not a pyramidal organization. The national leadership defines the big political and ideological orientations, but it does not control the practical work carried out in each region. The mass base of the Thai CP differs by region (mountain-dwelling minorities, Lao-Thai, Thai) as does its history. But there is one striking fact: the absence of a detailed political program concerning mass work and especially peasant work.

As far as we know, until some specific details were added in January 1978, the Thai CP had only a very general "Ten Point Program."⁵⁴ It does not have a concrete agrarian program that it could use to make its views known to the peasant masses even in areas where its organizational infrastructure remains very weak.

The Philippine CP does possess such a program, the "Revolutionary Guide for the

Agrarian Reform,"⁵⁵ which it began to circulate in 1972. The CPP members use this program more frequently than the "Ten Point Program" of the CPP-led National Democratic Front, which does not explicitly put forward the slogan for redistribution of the land, contenting itself with general statements about the need for a "real agrarian reform." But so far the peasant mass work has been carried out primarily by the guerrillas themselves.

The period immediately after the imposition of martial law in the Philippines in 1972 was marked by a series of errors by the CP, including ill-prepared student activism against the repression and an orientation marked by militarism.

For a time the role of the CPP's urban network was primarily to provide support for the guerrillas—collecting funds, weapons, and so on. It reached the point that when mass mobilizations began to take shape in the cities against the martial law system, the members of the CPP were unable to intervene, leaving the initiative to the Christian currents.

The same thing happened in Thailand, where the Thai CP was unable to concretely organize the student movement in 1973 when the dictatorship fell. The initiative was then left to small groups led by activists like Seksan Prasertkul and Thirayudh Boonmee (who later went to the zones controlled by the CPT).

Over time the Philippine CP changed its orientation. It paid more attention to the need to carry out real mass political work, including in the cities. It focused more on the need to build mass organizations and at the same time strengthen the ranks of the party to give it a mass character. It saw the need to change the social composition of the party by making efforts to recruit not only in peasant milieus but also among the workers. It recognized the need to combine the mobilization of the urban and rural masses in a more interconnected manner.

The Thai CP seems to have undergone an evolution after 1973, similar to that of the Philippine CP, although perhaps more unevenly.

The declaration published on the occasion of the eleventh anniversary of the founding of the Philippine CP recounts that evolution. It stresses the role of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, held in December 1975, which drew up a critical balance sheet of the organizational stagnation of the party, and especially the Central Committee meeting of June 1976, which adopted the resolution "Our Urgent Tasks." That resolution also argued that on the ideological level it was particularly necessary to fight against "dogmatic tendencies," which were more pronounced than "empirical tendencies."⁵⁶

Recently both the Thai and Philippine

55. This program can be found in a pamphlet by the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP) in the United States: *People's War in the Philippines*.

CPs have decided to step up their efforts directed at the industrial working class. And at the big workers meeting on May 1 in Manila this year, which the press reported drew 30,000 people,⁵⁷ the influence of the CPP and the National Democratic Front was evident.

The time is now long gone when the Philippine CP set itself the goal of establishing a Philippine "Yenan" in Cagayan Province on the northeastern tip of Luzon Island, based on the Chinese precedent of establishing a base that would be militarily impregnable, despite the absence of revolutionary mass mobilizations in the country. The repression put an end to that hope.

The Philippine CP (like its Thai counterpart) obviously continues to place crucial importance on work in the rural sector, where the majority of the population is found. But on the level of strategy, the views of the Philippine Communist movement (and at least a portion of the Thai Communist movement) have become more rounded.

The resolution adopted in 1976 dealt more systematically with the function of urban work, which was only sketched out in the Philippine CP reference work *Philippine Society and Revolution*.⁵⁸

"Our Urgent Tasks" analyzes the strategic perspective of urban work in these terms:

By combining legal and illegal methods, we can develop the revolutionary mass movement in the cities. Our principal tactic . . . is, to use a metaphor, to conquer the enemy fortress from within. . . . It is necessary to penetrate the economic struggles [of the workers] and raise them to the level of political struggles in such a way that the working class as a whole is capable of not only struggling in the most effective way possible for its own interests, but is also able to fully link itself to the rest of the population in the powerful rise of the people's democratic revolution. . . .

