

# **INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS**

combined  
with **inprecor**

Vol. 21, No. 11

June 13, 1983

USA \$1.25

UK 50p

## **Central America**

# **Washington Takes New Steps Toward Use of U.S. Combat Troops**



U.S. infantry forces based in Panama. Imperialist rulers aim to use them against Salvadoran and Nicaraguan revolutions.

### **Canada**

**Turning Point for  
Quebec National  
Liberation Struggle**

### **United States**

**Chicago Elections  
Show Class  
Polarization**

# More U.S. 'advisers' and bases for war in Central America

By Ernest Harsch

Step by step, the U.S. rulers are systematically escalating their military intervention in Central America. New bases are being opened, new contingents of U.S. troops are being put into place, old bases are being upgraded and reinforced, and all these actions are accompanied by a drumbeat of statements designed to set the stage for even bigger moves.

The U.S. Defense Department officially announced on May 26 that the Pentagon would soon send more than 100 additional U.S. military "advisers" to Honduras, tripling the number currently there. By the end of June, they will have set up a new base at Puerto Castilla, on the Caribbean coast, to begin training a battalion of Salvadoran troops. In all, 2,400 Salvadorans are to be trained there over the next six months. Discussions are also under way about setting up additional bases.

The primary purpose of this stepped-up U.S. military involvement in Honduras will be to bolster the Salvadoran dictatorship's war against the revolutionary forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). But according to the Defense Department, the new base will also be used to train troops from other Central American countries.

The Honduran and U.S. governments are already providing extensive military aid to an army of thousands of counterrevolutionary terrorists operating against Nicaragua from bases inside Honduras.

In addition, the Honduran military high command has indicated that the increased U.S. presence will "strengthen the climate of stability" in the country. U.S. forces, in other words, could help the regime put down struggles by working people within Honduras itself.

## Bases in Panama and Puerto Rico

On May 24, a report in the *New York Times* revealed that U.S. planes were making increased use of Howard Air Base in Panama to fly missions into El Salvador. A pilot at the base reported that much ammunition is used up during these nightly flights and that the guns on the planes need new barrels almost every day, indicating heavy use.

U.S. equipment for El Salvador and Honduras is also shipped from Howard. In recent weeks, the pilot told *Times* reporter Philip Taubman, the base has been "swarming" with United States military aircraft hauling weapons and ammunition.

To further strengthen its military presence in the region, the Pentagon announced in mid-April that it is planning to reopen the Ramey Air Base in Aguadilla, Puerto Rico. Reactivating this former base for giant B-52 bombers is

part of a broader effort to increase Puerto Rico's effectiveness as a staging area for U.S. intervention in the Caribbean and Central America.

In the midst of this stepped-up drive toward the use of U.S. combat troops in Central America, Washington has suffered its first military fatality in El Salvador.

On May 25, Navy Cmdr. Albert Schaufelberger, the second-in-command of the U.S. Military Group in El Salvador, was killed in San Salvador.

According to the *New York Times*, a May 27 broadcast by Radio Farabundo Martí, the station of the FMLN's Chalatenango front, said Schaufelberger had been killed by FMLN fighters as an act of "national defense." The broadcast reportedly added that "it is the adventurist policy of the warlike Ronald Reagan that is producing this new harvest."

But Schaufelberger's death did not cause Washington to skip a beat. The U.S. rulers simply pressed ahead with their plans.

## 'As many as 500 advisers'

According to a report by *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton, in the May 29 issue, Lieut. Gen. Wallace Nutting, the former head of the U.S. Southern Command, based in Panama, has said that the current ceiling of 55 U.S. "advisers" in El Salvador is not enough. "Some officers," Middleton continued, "say they think a thorough training job will require as many as 500 advisers."

What this press for more "advisers" actually represents is Washington's desire to send in U.S. combat troops.

This has been evident in the increased talk



about the use of such troops by various U.S. officials. In a May 22 interview, Senator Barry Goldwater, a prominent supporter of Reagan's interventionist policy in Central America, declared, "If I were the President . . . I would say, 'If it becomes necessary to save Central America, we will use our troops, our aircraft, our forces.' It's that important."

On May 28, Reagan himself refused to rule out the introduction of U.S. combat troops in Central America. Reagan's remarks came in an interview with reporters on the opening day of the summit meeting of seven imperialist heads of state in Williamsburg, Virginia.

## Ultrarightists urged on

In line with its war drive, the Reagan administration has been seeking more and more to mobilize the most right-wing forces in the United States, both in support of its policies and to intimidate opposition voices.

In a speech in Miami May 20, Reagan sought to rally the most reactionary segments of the Cuban exile community. He recited a litany of false accusations and slanders against revolutionary Cuba.

Reagan also used the occasion to attack those in Congress who have criticized aspects of the administration's Central America policies and who have been reluctant to accede to all of Reagan's requests for increased military and economic aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship or the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries. They "will be held accountable if our national security is put in jeopardy," Reagan warned.

One of the signs put up by Cuban counterrevolutionaries along the route of Reagan's motorcade declared: "We Support Reagan Against the Fifth Column of Andropov in the Congress."

Such baiting of Reagan's congressional critics is aimed fundamentally at working people who express opposition to the U.S. war in Central America. The ultrarightist forces urged on by Reagan have already carried out numerous attacks against antwar demonstrations, news conferences, and other activities.

Also involved in Reagan's attacks on his opponents in Congress is the jockeying in the opening stages of the 1984 presidential election campaign. What is *not* involved are any big differences over policy in Central America. The liberals in Congress agree with Reagan's overall goals and have been working to help implement them.

"House and Senate committees have given Reagan more military funds for El Salvador than initially expected and practically endorsed all of the allocations he requested for the rest of the region," *Miami Herald* correspondent Alfonso Chardy commented May 15.

Particularly revealing is the fact that the liberals in Congress have not made a peep about the death of the first U.S. adviser in El Salvador, the announcement that 100 more are being sent to Honduras, or the statements about the need for U.S. troops. If the congressional liberals were *opposed* to the war, they

would be in a strong position to counter Reagan's attacks, since the war in Central America is being systematically escalated despite the overwhelming opposition to such moves among the U.S. population.

#### UAW resolution opposes war

On May 26 — the same day Schaufelberger's death was reported — the *Washington Post* published the results of a public opinion poll that it conducted in collaboration with ABC News between May 11 and 15.

Seventy percent of those polled said they were against sending additional military aid to the Salvadoran regime. While two-thirds thought that the Reagan administration would try to send U.S. troops to El Salvador if the regime there were unable to defeat the rebels, "they oppose such a move, even as a last resort, by an almost 6-to-1 margin," the *Post* reported.

A full 78 percent opposed Washington's covert efforts to overthrow the Nicaraguan government, while 13 percent supported it.

Although the poll was taken shortly after Reagan's April 27 speech, in which he again blamed the unrest in Central America on Moscow, Cuba, and Nicaragua, only 22 percent agreed that such outside "subversion" was the cause. Instead, 57 percent cited poverty and the lack of human rights.

Such sentiments are being expressed within the U.S. labor movement as well. On May 18, the 27th convention of the 1.1-million-member United Auto Workers union adopted a resolution that declared, "We strongly urge the cutoff of U.S. military and economic assistance to the oppressive regime of El Salvador and support dialogue and negotiation toward a political settlement of the civil war."

It also stated, "We strongly oppose covert or overt U.S. aid to overthrow the government of Nicaragua and urge a withdrawal of CIA and military involvement in Honduras aimed at harassment of Nicaragua." Nevertheless, the U.S. escalation continues unabated. The future of U.S. imperialism's economic and political grip over all of Central America is at stake.

#### Washington runs war

The ever-greater U.S. military intervention in El Salvador directly parallels the continual disintegration of the Salvadoran dictatorship and the advances of the revolutionary forces.

"Top Pentagon military officers say bluntly that the U.S.-supported government in El Salvador is losing its war against guerrilla opposition," the *Miami Herald* reported May 20.

Morale in the army is extremely low. Hundreds of government troops have surrendered to FMLN units, sometimes before a battle has even begun.

Nor are the Salvadoran troops trained in the United States immune from this demoralization. Two-thirds of the 2,100 Salvadorans who received training in the United States have failed to reenlist once their periods of service have ended.

The military high command, infested with corruption and factionalism, has been unable to function to Washington's satisfaction.

Thus, the U.S. "advisers" play a central role in actually conducting the war. They help plan out strategy and dictate tactics at every level. In a dispatch from San Salvador in the May 26 *New York Times*, correspondent Lydia Chavez

reported, "Four advisers work at the high command, where they are assigned to the highest ranking officer in a particular division, and one each is assigned to the commanders of the air force and navy."

Chavez reported, "As one Salvadoran who works at the high command put it, nothing gets done unless the Americans are consulted first."

## —IN THIS ISSUE—

Closing news date: May 30, 1983

USA	308	Congressional liberals vote for war — by Margaret Jayko
	309	Why MX gains in Congress
	318	Supreme Court sets date to discuss Marroquín case — by Steve Wattenmaker
	318	Court strikes down ban on travel to Cuba
	319	Chicago election shows class polarization — by Ernest Harsch
HONDURAS	310	New revolutionary front formed — by Anibal Yáñez
SOUTH AFRICA	311	ANC strikes against regime — by Ernest Harsch
IRAN	312	Ban on Tudeh Party a blow to revolution — by Mehdi Assar
KOREA	313	Neutron bomb threat from U.S.
FRANCE	314	Rightist forces seize the initiative — by Will Reissner
	315	Workers need to retake streets — by Alain Krivine
SOUTH PACIFIC	316	Interview with leader of nuclear-free Pacific campaign
CANADA	324	Quebec national struggle at a turning point — by Arthur Young
GRENADA SELECTIONS	336	Speech by Maurice Bishop
FROM THE LEFT	332	Response to death of two Salvadoran leaders
DOCUMENTS	335	May Day 1983 — Statement from "Socialist Action"
NEWS ANALYSIS	306	More U.S. advisers and bases for war in Central America — by Ernest Harsch

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS (ISSN 0162-5594) is published every other Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August for \$25 per year by Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

**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, Steve Wattenmaker.  
**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 re-

flects 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.

# Congressional liberals vote for war

*Peace rhetoric hides support for U.S. aggression in Central America*

By Margaret Jayko

[The following article appeared in the May 27 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

In the past three weeks, the Democrats and Republicans have joined hands in several congressional committees to approve millions of dollars to further escalate U.S. involvement in the war in Central America.

These bipartisan moves were carried out behind the smokescreen of attaching "strings" and "conditions," designed to make it appear that Congress had actually thrown a monkey-wrench into Reagan's war plans.

A careful examination of the votes, bills, amendments, and statements reveals, however, that what Congress *did* for the last three weeks and what it tried to make it *seem* like it was doing were two very different things.

On May 3, the Democrats on the House Select Committee on Intelligence voted to approve \$80 million in military aid for "any friendly country in Central America" trying "to prevent the use of its territory or the use of international territory" for the transfer of military equipment from or through Cuba or Nicaragua.

The measure also provided for cutting off funds for the CIA's covert war against Nicaragua.

The result of the committee vote was to approve an *increase* in funding for the war against Nicaragua, cloaked in the phony claim that the goal is to stop the alleged arms flow to El Salvador — the excuse behind which every U.S. move against Cuba and Nicaragua has been made.

## 'Covert' becomes 'overt'

The *Miami Herald*, like many other big-business papers, reported this as a "severe blow to Reagan's embattled Central American policies."

