

# INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

combined  
with **inprecor**

Vol. 20, No. 34

November 15, 1982

USA \$1.25

UK 50p

## *U.S. Officials Confirm Sandinista Charges* **Washington Admits Waging Secret War in Nicaragua**



U.S. civilians with Honduran troops at Puerto Lempira. *Newsweek* article reveals that secret war against Nicaragua is directed out of U.S. embassy in Honduran capital.

**Yassir Arafat's Speech  
to Fez Conference**

**FMLN Leader on  
Revolutionary Strategy  
in Latin America**

***Socialists Win  
Big Victory  
in Spanish  
Elections***



"For change."

# FDR talks proposal adds to U.S. headaches in El Salvador

By Fred Murphy

The Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) have confronted Washington and the government of El Salvador with a new proposal for talks to end the civil war in that country.

The results so far have been to demonstrate once again that the blame for continued warfare lies squarely with the U.S. imperialists and their Salvadoran client régime.

## Proposal for dialogue

The rebels' proposal calls for a "direct dialogue without prior conditions." It was made public October 26 in Mexico City by FDR President Guillermo Manuel Ungo and FMLN leader Ana Guadalupe Martínez.

The document had already been handed to key figures in the Salvadoran régime by the acting Catholic archbishop of San Salvador. In Washington, the U.S. State Department refused to accept the document from an FDR representative.

The proposal bore the signatures of all five top FMLN commanders — Salvador Cayetano Carpio, Joaquín Villalobos, Schafik Jorge Handal, Fermán Cienfuegos, and Roberto Roca — and of FDR Executive Committee members Ungo, Eduardo Calles, and Rubén Zamora.

The FDR and FMLN said the aim of the dialogue they were proposing would be "to find ways that could lead to establishing peace and social justice in El Salvador and that could contribute to reducing tensions throughout Central America."

The Salvadoran presidency, armed forces, and Constituent Assembly were each asked to name delegates for the talks, which the FDR and FMLN said should be held in the presence of "reliable witnesses," either Salvadorans or foreigners.

Washington's response was to reject the call for talks and to repeat its demand that the rebels lay down their arms and negotiate a surrender. This was echoed by El Salvador's provisional president, Alvaro Magaña, and by Salvadoran Defense Minister Gen. José Guillermo García.

Rightist death-squad chief Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson — who serves as president of the Constituent Assembly elected last March — said it would be "the most vile treason" for anyone in the government to "converse, much less negotiate" with the rebels. "We will permit neither dialogue nor negotiations with the criminal groups," he declared.

The Christian Democrats said anyone who wanted to talk would first have to "reject violence," but they opposed a motion by the ex-

trême rightists in the Constituent Assembly to prohibit talks outright.

## Rebel military gains

In presenting the FDR-FMLN proposals to reporters in Mexico City, Ana Guadalupe Martínez pointed out that they were being made "in the context of a military situation that favors us."

"We haven't called for a ceasefire," she added, "because we don't want to lay down any preconditions."

In fact, the proposals for talks were made public on the 17th day of one of the largest FMLN military offensives in the two years of civil war.

As of October 29 the rebels had routed the army from at least 20 towns in Chalatenango, Morazán, and San Miguel provinces. According to FMLN Commander Villalobos, they controlled an "arc of freedom" 20 kilometers wide stretching 70 kilometers along the country's northern border. On November 4, heavy fighting was reported as the FMLN laid siege to army positions in Suchitoto, a city 30 kilometers north of the capital.

Early in the offensive the regime mobilized thousands of troops to try to turn back the FMLN. But the effort was halted after several days, and some areas of heavy rebel activity were simply evacuated by the official forces. The FMLN reported inflicting heavy casualties and taking more than 100 prisoners of war. Most of these were quickly turned over to the Red Cross.

The government has tried to compensate for its failures on the ground by stepping up terror from the air. The Pentagon recently shipped several A-37 jets to the Salvadoran air force. According to Arnaldo Ramos, an FDR representative in the United States, "The recent massacres — the 300 people who were killed in a few hours — are a product of the use of this aircraft. They can fly low, drop 500-pound bombs and destroy entire villages in minutes." Washington has also reportedly begun to supply napalm to El Salvador and train Salvadoran pilots in its use.

Meanwhile, even though repression of the trade unions remains fierce, there are signs of a revival of labor militancy in El Salvador's cities. Four thousand employees of the Ministry of Agriculture went on strike October 4 for higher wages — the first work stoppage in 20 months and an open challenge to the régime's state of siege. Unions representing bank, factory, and coffee workers warned of further strikes on October 19 and demanded wage increases, an end to antilabor repression and the state of siege, and the restoration of union contracts.

The military and political initiatives of the FMLN and FDR have exacerbated other difficulties facing the régime and its backers in Washington.

The phony elections held last March gave the extreme-right forces grouped around Major D'Aubuisson a greater influence over government policies. Washington had favored the Christian Democrats, because they lent a moderate image to the dictatorship. But after the most right-wing parties came out on top in the elections, Christian Democratic President José Napoleón Duarte and his party were shunted aside. U.S. pressure did manage to salvage a few cabinet posts for the Christian Democrats.

Since then there have been continual crises in the régime as D'Aubuisson and company have pressed for a still greater share of the spoils. They enjoy strong support among the officer corps, as well as among the big landowners and capitalists, who in pursuit of profits and defense of their property want to eliminate even the pretense of social reform.

Washington, on the other hand, needs to keep at least a facade of reforms intact in hope of making the régime's image more palatable in the United States and abroad. In this it has the support of the Christian Democrats. Military strongman García and President Magaña help Washington pursue its aims by arbitrating among the various governmental and military factions.

Besides the so-called reforms, another source of discord is the political challenge posed by the FDR and the FMLN. Within the context of pursuing military victory, Washington has also waged a campaign to try to split the rebel camp and force a negotiated surrender on those opposition currents it considers susceptible to such a deal.

But the extreme rightists in the régime and army draw no such distinctions; they want not only military victory, but the physical elimination of the entire opposition. The death squads have even turned on the Christian Democrats; dozens have been killed by rightists since the March elections.

The widely publicized kidnappings in mid-October of 21 political and labor leaders in San Salvador — including five key FDR figures — gave Washington a bigger headache. Some of the victims were from the Revolutionary National Movement (MNR) and the People's Social Christian Movement (MPSC), groups the imperialists hope will one day come to terms.

It was subsequently proven that the security forces had a direct hand in the seizure of at least eight of the victims, who turned up in the régime's jails several days after their disappearance. General García announced that these would be tried as "terrorists." The fate of the rest remains unknown.

The kidnappings were a special embarrassment to the Reagan administration because of the upcoming January deadline for again certifying that "progress" is being made on human rights in El Salvador. This is a condition for continued military aid that Congress adopted

under pressure from antiwar sentiment widespread in the U.S. population.

Twice before Reagan has managed to get away with such certifications, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary. But the administration knows its credibility is wearing dangerously thin. "At some point, Congress will refuse to go on pretending to be hoodwinked," *New York Times* columnist Flora Lewis warned October 22.

### 'You don't have to decapitate . . .'

Washington has received so little cooperation from the Salvadoran regime that U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton vented his frustration in public on October 29. In a speech to about 450 top Salvadoran businessmen — many of whom bankroll D'Aubuisson's death squads — Hinton told his clients they should clean up their act.

In the first two weeks of October, the ambassador complained, 68 persons were "murdered in El Salvador under circumstances which are familiar to everyone here." Since 1979, he added, some 30,000 such deaths had occurred but there had been less than 200 convictions for murder in the country's courts. "You don't have to kill people in the night," Hinton scolded. "You don't have to decapitate people."

Particularly difficult for Reagan to justify is the recent refusal of Salvadoran judges to press murder charges against the military officers who arranged the January 1981 killings of two U.S. citizens who were advisers to Duarte's sham land-reform program.

"El Salvador must make substantial progress in bringing the murderers of our citizens, including those who ordered the murders, to justice," Hinton warned the businessmen. "If not, the United States, in spite of our other interests, in spite of our commitment in the struggle against communism, could be forced to deny assistance to El Salvador."

A similar message was carried to the regime by Under Secretary of Defense Fred Iklé in the last week of October. His mission, according to the October 27 *New York Times*, was "to inform [Salvadoran officials] that the Reagan Administration will meet strong — possibly overwhelming — Congressional opposition to further military aid" because of the failure to prosecute the January 1981 murder case and because of the kidnappings of the FDR and labor leaders.

El Salvador's Chamber of Commerce and Industry answered Hinton's speech with full-page displays in the Salvadoran daily press. They accused him of "arrogant imperiousness" and of behaving like a "delegate of ancient imperial Rome."

The capitalists and their hired guns in the security forces know as well as Hinton and Iklé do that paramilitary terror, by dealing heavy blows to the opposition, has played an indispensable role for Washington in El Salvador. They also know that U.S. imperialism can hardly afford to pull out of El Salvador and open the way to a revolutionary victory. This

is why Congress has pretended to be hoodwinked up to now and why it will take the mobilization of massive antiwar action by U.S. working people before U.S. intervention in El Salvador can really be brought to a halt.

Until that happens, Washington will continue to pour arms and advisers — and at some point even combat troops — into Central America.

### 'War will go on until victory'

Still, "The relationship of forces in Central America does not favor imperialism," FDR representative Victor Medrano told the recent Mexican-U.S. Border Conference in Solidarity With the Salvadoran People (see page 806).

Direct U.S. intervention "would mean years of war for the imperialists," Medrano said. This in turn "would mean reducing social spending in the U.S. It would mean greater social problems. It would mean also that any possibility of getting out of the economic crisis of imperialism would have to be pushed back for a long time and perhaps that would be the beginning of the end of imperialism."

If the Salvadoran regime continues to refuse to open talks, FDR leader Rubén Zamora told the Mexico City daily *Uno más Uno* October 29, "the war will go on. There will be no chance to explore the road to peace, and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front will continue the struggle together with the people until victory." □

## IN THIS ISSUE

Closing News Date: November 6, 1982

NICARAGUA	804	White House admits secret war — by Fred Murphy
	805	Somozaist camps discovered — by Jane Harris
CENTRAL AMERICA	806	Border conference forms antiwar group — by Andrea González and Larry Seigle
LEBANON	807	U.S. expands military role — by Will Reissner
SPAIN	808	Big vote for Socialist Party — by José G. Pérez
GRENADA	810	Bishop secures French aid — by Fred Murphy
ST. VINCENT	811	Interview with opposition leader — by Baxter Smith
IRELAND	812	Sinn Féin wins five seats — by Will Reissner
AUSTRALIA	813	Workers face rising unemployment — by Jonathan West
CANADA	814	Socialists present candidates
SRI LANKA	815	Tamils face execution
KAMPUCHEA	815	U.S. helps Pol Pot keep UN seat
DOCUMENTS	816	Arafat's speech at Fez conference
	819	FMLN leader on revolutionary strategy
DOCUMENTS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL	818	Solidarity lives!

Intercontinental Press (ISSN 0162-5594).  
Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York every other Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

**Editor:** Steve Clark.  
**Contributing Editors:** Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.  
**Managing Editor:** David Frankel.  
**Editorial Staff:** Sue Hagen, Ernest Harsch, Fred Murphy, Will Reissner.  
**Business Manager:** Sandi Sherman.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

**To Subscribe:** For one-year subscriptions in the U.S. or Canada send US\$25.00. Subscription correspondence should be addressed to: Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-6933.

For airmail subscriptions to Britain, Ireland, and continental Europe send US\$35.00 for one year; US\$17.50 for six months. Write for subscription rates to all other countries.

For air-speeded subscriptions to Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box K208, Haymarket 2000. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 8852, Auckland.

We prefer payment in bank drafts or postal checks payable in U.S. dollars because of the charges involved in clearing personal checks drawn on other currencies. However, personal checks will be accepted, with an additional 5 percent added for clearing charges.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.

# White House admits secret war

## Officials confirm Sandinista charges

By Fred Murphy

The Reagan administration has now openly declared that it is waging a war against Nicaragua.

Top officials quoted in the November 2 *New York Times* admit that Washington is organizing and financing the terror raids that take place on an almost daily basis against farms and communities in northern Nicaragua. The CIA, they say, is providing money, weapons, and training to the bands of supporters of the late Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza that operate from camps in southern Honduras.

Each step in this war is decided in Washington, the officials admit. The military operations are directed on a day-to-day basis out of the U.S. embassy in Honduras by Ambassador John Negroponte.

For many months, Nicaraguan government leaders and some antiwar forces have asserted that Washington is waging such a war on Nicaragua. Up to now, administration officials always denied such charges or simply had no comment, while the major news media downplayed them or blacked them out.

That Washington has now decided to acknowledge its responsibility for the mounting armed attacks on Nicaragua is an ominous sign. Antiwar forces must sound the alarm and demand an immediate halt to this aggression, whose goal is to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.

The administration's statements came in response to a nine-page cover story in the November 8 *Newsweek*, headlined "America's Secret War — Target: Nicaragua."

What *Newsweek* reveals — and U.S. officials have confirmed — is the following:

- The U.S. campaign of covert action against the Nicaraguan revolution began under the Carter administration in 1978 and has escalated ever since.

- CIA agents and U.S. military advisers now train the Nicaraguan exile terrorists in Honduras, repair their equipment, plan their missions, and may even be participating in their operations inside Nicaragua.

- The whole campaign is directed from the U.S. embassy in the Honduran capital, Tegucigalpa. U.S. Ambassador John Negroponte — whom the terrorists call "The Boss" — issues all the orders, with the Honduran military's high command serving as go-between.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) led the long and costly struggle of the Nicaraguan people to rid themselves of the hated, U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship. In 1978, as Washington grew alarmed that Somoza might actually fall, "Jimmy Carter signed a 'finding' . . . authorizing under-the-table CIA support for democratic elements in Nicaraguan society, such as the press and labor unions," *Newsweek* says.

Among these so-called democratic elements were the capitalist political parties and news media, and those corrupt trade-union officials who could be counted on to oppose the Sandinistas' aim of building a new society.

Carter's efforts failed to prevent a Sandinista victory. In July 1979 Somoza's National Guard collapsed and many of its troops fled across the northern border into Honduras. A workers and farmers government came to power in Nicaragua under FSLN leadership. Since then the Sandinistas have adopted extensive measures to improve the lives of the poor and working people of the country — at the expense of the capitalists and landlords.

The National Guard troops and other pro-Somoza riffraff that left Nicaragua for Honduras now form the bulk of Washington's counterrevolutionary troops.

From the 10 training camps *Newsweek* says have been set up both in southern Honduras and inside Nicaraguan territory, bands of *Somocistas* (Somozaists) conduct murderous forays to sow terror among workers and farmers in northern Nicaragua. They also sabotage roads, bridges, and construction projects.

In the latest of these raids, seven peasants were hacked to death by machete-wielding counterrevolutionaries in Nueva Segovia Province on October 28. This was one of 429 such attacks in less than three years, according to a recent report by the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry.

As new U.S. weaponry and equipment have been shipped by the Pentagon to the Honduran armed forces as part of a huge step-up in military aid, the older Honduran arms have been turned over to the *Somocistas*, *Newsweek* says. The magazine reports that "there are now almost 50 CIA personnel serving in Honduras. . . . That team is supplemented by dozens of operatives including a number of retired military and intelligence officers." Their role is described as follows:

When equipment — helicopters and radios, for example — breaks down, Americans repair it. Americans established the guerrillas' training regime. . . . The Americans were soon treading the thin line between instructing insurgents and plotting the missions they were being trained for. Though Americans are expressly forbidden to go out on operations, one veteran of other paramilitary operations said: "Inevitably that happens . . . You lose your credibility with the people you're training if you hole up entirely."

According to the November 2 *New York Times*, a "senior national security official" of the Reagan administration "acknowledged that the C.I.A. was providing money and military equipment to the units. He added that Amer-

### Response in Nicaragua and abroad

MANAGUA — *Newsweek* magazine's confirmation of what Sandinista leaders here have been warning about for months — direct U.S. complicity with armed attacks from Honduras — was given prominent coverage on Nicaraguan radio and television and in the press (including in the reactionary daily *La Prensa*).