The population of the cities must realize that the long-term development of locally-led clandestine work and the sustained growth of mass actions prepare the way for the final day when the ruling system will be overthrown, when a general uprising will combine with a general offensive of the people's army.⁵⁹

This enrichment of the strategic perspec-

56. The declaration commemorating the eleventh anniversary of the founding congress of the Philippine CP was reprinted in *Ichtyis*, February 22, 1980, pp. 21-27. In it there are citations from the 1976 document "Our Urgent Tasks."

57. Figure from May 2, 1980, *Bulletin Today*.

58. Amado Guerrero, *Philippine Society and Revolution*, (Hong Kong: Ta Kung Pao, 1971), pp. 281-82.

59. "Our Urgent Tasks," mimeographed document. We note also that the Philippine CP engaged in a long polemic against terrorist type activities that could only aid a bourgeois coup and not an authentic revolution. See, for example, "People's War, Not Coup d'Etat," *Liberation*, January 1979.

53. "Phuphan Interview," *TIC News*, July 15, 1980, p. 7.

54. One can find a presentation of these "Ten Points" in the *Bulletin thai d'information*, Nos. 14 to 19. Point Six deals with the agrarian reform and the distribution of land to the peasants, but it notes that the application of agrarian measures depends on regional bodies and does not try to describe how mass work might progress in a rural environment.

tive of the revolution on the one hand, and of the mass work carried out jointly in the urban and rural sector on the other hand, is very important. Nonetheless, a number of problems still remain.

In terms of combining the rural and urban mass struggles, the constant references to the "encirclement of the cities by the countryside" seem to place an obstacle in the path of some discussions, even in the Philippines. In a December 1978 article in *Ang Bayan* about the revolutionary struggles then going on in Nicaragua and Iran, the following conclusion was drawn: the lessons of these revolutions show "the Iranian people that there is no alternative to the armed struggle, with the revolutionary effort in the cities playing only a secondary and supporting role."⁶⁰

This is a curious way to approach the problem since the lesson of Iran in fact turned out to be precisely the strategic importance and independent capacity of mobilizations of the urban masses (and not simply in "support" of rural guerrillas). Even though there was no revolutionary party, weren't the urban masses able, through intense and repeated mobilizations, to politically undermine the army until a section of it went over to the side of the masses and helped them arm themselves for the insurrection? Moreover, this was the most powerful army in the Third World.

In Thailand it appears that it is still difficult to debate these questions. Anyone who wants to raise the question of the distinct revolutionary dynamic of urban class struggles and the possibility of taking power by combining rural and urban uprisings is quickly accused of taking the "Soviet road of the coup d'état."⁶¹

Responding to accusations from the "splitters" that the Thai CP did not have the perspective of preparing an urban uprising, Kem Kongdul was content to state that the "splitters" "don't say it clearly, but they have found that the tactic of encircling the cities from the countryside takes too long. Therefore they think that if an urban uprising were launched, it would take less time, especially if foreign troops came to their aid."⁶²

We should also mention the absence of a creative discussion of the socioeconomic structure of Thai and Philippine society. These societies are simply characterized as

60. *Ang Bayan*, December 15, 1978.

61. See the general presentation of the debates in the Thai resistance in the *Bulletin thai d'information*, No. 19. See also the polemic by some authors favorable to the CPT against the "Pin Bu-on group" (from the name of a former member of the Political Bureau who is reputed to have pro-Soviet sympathies today but more or less works with the anti-Communist command of the Thai Army) in the *Bulletin thai d'information*, No. 20-21.

62. "Phuphan Interview," *TIC News*, July 15, 1980, p. 6.

"semifeudal" and "semicolonial," although they have undergone a profound evolution in recent decades.

In historic terms, these parties tend to make overly mechanical references to the Chinese CP's analyses of pre-World War II China. As a result they often disregard the *specific* features of national development in their own countries.⁶³ In developing short term perspectives this creates a dangerous gulf between their frozen overall analysis of society and the empirical corrections of the party's work by social sectors and the development of concrete analyses in one or another regional situation.⁶⁴

But the most serious political problem regarding national orientations in recent years is the question of the united front. In Thailand and the Philippines this question is posed in different terms than in many other Third World countries. The programs of these fronts, as generally put forward by the CPT or CPP, are written in a highly opportunist manner, especially regarding the national bourgeoisie. But the internal or programmatic documents of these parties, like the public polemics they carry out, are aimed at warning against the influence of the national bourgeoisie. And in practice most often they are sectarian.