Rep. Edward Boland (D-Mass.), principal author of the bill, claimed, "Our committee has done what the majority of the members of the committee believed had to be done, and that was to cut off covert operations in Nicaragua."

But, he added, "the bottom line was that covert action ought to be cut off, and we ought to turn that action into an overt action, and that's exactly what we did."

• On May 6, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence voted 13-2 to continue financing the CIA's war against Nicaragua to the tune of \$19 million through Sept. 30, 1983. The funding would be extended beyond that as long as Reagan explains to the satisfaction of



Senate liberals like Cranston (above) and Dodd talk peace while voting for war.

Congress what he wants to do in Nicaragua.

This was enough for the *New York Times*. Their headline read: "Senate Unit Votes Power to Cut Off Covert Aid Money."

Committee chairman Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) made clear that he had gotten Reagan's nod before going ahead with the vote.

• On May 10, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in a 17-0 vote, allocated an additional \$20 million to bring Salvadoran soldiers to the United States to teach them more effective ways to wage war against that country's workers and peasants.

Democratic Party liberals like Sen. Christopher Dodd and Sen. Alan Cranston joined with conservative Republicans like Sen. Jesse Helms to increase the war funds.

This bill would give the Salvadoran regime \$76.3 million in military aid this year alone — four times the amount appropriated in 1982.

• The next day, the House Foreign Relations Committee voted 36-1 to give the Salvadoran government \$65 million in military aid for 1984 and the same amount for 1985. A vague rider was attached, saying that the Salvadoran government should begin negotiations with rebel forces.

The sole dissenting vote was cast by Rep. George Crockett (D-Mich.), who stated, "I'm voting against all military appropriations."

While this bill was the most widely touted as being for peace, William Schneider, undersecretary of state for security assistance, approved the bill, saying the administration had no problem with the "conditions" placed on it. He boasted that Reagan's policies are "getting more support" than ever from Congress.

Commenting on this vote, the *Washington Post* pointed out, "The committee decision repeated the pattern of recent weeks in which the administration, while getting less for El Salvador than it first sought, has nevertheless gotten more than critics first threatened to give it."

The *New York Times* made a similar point: "An emerging Congressional consensus on military aid to El Salvador, considered unlikely last winter, may provide more funds than the Reagan Administration could reasonably have expected."

What was emphasized by the capitalist politicians and the media around each vote for more military aid was the strings or conditions that were attached.

In a *New York Times* article titled, "More Salvador Aid, and More Strings," author Martin Tolchin claimed, "Although the curbs remain ill-defined, they have the potential for real bite."

The article then totally undercuts this assertion by pointing out, "The committees' amendments fell into a pattern in which conditions have been imposed and it is up to the President to determine whether they are fulfilled."

These "strings" are more accurately called window-dressing to give Congress the aura of peacemakers while they vote to *escalate the war and U.S. involvement in it*.

## Dodd's example

Senator Dodd's performance in the last month highlights what the debate that is going on within ruling circles over El Salvador is really all about.

Dodd delivered the Democratic Party's response to Reagan's April 27 prowar speech on Central America. Dodd's remarks were seen by many as a sharp rejection of Reagan's policy.

Dodd began by explaining what all sides in the debate agree on: "We will oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America."

Then Dodd explained the heart of the disagreements — *how* to prevent such states from being established.

The problem with what Reagan's doing, Dodd explained, is that "the means he has chosen" to carry out this agreed-upon goal aren't working.

He called Reagan's policy a "formula for failure," and "a proven prescription for picking a loser."

Dodd then pointed out that since Reagan became president, Congress has approved \$700 million in aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship.

Dodd affirmed, "Yes, we are fully prepared to be involved in Central America. But the question is the nature and quality of our involvement. We must offer an alternative policy that can work."

No such alternative was forthcoming from Dodd. And two weeks later, he voted for the \$76.3 million more in military aid, saying only that he was "not totally" satisfied with the move.

#### Two different debates

The debate among the Democrats and Republicans over *how* to prosecute the war in Central America is only one of the debates on this topic taking place.

The other one is among working people and the oppressed over *whether* the U.S. government should be involved at all. Already, a majority of people in this country oppose a new Vietnam in Central America.

The ruling class is very mindful of this debate and discussion. They seek to divert it into their framework, to shift it from the axis of op-

position to *any* U.S. involvement to discussing how much to be involved and how fast to escalate.

What's behind the increased pace and scope of U.S. intervention is the fact that despite the massive amount of money and resources poured into Central America by the U.S. rulers, their side is losing there.

The Salvadoran regime is becoming increasingly isolated, in El Salvador and internationally. The rebel forces are advancing militarily and winning new support for their struggle.

And nobody claims that the band of counter-revolutionaries that have invaded Nicaragua will be able to topple the Sandinista government and overthrow the revolution.

So the Democrats and Republicans are faced with the need to escalate U.S. military involvement. But they know there is a high political price to pay in doing so. The opposition at home, the reaction in Latin America to U.S. intervention, and the fighting capacities of those they are trying to crush make their job a difficult one.

How opponents of Washington's war respond at each juncture is a critical factor in what happens. This underlines the importance of deepening the discussion and debate among working people on the need to oppose U.S. intervention in Central America. □

working people who were paying for it in lost jobs and social service cutbacks.

The June 12, 1982, demonstration of 1 million people against nuclear weapons showed growing opposition to the U.S. arms buildup. Washington's policies were inspiring wave after wave of antimissiles demonstrations in Europe.

And there was massive opposition to the shooting war that U.S. imperialism was carrying out against the peoples of Central America.

The MX became one of the symbols of Washington's war drive, and a focus of opposition to that drive.

Reagan moved to placate his congressional critics with statements favoring "arms control" and promises of a more "flexible" negotiating stance in disarmament talks with the Soviet Union.

He appointed the Commission on Strategic Forces to review the MX issue. Headed by retired Air Force Gen. Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser under President Gerald Ford, the commission included four former secretaries of defense and two former secretaries of state. The commission reaffirmed that the massive arms buildup was not simply Reagan's policy, but a bipartisan policy favored by the ruling capitalist class as a whole.

It urged approval of the deployment of 100 MX missiles, containing 10 nuclear warheads each, in existing missile silos.

In an interview in the April 25 *U.S. News and World Report*, Scowcroft pointed to the possible impact of a negative vote on the MX to the credibility of U.S. military threats. "We think it is very important to demonstrate a U.S. national will and cohesiveness," he said. "Four American presidents have said that the MX missile is important, if not essential to our national security. If we back away from it now, it will underscore our paralysis for both our opponents and for our friends and allies."

If Congress does not go along with the MX, he suggested, other governments will be tempted to follow suit: "I think deployment of Pershing 2s and ground-launched missiles in Europe would be in deep trouble."

Reagan's congressional critics began to fall into line behind the MX.

The bipartisan moves in Congress on the MX parallel the congressional stance on the U.S. war against El Salvador and Nicaragua. Congressional "conditions" — not worth the paper they are written on — provide the cover for the actual votes cast in favor of escalating Washington's new Vietnam.

The ruling class needs the arms buildup to roll back the freedom struggle in Central America and the Caribbean, and to block similar popular revolts elsewhere. Washington's nuclear arsenal is its ultimate weapon in trying to crush such revolts.

This military buildup has nothing to do with defending the working people of this country, or any other country.

No to the MX missile! No to the war budget! End all U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean! □

---

## United States

---

# Why MX gains in Congress

## *Bipartisan support for imperialist war drive*

[On May 24 the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives voted in favor of President Reagan's MX missile plan, and the Senate followed suit the day after. The following editorial appeared the week before these votes. It was published in the May 27 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

The Reagan administration is making headway in plans to deploy the MX nuclear missile. A Senate committee voted 17-11 May 12 to release \$625 million to start the project. The House Appropriations Committee followed suit May 17 by a 30-26 vote.

The \$625 million is just for openers. The project is estimated to cost \$17 billion, but is likely to end up costing much more.

Legislators who now support Reagan on the MX are telling some tall tales to explain their turnabout. "One Trip to the Oval Office Made Skeptical Senator an MX Backer," read one *Washington Post* headline.

According to the *Post*, "Senator Warren B. Rudman (R-NH) went to the White House on Wednesday afternoon skeptical not only of the MX missile but of President Reagan's general commitment to arms control. He sat beside the president for 30 minutes of earnest conversa-

tion and came out of the Oval Office a believer."

The growing support for the MX in Congress is an example of the bipartisan nature of U.S. imperialism's drive toward war. Because they serve a small minority that needs war to preserve and expand profits, the politicians of both parties have to join together in carrying out their militarist policies.

In the case of the MX — as in the case of Washington's war in Central America — they face an obstacle: massive opposition from working people.

When the Democratic Carter administration initially proposed deploying the MX on tracks — which meant tearing up tens of thousands of acres of Western land — a massive outcry went up from farmers, unionists, environmentalists, and many others. Even the conservative Mormon church denounced the plan, and condemned nuclear weapons as a threat to humanity.

Carter had to back down. Plans to deploy the MX in this way were scrapped.

When Reagan came to office he moved to revive the MX program. But many in Congress still hesitated to go along.

The massive military buildup that Reagan was presiding over spurred discontent among

# New revolutionary front formed

*Response to repression and U.S. intervention*

By Aníbal Yáñez

Six revolutionary organizations in Honduras have united in a single front to oppose the dictatorship's support to the accelerating U.S. war against Nicaragua.

Our country, they said in a statement that began circulating in the capital, Tegucigalpa, in late April, "has been turned into a blind instrument of the Reagan administration's policy of intervention and war in Central America."

The revolutionaries explained they had "exhausted the 'democratic' roads of popular struggle," and called on the Honduran people "to rise up with courage and determination in a revolutionary people's war."

To fight for this perspective, they have formed the National Unified Leadership of the Honduran Revolutionary Movement. Members of the front are the Revolutionary Workers Party of Central America (PRTC), People's Revolutionary Forces—Lorenzo Zelaya (FPR—Lorenzo Zelaya), Movement for Revolutionary Unity (MUR), Communist Party of Honduras (PCH), People's Liberation Movement—Cinchoneros (MPL—Cinchoneros), and Morazanist Front for the Liberation of Honduras (FMLH).

The response of revolutionaries in Honduras is a graphic example of a much broader process. Escalating U.S. military intervention against Nicaragua — far from reversing the advance of the revolution — has increased the regionalization of revolutionary struggle in Central America.

In just a few years (since the triumph of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua in 1979), Honduras has been turned into a haven for criminals and terrorists financed by the CIA to attack Nicaragua, a major new base for U.S. military operations, and a growing nightmare for the Honduran people.

### U.S. military aid skyrockets

The facts of the counterrevolutionary camps established in Honduras — where 7,000 terrorists have been armed, trained, and paid by the CIA — are no longer secret. Nor is the Honduran army's collaboration with the Salvadoran military in joint operations against the Farabundo Martí freedom fighters.

Washington's gratitude has been expressed in the traditional way. From 1980 to 1982, publicly acknowledged U.S. military aid to Honduras more than tripled, going from \$3 million to \$10.6 million — not counting \$21 million that in 1982 went to modernize Honduran airfields.

There is every indication the actual figure is much higher. In just two of the arms airlifts that are known to have taken place — one in July 1982, the other in February 1983 — 169

planeloads of U.S. weapons and military supplies were delivered to Honduras.

The February delivery, carried out under the guise of joint U.S.-Honduran "military exercises," actually set the stage for a gigantic arms exchange.