The November 3 issue of the Sandinista daily *Barricada* carried a Spanish translation of the full text of the *Newsweek* feature.

International reaction to Washington's secret war has begun to be reported here. In Tegucigalpa, Honduras, the 20,000-strong United Workers Federation (FUTH) issued a statement November 3 protesting the Honduran regime's attempt to provoke "a military conflict with Nicaragua."

In Basel, Switzerland, the 50 Social Democratic parties that make up the Socialist International issued a statement

November 4 condemning "plans of military aggression against Nicaragua." The international announced plans for a fact-finding commission that will travel to Nicaragua to obtain first-hand information on the escalating attacks. Among the leaders of the international who will make up the commission are ex-President Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela, ex-Prime Minister Mario Soares of Portugal, and Canadian New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent.

In Paris, French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson met November 4 with visiting Nicaraguan Council of State President Carlos Núñez and assured the Sandinista leader of his government's continued economic and political support for Nicaragua. The Paris daily *Le Matin* published a full-page eyewitness report November 3 from its Honduras correspondent, who fully confirmed *Newsweek's* charges.

— Michael Baumann

icans were also helping to train the anti-Sandinist forces."

The officials cited in the *Times* denied that Washington is trying to overthrow the Sandinista government. *Newsweek* asserts that Reagan's aim in signing the orders for the secret war was "to interdict weapons shipments from Nicaragua to Salvadoran guerrillas."

U.S. allegations of such shipments have never been proved; they are merely the public propaganda cover for Washington's real goal. According to a "well-placed administration source" quoted by *Newsweek*, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders has spoken repeatedly about the need to "get rid of the Sandinistas."

Certainly the Somocistas Washington has armed and organized make no secret about their aims. "Come the counterrevolution, there will be a massacre in Nicaragua," a Somocista officer told *Newsweek*. "We have a lot of scores to settle. There will be bodies from the border to Managua."

Another Somocista told *Newsweek* his forces were ready to invade Nicaragua in force. "We just need to hear from The Boss that it's time to go." Who was this boss, the reporter asked. "He's the man you call 'Mr. Ambassador'" — that is, U.S. Ambassador to Honduras John Negroponte.

"Negroponte is the spearhead," a Washington source told *Newsweek*. "He was sent down there by Haig and Enders to carry out the operation without any qualms of conscience."

According to U.S. and Honduran sources cited by the magazine, "the ambassador has been careful to deal with the Somocistas through intermediaries to preserve his deniability. Asked about U.S. support for Somocistas or other *contras* [counterrevolutionaries] last week, Negroponte said: 'No comment, no comment, and a big fat no comment.'"

The main intermediary is Honduran Defense Minister Gen. Gustavo Alvarez. "They discuss what should be done, and then Alvarez does what Negroponte tells him to," a top Honduran commander told *Newsweek*.

In the November 2 *New York Times*, a "senior intelligence official," was quoted as saying: "Negroponte, as the chief of mission, oversees the operations, but nothing is done without clearing it in Washington first."

Both the *Times* and *Newsweek* indicate that Washington's original plan had called for Argentine advisers to take the central role in supplying and directing the secret war. This would have allowed the U.S. rulers to remain more behind the scenes in the moves to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.

But when the Reagan administration lined up last April behind the British war against Argentina, the sharp anti-imperialist reaction among the Argentine people made it impossible for the Argentine government to carry out the Honduran operation. Since then Washington has had to take much more direct responsibility.

*Newsweek* also reports that congressional

committees set up after the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandals to "oversee" U.S. intelligence agencies have been "adequately briefed" on the current anti-Nicaragua campaign by CIA Director William Casey himself. Not one member of these committees, Democrat or Republican, has come forward to inform the American people about Washington's undeclared war in Central America.

*Newsweek's* report serves to confirm other recent indications that a major attack on Nicaragua from Honduras could come in the next few weeks. "A spokesman for one band, a former national guard lieutenant, says the diverse bands are coordinating for combined attacks later this year," the October 24 *Miami*

*Herald* reported. "Well-placed Honduran and U.S. sources," the September 28 *Wall Street Journal* said, "keep whispering about a November or December invasion."

U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers of unprecedented scope were set to begin December 5, but have now been postponed to January. According to *Newsweek*, these will be held "near one of the most sensitive stretches of the Nicaraguan-Honduran border. The five-day maneuvers will include the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force; they will simulate the freeing of an army garrison from cross-border invaders. A growing number of people on both sides of the border fear the simulation might preview a real war." □

## Military emergency declared

### Somozaist camps discovered inside country

By Jane Harris

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Responding to daily attacks along the northern border of the country with Honduras, the governing Junta of National Reconstruction here declared the entire region a zone of military emergency on November 4.

The decree gives the Sandinista People's Army full authority to use whatever means may be necessary to defend the population.

At the same time, and for the same reasons, the Junta extended the nationwide state of emergency through May 30, 1983.

A news conference held here November 3 used facts, figures, photographs, and slides to document what *Newsweek* magazine's "America's Secret War" only began to detail.

Commander Lenin Cerna, head of Nicaraguan State Security, told reporters that between August and October of this year, counterrevolutionary units based in southern Honduras had:

- Violated Nicaraguan air space 58 times;
- Attacked border posts 37 times;
- Conducted five ambushes against the Sandinista People's Army;
- Attacked three towns along the border; and
- Carried out 33 incursions or infiltrations into Nicaraguan territory.

These attacks — which the Reagan administration has described as mere small-scale "hit and run" operations — have claimed the lives of 37 Sandinista soldiers and wounded 38 others. An additional 47 Nicaraguans, mostly peasants, have been kidnapped and placed in forced-labor brigades to build the counterrevolutionaries' camps inside the country. Few have survived this ordeal.

One aim of last July's U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers, Cerna said, was to prepare for this escalation of the secret war. The maneuvers served as cover for the air delivery of some 4,000 tons of equipment for the Honduran army. Part of this went directly to the counterrevolutionaries.

The aim of the new joint maneuvers scheduled for the coming weeks is to practice establishing a beachhead on Honduras's Caribbean coast — which is essentially identical to the region known in Nicaragua as the Atlantic Coast. Additional plans involve strengthening the counterrevolutionary camps located directly across from the Nicaraguan provinces of Nueva Segovia and Madriz. These camps are staffed by ex-National Guardsmen who were originally recruited from those provinces.

One purpose of the attacks over the last three months, Cerna said, has been to create a diversion to allow some 600 to 800 counterrevolutionaries to slip into Nicaragua.

Another aspect of Washington's growing involvement noted was that the standard rifle now used by the Honduran army is the U.S. M-16. Older weapons are rapidly being turned over to the counterrevolutionaries.

Further proof of collaboration between the ex-guardsmen and the Honduran army came to light in a list Nicaraguan State Security discovered and made public that showed which Honduran army unit works with which counterrevolutionary camp.

Describing one of the camps inside Nicaragua that was broken up, Cerna used slides to point to two things imported by U.S. advisers from their experience in Vietnam. Bamboo was used extensively in the construction of camp facilities — a practice almost unknown in Central America.

Also discovered were compact cells of the kind known as "tiger cages" during the Vietnam War, in which the South Vietnamese forces would jail prisoners and hold them for weeks on end in hope of extracting information, only to kill them afterwards.

Beside one of these cages at the Wina camp in Jinotega lay clothing and skeletons of peasants who had lived nearby and had been kidnapped by the counterrevolutionaries.

Other slides shown by Cerna revealed how well the counterrevolutionary camps had been constructed — solid, two-story facilities capa-

ble of housing 80 men plus officers. The counterrevolutionaries took advantage of the mountainous, unmapped, sparsely populated Wina River of Jinotega to kidnap peasants and force them to build the camps. Most were later killed.

Plans found at the Wina camp revealed a plot to blow up the San Antonio sugar mill,

Nicaragua's largest; to destroy several electric substations; to attack undefended towns; and to harass small Sandinista army and militia units.

Twenty-eight boxes of dynamite were found as well as other weapons, clothing, hammocks, and freeze-dried food rations — all "Made in U.S.A." □

fact that the fate of the revolution in El Salvador is bound up with the course of events in Nicaragua, Guatemala, Honduras — in Central America and the Caribbean as a whole. It pointed to the danger posed by regionalization of the imperialist intervention in Central America, spilling across borders and drawing in regimes, such as the one in Honduras, that are prepared to do the bidding of U.S. imperialism.

The resolution also denounced the escalation of threats against Cuba, emphasizing that these are an integral part of the imperialist offensive against the peoples of the entire region.

Delegates called attention to the use of Honduran troops in El Salvador, and plans for joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers scheduled for December, which pose a grave threat of widening the war already under way against the Nicaraguan revolution.

A representative of the Nicaraguan government was introduced here and was given a standing ovation amid chants of "If Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win too!"

One important decision of the conference was to launch a campaign to promote the creation of committees and associations in defense of Salvadoran refugees — comprised of unions, religious, humanitarian, social, and political organizations.

With the intensification of the terror against the working people of El Salvador, more and more of them are fleeing their country, seeking asylum in the United States and Mexico.

In the United States, this campaign will focus on the demand for legal status for Salvadoran refugees, and the mobilization of opposition to the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill, which would impose a government identity card on all workers in the United States, and also restrict further the right to political asylum.

Within Mexico, the campaign around refugees will center on the demand that the refugee detention center being constructed by the Mexican government in Mexicali be converted into a shelter for refugees — which would house the refugees with their families and provide them with work, medical attention, and education. The conference also demanded that this center be administered jointly by a border commission, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Red Cross, and the refugees themselves.

The central goal of the organizers of the conference was to unite all those forces, on both sides of the border, who are ready to act together to block U.S. military intervention in Central America. Their goal is to help overcome some sectarian obstacles and organizational differences that have at times blocked united action in the United States. The conference took a big step in this direction, succeeding in its goal of beginning to draw a broad range of forces together in solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

A second Mexico-U.S. Border Conference has been scheduled for the end of May 1983 in Tijuana. □

## Central America

# Mexico-U. S. conference forms antiwar group

By Andrea González and Larry Seigle

TIJUANA, Mexico — Hundreds of activists from the United States and Mexico met here October 30–31 to launch a new coalition aimed at mobilizing opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador and throughout Central America.

The conference was called by the Mexican Committee of Solidarity With the Salvadoran People in an attempt to link up with forces in the United States who want to build a broad-based anti-intervention movement.

The Mexican committee works closely with the leadership based in Mexico City of the Salvadoran Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). Delegates from the FMLN-FDR addressed the conference here, giving a detailed report on the advances being registered inside El Salvador, and appealing for solidarity action on an international scale, and especially inside the United States.

Participants from a number of cities in the north of Mexico came from local chapters of the Mexican solidarity committee, as well as from some unions and university campuses.

From the U.S. side of the border, most of the delegates came from local groups in California, Arizona, and Colorado that have been carrying out activities against the U.S. intervention in El Salvador, generally independently of any nationwide coordination. In addition, several representatives of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES) were present.

The new organization established at the conference here is known as the Mexico-U.S. Border Conference in Solidarity With the Salvadoran People. It is formally affiliated to the World Front in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People, which was established in March of this year at an international conference in Mexico City convened by the Mexican solidarity committee.

The conference voted to hold demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Central America on January 22. Concerts and other fundraising activities are set to be held on March 2–8, the anniversary of the founding of the World Front.

The main resolution adopted by the conference was unambiguous in its recognition of the



Conference pointed to dangers posed by regionalization of imperialist intervention in Central America.

# U. S. expands military role

By Will Reissner

The Reagan administration has taken the first step toward expanding the role of the U.S. Marines in Lebanon. On November 4, marines joined French, Italian, and Lebanese troops patrolling East Beirut. Up to now, the U.S. troops had been largely limited to patrolling the area around the Beirut airport.

The 1,200 U.S. Marines currently in Lebanon are working with 1,600 French and 1,000 Italian troops to help Lebanese President Amin Gemayel consolidate his rightist regime. Gemayel came to power after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon defeated Palestinian and Lebanese leftist forces.

The White House hopes to use the dispatch of marines to Lebanon, under the cover of a neutral international "peacekeeping" force, as a precedent for sending U.S. troops to the Middle East to quell popular uprisings against imperialist-backed regimes. Because of strong opposition in the United States to "another Vietnam," Washington was unable to intervene with its own troops against the Iranian revolution, and it has paid a heavy price.

With its foot now in the door in Lebanon, the White House is looking for ways to expand and legitimize the U.S. military presence there. Participating in the patrols of East Beirut provided a golden opportunity.

On the one hand, it is a first step in broadening the U.S. role beyond the Beirut airport. On the other hand, it can be presented as evidence of Washington's alleged evenhandedness, since East Beirut is the stronghold of the rightist Phalange militias.

Most of the dirty work of terrorizing and disarming the Moslem population of West Beirut has already been done. For several weeks the Lebanese army, initially with direct participation by French and Italian troops, combed West Beirut, rooting out Palestinian, leftist, and Muslim opponents of the Gemayel regime. Hundreds were arrested; homes, offices, and mosques searched; and leftist and Muslim self-defense units were disarmed.

Meanwhile, the rightist Christian militias in East Beirut remained heavily armed. President Gemayel himself was a leader of the Phalange before taking office. The Phalange is the force that, with Israeli complicity, carried out the massacres in Palestinian refugee camps in late September.

In recent weeks the Phalange has moved large quantities of its heavy equipment, tanks, and artillery out of Beirut and into areas it controls northeast and east of the capital.

So, the U.S. patrols of East Beirut are merely window dressing for a further expansion of the U.S. Marines into a full-fledged occupation force. No confrontations are expected in East Beirut, since President Gemayel has no plans to disarm the rightist militias there. The

Phalange militia has promised to remain in its barracks while the U.S. troops are on patrol.

The entire operation also occurs under the cover of requests by the sovereign government of Lebanon. While in Washington in late October, Gemayel privately told State Department officials that he might need up to 60,000 troops from the United States and other countries to stabilize his control. The White House then "leaked" this information to the *Washington Post* and other media.

Publicly, Gemayel has stated he would like the U.S.-French-Italian force expanded to 30,000 troops.

The Pentagon also announced on November 2 that Washington had proposed undertaking a major training role for the Lebanese army. The aid plan is said to involve 50 to 60 U.S. military advisers, a permanent security assistance office in Beirut, and large amounts of equipment.

French President François Mitterrand has already offered Gemayel more French troops and military aid to increase the strength of Gemayel's army and police forces. France ruled Lebanon as a colony in the period be-



Marines on patrol in Lebanon

tween the two world wars.

The military aid from Washington and Paris would be used to double the size of the Lebanese army from its present strength of some 20,000 troops.

Concurrent with these moves to bolster imperialist support to the rightist Lebanese government, the regime went before the country's parliament November 2 to ask it to allow Gemayel to rule by decree for eight months. □

## UN shelves vote to expel Israel

By Suzanne Haig

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. — On October 26, the UN General Assembly voted to shelve an amendment to the credentials committee report calling for Israel's expulsion. The amendment had been proposed by the Iranian delegation.

The motion to halt debate passed 75 to 9, with 74 countries either absent from the vote or abstaining. The governments voting to continue discussion were Iran, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Cuba, Grenada, Libya, Nicaragua, and Vietnam.

Iran's challenge to Israel's membership in the UN had been put forward the previous day by the Iranian ambassador, Dr. Rajaie-Khorassani. Attempts to rule the motion out of order failed.

Rajaie-Khorassani's motion went beyond the proposal in a letter sent to the General Assembly that was drawn up by the governments of several Arab countries and had been signed by 49 nations, including Iran. That letter had expressed reservations about Israel's credentials because of its failure to obey UN resolutions, such as the call for its withdrawal from Lebanon.

The letter was the result of a compromise over an earlier proposal by several Arab regimes to expel Israel. Under diplomatic blackmail from Washington, including the threat to cease financial support to the UN, the

letter expressing reservations with Israel was substituted.