63. On this subject see *Philippine Society and Revolution*. The analysis of Third World societies is a complicated process. The definition of "feudalism" is the subject of big debates in Marxist circles.

But, at any rate, Philippine society has undergone an extremely different development than China's: a very backward society socioeconomically (except for the Muslim states in the south) at the time of the early colonization, direct colony of Spain, penetrated very early by English and American capital, the only direct colony of the United States of such importance; today involved in the development of agribusiness and widespread industrialization of a neocolonialist form.

According to Amado Guerrero, the considerable development of export agriculture and plantations was a "prop" for feudalism under the Spanish, and for "semifeudalism" under the Americans.

To classify in this way the transformation of land into capital, the transformation of a peasant mass into an agricultural proletariat, the spread of the market economy, the forced integration of the country into the world market, and the birth of a national "mestizo" bourgeoisie, really gives the term "feudalism" (which is normally based on serfdom) too wide a definition.

This lag in the CP's historical analysis is even less understandable given the fact that the work of a historian like Renato Constantino has added considerably to the understanding and analysis of the history of the Philippines. See the bibliographic reports in issues Nos. 1 and 2 of the *Bulletin*, published by the French Comité Solidarité Philippines.

64. It is striking to see that, on this question, the comparison made of the Chinese and Philippine strategies, for example, largely focused on geographic and topographic factors (size of the

The CCPDF, at least as it was established in 1977, has been broken up by recent splits. This is the third time that a united front has fallen through in Thailand, and this time it seemed to have had greater potential for success than in the past. The formation of the CCPDF had effectively reflected both a broadening of the social base of the Thai resistance and the beginning of a political alliance. For example, the Thai Socialist Party, a member of the CCPDF, never was an independent political party in the strict sense. It brought together several factions and it included individuals and currents that had roots or real influence in the country, and who had a different history from the CPT's.

Most of them have now left the CCPDF. One of the reasons they quit was because they felt they were being manipulated by the CP without being able to really influence the policies of the front itself.

In the Philippines the National Democratic Front has still not been formally constituted. Since 1973 it has been represented by a Preparatory Commission, in which the Philippine CP is the only independent political force. There too the front has not been the arena in which lasting *political alliances* could be established. The absence of progressive political organizations functioning on a national scale, outside of the CP itself, obviously makes it difficult to form such a front.

However, in the Philippines too there are currents, groups, and individuals whose adherence to the front is, or could be, valuable but who have too often run up against manipulatory practices. And this question causes a cleavage in Philippine anti-imperialist circles, even though it is not expressed as dramatically as in Thailand.

Today the Thai CP is again seeking to broaden the CCPDF. The Philippine CP is trying to win over sectors influenced by the Social Democratic Front to the perspective of the National Democratic Front.⁶⁵

country, continental state versus island group, extent of mountain areas, road network, etc.) and not on historic, social, and economic considerations, although in this area too there were big differences between the two countries. See Amado Guerrero, *Specific Characteristics of People's War in the Philippines*, International Association of Filipino Patriots, United States, 1979.

65. The Social Democratic Front is a heterogeneous movement in which the influence of the Jesuits is very large. In its leadership are some squarely anticommunist elements as well as progressive currents. It is much weaker than the National Democratic Front, but it has mass influence in some sections of Manila and in Davao on the island of Mindanao. In addition there is a United Opposition, a cartel of groups dominated by the former "great families" and pro-American lobbies based in the U.S. The Social Democrats have several small guerrilla areas; some sectors of the United Opposition are tempted by terrorist action.

But although the CPP's strategic view of the revolutionary process and of mass work has been broadened, as yet there has not been a similar broadening in how it views the front. Rather, the way the front is still conceived actually limits possibilities for mass work, especially in the cities.

Strengthening International Solidarity

The Thai and Philippine revolutions run the risk of being isolated internationally at a crucial time in their development. It seems that China cut off all aid to the Philippine CP in 1975-76 and reduced the Thai CP to short rations. Today it probably provides the Thai CP with only a smattering of aid, just enough to keep it from turning toward Vietnam, or the USSR.

The Vietnamese leadership, in turn, is trying to break out of its isolation in the region. It will pay whatever price is necessary to accomplish this, without worrying too much about the situation of the revolutionary movements in the region.