Eighty-six planeloads of U.S. rifles, mortars, artillery, and other combat gear were provided to the Honduran military. They then turned around and gave all their "old" equipment to the counterrevolutionaries who are currently invading Nicaragua.

Since then, increasingly open support by Honduran troops for the invasion of Nicaragua is threatening to provoke war between the two countries. Such a war would provide a pretext for direct U.S. intervention.

### Terror against working people

At the same time, methods of terror and repression developed by U.S. forces in Vietnam and perfected in El Salvador are increasingly being used against working people in Honduras.

On March 28, to take one example, the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights of Honduras protested the disappearance of Inés Murillo and José González, both of whom worked with Honduran labor organizations.

They were kidnapped by armed plainclothesmen and nothing has been heard about them since, despite the efforts of their relatives, the committee, and representatives of the Honduran labor movement. Such is life today under the "democratic" government of President Roberto Suazo Córdova and — the



Reagan and Suazo during latter's July 1982 visit to White House.

### Honduras in statistics

1.3 million are illiterate, out of a population of 3.4 million.

300,000 of 500,000 existing homes have major deficiencies.

600,000 are unemployed, about 20 percent of the population.

68 percent of all farms are less than five acres.

\$480 a year is the per capita income, after Haiti the lowest in Latin America.

55 percent of the population has an income below the official poverty level.

real head of government — Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martínez, chief of the armed forces, minister of defense, and close collaborator of U.S. Ambassador John Negroponte.

The case of the two "missing" trade unionists is not an exception. In recent months, the same fate has befallen some 75 people, most of them trade-union leaders, teachers, students, and journalists. "Either they shoot you down in the street, or pick you up at home, or you just disappear when you leave your house," one union leader told the *Los Angeles Times* April 22.

Honduran security forces do not always act anonymously. Most of the time now they operate openly, having been given a free hand in May of last year with the enactment of a so-called Anti-Terrorist Law. The authorities usually just accuse those detained with possession of "communist literature" or of being "linked to terrorists."

Along with this selective repression against leaders of the labor movement and democratic organizations, there is also the silent but brutal repression unleashed against landless peasants, unemployed workers, and the homeless poor. Not a day goes by without bullet-ridden corpses or bodies hacked to pieces turning up along roadsides or on the outskirts of Tegucigalpa, the capital city.

These killings are carried out by the infamous *Cobra* battalion (a special counterinsurgency force trained by U.S. advisers) and by paramilitary groups, many of which are on the payroll of wealthy businessmen.

All this has been explained away by General Alvarez Martínez. "Human rights," says the general, "are an invention to protect terrorists."

There is a problem with such a brutal course, in the eyes of some U.S. officials. It may not work.

### 'We are radicalizing that country'

After a recent visit to Honduras, Robert White, U.S. ambassador to El Salvador until 1981, pointed out that increasing U.S. intervention was only leading to a further extension of revolutionary struggles. "What has depressed me the most is to see what our intervention is doing to Honduras," he said. "We

are radicalizing that country. . . ."

The formation of a united revolutionary front is an indication that White's assessment is correct. "All the hopes and aspirations of the [Honduran] people, expressed in the last elections, have fallen flat," the statement by the leadership of the Honduran Revolutionary Movement declared.

Noting that the U.S.-backed rulers have "handed the country over to the insatiable

greed of the multinational corporations," the statement urged the masses to join in "a revolutionary people's war to regain our national sovereignty and national dignity, to reconquer democracy, freedom, justice, and peace."

Meanwhile, U.S. Ambassador Negroponte was telling the press in Tegucigalpa that he was optimistic about prompt U.S. congressional approval of a 1984 military aid package to Honduras of some \$48 million. □

## South Africa

# ANC strikes against regime

*Black response to bombing: 'people are jubilant'*

By Ernest Harsch

South African planes bombed Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, May 23. This criminal attack left 6 people dead and 24 wounded. According to the Mozambican press agency, among the dead were two women, a factory worker and a child.

The racist white minority regime in Pretoria presented the raid as an attack against offices of the African National Congress (ANC), in reprisal for a bomb blast three days earlier outside the South African air force headquarters in Pretoria, carried out by ANC freedom fighters.

But South African officials themselves admit that the raid was planned before the bombing. Such attacks are part of the South African regime's ongoing policy of aggression against neighboring countries that provide sanctuary to South African freedom fighters and refugees, such as Angola, Lesotho, Botswana, and Mozambique. In December, a South African commando raid into Lesotho claimed the lives of 42 South African refugees and Lesotho citizens.

Pretoria's foreign aggression is but an extension of the violence that it metes out every day to South Africa's Black majority.

Blacks are denied virtually all democratic rights. Opponents of the regime are routinely arrested, tortured, imprisoned, or killed. During the 1976 youth rebellions in Soweto and other Black townships, the police slaughtered more than 600 Blacks, most of them high-school students.

It is against this system of institutionalized violence — known as apartheid — that South Africa's Blacks are rebelling. As the polarization in South Africa deepens, more and more young activists are turning toward armed struggle to bring down the hated regime.

Since 1980, the ANC, the foremost national liberation organization, has been waging an increasingly effective guerrilla campaign, carrying out scores of attacks against military bases, police stations, power plants, railway lines, and other vital installations.

The bombing in the South African capital was the most spectacular guerrilla action thus far. A powerful car bomb exploded outside the

Nedbank Plaza building, which houses the offices of the air force command, air force intelligence, and prison department. Army offices were located across the street. According to the South African government, 18 persons were killed in the explosion and about 190 wounded. Many of them were air force and military personnel.

The ANC has pointed to the bombing as an example of the kind of action that the apartheid regime could expect in the future.

At a May 21 news conference in Nairobi, Kenya, ANC President Oliver Tambo explained that the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), would henceforth extend its military operations from sabotage of buildings, railways, and bridges to "attacking the enemy forces."

"Never again, never again are our people going to be doing all the bleeding, never again," Tambo said. "Don't you think that we have offered the other cheek so many times that there is no cheek left to turn?"

A statement issued the same day by the ANC office in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, also placed responsibility for the intensification of the armed conflict in South Africa on the apartheid regime.

"All available evidence clearly shows that the attack which took place yesterday in the heart of Pretoria was specifically directed at military establishments of the South African regime," the statement said. "The enemy casualties consist essentially of air force and military intelligence personnel.

"The escalating armed struggle, which was imposed on us as a result of the intransigence and violence of the apartheid regime, will make itself felt among an increasing number of those who have chosen to serve in the enemy's forces of repression.

"This struggle, carried out by the people of South Africa and their army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is conducted within our country and will be won within the country. Whatever the enemy does, we are assured of victory."

The reactions to the bombing within South Africa point to the deep political polarization that is taking place there.

Not only did the government and its supporters denounce the bombing as a "terrorist" action, but most of the so-called liberal white political forces did so as well. The Johannesburg *Star*, which supports the liberal parliamentary opposition to the ruling National Party, said that South Africans should "exult in the swift revenge at Maputo."

The Black figures who have been appointed to head up the regime's Bantustans — the 10 rural reservations that masquerade as African "homelands" — likewise condemned the ANC's attack, as did some reformist Black political figures.

But the reaction among many Black working people was the opposite. Surveying Black reactions in the Johannesburg area on May 24, *New York Times* correspondent Joseph Lelyveld found widespread approval of the bombing.

"People are jubilant," one Black told him. "They long ago gave up any hope for peaceful change. What they are saying is that the African National Congress is finally hitting real targets. That is why you are having crowds of blacks drawn to the street where the bomb went off. They want to see the place where a white man died."

In response to the regime's playing up of the fact that some Blacks were among the dead and wounded, another commented, "I heard one man say, 'You can't separate the tea and the milk after they've been mixed.' They understand that there have to be black casualties in South African conditions."

A mother of two young men who have left the country to join the guerrillas remarked, "The boys have finally struck where it hurts most."

A Black who works as a security guard told Lelyveld, "It will make the Boers realize that these boys mean business too and have the guts to fight."

A 19-year-old declared, "They hit them! It was out of this world! The cops, the whites didn't expect a black man to strike so hard." □



# Ban on Tudeh Party a blow to revolution

*Attack is aimed at working class as a whole*

By Mehdi Assar

[The following article appeared in the June 3 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

In a blow to the Iranian revolution and the right of workers to form political parties to advance their struggles, the Iranian government banned the Tudeh Party (Communist Party) on May 4. The Tudeh Party is the largest and oldest workers party in Iran.

The same day, Iranian officials expelled 18 Soviet diplomats from the country. About a week later, the Iranian government announced it had arrested 1,000 Tudeh members around the country, in addition to party leaders seized in February.

These moves are a serious setback for the Iranian people's struggle against the ongoing attacks of U.S. imperialism and the continued aggression from the Iraqi regime, and battles of workers and peasants for land reform, labor rights, and the new society they overthrew the shah in order to build.

Far from protecting the revolution, the banning of the Tudeh Party weakens the working class and its allies in the struggle against Washington, which has not given up on overturning the revolution and restoring a regime in Iran subservient to U.S. dictates.

For months there had been a debate among Iranian officials over whether to outlaw parties like the Tudeh, which have not taken up arms against the government and have a stance in favor of the revolution. Since the overthrow of the shah in 1979, the Tudeh Party has in general given political support to the regime led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

A year ago the Tudeh Party newspaper *Mardom* was banned and some party members imprisoned. On February 6, 70 party leaders were arrested and charged with "espionage and forgery of documents." The arrests were widely publicized in the Iranian press.

This came in the context of tightening restrictions on other workers parties, including the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), several of whose leaders are in jail. There has been stepped-up harassment of militant Islamic currents in mass organizations like the Jihad, the Reconstruction Crusade that has been active in the countryside among peasants.

## Forced confessions

The banning of the Tudeh Party came after Iranian television and radio broadcast three days of fake confessions by leading Tudeh figures. The purpose of these statements, clearly false and extracted under coercion, was to promote anti-Soviet, anti-Marxist views and to



"Confession" by Tudeh leader Nureddin Kianuri (above) was extracted through torture.

pressure workers organizations to dissolve and cease functioning in any manner independent from the ruling Islamic Revolutionary Party (IRP).

Nureddin Kianuri, first secretary of the Tudeh Party Central Committee, testified, as did all the other prisoners, to being a "Soviet spy" and traitor to the revolution. He said that "due to the link between our party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union . . . we went astray. Our activities in the political arena changed on occasion to espionage activities and hence treachery against the Islamic Republic."

He "endorsed" the official government slogan "Neither East Nor West," and said the Iranian masses "must avoid any contact with foreign powers or countries, be they Eastern or Western, the American or the Soviet superpower."

Kianuri said his party committed a crime because "instead of dissolving we increased our membership and strengthened it," including having members who were soldiers. He also claimed the party was stockpiling arms.

He concluded with a message to young Tudeh Party leaders that "no leftist trend should infiltrate into Iran, as it means affiliation to foreigners, to aliens. It is the mother of all treason and treachery."

The other most prominent Tudeh figure, the writer Mahmoud Etemadzadeh (also known as Behazin), also "confessed." He said "Marxism

has come to a blind alley in Iran." It "has nothing to offer us against Islam's well-defined doctrine accepted by millions of the Iranian masses."

His statement also said that all "left tendencies and the Tudeh Party are dependent on the Eastern superpower and this is the source of their conspiracies and betrayals."

The Tudeh Party Central Committee issued a statement the day after the first "confessions," declaring the statements were false and brought about by physical and psychological torture.