Explaining why his government had nonetheless decided to make the motion to expel Israel, Dr. Rajaie-Khorassani stated, "We do not believe that a forgery, an illegitimate State, should be here. We know all the compromises, all the patterns of diplomacy, but in spite of all that we believe that a blatant forgery, a 35-year-old injustice, should no longer be tolerated."

Rajaie-Khorassani said that Israel had been imposed upon the peoples of the Middle East and upon the United Nations by imperialism. "Israel does not represent the people residing in the territories occupied by the Zionists and then called Israel," he said. He also pointed out that "Israel has openly and blatantly ignored the Geneva Convention pertaining to the protection of civilians in occupied territories. . . . All those who believe in the inalienable rights of the Palestinians should fight any attempt to trample upon those rights. . . ."

Dr. Rajaie-Khorassani told *Intercontinental Press* that it was important to make such a proposal now, "because millions of Americans and people around the world are outraged at the atrocities committed by Israel in West Beirut and are more supportive to the Palestinian people than in the past." □

# Workers give big victory to Socialists

*A vote against austerity and war, for democratic rights*

By José G. Pérez

The major news media have been billing the sweeping victory of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) in the October 28 parliamentary elections as the "personal triumph" of party leader Felipe González.

But the importance of the election results lies elsewhere. The unprecedented scale of the PSOE victory expresses the growing resistance of the Spanish masses to the capitalist offensive against their democratic rights and standard of living.

By voting for the PSOE, working people expressed their opposition to the double-digit inflation and unemployment they have suffered for years. Since 1976, unemployment has skyrocketed from 5 percent to more than 15 percent, and inflation has averaged well over 15 percent. Workers' wages have lagged far behind inflation.

The vote for the PSOE also expressed workers' opposition to making Spain a part of NATO, the imperialist military alliance. Demonstrations against joining NATO have drawn up to half a million people in Spain.

The vote was a firm rebuff to those who tried to blackmail voters with the threat that a PSOE victory would lead to a right-wing military coup. By electing the socialists, workers demonstrated their resolve to consolidate and extend the gains won since the end of the Franco dictatorship, and deal a decisive blow to the forces trying to return to Francoism.

## Giant election rallies

By voting for the PSOE so massively, giving it an absolute parliamentary majority, working people expressed their belief that all these problems facing the Spanish masses could not begin to be solved without a workers

party in government.

The PSOE's central slogan — "For change!" — struck a responsive chord among masses of Spaniards. From the beginning, the PSOE rallies far outdrew those of all other parties, and by the end of the campaign there was simply no comparison: Whereas the PSOE drew a huge throng estimated at between 250,000 and 500,000 to its closing rally, its main capitalist opponent — the Popular Alliance (AP) — drew only 50,000. The Democratic and Social Center (CDS) of former Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez drew only 3,000 and the Union of the Democratic Center (UCD) — the outgoing governing party — did not even bother to hold a windup event.

The outcome of the voting confirmed the massive surge toward the PSOE. The 79.5 percent voter turnout set a new record, as did the 46 percent of the popular vote captured by the PSOE. (The UCD had won the previous elections with about 35 percent.)

The PSOE took 201 of the 350 seats in the congress, the first time ever any party has won such an outright majority.

Supporters of the PSOE celebrated the triumph until early the next morning. Even at four in the morning, traffic in the center of Madrid was still tied up.

The Communist Party (PCE), Spain's other mass working-class party, won about 4 percent of the vote, retaining only 5 of the 23 seats it held in the outgoing parliament. Despite this showing, the PCE remains a powerful force in the Spanish working-class movement. The trade-union federation it leads, the Workers Commissions (CCOO), is slightly larger than the PSOE-led General Union of Workers (UGT), and is especially strong among industrial workers.

Reports published in the U.S. press do not say whether the smaller formations that present themselves as being to the left of the PCE and PSOE won any seats. These currents are especially strong in the Basque Country, one of the oppressed nations within Spain, and radical nationalists there had been expected to win several seats.

## Capitalists shift to right

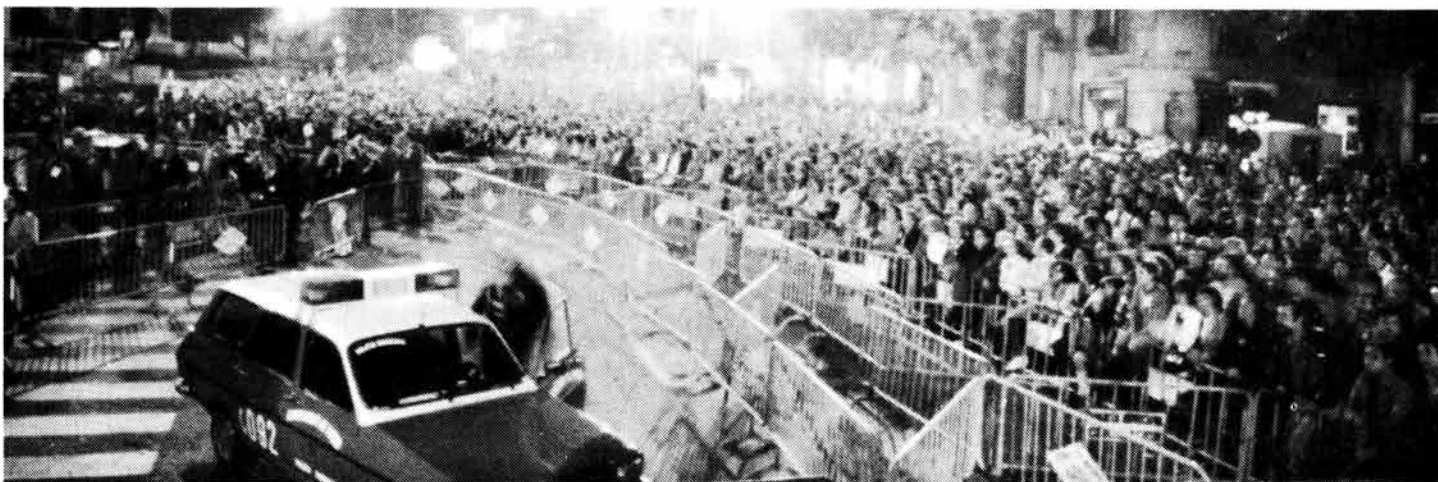
The elections also reflected a sharp shift to the right by the capitalist parties.

The staunchly right-wing Popular Alliance came in second with 25 percent of the vote and 106 deputies, a big jump from the 5.8 percent and 9 seats it won in 1979.

Although it presents itself as the "democratic right," the AP is headed by Manuel Fraga Iribarne, a former member of fascist dictator Francisco Franco's cabinet. His campaign themes echoed traditional Francoist propaganda: "defense of the family" (opposition to abortion and contraception rights and to divorce) and "Spanish unity" (denial of the right of self-determination to the oppressed nations within Spain).

In past years, the bulk of the Spanish ruling class had not backed the AP, since it is tainted with Francoism and justly hated by the working people. Instead, they backed the Union of the Democratic Center coalition, also headed by former Francoists, but ones with a more "democratic" image. The UCD had won a plurality in the 1977 and 1979 elections.

The UCD was virtually wiped out as a significant national political organization in these elections. It won only 12 seats, compared to 168 three years ago. It was the disintegration of the UCD coalition over the summer that led to the calling of general elections a year before



Celebration outside PSOE headquarters election night



the laws required it.

The shift to the right by the capitalist class is not a sudden development.

Following the death of dictator Francisco Franco in 1975, a massive working-class upsurge forced the government to grant extensive concessions. The rulers legalized the working-class parties and unions, lifted restrictions on the press, granted limited home rule to the Basque and Catalan oppressed nations, and held general elections.

#### 1981 coup attempt

As the crisis of capitalism in Spain deepened, the rulers began to chop away at these concessions. In February of 1981, a section of the army tried to stage a coup. This attempt did not have the backing of the decisive sectors of the ruling class or the officer corps and it failed. But the ruling class seized the offensive after the coup attempt to ram through a new "antiterrorist" law and to restrict the powers of the local Catalan and Basque authorities.

The capitalists have continued to use the threat of a coup as a club against the working people. On October 2 of this year three colonels were arrested for plotting a new coup, to be carried out the day before the vote. Although the plotters' papers named some 200 officers whose cooperation could be counted on, all but the three colonels remain at their posts.

Fraga Iribarne tried to use the coup threat to scare people into voting against the PSOE. Following the February 1981 attempt, he called for understanding of the plotters' concerns. And during the recent election campaign he stressed that, under an AP government, the threat of a coup would be eliminated.

Although some top PSOE leaders have called for arresting all 200 officers involved in the latest plot, González instead has focused on calls for avoiding provocations and on promises of moderation.

Apart from the general calls "for change" that sought to capitalize on the discontent of the Spanish masses, the PSOE did not present a program for far-reaching transformation of Spanish society, or even substantial reforms.

Spain is a prison house of nations. The Basque and Catalan nations are the most industrially developed part of Spain and account for more than one-fifth of the population. Struggles in defense of their own languages, cultures, and other national rights have been especially strong in those areas. Galicia, a mostly rural zone, constitutes yet a third oppressed nation.

The PSOE leadership has not defended the struggles of these oppressed peoples; instead, it has increasingly taken its distance from them. This led to the capitalist Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) running as strongly as the PSOE in the area — although in 1977 the PSOE had won more than the PNV.

Another hot issue in the elections was Spanish affiliation to NATO. The PSOE opposed the outgoing government's decision to join NATO, and campaigned on the promise of

holding a referendum on the issue. Following the election, authoritative party spokespeople said discussions on the integration of Spain into NATO's military structure would be frozen indefinitely.

#### U.S. bases

Related to this issue is a new treaty for the continuation of U.S. use of four military bases in Spain. Negotiations on this treaty were concluded in July, but it has yet to be ratified by the Spanish parliament. The PSOE is not opposed to the U.S. use of these bases as such, but says it wants to renegotiate the pact.

Among the factors involved in this renegotiation are the Spanish bourgeoisie's interests as an imperialist ruling class in its own right. Spanish capitalists have important interests in Latin America and the Arab countries, which has led to conflicts with some U.S. foreign policy moves.

Another important issue in Spanish politics is the farm question. Nineteen percent of the

economically active population in Spain is involved in agriculture (compared to 37 percent in industry).

In Felipe González's native Andalucía — the largest and one of the poorest regions in Spain — this question is especially acute. A few thousand landowners own millions of hectares. There is rampant unemployment and one-fourth of the population is illiterate. It was a sweeping PSOE victory in the Andalusian regional elections last May that led to the breakup of the UCD and the call for general elections.

The PSOE electoral sweep has put Spanish workers in a stronger position to fight on all these questions. To a large degree what will happen next in Spanish politics depends not on the PSOE leadership, but on how successfully working people use the openings created by this advance to strengthen their unions and other organizations and to set them on a course of fighting in defense of the interests of the working class and all the oppressed. □

## LCR's stance in Spanish elections

The Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), section of the Fourth International in Spain, presented candidates in 48 electoral districts out of a total of 52.

In 18 of these districts, the LCR participated in electoral blocs with other organizations, either radical-nationalist currents, such as in Valencia and Galicia, or groups such as the Communist Movement of Spain (MCE) in Catalonia, Madrid, and other areas.

The LCR's section in the Basque country, the LKI, carried out an election campaign but withdrew its candidates before the actual vote and called instead for support to Herri Batasuna, a radical Basque-nationalist current.

The central slogan put forward by the LCR in its campaign was "Don't let them short-change you, come with the left that fights." In an interview published in the November 1 issue of the Paris magazine *International Viewpoint*, LCR leader Jaime Pastor said, "Around this slogan, we have elaborated five themes of the campaign.

"First of all, the struggle against the continuous threat of a coup d'état. This demands, we say, a radical purge of the state apparatus.

"Against the LOAPA [a recent law that further curtails the limited autonomy various nationalities in the Spanish state had achieved] we say, 'Down with LOAPA, self-determination for the nationalities in the Spanish state.

"On unemployment, we say that, as there are two million unemployed, two million jobs should be created, through im-

mediate investment, and that unemployment benefits should be instituted for all women and men. And, if money is needed, then it should be taken from where it is, by nationalising the banks.

"We demand immediate withdrawal from NATO and the calling of a referendum on this question, the removal of American bases in Spain, and refusal of nuclear weapons. . . .

"We demand, which is very important, legalisation of abortion rights, for this medical service to be free and reimbursed by social security."

Pastor went on to explain that the LCR had not developed "a general programme for the elections. We preferred to put the emphasis mainly on these five themes, to try to get electoral alliances with the radical and revolutionary left."

The results of that effort, Pastor said, were "very uneven." Alliances were formed in four areas with the MCE. Those agreements, Pastor said, "constitute a step forward in unity between the two parties."

Pastor summarized the LCR's "voting advice" as follows:

"Where we have not formalised common candidates we call for a vote for nationalist radical formations . . . for worker candidates of the reformist left in the rest of the Spanish state. This is an orientation which takes account of our objective, to strengthen the radical left and our comradely relations with different forces in this current. But where there are not significant candidatures of the radical left we call for a vote for the reformist left parties, against the right."

# New boost for agriculture

## Bishop secures French aid for East Caribbean

By Fred Murphy

During a three-day visit to France in mid-September, Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop reached agreement with the Mitterrand government on important French economic aid not only for Grenada but for all seven of the small island nations that make up the Organization of East Caribbean States (OECS).

The French government's Fund for Aid and Cooperation, currently budgeted at \$147 million, is to provide grants to Caribbean countries for the first time. In the past, the fund has been almost entirely limited to former French colonies in Africa.

Grenada will receive French assistance in the development of agriculture, agro-industries, food distribution, education, and public health. The French government also agreed to help in setting up a new television network; the island had no television before the 1979 revolution.

Agreements were also signed for the improvement of air transportation between Grenada and the French colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the Caribbean.

In a news conference upon his return to Grenada, Prime Minister Bishop pointed out that while the Reagan administration's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) is a "one-shot affair," the French aid will bring a "massive new injection of grant money into the seven island states of the Eastern Caribbean on a yearly basis."

In reporting on the aid agreement, the October 1 issue of the Grenadian weekly *New Jewel* noted: "The Grenada that Reagan and his warmongers claim is a threat to the security of the Caribbean is in fact more concerned about the well being of the region's peoples than the US. Washington's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) seeks to use most of the US aid



to this region to build up the war machinery of reactionary governments like the one in El Salvador. Countries genuinely interested in social progress and justice like Grenada, Nicaragua and Cuba were left out of the [U.S.] plan."

In fact, of the \$350 million Reagan requested for the CBI, \$128 million was to go to the dictatorship in El Salvador, a country whose coasts do not even touch the Caribbean.

The October 2 issue of Grenada's *Free West Indian* reported the response of the People's Revolutionary Government to accusations by Prime Minister John Compton of the neighboring island of St. Lucia. Compton charged that Grenada was not interested in regional integration or regional unity.

"This statement is contradicted by reality," the Grenadian government replied. "As a matter of policy members of the PRG always seek whenever and wherever possible to make rep-

resentation on behalf of Grenada's fellow Caricom [Caribbean Community] small states." The statement added that this "is part of a wide commitment to the cause of small island and other specially disadvantaged states."

In addition to the French aid, Grenada has also been successful in recent months in obtaining development grants, loans, and markets for its products from other countries. During a July visit to Moscow, Bishop signed agreements for a \$1.4 million grant for the purchase of steel, flour, and other essential goods. The Soviet Union also gave Grenada a 10-year credit of \$7.7 million for the purchase of equipment.

In a speech to the Productive Farmers Union's second general meeting on October 10, Bishop announced that the Soviet Union had agreed to purchase 500 tons of Grenadian nutmeg on a yearly basis. This amounts to more than 20 percent of the nutmeg crop, which is one of Grenada's principal exports. Algeria would purchase 100 tons of nutmeg this year, Bishop said.

The East German government is providing \$3.8 million in credit for improvements in Grenada's telephone system. Part of this will go to establish direct communications between the small island of Carriacou and the rest of the country.