The Thai and Philippine movements have benefitted from the weakening of the imperialist presence and the ASEAN regimes that followed the U.S. defeat in Indochina. The tendencies favoring the growth of the class struggle in these countries have not been reversed, despite the new Sino-Indochinese crisis, because of the deep social dislocations caused by the neocolonial model of agrarian and industrial development.

But the masses of these countries have to confront a series of measures that aim to stabilize ASEAN, strengthen the American presence, and increase Japanese imperialism's ability to intervene in a counter-revolutionary way (including through military intervention).

There can be no doubt that if there is a sharp rise in class confrontations in these countries, imperialism will act, if it can, to maintain its control in Thailand and especially in the Philippines, where it has a network of strategically important military bases. The stakes in the struggles now taking place are clearly international rather than national.

Revolutionary and anti-imperialist activists throughout the world must be ready to defend these revolutions. They must, therefore, support the present struggles against the ASEAN neocolonial regimes and the imperialist hold over Southeast Asia.

Solidarity does not mean that there should be no critical debates between revolutionary movements over policy. But this necessary debate only makes sense to activists if it takes place within the context of active, unconditional, and nonfactional solidarity work.

The Thai and Philippine CPs remain by far the most important organizations in their respective countries, and are capable of providing leadership to the mass strug-

gles. While there may also be other groups and currents in Thailand and the Philippines whose struggles merit support, in the coming period the organized development of struggles fundamentally depends on the activity of the members of the Thai and Philippine CPs.

Both these parties have undergone an evolution that forces them to rethink their relationship with the Chinese leadership. Previous disappointments caused by the

Thousands Mourn Anti-Apartheid Fighter

More than two thousand Blacks turned out September 20 for the funeral of Rev. Mashoabado Mayathula, a well-known fighter for Black rights in South Africa who died a week earlier at Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto.

The reverend, who was popularly known among his supporters as "Castro" Mayathula, had been prominent in the struggle against white supremacy for more than a decade.

In 1970 he joined the South African Students Organisation (SASO), a militant all-Black student group that spearheaded the revival of Black political activism in the early 1970s and initiated the nationalist current known as the Black Consciousness movement.

Two years later, in July 1972, Mayathula was elected the first interim president of the Black People's Convention (BPC), an umbrella Black Consciousness organization that sought to reach out to all sectors of the oppressed Black population.

Mayathula was detained for his political activities and ideas in 1975-76, in connection with a trial of nine leaders of the SASO and BPC under the apartheid regime's notorious Terrorism Act. Mayathula was not himself charged, however.

In the wake of the massive student and workers rebellions of 1976, Mayathula participated in the formation in 1977 of the Soweto Committee of Ten, a broadly representative body of prominent leaders in Soweto, the large Black township near Johannesburg that was at the center of resistance to the apartheid regime. He was again detained in October 1977, during a massive crackdown on Black political organizations following the murder of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko. Upon his release in 1978, Mayathula resumed his activities as a leader of the Committee of Ten.

Numerous individuals and organizations have paid tribute to Mayathula's role as an anti-apartheid fighter.

The banned African National Congress (ANC) sent a message of condolence to his family and recalled his political record. Along with the South African Communist Party, the ANC distributed pamphlets at Mayathula's funeral, containing a recent statement smuggled off of Robben Island Prison by ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Chinese bureaucracy's policies, coming on the heels of the disappointments engendered by the Soviet leadership, and the sharpness of the Sino-Indochinese conflict could lead some members and currents to retreat into nationalism and others to seek allies in the realpolitik power game. On the other hand, the existence of a solidarity movement that is independent of the countries of the "Socialist world" could help to awaken a new internationalism. □


(For the text of the statement, see *Intercontinental Press*, July 7, p. 714.)

The Congress of South African Students and the Azanian Students Organisation also issued a joint pamphlet paying tribute to Mayathula.

During the funeral, Mayathula's coffin was carried on a horse-drawn cart, a traditional display of respect for fallen leaders. All along the route to Avalon Cemetery in Soweto, young mourners sang revolutionary songs. As the procession passed the Moroka police station, it stopped for a moment as the participants raised clenched fists and shouted political slogans.

Mayathula was thus buried with the same militancy that marked the last decade of his life. □

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