## Response of workers

Initial reports in the Iranian press do not indicate wide support among the masses for the anti-Soviet, anti-Tudeh Party attacks. Unlike the massive mobilizations of workers and peasants that greeted the seizure of the U.S. embassy in 1979, thus far only one small demonstration has taken place against the Soviet embassy, which is still functioning. Nor have there been big marches against the Tudeh Party, as there were in the summer of 1981 against the Mujahedeen, a petty-bourgeois group that turned to counterrevolutionary terrorism against the revolution and the current regime. Those actions turned out hundreds of thousands.

There were large workers' demonstrations this year on May Day, the day after the first of the Tudeh Party forced confessions. The government gave workers the day off and marches occurred in some 50 cities.

Thousands demonstrated in Tehran, where, according to the Iranian news reports, the main slogans focused on demanding an "Islamic labor law," in opposition to the current labor bill being debated, which includes unpopular restrictions on workers' rights. Workers also chanted "Death to America," "We'll fight until final victory" — referring to repelling the Iraqi invaders, and "Neither East nor West."

A resolution was read to the crowd from Workers House, the main national headquarters of the *shoras*, or factory committees. It made no reference to the Soviet Union or the Tudeh Party, or any of the charges that had been broadcast the previous evening.

## Behind frame-up of Tudeh Party

The frame-up of the Tudeh Party, including the lies about KGB spies and illegal weapons, and the false idea that the Soviet Union is a military threat to Iran, is aimed at all workers parties and organizations. It flows from the fact that the capitalist Iranian government, which defends the interests of the factory owners and big landlords, has thus far been unable





May Day march in Tehran. Workers demanded improved labor law, did not hail regime's action against Tudeh Party.

to decisively reverse the drive of the workers and peasants for a complete break with imperialist exploitation and for full social and economic justice.

Attempted suppression of parties, freedom of the press, and rights in the workplace are all designed to prevent workers from seeking a political course independent of the IRP. They are aimed at intimidating the masses from pressing for their demands for fear they may be labeled "Tudeh spies."

The goal is to block the workers from considering Marxist ideas and parties that are identified with Marxism and the Russian revolution. These ideas are far from foreign to the aspirations of the Iranian working class, a fact the capitalists know full well.

The Iranian regime remains in bitter conflict with U.S. imperialism and has recently established important trade and diplomatic relations with countries like Nicaragua. Nonetheless, Iranian officials have at the same time intensified their polemics against Marxism and the idea of class struggle, through the media, at prayer meetings, and in the factories and mass organizations. These attacks are not mainly aimed at the Tudeh and other workers parties, which remain relatively small, but at the broader working-class movement.

How the working class responds to the stepped-up attacks on its rights, in the context of combating the ongoing aggression from Iraq supported by Washington, will be important for the future of the revolution. The banning of the Tudeh Party and frame-ups of its members are a blow to that future; the Tudeh prisoners should all be freed and the party's democratic rights restored in full. □

## Korea

# Neutron bomb threat from U.S.

### *Pentagon considers stockpiling weapons in South*

The Pentagon is considering placing neutron bombs in South Korea, U.S. reporter Jack Anderson reported May 2 in his nationally circulated newspaper column.

These weapons would be added to the already existing stockpiles of hundreds of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons in South Korea.

"Most Americans probably got the idea," writes Anderson, "that the neutron bomb — the nuclear weapon that kills people but leaves buildings intact — was shelved years ago after running into a storm of outrage.

"Actually, the Pentagon has been quietly producing neutron warheads since August 1981, when President Reagan gave the go-ahead. This is so despite the fact that our European allies have refused to allow neutron bombs on their territory, Soviet threat or not.

"Military planners," adds Anderson, "know there's another place the tactical neutron bombs could be used effectively: South Korea."

In fact, the inventor of the neutron bomb first conceived of the weapon during the Korean War, which followed the partition of Korea after World War II. The neutron bomb was seen as a weapon that could dislodge the North Korean troops who had captured Seoul — the capital of South Korea — without destroying the whole city.

While the neutron bombs are currently being stockpiled on U.S. territory, Anderson reports, "most likely, South Korea will agree to the deployment of neutron bombs."

The North Korean government has condemned the new threat, which it says heightens "tension in Korea and gravely threatens peace in Asia and the world."

The news of the planned deployment of the neutron bomb on the Korean peninsula comes in the wake of giant U.S.-organized military maneuvers in and around South Korea by 191,000 U.S. and South Korean troops as well as "observers" from Japan's so-called Self-Defense Forces.

The maneuvers, called "Team Spirit '83," involved the largest number of ground troops of any military exercise ever staged by the Pentagon. The exercise simulated an invasion of North Korea by land, sea, and air and lasted from February 1 to mid-April. At the same time U.S. aircraft carriers staged joint war games with Japanese and South Korean naval forces in the Sea of Japan off North Korea's east coast.

In response to the start of the "Team Spirit '83" maneuvers, the North Korean armed forces were placed on a "semiwar" footing on February 1 for the entire period of the maneuvers.

The deadly serious character of the plans to

place neutron bombs in South Korea and of the "Team Spirit '83" war games was underscored by the U.S. government's "Fiscal 1984-88 Defense Guidance" document. According to United Press International, which obtained a copy of the classified document, the Pentagon contemplates a move against North Korea in the event of any military confrontation with the Soviet Union in the Middle East.

Moreover, the 39,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea play a vital role in propping up the hated military dictatorship there. The South Korean government is one of the most repressive in the world, according to Amnesty International.

In May 1980 a mass uprising took place in the city of Kwangju. It was put down, at a cost of thousands dead and injured, by South Korean paratroopers attached to the combined command headed by U.S. Gen. John Wickham.

The stationing of U.S. troops in South Korea is crucial to the survival of the hated regime, and to the interests of U.S. and Japanese imperialism, which have huge investments there.

In mid-January Japanese Premier Yasuhiro Nakasone visited South Korea and promised some \$4 billion in aid to military dictator Chun Doo Hwan. Nakasone also stated that if a military conflict broke out in South Korea, Japan would turn itself into a giant logistical base for U.S. troops, as it was during the Korean War. □

### ***Special Offer***

**Bound Volumes of  
*Intercontinental Press*  
1968-1982**

**\$25 per year (\$15 unbound)**

Special price on purchases  
of five or more years:  
**\$20 per year bound**  
**\$12 per year unbound**

**SUPER DISCOUNT on purchase  
of entire series, 1968-1982:**  
**\$275 bound (save \$100)**  
**\$140 unbound (save \$85)**  
(Please add \$1 for postage and  
handling for each year ordered.)

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

# Rightist forces seize the initiative

*Make headway among middle-class forces*

**By Will Reissner**

For several months France has witnessed nearly daily demonstrations by a wide spectrum of mainly middle-class forces opposed to various aspects of the Mitterrand government's policies. Students, farmers, medical interns and residents, small shopkeepers and self-employed people have taken to the streets.

Many of these demonstrations have been waged around progressive demands, although that has not been the case with protests against price ceilings by businessmen. Students have protested a university reform that will make the universities more selective. Farmers are opposed to Common Market agricultural pricing policies that make it impossible for them to earn a living on the land. Interns and residents are against cutbacks in public medical care.

But despite these progressive demands, the right-wing parties have been able to use these demonstrations to increase their own strength and momentum. Using the student demonstrations and small merchants marches as a screen, ultraright and neofascist groupings, working as shock troops for the traditional capitalist parties, have significantly expanded their scope of activity.

Anti-working-class and racist views put forward by the ultrarightists have been given wide play by the mass media. Immigrant workers have been beaten up. Neofascists have set up barricades in Paris' Latin Quarter on numerous occasions.

"What would have been inconceivable yesterday becomes the commonplace occurrence today," wrote Jean Lantier in the May 20 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR).

The right wing has regained the political initiative in France barely two years after voters gave the Socialist and Communist parties a sweeping mandate. On May 10, 1981, François Mitterrand of the Socialist Party decisively won the presidential election, and six weeks later the SP and CP swept the parliamentary elections. Between them they took 64 percent of the seats in the National Assembly.

The 1981 elections showed the depth of the discontent in French society. And the new government's initial actions fueled workers' hopes for progressive change.

The Mitterrand government was always committed to the defense of the capitalist system, and it actively furthered the interests of French imperialism abroad. But Mitterrand also took a number of actions benefiting the working class during his first months in office.

Soon after taking office, the SP-CP govern-

ment increased the minimum wage, lowered the retirement age to 60, boosted social benefits, established a fifth week of paid vacation, and abolished the state security court, which had been associated with particularly open violations of civil liberties. Some political prisoners were also freed.

These initial actions won overwhelming approval, and remain extremely popular to this day. A public opinion poll published in the May 8, 1983, Paris daily *Le Monde* indicated that 72 percent of the French public favor maintaining the fifth week of paid vacation and 60 percent back the right to retire at age 60.

But as the international capitalist economic crisis continued to deepen, the Mitterrand government retreated from its promises and began carrying out a capitalist austerity program. In June 1982, one year after coming to power,

Mitterrand imposed a series of new measures designed to cut the living standards and social benefits of the working class while boosting the profits of the bosses.

Further moves to cut living standards were made in March 1983. A new income tax surcharge was imposed. Utility charges were increased. New taxes were levied on gasoline, tobacco, and alcohol. Hospital charges went up. Government spending on social security was cut further, while the arms budget was increased by nearly \$5 billion.

The French capitalists hailed these measures, but demanded further concessions. Despite Mitterrand's attacks on the workers, the capitalists continue to ship money out of France. The trade union of customs agents recently revealed that in 1982 and the first quarter of 1983, French capitalists sent more than



May 18 demonstration against ultrarightist offensive, organized by LCR, drew 5,000. Rouge

\$15 billion out of the country.

While the government's austerity policy has failed to satisfy the capitalist class, which demands more, it has also alienated large segments of the working-class base of the Socialist and Communist parties.

This has been reflected in declines in membership in the CP and SP, and in the trade-union federations they lead. Many workers have not renewed their union membership, feeling that the unions are not worth joining if they will not fight to defend living standards.

Working-class alienation from the Mitterrand government's austerity policies was seen in the March 1983 municipal elections. The first round of those elections was marked by the abstention of some 2 million working-class voters who traditionally cast ballots for Socialist or Communist party candidates.

When the first-round results became known, the capitalist parties and newspapers began crowing that the electorate had repudiated the results of the 1981 elections and had turned rightward. In response, many of the working-class abstainers returned to the polls in the second round, angered by the attempt to seize upon and distort their discontent.

But because the big workers parties and unions are tied to the government and refuse to organize significant actions against its austerity policies, the right-wing parties have been able to draw many of the protesting middle-class groups behind them.

In the student movement, the refusal of the SP- and CP-led student organizations to take part in the struggles around the university reform law has left the way open for ultraright and neofascist organizations to join the demonstrations and use them to organize confrontations with the government under the rightist banner.

French farmers organizations span a broad social and political spectrum. In recent elections to regional agricultural bodies, farmers organizations linked to the trade-union movement won 30 percent of the vote.

But because of the failure of the SP and CP to present a program of struggle taking up the crisis facing working farmers, segments of the farmers movement that are natural allies of the working class have been brought under the leadership of the large landowners, who are tied to the bourgeois parties and right-wing forces.

The big workers organizations argue that any demonstrations against the government's austerity policies simply play into the hands of the right. But the opposite is true. Because the workers movement has remained mute while the right-wing forces have gone into the streets, the bourgeois parties have been left a clear field.

As Francis Sitel wrote in the May 13 issue of *Rouge*, "it is not preordained that shopkeepers and the self-employed must come together behind ultraright employers' organizations, nor that the rural world should demonstrate behind the banners of organizations serving the big landowners, nor that a large student demon-

stration should find itself behind reactionary groups."