Tractors are being supplied to Grenada by East Germany and by Cuba. Forty tractors were being donated by Cuba, Bishop told the farmers' gathering.

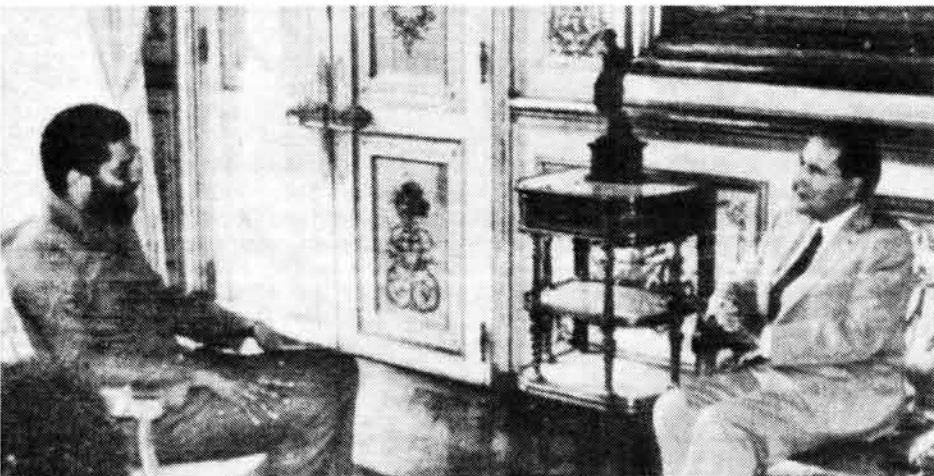
A major aspect of the Grenadian government's program to spur agricultural development is the establishment of agricultural training schools where unemployed youth are given 12-week courses in scientific farming techniques. Upon graduation, the students are urged to set up agricultural cooperatives, with help from government loans and guaranteed marketing outlets.

The first class of 34 students graduated September 30 from the La Sagesse school. A second school was opened at Bocage on September 17, and three more will open in coming months.

Also crucial to improved agriculture is the repair and construction of roads in Grenada's countryside. Work is now under way on 39 miles of farm roads in four parishes. According to the October 13 *Free West Indian*, Agriculture Minister George Louison "feels that these roads mean a tremendous opening for farmers, since some of the areas had gone out of production completely. Farmers are again going back to their land, he said."

Voluntary labor by farmers and other Grenadians is an important part of the road program, the *Free West Indian* said.

In other news from Grenada, five persons accused in a June 19, 1980, terrorist bombing were to go on trial October 18. That attack occurred during a mass rally in St. George's, the capital, and was aimed at assassinating Prime Minister Bishop and other New Jewel Movement leaders. Three young women were killed and dozens were injured. □



Bishop and Mitterrand during Paris meeting

# The fight against imperialist domination

*Interview with leader of United People's Movement*

**By Baxter Smith**

KINGSTON, St. Vincent — This Eastern Caribbean island — part of the Grenadines chain just north of Grenada — has a Black, English-speaking population of slightly more than 100,000.

On September 10, I spoke with Adrian Saunders, a member of the Executive Committee of the United People's Movement (UPM). I asked him about the impact of the Grenada revolution in St. Vincent and the response to U.S. threats of intervention in the Caribbean. He also described the political and economic situation here, and the development of the UPM.

After the March 13, 1979, revolution in Grenada, Saunders said, "there was great euphoria among the masses in St. Vincent. People thought it was good to see the back of [former dictator] Eric Gairy. It was good to hear that there was a revolutionary government in Grenada."

Since then, he explained, there has been an escalating barrage of anti-Grenada propaganda by the imperialist media and counterrevolutionary forces in the Caribbean. Nonetheless, he said, the concrete achievements of the Grenada revolution are spurring people to take a firsthand look. The UPM has encouraged trips to Grenada — St. Vincent's closest neighbor — which "has made a considerable dent in the credibility of anti-Grenada propagandists," Saunders said.

Recently, as U.S. threats intensified, warships moved into the area, and the commander of the U.S. Caribbean fleet visited St. Vincent. In response, Saunders said, it is "absolutely necessary to reintensify our solidarity with Grenada, Cuba, Nicaragua, with Surinam, and with all those battling against imperialism like we are."

The UPM, he noted, has established relations with the New Jewel Movement of Grenada and the Communist Party of Cuba, which for two years has offered scholarships for study in Cuba. "So far we have not come under any pressure from the government for taking them," Saunders said, "mainly because, I suspect, of the government's own inability to offer scholarships."

## **Corruption and mismanagement**

St. Vincent is a former British colony whose economy is dependent on agriculture and tourism. Most of its revenue comes from bananas, which it exports to the United States, Britain, and Canada. It has no mineral wealth, and its fishing industry is undeveloped.

Since 1967 — except for 1972-74 — the St.

Vincent Labor Party has held office. Despite its name, it is a capitalist party. Saunders explained that the government has taken a number of steps to increase production and diversify the island's economy, since the bourgeoisie in St. Vincent is very weak.

But these economic policies have not brought the expected benefits. Corruption and mismanagement are rampant.

At the same time, the government is trying to lure imperialist investors with the promise of cheap labor. Several U.S. companies have moved garment and assembly plants to St. Vincent.

"The government advised some of these firms against paying the salaries they were willing to pay at first," Saunders pointed out, "because they were offering a little more than the national average."

In 1979, the Labor Party was reelected, winning 11 of the 13 seats in parliament. It ran on an anticommunist platform. A few days later, there was an uprising on nearby Union Island, which is part of St. Vincent. Unhappy with the results of the election, a group of young people attacked the police station. Within 24 hours, the rebellion was put down.

## **Attacks on democratic rights**

The government used the incident as a pretext for a general crackdown on democratic rights. It declared a six-month state of emergency and tried to link opposition parties, particularly the UPM, to the revolt. It also invited in soldiers from Barbados to aid in terrorizing the local population.

"We saw this as the first sign of a growing authoritarianism within the Labor Party," Saunders said. When the state of emergency was lifted, the government was faced with increasing labor unrest as a result of its inability to deal with the country's economic problems. It tried, Saunderson said, to pass two pieces of legislation that "would in effect have stripped the unions of all rights."

One, an amendment to the Essential Services Act, would have declared all forms of job action illegal in any industry the government deemed "essential." The other, the Public Safety and Public Order bill, made it a crime to intend "to excite disaffection between classes" — in other words, to criticize the government.

A wave of protest swept the country. Thousands of people turned out for demonstrations and meetings organized by the National Committee in Defense of Democracy. The Commercial, Technical, and Allied Workers Union (CTAWU), the most powerful union in St. Vincent, played an important role. After a

demonstration of 15,000 — nearly 15 percent of the island's population — the government was forced to quietly withdraw its repressive bills.

In January 1982, however, it passed the Representation of the People Act. According to Saunders, this law "allows the government to rig the elections." It gives the cabinet responsibility for conducting elections, which means that the Labor Party appoints polling officials. The law also requires voters to present identification cards.

## **Workers and farmers**

Saunders went on to describe the situation of the labor movement in St. Vincent, noting that the majority of workers are unorganized. The CTAWU represents 4,000 workers in industry, government, and services. It is affiliated with the Caribbean Congress of Labor, which in turn is affiliated with the AFL-CIO in the United States. St. Vincent has no trade union federation of its own.

Although the CTAWU's leadership has traditionally supported the Labor Party, it is not monolithic. "There are possibilities for working with the CTAWU on certain issues," Saunders explained, "but sometimes it is a stumbling block."

The other important union is the St. Vincent Union of Teachers (SVUT), in which the UPM has a large number of cadres.

Saunders also had a lot to say about the situation of farmers in St. Vincent. Up until the late 1960s, he explained, about two-thirds of the arable land was concentrated in the hands of 9 or 10 families. But the owners were not planting, and their estates were heavily mortgaged. In the 1970s, the government bought up a number of them, divided the land, and resold it. This process is still going on.

But the farmers are being squeezed out. They had leased the lands that are now being sold, but cannot afford to buy them. As a result, Saunders pointed out, professionals from the towns are buying the land, and "the bulk of farmers are still landless or have less land than they can use."

Saunders cited the example of farmers on one estate who had lived there and worked for years to increase production — only to have it taken away. "Now the Labor Party government has sought to deny them not just ownership of the land, but fair means of having use of the land. In fact, they have set up very stringent conditions and costs for the use of each acre," Saunders explained. This provoked a protest demonstration in May.

Farmers, however, have been hampered by

a lack of organization. The National Farmers Union, in which the UPM is playing a leadership role, is now beginning to organize farmers.

The Organization for Rural Development, tied to the ruling Labor Party, also does work in the countryside. It has what Saunders called "very close and fraternal links with the U.S. State Department." They recently got EC\$3 million — US\$1.14 million — which is more than the government receives in agricultural aid, from the United States.

#### Political evolution

The UPM recently celebrated its first anniversary. Saunders traced its origins to the Black Power protests that spread throughout the Caribbean in the early 1970s. He singled out two groups, the Organization for Black Cultural Awareness (OBICA) and the Black Liberation Action Committee (BLAC), that arose at that time. In 1974, these two groups merged with the Young Socialist Group to form YULIMO — Youlou United Liberation Movement. According to Saunders, YULIMO developed rapidly into a Marxist-Leninist organization, although "our clarity on Marxism-Leninism was not as clear then as it is now."

YULIMO published a weekly newspaper, *Freedom*, and in 1976 came out with a program that called for nationalizing estates of more than 200 acres and giving the government greater control over banks, insurance companies, and utilities. Saunders described it as "a general socialist-oriented type of program." YULIMO cadres were also in the leadership of mass organizations such as the teachers union and the National Youth Council.

Two years later, with an eye toward the 1979 elections, YULIMO moved to link up with two other organizations — the People's Democratic Movement (PDM) and a peasant-based group called ARWEE. The resulting electoral bloc, the United People's Movement Alliance (UPMA), won almost 15 percent of the vote. "In the four months that the UPMA was in existence," Saunders pointed out, "that has to be considered a tremendous victory."

Following the elections, YULIMO and ARWEE pursued merger discussions that led to the formation of the UPM, which held its first congress in August 1981. An extraordinary congress will be held later this year, Saunders said, to chart the UPM's organizational methods and political course.

One thing the organization has been united on from the start was "that the UPM was anti-imperialist," Saunders noted. "We are very much against the aggressive U.S. policies in the Caribbean. And very much socialist-oriented on the questions of Cuba and Grenada. It was clear that these countries had our deepest solidarity." □

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

## Northern Ireland

# Sinn Féin wins five seats

## Election shows mass rejection of British rule

By Will Reissner

Five members of Sinn Féin — the political party aligned with the Irish Republican Army (IRA) — were elected October 20 to the British-sponsored Northern Ireland Assembly. Their election again shows the mass support that exists for the IRA and its uncompromising struggle to free Northern Ireland from British rule.

Their victory also dashes the hopes of the British occupiers that a new assembly, with its built-in loyalist (pro-British) majority, would provide a semblance of legitimacy to continued colonial rule. Northern Ireland has been ruled directly from London since the local parliament was toppled in 1972 under the weight of the mass civil rights movement and the reemergence of the IRA as a political force in the occupied part of Ireland.

The Sinn Féin candidates vowed, if elected, to boycott the assembly, which is an institution of colonial domination. Three of the five candidates who won seats have spent time in British jails for their political activity.

Despite constant harassment of Sinn Féin campaign workers and candidates by the British army and police, the party received nearly 40 percent of the vote in Catholic areas.

Sinn Féin and other nationalist forces had initially called for a total boycott of the assembly elections by all forces claiming to represent the nationalist population of Northern Ireland.

The boycott was broken, however, when the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) announced it would run a slate of candidates. The SDLP claims to support the reunification of Ireland but abstains from the mass republican struggle and joins in the ruling-class condemnations of the IRA.

In response to the SDLP's announced participation, Sinn Féin decided to put up 12 candidates, the minimum required for television and radio time for its campaign.

For years the SDLP — using the fact that

Sinn Féin boycotted all elections in Northern Ireland — has presented itself as the real leadership of the nationalist population. Being the only candidates with any ties to the Catholic community, the SDLP has received the votes of many people as a lesser-evil alternative to the Loyalists.

But since the 1981 hunger strike by 10 republican prisoners in British jails in Northern Ireland, the SDLP has no longer been able to represent the nationalist population by default. During the hunger strike, republicans put up hunger-striker Bobby Sands in an election for the British Parliament, forcing the SDLP to withdraw its candidate. Following Sands's victory and subsequent death, the seat was won by republican Owen Carron, who refuses to serve in that body.

During the hunger strike, the SDLP was also challenged in local government elections. Proindependence candidates of People's Democracy and the Irish Republican Socialist Party defeated well-known SDLP leaders for posts on the Belfast City Council.

Among the Sinn Féin candidates elected to the Northern Ireland Assembly were Owen Carron; Gerry Adams, the vice-president of Sinn Féin and a leading spokesperson for the hunger strikers last year; and Danny Morrison, Sinn Féin's national director of publicity.

Sinn Féin has also announced it will run Gerry Adams in the upcoming election for the Belfast seat in the British Parliament now held by Gerry Fitt, a longtime leader of the SDLP. If elected, Adams will refuse to take the seat.

The election results indicate that the demobilization of the nationalist population following the deaths of the 10 hunger strikers did not mark any ebb in republican sentiment. Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a leading figure in the struggle for freedom in Northern Ireland, commented in New York on October 26: "We went through a very bad year after the hunger strike, which is very understandable politically, emotionally, and humanly. But the election shows that people have rolled up their sleeves and said, 'Let's get at it again!'"

In its election manifesto, Sinn Féin calls for the reunification of Ireland and the establishment of "a thirty-two county, democratic, socialist republic."

Fourteen members of the SDLP were also elected to the assembly. Although they too pledged to boycott that body, Britain's Northern Ireland secretary of state, James Prior, hopes to change their minds. To that end he invited the elected SDLP candidates to take part in talks on the assembly's functioning, while pointedly excluding Sinn Féin from the invitation. □



British troops harass Gerry Adams.

An Phoblacht

# Workers face rising unemployment

## Why wage restraint won't save jobs

By Jonathan West

[The following article appeared in the October 5 issue of the Australian socialist weekly *Direct Action*.]

\* \* \*

In the past seven years unemployment has emerged as a grim reality for Australian workers. In 1974, unemployment stood at 2.6 per cent on official figures. Today it stands at 6.9 per cent, and next year most analysts believe it will go to at least 10 per cent.

Moreover, it should be remembered that the official figures are substantially lower than the real figures since they are based on the estimate of unemployment that excludes a large number of people who would work if they could — the so-called hidden unemployed.

In human and economic terms these figures reflect massive waste. They represent a waste of society's productive resources and frequently the destruction of people's lives.

Plans for the future go out the window when you lose your job. Suicide figures, for example, have jumped in recent years in direct proportion to increases in the number out of work.

Over the last year, as the world recession has hit Australia, unemployment has again begun to rise steeply. The most severely hit industries have been in the manufacturing sector: those least able to compete.

In the last year it also seems that everyone has come up with a different proposal to handle the problem.

However, in recent months a consensus has emerged between most employers and key sections of the labor officialdom.

It is this: The way to slow down unemployment, they say, is to forego wage increases and other advances in working conditions such as shorter working hours.

### Bosses' lies

Their argument is the essence of simplicity. They say that the bosses simply cannot afford to pay more, and that if unions force them to give in to higher wages they will not be able to make sufficient profit to justify maintaining current production and will be "forced" to lay off their employees.

While at first sight this argument appears almost self-evident, a closer look reveals it to be totally false.

Even leaving aside the obvious conclusion that workers should not have to pay when the bosses' system is in crisis, and that the result of this course would be real cuts in workers' living standards, efforts by workers to try to protect themselves by ensuring that their bosses'

businesses remain profitable are doomed to failure.

Wage restraint will not stop, and is not even likely to slow down, the rise in unemployment. The workers' movement must look elsewhere for a way to counter the crisis.