But in order to break down these heterogeneous blocs, Sitel notes, the working class must put forward its own solution to the problems created by capitalism. It must counterpose its own economic and social program, which can win over working farmers, students, small shopkeepers, and others.

Large numbers of French workers are beginning to see, in the words of LCR leader Alain Krivine, that "the left won the elections but the right won the streets." They recognize that the growing audacity of the ultraright in carrying out anti-working-class and racist demonstrations must be countered.

As a first step in this process, nearly 5,000 people responded to a call by the LCR for a May 18 Paris march against the fascist provocations and racist campaigns (see accompanying article).

Writing in the May 20 *Rouge*, Christian Pic-

quet noted that "all the demonstrators on May 18 were conscious of the insufficiency of the response" to the rightists. But they saw the action as "a first step toward a response encompassing the whole workers movement."

Despite the desire of the workers to defend their living standards and counter the right-wing campaign, the trade-union federations have refused to organize any united response.

The independent Labor Force (FO) union federation called an ineffectual one-hour strike by its members on May 18. The SP-led French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) called for a gathering in Paris on May 26. The CP-led General Confederation of Labor (CGT) called on its federations to organize rolling weeks of "explanation and action."

The need for the unions to wage a joint struggle against the right-wing offensive and against the government's austerity program is the most pressing issue in the workers movement in France today. □

## Workers need to retake streets

### LCR urges united reply to ultrarightist offensive

By Alain Krivine

[The following statement appeared in the May 13-19 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), the French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

Today everyone is asking themselves: is a new May 1968 from the right, in reverse, in the offing? Certainly not. But, on the other hand, an offensive by the right or the far right? Undoubtedly.

For three months now, France's main cities have been the scene of demonstrations by people not usually involved in this type of initiative. Large and middle-size bosses, archbishops and bishops, little Nazi-types. This whole high society, which has not digested the May 10 victory, is going into the streets.

Despite their official denials, the hardliners in the RPR [Assembly for the Republic] and the UDF [Union for French Democracy] are trying to draw in the student mobilizations and to orient those of the small merchants against the workers. There is an increase in racist proclamations while the small fascist groups parade in the streets of Paris.

And in the meantime, the government is applying an austerity plan that disheartens and demobilizes the workers. The workers movement seems paralyzed. How do we get out of this situation, how do we fight the austerity, how do we impose another policy without playing the game of an increasingly arrogant right wing? This is the question that thousands of workers are asking themselves today.

The answer is twofold. Only a vast united mobilization of the working class will be capa-

ble of finishing with the diktats of the bosses that the government yields to. But at the same time, it seems obvious that this mobilization must also take the form of a massive response to the offensive by the right and of the apprentice Pinochets.

In the present climate of disarray, it is important above all that the working class make its voice heard and show its strength, that it retake the streets, that it pass onto the offensive, thereby showing that the only way you play the right's game is by passively leaving it a clear field.

Let no one be fooled. The fascist and racist provocations are first and foremost directed against the workers. They require an immediate response.

Since May 6 we have publicly addressed all the workers organizations, calling on them to retake the streets. A meeting finally took place at the League of the Rights of Man on May 10, with all the left parties in attendance. But nothing concrete came of it. Another meeting will be held in a week. We will continue to increase our efforts to end up with the most united response possible. But it is no longer possible to wait and equivocate. That is why the LCR, while regretting that it finds itself alone, decided to call a demonstration for Wednesday, May 18, as a first step in what we hope will be a larger counteroffensive.

We address ourselves to all the workers, to the members of the left parties and the unions: today, a wait-and-see attitude strengthens the right and paralyzes us. Whatever our political differences, let's go into the streets together to say loud and clear that enough is enough, that we will not accept fascist parades and insults against our immigrant brothers. Let's clearly show that the hopes of May 10 are still more alive than ever. □

# 'We all fight for social justice'

Interview with leader of nuclear-free Pacific campaign

[Rex Rumakiek is the coordinator of the Pacific Community Centre in Vanuatu — formerly the joint British-French colony of New Hebrides, in the South Pacific. During early April, Rumakiek spoke at meetings throughout New Zealand in support of a nuclear-free and independent Pacific. The Vanuatu Pacific Community Centre acts as a voice for independence struggles in the Pacific region, and as a coordinating center for the campaign against nuclear weapons, against nuclear tests, and against the dumping of radioactive waste in the Pacific.]

[Rumakiek is an exile from the Indonesian-occupied, western half of the island of New Guinea, where he was a freedom fighter with the Free West Papua Movement. At his meetings with trade unionists, church leaders, students, and Maori activists in New Zealand, Rumakiek explained the connection between the independence struggles in the South Pacific and the fight for a nuclear-free Pacific. He particularly stressed the urgent need for solidarity with the Kanak (Melanesian) independence movement in French-ruled New Caledonia. The Independence Front there has demanded independence for New Caledonia by September 1984.]

[The following interview with Rumakiek was conducted by Lindsay Thompson in Christchurch, New Zealand. It appeared in the April 29 issue of the fortnightly newspaper *Socialist Action*, which reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, the New Zealand section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

*Question.* Could you explain the work of the Pacific Community Centre and why the Vanuatu government set it up?

*Answer.* During their struggle for independence the Vanuatu Party developed very close links with independence or liberation movements all across the Pacific — including the land rights movements in New Zealand and Australia — and they have continued to maintain that type of relationship since independence [July 30, 1980].

During the independence celebrations — which they invited all of us to attend — we met to develop our close relationship and co-operation. We asked the government if they could allow us to open an information centre, for all of us, and the Vanuatu government agreed. That's how we started the centre, and I was appointed to open it.

The main aim of the centre is to provide information about liberation struggles across the Pacific, and we link them to the nuclear issue.

We make this link because of the fact that our islands in the Pacific are not independent. Those who control these islands make the decisions for us, so they can test the bombs without our consent. So we feel that independence is our priority.

If people in French Polynesia get independence, France will not be able to test the bombs there anymore.

Look at what happened in Micronesia. The people were not independent, so the United States was able to do whatever it wanted — building bases and testing bombs between the early 1940s and late 1950s — and now people suffer from it.

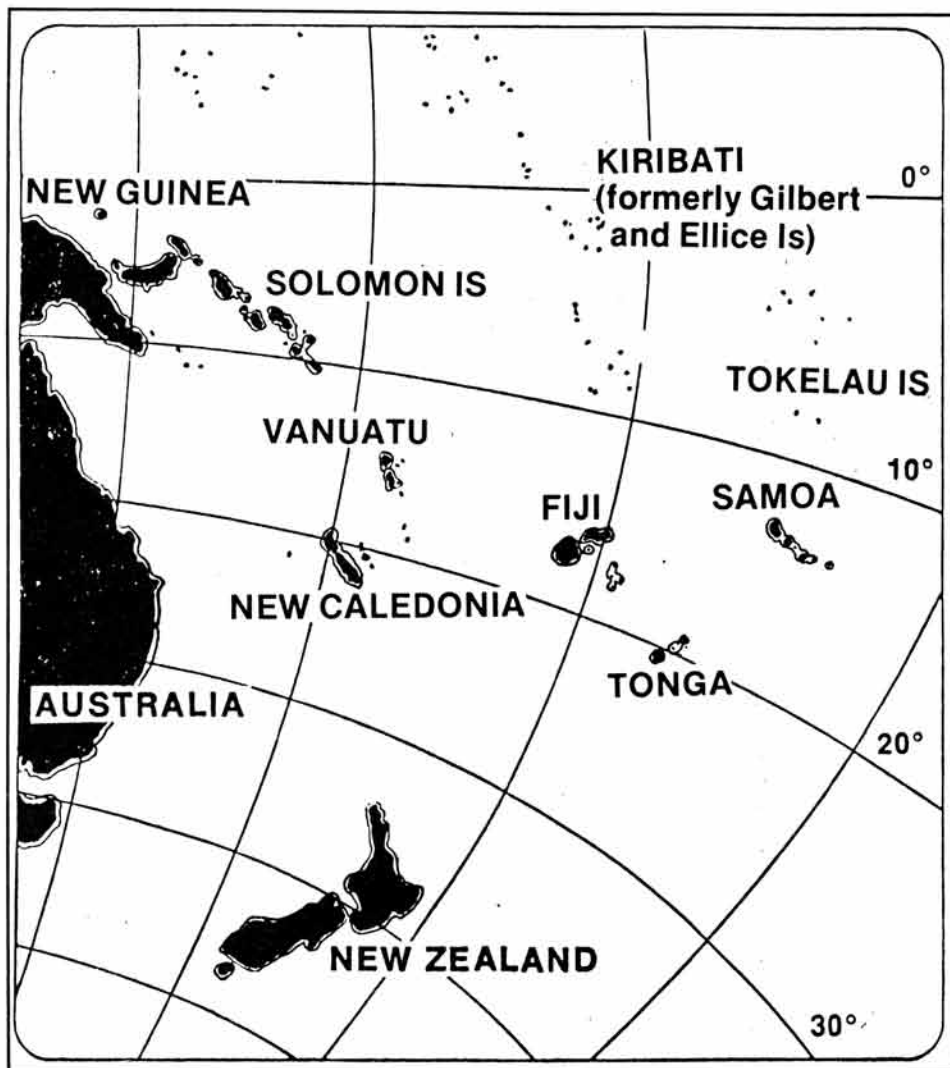
So we regard independence as more important. If we just fight against this nuclear mad-

ness, after that somebody will still control our lives and the struggle will have to continue.

*Q.* Where does the independence struggle in New Caledonia stand?

*A.* At the moment in New Caledonia, the Independence Front is preparing to declare independence next year. See, it's becoming clear that France doesn't want that country to gain independence. They say the answer is more internal powers rather than independence.

To the Independence Front, this option is not on. It is too late! Talking about internal government should have been many years ago, not now. Everybody's mind is preoccupied with independence and it is too late now for



any other option. Everybody is for independence.

Internationally, all the countries of the Pacific accept that independence is inevitable for New Caledonia. The only question remaining is how. They want France to give an answer on how to proceed towards independence. But now that the French view is clear, the Independence Front has made the decision that they are not going to beg any more for France to give the answer. If independence is theirs, they will take it.

*Q. In recent months, the news media coverage on Vanuatu has been increasingly hostile to the Lini government. [Walter Lini is the prime minister of Vanuatu.] Why do you think this is happening?*

A. It is very clear. Since Vanuatu took a very independent stand on issues in the Pacific, there are people around who don't like Vanuatu and its stand, and they always try and use every possibility to discredit the government of Vanuatu.

What is going on in Vanuatu right now is exactly what we predicted some time ago. Those that are not happy with the system in Vanuatu always try to undermine everything the government does for its people.

*Q. Recently Vanuatu joined the Non-Aligned Movement and announced that it was establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba. What does this step mean for the other small island nations of the Pacific?*

A. I am personally very happy that Vanuatu is able to take that kind of stand. I think that people in the Pacific are with me.

We have been disappointed that most of our independent countries are independent only in name. They have never made any real sovereign stand on issues in the Pacific. But now Vanuatu has really proved that a sovereign state can make decisions for itself.

It decided to join the Non-Aligned Movement without fear of anything else because they are independent. That's their own choice and no one should criticise them.

Last week, a motion was passed in the parliament that Vanuatu should be declared a nuclear-free state. So that's another positive stand that no other Pacific state is able to take. It supports my view that Vanuatu is the only sovereign state in the Pacific able to stand on its own feet and make its own decisions. And I hope that other independent states in the Pacific will follow Vanuatu's lead.

In regard to Cuba, that's exactly the same. If you are a sovereign state, you make your own decisions and make up your own mind about who your friends will be. No one else should tell you.

*Q. How does your centre relate to the struggles taking place in Central America and the Caribbean, and the escalating American intervention there?*

A. I am quite aware that, everywhere in the

world, when people are dissatisfied with the system, they start doing something to change it. The very few on top who control the system always come down hard on them, and always label them as "communist" or "terrorist," or whatever.

Our movement for a nuclear-free and independent Pacific is a peoples' movement, it's not a government movement. But we are lucky that many governments are supporting us. We have trade unions with us. We have churches with us. We have student bodies with us. So this is quite a strong movement. And I won't be surprised if all those big forces out there will do their best to undermine this kind of movement which is working against their interests.

That is exactly what has happened in many countries in Latin America. The people take up the struggle against those forces that are oppressing them. And since they are working against the interest of big powers, they face the problems that they are now having in Latin America.

Their primary interest is fighting for their survival and freedom. But they are being presented in the media as "bad guys," and it's not true at all. I understand it because we face the same problem in the Pacific.

*Q. What is your message to working people in New Zealand about the struggles you face?*

A. I do feel that whether you are a worker in New Zealand or Australia, or one of the Pacific Islands, basically we share the same kind of

concern for the welfare of people.

All those problems that we face arise, not because of our inability to look after ourselves, but because of decisions forced from the top down on us. We are not able to enforce the decisions about what should be going on around us or about the things affecting our lives.

We are being forced to pursue a life that in the end only benefits those big shots sitting up there on the top making the decisions.

We share the same concerns everywhere. What you do here, fighting for your rights, for your own welfare, to keep your jobs and conditions, is the same, although maybe under different conditions, but the principles are the same. We all fight for social justice.

This movement to attain social justice should involve the whole of working people, at all levels. It should draw them into the decision-making process. That is what we are fighting for in the Pacific.

Vanuatu leads already because, after kicking out the two colonial powers, they were able to change to a system where all social forces in the community are involved in the decision-making. They might make mistakes, but at least everyone in the community knows that they are involved in the decision-making and can change things.

We would like workers and other people in the Pacific to do the same as Vanuatu. If they can be directly involved in the decision-making, they might start changing things for the better. □

## Marx centenary conference in Australia

By Roger Miles

MELBOURNE — A successful Karl Marx Centenary Conference was held here over the Easter weekend. The conference organizing committee involved the Socialist Workers Party, the Australian section of the Fourth International.

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

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

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

The conference heard five feature talks on Marx and Marxism.

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

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

More than 800 people heard Mandel speak on the present world recession, and how it con-

firmed all of Marx's analyses of capitalism made last century.

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

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

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

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

---

### Don't you know someone who should be reading *Intercontinental Press*?

Why not ask a friend, family member, or co-worker to subscribe?

For rates, see inside cover.

# Supreme Court sets date to discuss Marroquín case

By Steve Wattenmaker

The U.S. Supreme Court has put the deportation case of Héctor Marroquín on its conference agenda for June 16.

Marroquín is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He was forced to flee repression in Mexico nine years ago. Since 1977 he has been fighting efforts of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to deport him. Marxists, the INS has said, have no right to political asylum in the United States. In January 1983 a federal appeals court agreed.

Although the Supreme Court will not necessarily decide on June 16 whether to hear Marroquín's appeal, the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing support for Marroquín's case, has announced an all-out campaign to flood the INS with letters and telegrams demanding that he be given asylum.

Héctor Marroquín's demand for political asylum is based on the fact that he may lose his freedom or even his life if he is forced to return to Mexico.

In the early 1970s Marroquín was part of a movement of student, peasant, and trade union activists who were radicalized by the conditions imposed on Mexico under the heel of U.S. imperialist domination. At the University of Monterrey, where Marroquín was a student, the police unleashed a fierce wave of repression against peaceful student protesters.

Marroquín saw his roommate gunned down by the police in cold blood, accused of being a "terrorist." In early 1974, Marroquín fled Mexico after the press printed trumped-up charges that he, too, had committed "terrorist" actions.

Marroquín's request for political asylum, along with the U.S. government's arguments in favor of deportation, comprise a case with far-reaching implications for everyone seeking political refugee status in the United States. Those from countries ruled by U.S.-backed dictators in Central America and the Caribbean are particularly affected.

At issue in the case, which is being argued by noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, is whether Marroquín can be denied asylum solely on the basis of his political ideas. The INS says yes.

"Marroquín has admitted from his own mouth that he is a Marxist . . . the U.S. doesn't grant asylum to those kinds of people," the government said at Marroquín's 1979 deportation hearing.

The government could easily use the same argument against other foreign-born workers if it is successful in Marroquín's case. For example, a Salvadoran living in the United States

who protests Washington's war against El Salvador could be accused of being a Marxist and deported. A foreign-born worker who fights on the job for union rights could meet the same fate.

Because of the high stakes involved, Marroquín's case has won impressive support from trade union leaders, civil libertarians, religious figures, and others.

The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, meeting in Chicago May 13-15, unanimously renewed its support for Marroquín's fight. Several prominent individuals at the conference signed support statements. Angela Davis and Herbert Aptheker are also among the supporters of Marroquín's case.

At the United Auto Workers convention, which opened May 15 in Dallas, Texas, Marroquín's right to asylum was backed by Leon Lynch, international vice-president of the United Steelworkers; U.S. Congressman Esteban Torres from California; and Joaquín Zapata, secretary-general of the General

Motors Union in Mexico.

On a national tour that began in mid-April, Marroquín has gotten new support in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Florida, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey.

Editors of official labor publications in Duluth, Minnesota, and Racine, Wisconsin, endorsed Marroquín's fight. United Auto Workers Sub-region 10 Director Bob Killeen in Minnesota also lent his backing.

A meeting for Marroquín in Miami's Black community attracted transit workers, garment workers, and a number of Haitian activists. Konbit Libète, a leader in the city's Haitian community, helped to organize the meeting for Marroquín.

Opening a rally for Marroquín in Philadelphia, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) local president Howard Deck called for support to Marroquín's case because "the union movement has to take on international issues. It has to take a stand on human rights." Other speakers at the May 14 rally were from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, as well as Salvadoran, Haitian, and Irish solidarity organizations.

Protest messages demanding that the deportation order against Héctor Marroquín be dropped should be addressed to Alan Nelson, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536. Please send copies to PRDF, Box 649, New York, N.Y. 10003. □

## U.S. court reverses ban on travel to Cuba

In a major victory for democratic rights, a federal appeals court has ruled that U.S. citizens have the right to travel to Cuba.

The Reagan administration banned such travel last year as part of its stepped-up campaign against the Cuban revolution. The ban was challenged in court by people who wanted to visit Cuba.

At first the travel restriction was upheld by a federal judge in Boston. But on May 15, a year to the day after the ban was imposed, a U.S. appeals court reversed the Boston judge and restrained the administration from enforcing the ban.

Reagan officials have declined to say whether they intend to appeal the ruling.

The 1982 White House order was imposed under provisions of the Trading With the Enemy Act, prohibiting citizens from spending U.S. currency in Cuba. The administration resorted to this gimmick because an outright travel ban is a flat violation of the U.S. Constitution.

A prohibition on travel to Cuba was originally imposed by the Kennedy administration in 1961. Three months later Washington organized an invasion of Cuba by Miami-based Cuban counterrevolutionaries.

While legal challenges to the ban in the 1960s succeeded in overcoming some of the travel restrictions, it remained difficult to

travel to Cuba until 1977, when the ban was lifted.

Lifting the restrictions resulted in growing numbers of people going to Cuba to see the island's revolution for themselves. When the travel ban was decreed last year, the U.S. Treasury Department estimated that some 40,000 people a year were visiting Cuba.

Such travel, the Reagan administration knows, is a powerful antidote to the U.S. government's poisonous prowar, anti-Cuba propaganda.

Taking immediate advantage of the court ruling, the revolutionary socialist weekly *Militant* and its sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, announced a tour of Cuba for June 24 through July 8.

### Intercontinental Press

will give you a week by week analysis of the most important world events.

Subscribe now!

410 West Street  
New York, N.Y. 10014

# Class polarization in Chicago

*New political stirrings among Blacks and other workers*

**By Ernest Harsch**

The April 12 mayoral election in Chicago was one of the bitterest and most sharply fought in recent U.S. history. It revealed some of the underlying changes that are affecting politics nationally.

Headlines across the United States — and around the world — focused on the contest between Harold Washington, a Black Democrat, and Bernard Epton, a white Republican. Washington, who narrowly won the election, became the first Black mayor in Chicago's history.

In its coverage, the big-business news media reduced the election to nothing more than a conflict of "race against race." But that was a falsification. What lay behind the Chicago election was something far more fundamental — a deepening class conflict that pits the tiny minority of wealthy businessmen, bankers, and real estate speculators against the vast majority of the population, those who work for a living.

As elsewhere in the country, the working class in Chicago is seeking ways to advance its interests and to have them represented on the political level, in government.

Blacks, as an oppressed people and the most exploited sector of the working class, are playing a vanguard role in this process. This has been especially evident in their fight for Black political representation in Chicago, a city where few Blacks have previously held high public office. Their fight has inspired Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and other oppressed national minorities, as well as the more class-conscious sectors among white workers.

At the same time, the advancing consciousness of Blacks and other working people is part of a broader social and class polarization. The most reactionary layers in Chicago responded during the election by unleashing a racist campaign against Blacks.

## **Socialist Workers Party candidate**

Only one candidate in the election pointed to this underlying class conflict — Ed Warren, the mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

"The racism that has been fostered as a part of this election campaign is a product of capitalism," Warren explained during an April 9 campaign rally. "But racist attitudes among white workers are not spreading and getting deeper. On the contrary, they're losing ground.

"What we are seeing is something else. There is a class polarization taking place across the country" as the employers deepen

their attacks on the Black community, Latinos, women, and the entire labor movement.

However, this class polarization was reflected only indirectly — and in a very distorted manner — in the election itself.

As Warren explained, working people were presented with a no-win situation in the voting booth. In trying to advance their interests, they were being forced to choose between the candidates of two capitalist parties.

This was because working people had no mass, independent political party of their own. Lacking any effective means to express their class interests directly, the sentiments of Blacks, Latinos, and other workers against Chicago's employing class were channeled behind Washington's campaign — and thus kept tied to the very same capitalist party that has governed Chicago for more than half a century.

## **A city of poverty and wealth**

As in the rest of the United States, working people in Chicago, the country's second-largest city, have felt the worst effects of the capitalist economic crisis and the employers' efforts to push down their standard of living. This has been especially true for the oppressed nationalities, the 40 percent of Chicago's 3 million people who are Black and the 14 percent who are Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, and other Latinos.

Some 200,000 workers in Chicago are now unemployed. About 120,000 are cut off from any medical care. The city's services are falling apart. One-fifth of all Chicagoans live in dilapidated, substandard housing, most of them in the predominantly Black South and West Sides. And Chicago has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the United States.

Chicago is also the most segregated major U.S. city. Most Chicago schools are either all-white or all-Black, and the Black schools are considerably inferior. Many white neighborhoods are considered out-of-bounds for Blacks, and they cannot safely set foot in them at night.

Despite the fact that Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and other Latinos make up more than half the city's population, they have been virtually shut out of major decision-making positions in the city.