The bosses' claim that the reason they have had to lay off so many workers is that they face steeply increased labor costs is not borne out by the government's own statistics.

The figures show that if anything the cost of labor to employers has fallen since 1975.

The slight increase since 1978 could not possibly have produced the rapid leap in the number of jobless that we've seen over the last year.

The real cause of unemployment is the world capitalist recession and is being reflected in Australia and the replacement of jobs by labor-saving technology.

It is only by looking at the question in this context that we can understand why wage restraint is no solution to the unemployment crisis.

### Overproduction and wage cuts

Because the fundamental problem faced by the capitalist system is overproduction of commodities, business can't sell even the amount they are currently producing.

If wage costs fell, the obvious result would be an increase in profits. But it does not at all follow that the employers would therefore hire more workers or even slow down significantly the rate at which they are now laying off.

There would be no benefit in increasing production of goods when even the present amount cannot be sold at a profit.

The only way reduced wages could lead to lower rates of unemployment is if wages were cut savagely.

Australian capitalists would have to gain a competitive edge over their foreign competitors by being able to sell more cheaply and still make a profit. Exports would have to rise substantially.

This is the kind of "solution" the bosses are in favor of.

But from the workers' point of view the "cure" would be worse than the illness.

The size of the cuts necessary to achieve these ends would be enormous. Living standards for workers would have to be reduced to well below what they have been since World War II.

However, even in this circumstance, unemployment would be unlikely to fall significantly. The amount of extra sales Australian capitalists could win overseas would be offset

by the fall at home, as workers had less to spend.

Moreover, all capitalist countries are attempting to push through the same measures against their own working classes, so a large increase in total exports is far from assured.

To restore capitalism to "health," both a rise in the rate of profit and the opening of new markets for sales and investment are necessary.

The only way to achieve that today, short of a major new world war, would be a 1930s-type depression.

But even that unattractive option would not necessarily remove the blight of unemployment. During the 1930s, when wages were cut drastically, unemployment did not really begin to fall until the war.

The fact is that today there is no way to harmonise the interests of bosses and workers. The search for deals and ways to "manage" the system out of its crisis can only fail.

The labor movement must defend the interests of *all workers at the expense of bosses*. If it doesn't the bosses will advance *their* interests at the expense of workers.

### Working-class solutions

One obvious way to fight unemployment is the 35-hour workweek with no loss in pay. If there is too little work to justify everyone working a 40-hour week, why not have everyone work less?

From the angle of social needs the point seems elementary. But when the profit factor is added into the equation a totally different picture emerges.

The bosses claim that with the recession they can't afford it. They claim their businesses will become unprofitable and they'll have to shut down. They argue a 35-hour workweek will mean greater unemployment.

In other words what they are saying is that *their* system cannot meet social needs.

They demand the right to lay off as they see fit. And they demand that the workers left in jobs take cuts in their living standards so businesses can continue to make a profit and, perhaps, not cut jobs further.

There is no way to guarantee jobs so long as control of society's factories, mines, and all other productive resources are left in the hands of capitalists, who run them in order to make the greatest possible profit.

To guarantee jobs today we need to fight for the nationalisation of companies that threaten lay-offs, and for massive public works programs to build schools, low-cost housing, hos-

pitals, and other badly needed facilities.

The money to pay for it has to come from the profits of the big corporations.

The Labor Party could do this in government if it was really committed to fighting for the interests of working people.

Only these kind of socialist policies can stop unemployment in the long term.

But this doesn't mean that there's nothing we can do until a real socialist government is installed. The key to stopping lay-offs is understanding what makes the bosses tick.

The only way to forstall lay-offs is to make it more unprofitable for them to sack workers than to continue to employ them.

If workers are united within industries, and across different industries, an effective fight can be mounted.

For example, when the BHP board of direc-

tors announces that it will lay off workers in one steelworks, if all the workers there respond by walking out BHP will have to think twice.

If workers from BHP's other industries joined the action, the effect would be powerful.

But there is no point fooling ourselves that unemployment can be permanently done away with under capitalism. It can't. Socialist solutions might sound drastic to supporters of this system, but the fact is that unemployment is here to stay so long as the right to make the decisions about who has a job is left in the hands of people committed only to profits.

There is no easy way to end it. There is no way we can "sacrifice a little" to save our jobs. We have a choice: either accept growing unemployment, or fight back on the political and industrial front. □

trade union movement to be able to present an alternative to the parties of Trudeau and Clark. . . .

"We have to work to convince the NDP and our unions to build solidarity with the Québécois against the Trudeau government and to defend their right to self-determination."

The September 27 *Socialist Voice* explained, "Working people and their organizations need to fight for a different kind of government: a workers and farmers government. A government which is prepared to confront the wealthy corporations. A government determined to enact socialist policies in the interests of the overwhelming majority who produce the wealth of this country."

Such a government would follow "policies to create jobs for the million and a half unemployed and to ensure the livelihood of thousands of small farmers threatened with bank takeovers." It would achieve "the conversion of Canada's enormous \$7 billion war budget to peaceful and productive services, like affordable housing and free daycare centers for working people."

"At the center of the campaigns of the RWL mayoral candidates," *Socialist Voice* explained, "will be the need for *independent labor political action*, for presenting a working-class alternative to the bosses' parties at every level of government." □

---

## Canada

---

# Socialists present candidates

## Workers run for mayor in four cities

The Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian section of the Fourth International, has announced candidates for mayor in four major cities where municipal elections are to be held in November.

In Vancouver, British Columbia, the RWL's candidate is Ned Dmytryshyn, a woodworker at Macmillan Bloedel's White Pine sawmill.

The RWL is running Dan Grant, a laid-off steelworker, for mayor of Hamilton, Ontario, and in Toronto the candidate is auto worker Wendy Johnston.

In Montréal, Québec (where the RWL is known as the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire), Katy LeRougetel is running for mayor. She is an aerospace worker and a member of the International Association of Machinists. LeRougetel was one of three women fired from Pratt and Whitney aircraft's Montréal plant in 1979 because of their socialist views.

According to an editorial in the September 27 issue of the RWL's fortnightly, *Socialist Voice*, "the RWL candidates are not just campaigning for a socialist city hall. They are also campaigning against the Liberal [Party] government of Pierre Trudeau which, like Clark's Tory [Conservative Party] government before it, is acting not on our behalf but only in the interests of the ruling rich."

Trudeau is demanding that the trade unions "voluntarily" emulate his government's mandatory plan to limit public-employee wage increases to 6 percent this year and 5 percent next year — at a time when inflation has been in double digits for more than two years. Official unemployment in Canada stands at more than 12 percent, or 1.3 million out of work.

The true figure is more than 2 million, according to *Socialist Voice*.

Trudeau went on countrywide television for three consecutive nights in mid-October to plead for support to his austerity program. "In our country," Trudeau admitted, "as we face winter, men and women — almost a million and a half of them — are without jobs. Many more live with the worry that your jobs will be next."

In English Canada there exists an alternative to Trudeau and the capitalist parties: the New Democratic Party (NDP), a labor party based on the trade unions. The NDP also has close ties to small farmers in many areas. In municipal elections, however, the NDP has generally refrained from presenting its own candidates, leaving the field open to the political representatives of big business. The RWL in Hamilton has therefore welcomed the NDP's decision to run five of its supporters for city council there.

In calling on the NDP to challenge the capitalist parties at all levels, RWL Toronto candidate Wendy Johnston's platform says:

"An NDP city government should aim not at administering this rotten setup, but at leading and organizing labor and its allies in a struggle to change the system itself. . . .

"Workers and their unions need to get more involved in the NDP to transform it into a more effective fighter for labor's interests."

The socialist candidates are also pointing out the importance to all Canadian workers of the fight for self-determination and language rights of the French-speaking people of Quebec. "The NDP alone can't form a government in Ottawa," the October 25 *Socialist Voice* said. "It must link up with Quebec's

## Ecuador general strike

Despite the declaration of a nationwide state of emergency by President Osvaldo Hurtado, workers in Ecuador carried out a successful 24-hour general strike on October 21.

The strike was called by the United Workers Front (FUT), a bloc of the country's three trade-union federations. The strike demanded that Hurtado rescind stiff economic measures decreed the previous week.

Facing pressure from the International Monetary Fund and the big imperialist banks that hold Ecuador's foreign debt of \$5.5 billion, Hurtado had abruptly removed government subsidies on the price of gasoline and flour. This caused an immediate doubling of the price of these essential items.

The general strike was preceded by street demonstrations and clashes with the security forces. One demonstrator was killed on October 18 and two others died during police attacks the day of the strike. More than 250 persons were arrested.

Public transport was shut down by strikers in the country's major cities. In Quito, the capital, workers and students set up roadblocks on major streets. Some factories in the industrial zones of Quito were occupied by their workers.

The FUT had already carried out a 48-hour general strike on September 22 and 23 to demand a 75 percent wage increase. □

# Two Tamils face execution

## *International defense campaign urged*

Two young Tamil nationalists in Sri Lanka, formerly known as Ceylon, were sentenced to death under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in August. The sentence against Kuttimani and Jegan is the latest attempt by the Sri Lankan government to break a growing struggle by the Tamil-speaking minority for a separate state in their traditional homeland of northern and eastern Sri Lanka.

Kuttimani and Jegan were sentenced to death for allegedly murdering a policeman in March 1979. They were arrested in April 1981 and held in an army camp until their trial in July 1982. During that period they were not permitted to see lawyers, relatives, or friends and were subjected to wide-ranging tortures.

Under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the two Tamil youth were denied a trial by jury. In addition, confessions extracted under torture were the only evidence presented against them at their trial. But the judge ruled that under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, confessions extracted by the police and army are admissible regardless of the means used to obtain them.

The mounting oppression of the 2.5 million Tamil-speaking minority in Sri Lanka over several decades has led to a growing campaign to establish a separate Tamil state of Eelam.

In 1948 nearly 1.2 million Tamil tea plantation workers — descendants of people brought to the island from India during British rule — were deprived of citizenship and voting rights. In 1956, Sinhala, the language of the majority in Sri Lanka, was made the only official language. In 1972, Buddhism, the religion of most of the 9 million Sinhalese, became the virtual state religion. Most Tamils are Hindus, although there is a sizeable Tamil Muslim population as well.

Repression against the Tamil minority increased significantly in 1977 with the arrival in power of the present rightist United National Party government. The UNP, seeking to divert attention from worsening economic and social conditions, has tried to inflame Sinhalese chauvinism against the Tamil minority.

Following inflammatory speeches by government leaders, including the then prime minister, a racial pogrom was unleashed against Tamils in August 1977.

In June 1979 a state of emergency was declared in the Tamil city of Jaffna, during which several Tamil youths were abducted from their

homes and murdered by security forces.

That same year the Prevention of Terrorism Act was passed by the UNP as a temporary measure and was applied to the northern Tamil area. Since then the law has been extended each year and this year was made a permanent statute. In addition, its scope has been broadened to the entire country.

Another pogrom was carried out by security forces in the city of Jaffna in May and June 1981. They burned down the Jaffna Public Library, destroyed the presses of a Tamil daily paper, and set fire to more than 100 shops.

Yet another pogrom against Tamils was unleashed in August 1981, following anti-Tamil speeches by high government officials. There was widespread looting and arson, and several Tamils were killed.

On July 30, 1982, the government imposed a national state of emergency following widespread violence by Sinhalese against Tamil-speaking Muslims.

Under the impetus of these attacks by security forces and UNP supporters, many Tamil

youth have concluded that they need a self-defense force to protect the Tamil-speaking population. Besides Kuttimani and Jegan, scores of other Tamil youth are now being held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

A statement issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on October 10, 1982, noted that "Kuttimani and Jegan have been singled out for execution in order to intimidate and terrorize those who support the right of self-defense and advocate the right of self-determination by the Tamil nation in Sri Lanka."

Kuttimani and Jegan have steadfastly maintained their innocence. As Kuttimani stated following his sentencing: "I am not guilty of any offense. . . . The verdict of this court given in this case today will provide a new impetus . . . and an encouragement for the establishment of Tamil Eelam. This will not be the only case. There will be other Tamils who will be brought before this court on similar false charges."

The London-based Campaign for the Release of Eelam Political Prisoners in Sri Lanka is calling on supporters of human rights to protest the planned execution of Kuttimani and Jegan and to demand the release of all political prisoners and the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Letters and telegrams should be sent to President J.R. Jayewardene, President's House, Colombo 1, Sri Lanka. □

## U.S. helps Pol Pot keep UN seat

Although Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime was overthrown in Kampuchea more than three years ago, and although the Khmer Rouge record of barbarism is known worldwide, the United Nations General Assembly voted on October 25 to leave Kampuchea's UN seat in the hands of Pol Pot supporters.

By a margin of 90 to 29, with 26 abstentions, the General Assembly defeated a resolution that would have declared Kampuchea's UN seat vacant.

The campaign to keep Kampuchea's seat in the hands of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge was spearheaded by Washington and its allies in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) — Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines.

In recent years, support for Pol Pot's retention of Kampuchea's UN seat has been eroding. With Khmer Rouge forces relegated to base camps in Thailand and a small sliver of Kampuchean territory along the Thai border, and with Pol Pot's record of murder against his own people, many delegations found it increasingly difficult to maintain the fiction that the Khmer Rouge deserved support at the UN.

To stem that erosion, Washington has since 1980 been pursuing Prince Norodom Sihanouk to join a Khmer Rouge-dominated "coalition government" and lend whatever prestige he still has to Pol Pot. Even though the Khmer

Rouge had held him prisoner for years and murdered several of his children and grandchildren, Sihanouk agreed to join them in such a coalition in June.

On September 30 Sihanouk addressed the General Assembly, pleading that Kampuchea's seat not be declared vacant. His presence had the effect Washington hoped for, and the vote for the Khmer Rouge rose considerably this year. At the 1981 General Assembly session, a motion to declare Kampuchea's seat vacant had failed by a margin of 77 to 37, with 31 abstentions.

The UN vote changes nothing in Kampuchea itself, where a government led by Heng Samrin has been consolidating its control and overcoming the Khmer Rouge legacy since it overthrew Pol Pot with Vietnamese help in 1979. But the vote will be used to justify continued military and financial aid to the Khmer Rouge from Washington, the ASEAN countries, and Peking.

Following the UN vote, Kampuchea's Foreign Minister Hun Sen stated in Phnompenh that the Pol Pot-Sihanouk "so-called government" represents nothing more than "several traitors grouped around genocidal criminals in order to disguise them as apostles of patriotism." He characterized the UN vote as a gross and inadmissible interference in Kampuchea's internal affairs. □

**This Publication  
is available in Microform.**

**University Microfilms International**

300 North Zeeb Road, Dept. P.R., Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106

# Lebanon: 'Essentially a U.S. war'

## Yassir Arafat speaks at Fez conference

[The following is the address presented by Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yassir Arafat at the September 6-9 Arab summit conference in Fez, Morocco. The conference occurred shortly after the evacuation of PLO forces from Israeli-besieged Beirut, Lebanon, and one week prior to the massacre of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut by Lebanese rightists in collusion with the Israeli occupation forces.]

[The translation and excerpting are by *Israel & Palestine Political Report*, from which we are reprinting the speech. This publication can be obtained by writing B.P. 130-10, 75463, Paris Cedex 10, France.]

\* \* \*

Almighty God has willed that we meet once more in Fez. The two meetings were separated by a period of time that was full of major events, profound reactions and bloody battles which have brought a great number of these problems, questions and changes to this assembly here. These necessitate that we strive for the highest levels of responsibility in order to deal with these questions, problems and challenges. We are requested to confront all these changes with the utmost wisdom, consciousness and determination, particularly since I have come from steadfast Beirut, the Beirut of holy war and sanguine battle, following the completion of the withdrawal of the forces that defended this brave city, in the wake of violent and fierce bloody battles in which we confronted this criminal Zionist enemy and its huge and advanced US arsenal, with all its sophisticated arms of destruction and eradication.