Alongside such poverty and oppression, there also exists wealth and luxury. In an article in the April 10 *New York Times*, the newspaper's Chicago bureau chief, Andrew Malcolm, explained, "Chicago's rich, most of whom earned their money this century, have their city home on the lake on the North Side in a thin strip of surviving mansions and luxury

apartment buildings that make up in height what the neighborhood, known as the 'Gold Coast,' lacks in width."

In Chicago, the capitalists' traditional instrument for defending their interests has been the Democratic Party (there has not been a Republican mayor since 1927). And in Chicago, the Democratic Party has for decades been organized as a political "machine" — a party apparatus based on a complex and extensive system of patronage, full-time paid functionaries, business kickbacks, and corruption. Its existence has acted to reinforce segregation in housing and education and the racist hiring practices in the municipal administration.

In most of the United States, such municipal machines have died out. But in Chicago it hung on, presided over for two decades by Mayor Richard Daley. This led to contradictions between the ruling class as a whole, which favored more sophisticated and flexible forms of capitalist rule, and the ossified machine apparatus, which had become incapable of adjusting to new developments.

## **Workers stir**

Beneath the apparent rigidity of Chicago politics, social tensions were building up.

One indication that new sentiments were stirring among working people came in 1977 when Ed Sadlowski, the head of the Chicago-Gary district of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), led a campaign against the union's entrenched bureaucracy. Although Sadlowski failed to win the presidency of the USWA, his campaign did garner widespread rank-and-file union support, especially in the Chicago-Gary area, with its 120,000 steelworkers. Sadlowski won this support among all sectors of the USWA: whites, Blacks, and Latinos.

Following Boss Daley's death in 1976, the latent contradictions between the Democratic Party machine and sections of the ruling class also began to surface. In 1979, Jane Byrne won the mayoral election as an "antimachine" reform candidate. But she soon showed that she was just as much of an enemy of working people as the old machine politicians, with whom she formed an alliance.

Byrne sought to maintain Chicago's segregated school system by appointing several racists and avowed opponents of desegregation to the school board. She moved to cut back city services that benefit working people. And she launched a concerted campaign to try to break the municipal unions.

But workers did not accept these attacks lying down. Byrne's school board appointments provoked widespread protests in the

Black community. Her drive against municipal employees was answered by strikes by teachers, transportation workers, and firefighters.

The firefighters strike, which ended in March 1980 in a victory for the workers, was particularly revealing about the political changes taking place within the working class. The firefighters, who are mostly white, received support from the Black community and incorporated an affirmative-action clause in their contract demands. Prominent Black figures such as Rev. Jesse Jackson gave the firefighters their backing and helped organize support meetings for them. This labor-Black alliance was key to the victory of the strike.

The example of the firefighters showed that as workers come into sharper conflict with the bosses, they also seek to build greater class unity. The racist divisions that capitalism fosters tend to break down.

### Looking for alternatives

As disillusionment with the Democratic Party deepened, more and more working people in Chicago began thinking about alternatives. They were attracted by the idea of political action independent of the employers and their racist Democratic Party machine.

This striving for independent working-class politics was most evident among Blacks. It took a dual form: a fight by Blacks for their democratic right to political representation, at all levels of the government; and opposition to the racist monopoly of the Democratic Party machine that governed Chicago on behalf of the ruling class.

In 1977, Harold Washington, a liberal Democratic Party congressman from Chicago's South Side, launched his first campaign for mayor. He ran in the Democratic Party primary in order to tap this sentiment in the Black community.

The most significant vanguard expression of the fight for independent Black political action came in 1980 with the formation of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

At its 1981 convention in Chicago, the NBIPP adopted a charter that declared, "Both major parties (the Democratic and Republican parties) have betrayed us because their interests essentially conflict with ours. They have consistently used power and government to create policies for Black economic underdevelopment, political exploitation and cultural destruction. Their policies reveal contempt for the interests of Black people, and have existed solely for the maintenance of the existing political and socio-economic system."

Revolutionary socialists in Chicago and the rest of the country hailed the establishment of NBIPP. They pointed out that the NBIPP, although not a mass party, nevertheless marked a significant first step toward leading Blacks — and other working people — out of the dead-end of the capitalist two-party system.

Because of the overwhelmingly proletarian composition of the Black nationality in the



Jon Hillson/Militant

Socialist candidate Ed Warren discussing issues during election campaign.

United States, independent formations like the NBIPP have a dual character: they can provide an important impetus to the struggle of Blacks against national oppression, and they can show the way forward for the entire working class. The very existence of an independent Black party can raise the level of debate and discussion among all workers on how best to fight against the capitalist system. It can set an example of independent political action, and thus serve as a spur to the development of a labor party.

While most discussion and interest in Chicago was focused on the question of Black political activity, some within the labor movement also pointed to the need for the establishment of a labor party.

In an article in the October 1980 issue of *65 News*, the newspaper of Local 65 of the USWA based in southeastern Chicago, local President Alice Peurala pointed out that the practice of extending support to "pro-labor" Democratic Party candidates had brought working people no fundamental gains.

"I think the tragic conditions of many of our members, with no let-up in sight, is an imperative call for all labor unions to organize a national congress for the purpose of launching a labor party," she wrote. "Those millions of dollars spent to support pro-labor candidates could be put to better use — to elect our own people to office."

This continues to be a minority viewpoint within the working class, however. Most Blacks, Latinos, and other workers do not yet consider it a "realistic" alternative.

But the crisis of capitalist rule in Chicago and the ferment among Blacks and other work-

ers that led to the rise of the Washington campaign shows the potential that exists, even though that ferment has not yet led to an actual break from the Democratic Party.

### Washington in 'mainstream'

A series of discussions among Black community leaders about the prospects of running a Black candidate for mayor of Chicago began in mid-1982. They were initiated by the Chicago Black United Communities organization and by Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH. Those who attended included community activists, trade unionists, doctors, and preachers.

SWP mayoral candidate Ed Warren — a Black garment worker — attended these meetings and argued for the launching of an independent Black political campaign, based on a program of uncompromising support to the social, economic, and political rights of Blacks, Latinos, and all other workers; and no support to the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties. This, he said, would be a step toward building a mass independent Black party.

Although Warren received a hearing for his proposals, those involved in the discussions did not take the step of breaking from the Democratic Party.

By early October, Washington had emerged as the most popular of the dozen or so Black figures who had been named as possible candidates for the Democratic Party mayoral nomination.

From Washington's perspective, the key-function of his campaign — aside from his own personal advancement — was to direct the political ferment in the Black community into



safe channels, that is, to keep it bottled up within the capitalist two-party system.

Washington himself indicated as much in an interview in February. Blacks, he said, have "got to be involved in the mainstream political activity." He then added, "I have no quarrel with the Democratic Party as such." In fact, Washington had previously worked for Daley's machine, before breaking with it during Daley's last years in office.

The program that Washington advanced was not fundamentally different from that of the other candidates for the Democratic Party nomination: budget cutbacks, more police, tax breaks for corporations, and so forth. Like the others, he stressed the importance of establishing a good "climate" for business in Chicago.

#### Upset in Democratic primary

But Washington also made a number of vague promises to carry through reforms. He called for the dismantling of the patronage system of the Democratic Party machine. He promised to appoint a Latino as deputy mayor. Alone among the Democratic Party candidates, Washington presented himself as an opponent of "Reaganomics."

This raised the expectations of many workers that Washington's election could lead to some social reforms. His criticisms of the Reagan administration's policies were particularly popular.

However, the main difference between Washington and the other candidates in the Democratic primary was the fact that he was Black. And for most Blacks, that was enough. With no other alternative presented to them, they saw voting for Washington as a way to strike back at the racist Democratic Party machine.

A Black voter registration drive that was launched during the summer of 1982 had succeeded in adding more than 100,000 Blacks to the voter rolls by November. Thanks to this groundswell of support in the Black community, Washington was able to narrowly win the Democratic Party primary in February, beating both Mayor Jane Byrne (who was seeking reelection) and State's Attorney Richard Daley (a son of the late mayor).

This primary upset caught the ruling class off guard. Until then, most Chicago officials and news commentators had assumed that either Byrne or Daley would win the nomination. They had seriously underestimated political sentiments in the Black community. They were alarmed by what those sentiments could potentially lead to.

#### Ultraright's racist campaign

In reaction to Washington's primary victory, some sectors of Chicago's ruling class, as well as the old guard of the Democratic machine and the cops, swung their support behind the previously obscure Republican candidate, Bernard Epton.

Many figures in the Democratic Party machine feared the loss of their jobs in the apparatus and their access to lucrative business

contracts if Washington won. Though Washington proclaimed himself a loyal Democrat, he also vowed to dismantle the machine structure.

The most racist elements in Chicago feared that the election of a Democratic mayor who is Black would spur demands among Blacks and other working people for new efforts to eliminate segregation in housing and education and to win jobs.

And finally, some saw an opportunity to whip up a racist atmosphere in order to try to keep working people divided, to blunt the tentative moves toward a Black-Latino-labor alliance and independent working-class political action, and to spread fear and demoralization in the Black community. The capitalist news media in Chicago played an important role in this.

Epton's campaign became the focus for this drive. Though Epton had earlier presented himself as a liberal, his campaign was stamped with an explicitly racist character.

The main campaign ad for Epton declared, "Epton for mayor — before it's too late." Everyone knew what "too late" meant.

Some of Epton's supporters donned T-shirts proclaiming, "Vote right, vote white."

Chicago's white cops — who are universally hated in the Black community for their history of vicious attacks against Blacks — openly campaigned for Epton. A poll among the 11,000 members of the Fraternal Order of Police, the predominantly white body for patrol- and detective-grade officers, found 92.5 percent in favor of Epton.

Racist mobs were also organized. On March 27, a crowd of 200 jeering white racists tried to attack Washington and former Vice-president Walter Mondale as they sought to attend a church service on the predominantly white Northwest Side. "Nigger go home!" the racists chanted. His life threatened, Washington was forced to leave. A week later, Washington was again attacked in the same part of the city, outside a church where he was scheduled to attend a meeting of Greek-Americans.

SWP candidate Warren denounced these racist attacks against Washington, pointing out that they were in fact directed against "all Blacks and other workers in this city who are opposed to racism."

The big-business news media played its own part in promoting the racist mobilization. While covering up for some of the more blatantly racist statements and actions of Epton's supporters, it at the same time purveyed the view that what was involved was nothing more than a conflict between Blacks and whites, that it was white workers — as opposed to the supposedly more progressive middle class — who were the most racist, or that whites were simply defending their "ethnic pride," just as Blacks were.

But "white ethnic pride" and Black nationalism are opposites. The nationalism of the oppressor — white racism — is thoroughly reactionary. It serves the interests of the ruling class and rallies behind its banner the most

right-wing social forces in and outside of government.

Black nationalism, on the other hand, is the response of a key sector of the working class struggling against national oppression. It has a progressive, anticapitalist dynamic. It helps mobilize Blacks against the capitalist system responsible for national oppression, racism, and class exploitation. It serves the interests of the working class as a whole.

#### Blacks not cowed

Blacks in Chicago refused to be intimidated by the racist campaign. They responded by lining up behind Washington in even greater numbers than during the primary election. They proudly wore Washington buttons as a display of defiance.

The attempts by Epton supporters to pit Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and other Latinos against Blacks also failed. Though a few figures in the Latino community came out for Epton, the overwhelming majority recognized his campaign for what it was: racist and antilabor.