Military observers and the enemy's US masters admitted that these weapons were most sophisticated and modern compared to the wars that humanity has experienced so far. Some of these weapons were used for the first time, as if Beirut and Lebanon were a testing ground for this sophisticated and modern US weaponry, just as it was stated recently by the US Defense Secretary.

This war has been the longest Arab-Israeli war in our modern history. It was directed with all its savagery and violence against the Lebanese and Palestinian people. It was destined that I should be alive with you now, although I stood along with my brothers, armed companions and struggling sons in defense of this valiant and steadfast city, side by side with Beirut's children, women and men as well as with all our Lebanese and Palestinian people in Lebanon, who confronted this criminal and savage Zionist onslaught. Some of them have

died and others are waiting for their turn without changing in the least.

### A U.S. war

This war was essentially a US war. It was directed not only against the PLO and its allies, but also against the entire Arab nation. The United States used this mercenary Israeli enemy, which is supported militarily, politically, economically and diplomatically by the United States, in order to implement its evil crimes against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

This war went beyond its goals that were announced at the beginning. It crossed the borders of Palestine and Lebanon in order to undermine the essence, future and entity of our Arab nation and the future of our children. The enemy used some of the Lebanese as a cover. This was coupled at the start and at the end of the operation with the world's ineffectual reaction to the events in southern Lebanon. This had a great and serious impact, as it aided the enemy and gave it the necessary pretext and justifications. Then came the events and statements made about the goals of the invasion by the various parties to the conspiracy. It then became obvious that the savage operations were aimed and still are aimed at drawing a new map of our Arab region in which decisions will be made by this US imperialist clique and its blunt truncheon, Israel. . . .

This war's file is still open in Lebanon, the Bekaa and the northern regions. It is also still open in Beirut itself, where the most savage and unequal blackmail is practised against the nationalist Christian and Moslem forces. The Israeli enemy continues to put its entire weight behind this process in order to suppress these forces so as to change the image of the Lebanese accord, the protection of which we hope the Lebanese will continue to live under. The Lebanese have their rights and an agreement with us because they happened to have shared the agony with their blood, sweat, sacrifice, effort, money and struggle. . . .

### 'A wound in Arab nation'

In this murderous war we have suffered 49,600 Lebanese and Palestinian civilians martyred or wounded, as well as 5,300 military personnel martyred or wounded, including those heroes who volunteered with the Palestine Resistance and fought with it in order to defend it. We still have about 6,000 combatants missing.

This outflow of blood, which has not stopped for a single moment, deserves genuine loyalty from all of us and from the entire nation in order to clear away the remains of this com-

prehensive destruction and horrible sabotage, which left about 1,000,000 Palestinians and Lebanese homeless. The Israeli-US invasion has opened a wound in the body of the Arab nation that is deeper and bigger than all its wounds and sufferings from 1948 until now. The reply must thus be proportionate to the size of this huge earthquake and to the size and level of the challenge on which the entire Arabs' existence rests.

The process of occupying Lebanon following the occupation of Palestine, despite all the false masks and blinds that covered this occupation, has resulted in the occupation of a further territory of the Arab homeland. This process has violated an independent sovereignty and has wounded a national commitment. This meeting must evaluate truthfully the seriousness of this change on the map of the Arab homeland and the Middle East region, which seeks to establish an Israeli empire that lies in the US orbit and . . . that wants to control the region, God forbid. This will be at the expense of our nation, its civilization, its soil, and its beliefs in the past, the present, and the future.

Brothers, the Arab Kings, Presidents and Amirs: You control the Arab decision. You are all responsible, initially and ultimately, for the fate of this nation, the future of its generations and for its national, patriotic and religious responsibilities. . . . Time is no longer on our side.

We have reached this situation, which is neither enviable nor acceptable to our masses. We are requested to adopt a new position in which we shall examine our accounts, revise our attitudes and check our positions, our power and our alliances so that the enemy will not be able to repeat its plans or fulfill its hostile policy by dealing with us individually. At this point the feeling of guilt will not help. . . .

### Steadfastness and determination

I shall be frank with you. This meeting, and I say this out of conviction, will be a fateful and decisive meeting. It must also be a historic position that will bring hope and confidence to Palestine, Lebanon and the Arabs. I say this by virtue of my faith in the nation, its inevitable victory and its ability to bypass the factors of disagreement, division and dispute, whether large or small. Everyone is responsible before the nation, God and future generations. . . .

Lebanon, Beirut and the strugglers who defended it have provided the best example of confrontation. . . . Our steadfastness succeeded through our will, belief, determination



and decisive resolution.

It was through this will, belief, determination and decision that Beirut and its defenders resisted for nearly three months this insolent army . . . that wiped out on its way to Beirut 14 Palestinian camps and destroyed 32 Lebanese villages and three other cities. This happened prior to the siege and destruction of Beirut.

The most difficult decision to be made by us was our decision as joint Lebanese-Palestinian Forces — as well as the ADF [Arab Deterrent Force], which participated in defending the valiant and brave city — to leave the city following this bloody battle for it. We would not have left had it not been for Beirut's children and our love for them, and had it not been for Beirut's citizens, of whom we are proud. This was a decision to rescue the city from the total destruction that was announced by the enemy when it said it would kill every woman, child and old person in the city. The enemy continued to be proud of implementing this horrible plan for more than three months in front of all Arab and international communities.

The enemy tried to storm the city 11 times on land and six times from the sea, but was forced to retreat. The enemy's military communiqués admitted its failure and defeat. However, even this decision to rescue the city required for its implementation and the enemy's acceptance violent and continuous fighting as well as joint political efforts.

#### **The Israeli threat**

Lebanon's war represented a serious challenge for our Arab nation. Together with Beirut's bloody battle, this has disclosed im-

portant facts, the most important of which is the extent of the Israeli threat to our Arab nation and to the Middle East region. It has reached the extent of assuming the role of imperialist and colonial hegemony in the region, considering that these wars are paid for in full by the US Administration. . . .

There is an overt and open US attempt to permit Israel, to reinforce it, and help it with all forms of unlimited aid militarily, politically, diplomatically and in the media, to act as a superpower in the region that works for itself while acting at the same time as a mercenary and loyal agent of the United States.

Sharon has been so presumptuous as to say that the circle of his influence extends beyond the region to include Africa and central Asia. Here we are, and the enemy is still at Beirut's gates in spite of all the promises that were given by America and Lebanon. The enemy continues to occupy the south and large parts of the mountain and the Bekaa. It even declares its intentions to attack other Arab capitals in order to change the regimes there. It even expresses pride for its overt and presumptuous intervention in the Lebanese presidential elections. It is now deploying its forces opposite the ADF and the Joint Forces in preparation for a new battle and further aggression in the Bekaa and the northern part of Lebanon.

From my position and in the name of thousands of martyrs and wounded, and in the name of all the struggling mujahidin [holy warriors] and these loyal and truthful masses, I reiterate this warning against this overwhelming threat. Let our Arab nation unite and wake up from its deep sleep in order to face facts and

events and in order to confront the challenges to our destiny and civilization that are made to our Arab nation at this difficult time.

#### **Washington and Tel Aviv**

We must now halt the US policy and its disregard of our Arab nation. The dimensions of the US embroilment in every Israeli aggression against the Arabs will be exposed. As a pretext they use the strategic cooperation agreement that was signed by Washington and the Zionist enemy last year and which has been implemented during the Lebanese war.

We must also pause to consider the unlimited practical support which the US Government has given to the enemy in all his aggression. It has given him full protection in hiding his abominable crimes and his war of extermination on all levels. It has given him cover at the Security Council and the United Nations, to enable him to continue these crimes with premeditation and in cold blood. The US envoy and representative in Lebanon then held talks — under Lebanese protection and unashamedly — with the (Palestinian-Lebanese) Joint Forces defending Beirut, exposing its women and children to very sophisticated bombs that have been internationally banned, and exposing them to the enemy's hell, shells, rockets, siege, famine and terror, to compel the Palestine Revolution to settle scores with which it had nothing to do — US, Israeli and local scores.

This despicable action has become part of the principal plan that has been implemented in the region against the Lebanese people and against our Palestinian people. The result was these legendary and miraculous epics, the great faith and the divine care that cared for this struggling small number of people who believe in their God, their mission, and their ability to face this terrible and criminal plot and the diabolical and sophisticated war machine at its disposal. . . .

#### **Disarray and paralysis**

There is a basic lesson we must draw from all this. The nation's intrinsic strength is the solid basis that enables it to face the dangers that threaten it. Another basic lesson is that we should see the effect of Arab disarray in paralyzing and dissipating the nation's intrinsic strength at a time when our nation and homeland are the targets of an ugly imperialist and colonialist aggression sponsored and blessed by the United States. Our enemy realizes this and exploits it to weaken us by shedding our blood drop by drop, disregarding international public opinion.

In a situation like this it is our right to look for the factors that have influenced the course of events during the war, factors which have paralyzed us and imposed themselves on the entire region and on the course of the conflict with our principal enemy at a time which — and I put this on record here with a great sense of responsibility — was an ideal and unique opportunity to put an end to the bullying of the



"We have suffered 49,600 Lebanese and Palestinian civilians martyred or wounded."

Israeli enemy, to inflict a big defeat on him and liberate our land and holy places. We must fully comprehend and be aware of this aspect, because the ability of the Arab who has faith was magnificently evident.

Despite the fact that the enemy threw in most of his forces, material, naval and air power, despite all the harsh, difficult and at times impossible circumstances, our forces inflicted heavy losses on this arrogant enemy. The enemy admitted this. The number of enemy generals who were killed in this war, and the great losses in men sustained by the enemy — which for him is among the most important losses and which exceeds 17,000 casualties — and the possibility for more still exists — testify to this. . . .

#### A united Arab stand

Therefore, we call for a unified Arab stand, to bypass everything that could obstruct this unity and impede our march. In order properly to confront this treacherous savage onslaught against our land, nation and survival, I call on you and call on your conference, which is being held in the present very complex and extremely critical circumstances, to take the following steps:

1. To return immediately to collective Arab security and to abide by the joint defense agreement, and immediately to invite Arab Defense, Foreign and Economic Ministers to draw up a new Arab military, political and economic strategy to enable our Arab nation to confront the enemy and its allies.

2. To adopt the necessary steps to achieve genuine united Arab action on both the official and popular levels; to end the destructive differences and secondary disputes which exhaust the capabilities of our nation and paralyze its human, material, military, economic and political resources; and to develop these resources so as to liberate our occupied land and achieve the aspirations of our people and masses.

3. To confront the challenges that have been imposed on us with a political plan that is integrated at all levels, that distinguishes between friend and foe, and provides for cooperation with brothers and allies — a plan that proceeds from the existing factors to deal with all the issues facing our Arab nation, taking into consideration national pan-Arab, religious and international commitments.

4. To extend immediate material support to the heroic Lebanese people for reconstruction and to compensate them for the enormous losses resulting from this devastating war, whose main target was Beirut and the nationalist areas in southern Lebanon and in the Bekaa.

5. To extend material and moral support to our Palestinian people inside our occupied territories, and to compensate our masses in Lebanon for the rebuilding and reconstructing, so as to enable our people to continue their struggle to liberate our land and to establish their independent state on their Palestinian national soil.

6. To compensate for the material and military losses of the Palestinian fighters and

the Joint Forces.

Our peoples and masses are looking with hope and expectation to the result of our conference — a conference on which hopes are pinned in these extremely complex circumstances and in the light of the enormous responsibilities that we must shoulder. I have

great confidence and faith that our nation is capable of facing the challenges and ordeals. This nation has faced many, many invaders and tyrants, all of whom have moved on. They tried to humiliate, defeat and harm this nation. All of them have gone and our nation has remained on this good earth. □

## STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# Solidarity lives!

[The following statement was issued October 14 by the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

The Polish workers were not slow in reacting to the October 8 vote in parliament that outlawed Solidarity.

Going beyond the call of the underground national leadership of Solidarity — Provisional Coordinating Committee (TKK) — for a “warning” general strike for November 10, the workers from the Gdansk shipyards and several other big factories of the region went on strike Monday morning (October 11). They set up a strike committee and called for the extension of the struggle to the whole region.

The junta rapidly responded by putting the shipyards under martial law. It forbade all traffic in and out of the city and did everything in its power to prevent news getting out for fear that the movement would spread to other cities in the country.

Through its spokesperson, Marechal Ustinov, the Kremlin bureaucracy assured the Polish military clique of its “total support.” Once again, bureaucrats everywhere hope that the blackmail of Soviet intervention will help to divide the movement, faced with the risk of a direct confrontation with Soviet tanks.

But despite that, the Polish workers are not ready to retreat, as the extension of the strike movement on the Baltic coast showed.

“Solidarity exists and will continue to exist whether that pleases certain people or not.” This declaration from the TKK on October 9 expresses the determination of the Polish working class to impose the restoration of the democratic rights won in August 1980 and to continue to carry its struggle forward. “Our organization exists and will continue its actions to set up a self-managed republic,” stated the Solidarity leaders in calling for a boycott of the puppet trade unions formed by the government. They say that the success or failure of the boycott of the trade unions will be a real referendum. “This referendum will be the first in the history of ‘People’s Poland’ and the government will not be able to falsify the results.” How does this “dissolution” of Solidarity and other independent trade unions representing 90 percent of adult workers function?

According to the new trade-union law adopted by parliament, only factory-based trade unions having no links between them can now legally exist. National federations by industrial sector are forbidden and a *single* confederation will be reestablished, but only in 1985. Peasants will not have the right to form trade unions. As for the right to strike, it is entangled in so many conditions that this “recognition” is equivalent to a ban. If it gets through a real obstacle course — obligatory notice to be given, conciliation commission, special tribunal dominated by the authorities in case the conflict is not resolved — the strike can still be banned if it is judged to “damage the needs of defense or security of the state.”

The Polish workers are refusing to submit to the diktat of the military government, which is trying to smash their resistance movement by force. Violent confrontations have already begun between the Gdansk workers and the heavily armed ZOMO.

They must be able to count on our support! More than ever, international solidarity is today decisive in helping the Polish workers to carry on their battle against the bureaucratic dictatorship.

All the French national trade-union confederations except the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) called a united demonstration in Paris on October 12. About 20,000 people participated in this demonstration, which was supported by the Socialist Party and all the revolutionary left organizations. Sections of the CGT were there, thus showing their disagreement with their national leadership.

Similar mobilizations should be organized everywhere, to bring the leaderships of the workers movement to play their full part in the movement of solidarity with the Polish workers and to demand the recognition of Solidarity and of all trade-union and democratic rights in Poland.

- Unconditional support for the Polish workers struggle
- Solidarity lives and will win
- Lift martial law
- Free Lech Walesa and all political prisoners
- End martial law in the workplaces
- Down with the bureaucratic dictatorship; long live socialism

# Salvadoran FMLN leader discusses strategy for Latin American revolution

[The following is the text of an English-language pamphlet circulating in the Salvadoran solidarity movement in the United States under the title, "Power, the Character and Path of the Revolution and the Unity of the Left." Its author, Schafik Jorge Handal, is the general secretary of the Salvadoran Communist Party and a leader of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

[We have made minor editorial alterations in the text. Footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press* except where noted.]

\* \* \*

## By Schafik Jorge Handal

I propose to go into some salient aspects of four fundamental problems of the struggle for victory in the revolution: Power, the Character and Path of the Revolution and the Unity of the Left. In the experience of our Party these problems have been very significant.

### On the problem of power

The ABCs of Marxism-Leninism tell us that the fundamental problem of the revolution is the problem of power; the remoteness of this truth from our practice was, in our opinion, one of the principal factors that, if not corrected in time, could have left us out of the front line of the Salvadorean revolution.

In Latin America, two great true revolutions

have taken place, in Cuba and in Nicaragua, and in neither of these two cases was the Communist Party at the head. In the case of Nicaragua, the experience with the fraternal Party was disastrous, except for the part of it that incorporated itself into the armed struggle in 1978. We are convinced that the practical absence of clear direction of the struggle for power is the principal factor that explains these results. This same question has been at the base, we believe, of the incorrect characterization of certain social processes and reformist policies in Latin America as "revolutions." In practice this characterization was not borne out, but it put the fraternal parties of the different countries in the role of just being a supportive force.

Another expression of the same problem is the exaggerated role, and in some cases the absolutism of the role assigned to the socio-economic program in determining the character of the revolution, the course of the struggle for victory and the defense of its consolidation. In Chile, during the government of Allende, for example, both the participants in the Popular Unity and the so-called ultra-left forces had given central and decisive importance to the socio-economic program.<sup>1</sup> For some, the crux of the whole Chilean question and the future of the Chilean revolution resided in staying within the limits of the Popular Unity program;

while for others, radicalizing that program and redefining its limits was everything. At the same time, no one had a solid orientation to really trying to resolve the problem of state power or to defend Allende's government.

I am referring to the Chilean case because I believe it is a laboratory for us: it is curious that when the different processes and currents came together in the configuration that made it possible to resolve the problem of power in a revolutionary way, no one saw it. I am thinking of the configuration of a sector in the Chilean army that clearly understood the necessity of solving the problem of who held the power. The dimension and transcendent importance of this fact can be appreciated in General Prats's diary notes during 1973.<sup>2</sup> It is also curious how the reactionary elements understood this matter with precision. Everything the right-wing did in Chile during Allende's government was directed toward removing any possibility that they would lose power, and when this configuration arose in the army, the right concentrated its effort on doing away with Prats and his associates. How did the revolutionary forces act when faced with this phenomenon? Absolutely no one defended Prats and his faction of the army. Some were willing to sacrifice him for the sake of their political maneuvering, honestly believing that this would solve the crisis; and others, who considered his presence in the government was "the presence

## 'A valuable contribution'

The ideas presented in this article closely parallel those expressed by Schafik Jorge Handal in a 1981 interview with exiled Chilean journalist Marta Harnegger. The interview was published in the October 7 and 8, 1982 issues of the Nicaraguan daily *El Nuevo Diario*.

A condensed version of the interview was also published early this year in Vol. VII, No. 28 of *Areito*, a magazine produced in the United States by Cuban-Americans who support the Cuban revolution.

When the interview was published in *El Nuevo Diario*, the editors included the following introductory paragraphs:

"The fact that two true revolutions have triumphed in Latin America without Communist parties being in the vanguard of these processes is a phenomenon that could not help but profoundly affect the Latin American Communist movement. Yet no systematic and thoroughgoing examination of this has ever been provided to public opinion on our continent.

"We therefore feel that the analysis that emerges from this conversation with Schafik Jorge Handal, who has been general secretary of the Salvadoran Communist Party since 1973, is of great importance. Schafik has gone to the heart of the question: In the majority of Communist parties in Latin America there has been no approach of struggling for power, and this explains, among other things, why although there may have been theoretical acceptance of the view that the armed path is the path to taking power, such an approach has not been carried out in practice when required by objective conditions.

"We are convinced that his observations on these questions — backed up by the consistent conduct of a party that has already been able to build its own military force, one whose growing contribution to the development of the war in El Salvador has gained the respect of all the armed organizations in its country — are a very valuable contribution to the unity of the revolutionary forces on our continent."

1. Salvador Allende won election as president of Chile in 1970 at the head of the Unidad Popular (UP — People's Unity) coalition. The UP was made up of the Socialist Party (to which Allende belonged), the Communist Party, the Radical Party, the Social Democratic Party, the United People's Action Movement (MAPU — a left-wing splitoff from the Christian Democracy), and the Independent People's Action (API).

On September 11, 1973, the UP government was overthrown by a military coup and Allende was murdered.

2. Gen. Carlos Prats González, *Una vida por la legalidad* (A Life for Legality) (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica). Prats was commander in chief of the Chilean army. An attempt was made on Prats's life on June 27, 1973, two days before an abortive coup attempt (the *tancao*) by troops from the 2nd Armored Regiment. Prats personally supervised the putting down of the *tancao*.

On August 10, 1973, Prats was brought into Allende's "cabinet of national security," but was forced to resign on August 25 to "preserve the unity of the army." Admiral Montero of the navy also resigned at that time under pressure from the officer corps. Less than three weeks later the Chilean army overthrew Allende. General Prats went into exile and was assassinated in Buenos Aires in September 1974.

of the bourgeoisie," thought that the pact with Prats was "traitorous to the revolution" and so decided to form the "labor and peasant opposition." When Prats's faction was predominant, after it put down the "tancazo," the masses intuitively recognized the importance of that moment when the problem of power could have been resolved in a revolutionary way. They went into the streets, as we all know, demanding that the reactionary forces be struck down, the Parliament closed, and the army purged; but the leadership of the process did not take up the banner. I am not defending the idea that by organizing the struggle around Prats everything would have been resolved in Chile; I believe that the appearance of the current headed by him and the tumult among the masses that followed the victory over the "tancazo" was the closest point during the UP government that there was to a possible revolutionary solution to the problem of power. That possibility appeared objectively and was a test of the clarity of the revolutionary forces on the Marxist-Leninist thesis that "the problem of power is the fundamental problem of all revolution."

The history of the world revolution has pointed up this truth over and over again. It is not the socio-economic program that is central and decisive. The rhythms of the application of the socio-economic program, the radicalism of the economic and social changes are dependent on the national and international conditions in which each revolution is brought about.

The revolutionaries have the possibility of catching the best rhythm, even pausing or retreating if necessary, on the condition that they

---

## **In Latin America, two true revolutions have taken place, and in neither was the Communist Party at the head**

---

win power and hold it firmly in their hands. The October Revolution and the NEP (New Economic Policy)<sup>3</sup> is an example of the necessary deceleration of socio-economic change. In Cuba, the socio-economic program of the July 26 Movement, defended by Fidel in his speech, "History Will Absolve Me," was disowned by the vast majority of the people before the triumph of the revolution; in the experience of the Cuban revolution, it was necessary to accelerate the radical socio-economic transformations in order to defend the revolution in the face of the asphyxiating counter-revolutionary measures taken by Yankee imperialism. The present experience of

3. The New Economic Policy was applied on the advice of Lenin from the end of 1921 and the beginning of 1922 (after the civil war and foreign military intervention). It embraced several years and consisted of the temporary retreat and consequent reanimation of capitalism within certain limits, and the later offensive toward socialism in the period of the twenties and thirties. [Original footnote.]

Nicaragua, where the rhythm and depth of the socio-economic transformation has had to be lessened, is yet another practical test of the thesis that we have mentioned, and examples could be cited from Eastern Europe and Africa as well.

The dialectical relationship between the problem of power and the socio-economic program must be profoundly clear. We have to go back to the Leninist teachings again and again; the whole question addressed by Lenin in the theses of April 1917 was on the seizing of power by the revolutionary proletariat and its party, and on clarifying and unifying the great masses of peasants and the people generally with respect to these forces in order to complete this task.

Lenin's theses of April are still the models of how to judge the problem of power and determine the correct conduct of the Party in the revolutionary situation.

To respond to the question of why the communist movement of Latin America and other regions of the Third World stopped having the struggle for power central to their activity is a complex subject. We do not have a satisfactory answer; there surely are many. I am going to refer to one: it appears to me that the solution of the problem of the character and the path of the revolution is related to this matter.

### **The character and the path of the revolution**

In Cuba a regular feature of the revolution in Latin America was demonstrated: the revolution that matures here is the socialist revolution. It was also demonstrated in Cuba that the advance to socialism can't be made, the socialist revolution can't be accomplished, without the unfurling of the democratic anti-imperialist banners. What mobilizes the great masses to revolutionary action are the democratic and anti-imperialist slogans; the democratic anti-imperialist revolution can't be completed, nor can its gains be defended, without going on to socialism.

Said in another way: one can't go to socialism except by the democratic anti-imperialist path, but neither can the democratic anti-imperialist revolution be consummated without going on to socialism. To the extent that between these two there is an essential and indissoluble connection, they are facets of one revolution and not two revolutions. If we look into the future, what we have proposed is the democratic anti-imperialist revolution; if we look back after achieving that revolution, a decade later let's say, the democratic anti-imperialist revolution will not look to us like a separate revolution, but rather like the accomplishment of the tasks of the first phase of the socialist revolution.

This being so, it is even easier to understand that there can't be a revolution without resolving the root of the problem of power, and that it isn't necessary to wait until the masses have a socialist consciousness to go forward to the revolutionary taking of power. In Cuba there was not a generalized socialist consciousness

before the victory of January 2, 1959. It seems to me that if we focus on the problem of the character of the revolution, the revolutionary parties must always center activity around the problem of power.

I don't know where this idea came from, but our Party, and it seems to me many other communist parties of Latin America, have worked for decades with the idea of two revolutions,

---

## **The socialist revolution can't be won without unfurling the democratic anti-imperialist banner . . .**

---

and we saw the Cuban experience as a "peculiar exception." We reacted so much and so many times against the leftist idea of the struggle for direct implantation of socialism, with no prologue, without understanding the essence of the matter, and we convinced ourselves that the democratic revolution is not necessarily to be organized and promoted principally by us, but that we could limit ourselves to supporting it, and conform to this support role, in order to assure the range and breadth of the participating democratic forces.

Thus, the democratic anti-imperialist revolution looked to us like a "path of approach" that could be achieved while leaving the "progressive," "anti-imperialist," sectors of the middle classes (the intellectuals, the military, etc.) and even of the bourgeoisie, in the forefront. The Peruvian, Panamanian and Portuguese experiences (briefly also the experience of the government of General Juan Torres in Bolivia) appeared to confirm this thesis, even though they themselves ended up negating it.<sup>4</sup> Of course, no party document says expressly that, but the conduct in practice of our Party and other fraternal parties has been that. What comes out of that conduct will be the party of reforms, not the party of the revolution. The Salvadorean Communist Party (PCS), in order to assume its revolutionary role, should have abandoned that erroneous schema.

We are convinced that in the Latin American communist movement there has to be a tremendous ideological struggle to free ourselves from all that reformist ballast.

Certainly I am far from thinking that this is an integral or sufficiently profound analysis; these are simply reflections and concerns, de-

4. In each of these cases (Peru 1968, Panama 1969, Portugal 1974, and Bolivia 1970), sectors of the military hierarchy overthrew conservative or dictatorial regimes and granted social and economic concessions to the masses, often utilizing populist, socialist, and revolutionary rhetoric. Each of these regimes had the political support of the Communist Party in the respective country, and each was eventually overthrown or replaced by a more conservative regime. In the Peruvian, Panamanian, and Bolivian cases, the military reformers took certain anti-imperialist positions or measures and came into conflict with Washington at various times.

ductions from our own experience and suggestions for those working in the scientific sphere, studying the revolutionary process worldwide . . . suggestions to return to this point, again and again, even though it appears to be elemental.

The question of the struggle for power is tied to many things, above all, to the problem of the path and the character of the revolution. If all this is true about the maturation of the socialist revolution in Latin America, power has to be snatched from the bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic-military apparatus of the bourgeoisie has to be destroyed; this in the present conditions — and it will be this way for a long time to come — can't be accomplished by peaceful means. In Latin America this has been proven by the experience of two triumphant armed revolutions and by the defeat of two attempts to triumph by peaceful means, in the two most democratic countries of the continent: Chile and Uruguay. In both cases "institutionalist," "professional" armies, not the traditional gorilla troops so plentiful in our continent, sank the boat and thus ended the

---

### . . . The democratic anti-imperialist revolution can't be completed without going on to socialism

---

navigation of the revolution by peaceful means. Costa Rica — "the Switzerland of the Americas" — which "has no army," now finds itself jolted by a dizzying wave of repression, organized and carried out by armed bands of fascists, in the midst of a scenario of unbridled economic crisis. No one in Costa Rica today espouses the thesis of a peaceful evolution of the revolution. The idea of a peaceful road to revolution in Latin America is, in my opinion, tied to reformism.

In Latin American society there are many progressive forces; one could think that by uniting these progressive sectors one could have influence on what is customarily called today "power centers and the apparatus," modify little by little the essence of the State, "taking power bit by bit." If we accept that the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution is an inseparable part of the socialist revolution, the revolution cannot be accomplished by taking power peacefully at whatever cost; rather, it will be indispensable, one way or another, to dismantle the state machinery of the capitalists and their imperialist masters, to erect a new State and a new Power. In such conditions it becomes evident that the peaceful route is not the path of revolution.

In dealing with the problem of the path of revolution in Latin America, to start with the dogma that it is indisputably true, even "in principle," that the armed route and the peaceful route are equally possible and just, is, in our opinion, a very grave error. It is an equally grave error to deal with the question of the path

of the revolution as a purely "tactical" matter, subject to "unforeseen variations." Both schemes are euphemistic presentations of a reformist, not revolutionary, position totally devoid of the vanguard role of the communist party.



HANDAL

For a while now, the armed party of the revolution has not excluded the struggle for socioeconomic reforms. This struggle plays an important role in the political education of the masses and their allies. Furthermore, the "profound" changes of the democratic anti-imperialist program are in their essence reforms, and by themselves can't abolish capitalism; to the contrary they could even reinforce it. What gives this program its revolutionary character is the revolutionary struggle for power and the revolutionary taking of power.

In the experience of the PCS, the incorrect focus, and in certain aspects fundamental theoretical and ideological weaknesses, rather than errors, related to the problems of power, the character and path of the revolution, together with the influence of our democratic allies' concepts in the eleven-year course of the electoral struggle in which we communists participated, engendered reformist ideas and illusions in our ranks. Ridding ourselves of them required frank and profound self-criticism, together with taking audacious and difficult measures.

The participation of the PCS in the electoral struggle was right on the mark. The electoral struggle had become objectively the principal arena of the national political struggle after 1964, at the beginning of the period of industrialization and the great economic boom (1963-1968) that followed the formation of the Central American Common Market, and after the legal reform that permitted proportional representation in the Legislative Assembly. To not participate in the electoral struggle would

have signified in reality placing ourselves on the outer edges of the political struggle and abandoning the masses to the ideological control of the bourgeoisie.

Certainly after 1970, the revolutionary organization which arose in that year,<sup>5</sup> repudiated the electoral struggle and abstained from participating in it. But it is also certain, as the majority of the fraternal organizations now recognize, that the politization and radicalization of the masses, partly due to the participation of the communists in the frequent electoral contests (three presidential elections and six parliamentary and municipal elections between 1966 and 1977), was no small contribution to the growth and development of the armed struggle.

In effect, the participation of the PCS in the eleven-year electoral struggle (although not under its own name because of its illegality) facilitated the intense political education of the masses of workers and people in general, winning the majority of them to the democratic anti-imperialist cause; alerted the people and the democratic forces in time to the dangers of fascism; and helped to precipitate the crisis of the dominant political system of military dictatorship.

It was not for nothing that Lenin said in his lecture, "The State," first published in 1929: ". . . it was capitalism alone which, thanks to urban culture, enabled the oppressed proletarian class to become conscious of itself and to create the world working-class movement, the millions of workers organized all over the world in parties — the socialist parties which are consciously leading the struggle of the masses. *Without parliamentarism, without an electoral system, this development of the working class would have been impossible.*"<sup>6</sup> (Emphasis added.)

Life in El Salvador has shown that the electoral participation of the communists was a huge political contribution to the struggle toward the revolution and that, looking back over all that period, the program and line of the present revolutionary movement is a synthesis of the armed struggle and related ideological elaborations of the fraternal organizations and the political and mass struggles and line of the PCS.

In spite of all the positive aspects of our electoral participation, we have to insist on pointing out that it kept alive and, to a certain extent, reinforced the ideological and political manifestations of reformism in our ranks, beginning with the leadership itself, even though the path of peaceful revolution was never

---

5. The Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL) arose out of a 1970 split in the Salvadoran Communist Party. Both organizations now form part of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

6. V.I. Lenin, "The State," *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), vol. 29, p. 486.

adopted officially.

The electoral movement brought the majority of the people face to face with fraud and repression, and thus, in practice — not only for us, but for the masses as well — exhausted the possibilities of the “path” of the elections to democratize and transform the country. We knew that this would occur, and we helped the masses to learn these lessons, by bringing them face to face with it and by systematically producing literature that clarified what was happening. In the irreplaceable school of experience, the great masses of people learned to know the true face of the reactionary military dictatorship and its fraudulent electoral games, freeing them of illusions about the electoral “path,” so that they understood that there was no other road to democracy, social justice and progress in service of the people than the defeat of the dictatorship, daily more bloody and oppressive, by means of violent revolution. I repeat, we communists consciously helped the masses to learn this lesson. In our electoral campaigns we said that one should not put much hope in ballot boxes, that they were a point to pass along the way and that power had to be won with another form of struggle. This contributed to preparing the political conditions for an extensive, multi-faceted change of direction of the masses toward support for the armed struggle and led to the incorporation of a growing number of them as militants and

combatants in the armed organizations.

But arriving at that moment — in February of 1977 — in spite of the fact that the Political Commission of the Communist Party agreed to redirect our Party toward armed struggle, giving continuity to the political struggle of the people, we delayed two years in doing so. It took tremendous analysis and self-criticism to find the reasons for this delay. The success of that effort was primarily due to our avoiding the pitfalls of blaming one or the other person in the Party or blaming other organizations, a method which in fact often avoids the truth and provokes divisions. These divisions could have marginalized the party in terms of the political life of the country. The conclusions of the PCS analysis can be summed up like this: *there existed organic and ideological obstacles that conflicted with the decision to make the change to armed struggle.*

I have already elaborated on the ideological obstacles. The principal organic obstacle was that the cadre of the Party, including the national and intermediate leadership — the brain, bones and nervous system of the Party on whom depend the elaboration and implementation of the central decisions — did not know how to take the first steps toward organizing an armed struggle, nor how to combine it with the political struggle. Their formation had been one-sided. Our cadre were supremely efficient

and even innovative in the development of the unarmed class struggle; in literature, in agitation, in work with the democratic allies and in work in the universities, but when the hour came for implementation of the higher form of struggle, we were not prepared for it.

We had a Military Commission, but the decisive factor was that the Party cadre as a whole did not know how to put into practice the orientation toward armed struggle. To overcome this obstacle, the leadership took daring steps, based on the agreements of the Seventh Congress, held secretly in April of 1979: they abandoned the idea that the Military Commission was responsible for forming a military apparatus separate from the main body of the Party, a kind of secret body that would come out of its mysterious hiding place and go into action when the moment arrived. Life has shown that such a miraculous mechanism could not be created. The comrades of the Military Commission were not to blame; the situation was the result of an essential defect in the general policy of development of cadre in the Party, a policy undoubtedly related to the reformist concepts that had not been totally eradicated.

Moreover, if the Military Commission had been able to develop that type of military apparatus, we would have had a tremendous problem. In general, according to the experience of other parties, here in Central America, this results in a confrontation between the Military Commission and the rest of the leadership. At the root of the contradictions between the Military Commission and the rest of the party, independently of whether one or the other is right in each concrete conflict, there arises the problem of the inability of the Party as a body to organize and direct the armed struggle when the moment to do so arrives.

This problem could only be resolved by converting the Party as a whole into both director and actor, not only in the political struggle, but in the armed struggle as well, making it the great combiner and director of all forms of struggle. To do this we had to take daring measures: we had a rapidly growing number of the members of the Central Committee, the Political Commission, the committees of intermediate leadership and a large part of the Party and the Communist Youth of El Salvador (JCS) study the problems of the revolutionary armed struggle and train in military art and technique, not to dedicate all of them to the military apparatus, but to put into practice the conviction that the armed struggle of the Party should be organized, carried out and directed by the Party, its leadership bodies and its base.

The correctness of that orientation was confirmed in practice: our armed forces have multiplied many times since the days following the Seventh Congress, and more importantly, they fight with growing efficiency and capability. If we had not made this organic change of direction, the masses would have continued knocking on the doors of our Party, asking to be incorporated, and we would not have been able to as-



José Lavanderos

A liberated area of El Salvador's Morazán Province.

simulate more than a few individuals; the Party would have thus been effectively excluded from the ranks of the revolution; it could even have been divided and destroyed.

I want to emphasize, based on our experience, the conclusion that reformist concepts with respect to the problem of power and the path of the revolution are tied up in the existence of an atrophied organic party structure, also reformist: our parties are capable of organizing the trade union struggle, political agitation and literature, mass demonstrations, strikes, electoral campaigns and similar activities, but no more than that; we could thus have only been a supportive force, we would have been condemned to that role.

### The unity of the revolutionary left

Connected to all these problems is the question of the unity of the forces of the revolutionary left and the attitude of communists with respect to the revolutionary organizations which have arisen outside the structures of the Party. It is curiously symptomatic that the communist parties have shown in the last decades a great capacity to reach understandings with our neighbors to the right, while, in contrast, we have not been able in the majority of cases to establish relations and stable progressive alliances with our neighbors on the left. We understand perfectly all the shades of different progressive forces to the right, their origins, significance, etc.; but with respect to those who are on our left, we are not capable of understanding the phenomena of their existence and characteristics, their objective historic significance, nor our tasks with respect to them. We Latin American communists have not had, for a long time, a consistent and systematic line to unite all the forces of the left, including the armed left.

There is nothing disrespectful or scornful in the denomination "neighbors on the right"; it is only a way of expressing these ideas. The Salvadorean communists swell with pride, honored by the friendship of a large number of these allies, who are firm and consistent fighters for the democratic ideals of independence and social progress.

In this, many factors have played a role for some time; the principal factor, nonetheless, is that generally — even though not in all cases, those left forces who take up arms have committed themselves to a real revolutionary struggle; they commit many errors typical of leftism in their political statements, attacking harshly the Party of the communists, but they are centered in one fundamental point: they are obsessed with the work of organizing and promoting the armed struggle, which in Latin America and many other regions of the Third World has been shown to be the path of revolution. To the extent that they persist in this struggle, if they don't go under because of their own errors, they learn little by little from their setbacks, correct their political mistakes and finally free themselves from their left-wing sickness; even though many of them are never able to correct their mistakes and, if they don't go under, may

vegetate for decades like groups in the catacombs, no longer revolutionaries, becoming individual terrorists. A correct line of struggle for the unity of the left, promoted by the communists, could accelerate or help to bring about the correction of leftist errors. But the communists can't play that role if they don't correct their own rightist errors of reformism.

### There can't be a revolution without resolving the problem of power

So long as there is no correction of this reformism, the relation between the communists and the armed left — being on one side completely rhetorical — is manifested in practice and in essence as the relation between reform and revolution; and it is clear that reformists can come to a better understanding with other reformists. That, I believe, is the explanation for why we Latin American communists have been better able to understand those to our right than those to our left.

Of course this implies many other aspects of the problem, such as the fact that other revolutionary organizations can arise at the margins of our Party structures. The old dogmatic conception that the Communist Party is, by definition, "the Party of the working class," the "vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle and the struggle for socialism," etc., reduces and even blocks our capacity to comprehend that in the social and political (class) conditions engendered by dependent capitalism in Latin America, it is impossible for there not to arise and exist these organizations of the armed left. It is therefore absolutely indispensable to have a systematic policy toward them, combining the ideological struggle against their errors and struggle for unity with them, based on the true elevation of the revolutionary character, the class character and the vanguard nature of our Party.

Among the factors that made possible the growth of revolutionary organizations outside the structures of the PCS, most important are the reformist traits which I have already enumerated and the incomprehension of the problems and practical possibilities for organizing and developing the armed struggle in the conditions of our small and densely populated country (a document approved in March 1968 practically discarded the possibility of developing a guerrilla war, except to defend revolutionary power installed by means of a general insurrection). But the errors and weaknesses of the Communist Party are not the absolute cause of the growth of the above-mentioned organizations, as some have alleged. Even if the Party had not committed such errors, one or more leftist organizations would have arisen, as has been demonstrated by other experiences, among them that of the Bolsheviks. On top of the subjective causes there also exist objective causes that have their roots

in the class structure and the social phenomena of capitalism itself in the middle level of development, and particularly of dependent capitalism, where the mode of production and the state superstructure harbor residual pre-capitalist and early capitalist social formations. In El Salvador, the processes that enhanced the crude expansion of dependent capitalism took place in the fifties and, above all, the sixties. These processes brought on the scene new social sectors, without which it is impossible to understand the range of all the political forces that exist today in El Salvador.

Let's examine the question of the new sectors of the people: a new working class arose over a period of a few years from the industrialization process, more qualified from the technical point of view, but with a much weaker class consciousness than the old artisan working class, a by-product of its recent social origins in the peasant and provincial petty bourgeoisie; a farm proletariat and semi-proletariat very resentful of its recent polarization and therefore very explosive; an enormous marginal urban society, product of rural emigration provoked by the capitalist development of agriculture; and an important petty bourgeois intellectual sector, also marginal, born in the expansion of secondary and university education, that does not correspond to the proportional occupational capacities allowed by the national economic establishment.

Only if the question of the new social sectors created by the expansion of dependent capitalism is understood, can one comprehend the objective existence of the possibility of truly revolutionary political organizations arising outside the structures of the Communist Party, and comprehend that this is much more true of the dependent capitalist countries than of the developed capitalist countries. These organizations adhere to Marxism-Leninism and base themselves on a socialist outlook, in spite of not being connected to the International Communist Movement.

Many of these groups have degenerated, some even into contemptible pits of provocation and ideological deviation.

In Latin America the political discourses of these organizations are very similar to the in-

#### *Intercontinental Press. Subscribe Today.*

YES! I want to subscribe. Enclosed is  \$25 for a one-year subscription;  \$12.50 for six months;  \$6.25 for a three-month introductory subscription.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Postal Zone \_\_\_\_\_

See business information inside front cover for overseas rates.

*Intercontinental Press*  
410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

fantile leftism criticized by Lenin, but the elements are not exactly identical. These organizations appear even where there are developed communist parties and reappear even after being put down and even physically annihilated; they are not, then, special expressions of the infancy of the workers' movement and communist parties, made obsolete by the further development of these structures, but rather these organizations are repeatedly appearing with greater frequency than the respective communist parties. The communist parties in the majority of our countries are small and have little influence, in spite of the fact that their mean age is about half a century.

In Latin America this is a recurrent phenomenon that has its own sustenance socially, even more so in the dependent capitalist society. So, when the problem is analyzed giving attention only to the discourse of the organizations arising at the margins of the Party, one can commit the error of thinking: "Through an energetic ideological and political struggle against leftism, these leftist groups will disappear or be reduced to insignificance." That schema has failed in Latin America; it led not to the disappearance of "leftist" organizations, nor to the unity of the revolutionary forces, but to the confrontation of the communist parties with the rest of the revolutionary organizations, and this strengthened reformist currents in the communist ranks and contributed nothing to the maturation of the Party — if we are going to understand by maturity not age, but the comprehension of life around us, the social and political reality in which the capacity for change is immersed. In numerous cases some of those "leftist" organizations not only grew more than the respective communist party, but also matured before it and guided the workers and other classes and sectors to victory in the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution. These organizations will be and are being transformed into the Marxist-Leninist parties that lead the construction of socialism.

I think, then, that the analysis of the objective conditions in which there exists the phenomenon of the proliferation of left organizations has a great importance. I have tried to outline the problem, to present it in an objective framework and thus offer it for discussion. I am convinced, I repeat, that to understand this is to go more than halfway, to establish more than half of the necessary premises for elaborating a correct policy of unity of the revolutionary forces and of the revolutionary movement.

I maintain that independently from whether or not communist parties commit errors, there exist social roots in Latin America and other regions of the world with similar social development for the growth of those organizations. This is deduced from our experience, and can be seen very clearly, if it is taken into account that the PCS was for forty years the lone fighter for socialism and communism, even the only organization of the left in the country (from its foundation in 1930, until the

appearance of organizations of the armed left in 1970). For forty years our party suffered more from the sickness of reformism than from leftism (which affects it in some instances) and even so, new revolutionary organizations could arise only when a substantial unfolding of dependent capitalism changed the social panorama, engendering a new class structure.

For more than five years the PCS engaged in active public debate with the political positions and statements of the organizations of the armed left. The principal characteristic of our style and method of debate consists of discarding adjectives in favor of analyzing clearly, persuasively and as deeply as possible the fundamental discrepancies between our general lines and between our ideological concepts. We strengthened ourselves in expounding and developing our policy of alliance, our theses about the character of the revolution, our tactics in the elections, our opinion about the real possibility of fascism in the conditions of Latin America (a possibility denied by some organizations) and about the concrete process of the fascist development of the military dictatorship in our country. We debate while pronouncing ourselves in favor of the unity of the left and within the framework of a concrete struggle to reach this unity. The credit goes to the PCS for having first raised and systematically defended the banner of the unity of the left.

In spite of the virtues of our debates, which undoubtedly contributed to clarifying the theoretical and political questions that confronted the revolutionary and democratic movement, there was a weakness in them: the matter of the path of the revolution was not taken up; the dialectical relationship between the struggle for power and the socio-economic program was taken up only in the days following the triumph of the Sandinista People's Revolution. This vacuum in the subject matter of our debates was not by chance; it was a result of the reformism to which I referred before.

During the preparation and discussion of the "Foundations and Thesis of the General Line of the PCS" and of the Report of the Central Committee, submitted to the Seventh Congress within the framework of the self-critical effort to change our direction toward armed struggle, we elaborated profoundly and completely our concept of the unity of the revolutionary left.

In January 1979, when no more than five contacts had been made with different organizations of the armed left and when there had not yet appeared on the scene an open road to unity, the CC gave to the cells for discussion, even to the Communist Youth, the thesis about the construction of the Party. This is the only chapter of the document "Foundations and Thesis" that was not included in its publication, because of the secrecy of many aspects. From that chapter we have taken the following paragraphs, in which we define our line of unity of the revolutionary left:

" . . . The prospect of development of the revolutionary process in our country points to consistent, steady, if not easy, progress in

bringing together these organizations and our Party and that will open up the possibility — sooner or later — of the formation of a single revolutionary leadership and even the integration of parts of all the revolutionary organizations into a single Marxist-Leninist Party.

"Our Party, in struggling for the unity of the left, considers the prospect of the single Leadership of the Revolution and the single Marxist-Leninist Party as the most logical, desirable and advantageous culmination of the process of unification; we see this process as part of the construction and development of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian vanguard of the revolution.

"The process of unification is and will be complex: it will include at the same time coming ever closer together, comradely dialogue and ideological debate, the effort to converge to unity of action and the discussion of divergences, the effort to overcome the virulence of this debate and to reach ever more significant agreements, mutual cooperation in practice and competition in the efforts to develop each organization; the effort to overcome wily hegemonism. . . .

"So this is a process in which the search for unity and the struggle are interlaced. To courageously and systematically take the steps toward unity and bring this struggle forward, but *as a struggle for unity*, that is the orientation of the PCS. . . .

"The PCS believes that the construction and development of the Marxist-Leninist Party can only be successful:

- a) If solid ideological and political unity is achieved, both organically and in action;
- b) If there are wide and deep ties to the great masses of people, above all to the working masses and workers generally;
- c) If the essence of the working class, its revolutionary character and vanguard nature is maintained;
- d) If it becomes a highly organized force; and
- e) If an iron discipline is impressed upon and maintained in the ranks."

### Final thoughts

The PCS is not the only detachment of the Latin American Communist Movement that is making this fundamental revolutionary change. There are various parties of South and Central America which accept the challenge of the armed struggle and the unity of the revolutionary forces. This solution to a long crisis in our movement is already being implemented, and the weight that this, rid of its weaknesses, lends to the revolutionary struggle will be very great.

The revolution will triumph after we learn from the setbacks in our continent, a continent that today lives in a revolutionary situation which extends outward from Central America and the Caribbean, a continent that is the epicenter of an earthquake that is collapsing imperialist dominion, the military dictatorships and exploitation by the oligarchy.

December 1981