In fact, the breakdown of the Democratic Party machine and the ferment in the Black community has led to the beginnings of a new political awakening among Latinos in Chicago, with increased debate and discussion about what political road to follow.

Contrary to the image of white workers presented in the capitalist press, the most conscious sectors of working-class whites were likewise repelled by the racist drive. And a wider layer, putting aside racist prejudices, recognized that Epton's campaign reflected the broader social reaction that was being fostered by the ruling class and the Reagan administration.

This was expressed by the large attendance at a March 27 rally for Washington, at which leaders of the AFL-CIO union federation were the featured speakers. Though the audience of 15,000 was predominantly Black, several thousand white workers attended as well.

In a column in the April 17 *New York Times*, Studs Terkel, a liberal Chicago writer, commented, "And there is one other part of Chicago, hardly advertised. Blue-collar white working-class people who labored mightily in the vineyards for a black man. In the 10th ward, the palatinate of Fast Eddie Vrdolyak, county chairman of the Democratic Party, Washington got 38 percent of the vote. . . . Jobless steelworkers — just enough — voted for the black man. As Ed Sadlowski recalls: 'In precincts where we'd expect 8 or 10 votes, we got 35, 40. That's where the working stiff were at.'"

Despite the racist campaign whipped up around Epton, Washington managed to garner 19 percent of the white vote — one of the highest white votes for a Black mayoral candidate in the country. Most white workers who voted for Washington did so *despite* racist prejudices. They felt that he would be more favorable to their interests than Epton.

The opposition of Blacks, Latinos, and

white workers to the racist, antiworker drive symbolized by Epton's campaign was an important development in Chicago politics. It reflected the ferment and combativity of key sectors of the working class.

But confined within the framework of Democratic Party politics, it was unable to find any effective independent expression.

Although the ultrarightists succeeded in placing their particular stamp on the election, the ruling class as a whole did not throw its weight behind the Epton campaign. The bosses certainly used it to try to drive wedges between different sectors of the working class, but many were at the same time concerned about the likely political repercussions if Epton won. They knew that an Epton victory, supported by much of the Democratic Party's Chicago machine, would have provided a further impetus among working people to discuss and debate whether their interests were being taken up by the Democratic Party.

Moreover, they had confidence in Washington. There have already been more than 200 Black Democratic mayors elected around the country, including in such major cities as Detroit, Los Angeles, and Cleveland. None of those elections have led to any weakening of the capitalists' political dominance.

The national leadership of the Democratic Party recognized what lay underneath the conflict in Chicago. It thus sought to retain the support of Blacks, whatever the outcome of the election, by identifying itself with Washington's campaign. As a report in the April 11 *Newsweek* commented, "The party aims to keep restive black voters safely within the Democratic corral."

In an analysis of the Chicago election in the April 14 *New York Times*, correspondent Howell Raines noted that "the Democratic National Committee gave him [Washington] more money and more campaign support than any mayoral candidate has ever received." This included visits to Chicago, on Washington's behalf, by Walter Mondale and John Glenn, two of the party's contenders for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination.

Meanwhile, Epton failed to get the same kind of backing from the national Republican Party leadership. Raines reported a week earlier that "although the Republican National Committee is paying for Mr. Epton's polling and his telephone banks, the committee's officials regard his candidacy as a no-win proposition."

#### 'All the high-class people'

In Chicago itself, Washington received more open corporate support than Epton did (although he had little prior to his victory in the Democratic primary). Washington also had the official endorsement of the two main bourgeois dailies. Washington's transition team (an advisory body to line up personnel and organize the mayor's administration immediately after the election) included the chairmen of the Borg-Warner Corp., Northwest Industries, Commonwealth Edison



HAROLD WASHINGTON

(Chicago's utility company), and the Jewel Food Stores chain; as well as former Secretary of Commerce Philip Klutznick and former Federal Communications Commission Chairman Newton Minow. In addition, senior officials of two major Chicago banks were named to Washington's fiscal planning panel.

Washington called the transition team "a bipartisan group, chosen for its expertise and commitment to sound government." Edwin Berry, a prominent Black business executive who served as cochairman of the team, was more blunt: "It's all the high-class people in town who know how to run this city."

Most prominent Black community leaders went along with this effort to keep Blacks corralled within the Democratic Party. And while many Black and white workers attended the March 27 labor rally out of their opposition to the employers' attacks, the AFL-CIO leaders who spoke used the occasion to try to boost the Democratic Party and refurbish its image.

#### Left groups cave in

Most U.S. left and socialist groups capitulated politically to the Washington campaign.

The Communist Party, Workers World Party, Communist Workers Party, Democratic Socialists of America, as well as the radical newspapers the *Guardian* and *In These Times* all called for a vote for Washington and hailed his election.

Leaders of the local chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party also backed Washington, despite the party charter's clear opposition to supporting the Democratic and

Republican parties.

The left and socialist groups that backed Washington claimed that the central issue in the election was the fight against racism, and that a vote for Washington would help advance that fight. The class content of Washington's candidacy was either relegated to second place, ignored, or denied altogether.

The April 14 *Daily World*, the newspaper of the Communist Party, claimed that Washington's victory "confirmed the ushering in of a new era of political power in the second largest city of the U.S. And the implications reach far beyond this city of 3.5 million." Although the *Daily World* failed to spell out which class it thought now held "political power" in Chicago, another article two weeks later claimed that Washington was "a candidate identified with working people and the organized labor movement in particular, an outspoken fighter for peace and opponent of the 'machine.' Washington became a spokesperson for a movement representing the interests of all working people and democratic elements in this city."

*In These Times*, a national weekly published in Chicago that is linked to the Democratic Socialists of America, the main social-democratic grouping in the United States, adopted a similar stance. In the April 20-26 issue, editor David Moberg welcomed Washington's election as "the beginnings of a new reform coalition that should shift the city — and possibly national politics — to the left."

For the Communist Party and the social democrats, such positions are nothing new. Both currents have long favored working through the Democratic Party and have called for support to liberal Democratic candidates.

#### A 'referendum on racism'?

However, the *Guardian* newspaper, which has taken its distance from the Democratic Party in the past, also came out in support of Washington.

An editorial in the April 13 *Guardian* recognized that "Washington certainly isn't running a 'socialist' campaign, or even an independent one." But it went on to call for a vote for Washington on the grounds that "the question is whether we defend the Black community's attempt to exercise its democratic right to full participation within the (bourgeois) electoral arena, as voters and candidates, without being subjected to a white racist onslaught of verbal harassment and the poisonous spread of race hatred."

The Workers World Party, which has not previously supported voting for a capitalist candidate, likewise caved in to the Washington campaign.

An article by Sam Marcy in the April 1 *Workers World*, the party's newspaper, maintained that the Chicago election was in reality "a referendum on racism." All other issues, Marcy said, were subordinated to that question.

"Were this an election campaign where racism did not predominate," Marcy added, "one

could possibly speak of putting up a working class candidate who addresses the anti-racist and working class issues of the day as well as the many world problems."

Based on this perspective, another article in *Workers World* two weeks later explicitly attacked the Socialist Workers Party for running a candidate in the election. Ed Warren's campaign against the two capitalist parties, *Workers World* proclaimed, was a "surrender to racism."

Despite their Marxist and socialist-sounding argumentation, all these groups and newspapers lost sight of the fundamental class character of the conflict in Chicago, a conflict that pits working people of all colors against the two main political instruments of the ruling class, the Republican and Democratic parties. Washington's loyal support to the Democratic Party determines which side of the dividing line he stands on.

### Socialist campaign gets good hearing

The only organization in Chicago that sought to advance the fight for Black and working-class political independence was the Socialist Workers Party.

Through its election campaign, it managed to reach tens of thousands of people. It found working people, especially supporters of Washington, receptive to its ideas and proposals.

Warren argued repeatedly — in public meetings, in the press, and through campaign literature — that Blacks, Latinos, and other workers could only achieve political power by fighting for a government of their own, a workers and farmers government, from the local to the national levels. In order to do that, Warren stressed, they had to break from the Democratic and Republican parties.

Only with their own political organizations, Warren said, could working people fight most effectively against the government's war moves in Central America, against the capitalists' drive to reduce workers' living standards, against women's oppression — and against racism.

The SWP's campaign also attracted the attention of capitalist political circles in Chicago.

Shortly after the Democratic primary, four businessmen went to the SWP's campaign office and offered to buy the SWP's spot on the ballot. They said they were interested in "making you [Warren] a lucrative proposition whereby you would step down and we would field a suitable [non-Black] candidate who could win the general election." They said they were offering anywhere from \$50,000 to \$1 million, as well as a position in the Chicago Housing Authority.

The SWP flatly rejected this bribe, terming it an attack on working people's democratic rights. "My party is not for sale — at any price," Warren said in a public statement. "Last year 35,000 working people in Chicago signed petitions in order to put the SWP on the ballot in April. We didn't do this for money or

posts in city government."

In the final weeks and days of the campaign, Warren received significant media coverage and got the best response yet from workers. He spoke at plant gates, was covered in the two main capitalist dailies, appeared on five television stations, and participated in radio talk shows. Several thousand copies of the *Militant* newspaper, which supported Warren's campaign, were sold — 800 in the last 10 days of the campaign alone.

In the voting itself, nearly 4,000 workers from most parts of the city pulled the lever for Warren. In the context of the polarization in Chicago between Washington and Epton supporters, these results were significant.

### An ongoing discussion

In addition, the SWP's candidate for city clerk, Nicolee Brorsen; and for city treasurer, Craig Landberg, received 14,000 and 20,000 votes, respectively. After the election, some of those who voted for Brorsen and Landberg said they had voted for Washington for mayor. This reflected their view that the program Warren campaigned on was correct, but that it was more "realistic" in the mayoral balloting to cast their votes for Washington.

While that response showed the limits of workers' disillusionment with the Democratic Party, it also showed the opportunities. The Chicago election stirred the political thinking of many working people — not only in Chicago, but nationally. The proposal raised by some prominent Black figures to put forward a Black as a possible Democratic Party presidential candidate in 1984 indicates that some of the same questions raised in Chicago will be discussed around the country.

As workers go through further experiences, they will see in practice that the election of capitalist politicians like Washington will not lead to any fundamental change in the class oppression they face every day.

This is already becoming evident in Chicago. In his inaugural address on April 29, Washington put forward the same answer to the economic crisis that capitalist politicians

across the country have advanced. "Reluctantly, I must tell you that we must cut back," he declared.

But in carrying through such measures, Washington faces a problem that shows the complexity of the political situation in that city. Because of his role in the capitalist Democratic Party, he must carry out attacks against the working class. Yet at the same time he is confronted with the rising expectations of the Blacks, Latinos, and white workers who put him in office against the resistance of the old machine apparatus.

Thus, Washington's austerity program had to be packaged as a move against the Democratic Party machine in order to win approval of his supporters.

Faced with the reality of continued ruling class attacks, Blacks and other workers in Chicago will continue to consider the ideas advanced by the SWP's campaign.

### Working people need a new government

The next opportunity for socialists to explain the need for workers to stop playing the capitalist two-party shell game is a special congressional election that has been called for August 23 to fill Washington's vacated seat on the South Side. The Chicago SWP has already announced that it will put forward Ed Warren as its candidate.

At a May 6 news conference announcing his candidacy, Warren declared, "My campaign is pledged to tell the truth. And the truth is working people need a new government that represents us, not the corporate rich and their capitalist system."

Warren concluded, "Blacks and other working people have shown their potential political power here in Chicago. We need to use it here and nationally to break from the Democrats and Republicans and form a new party to fight for a government of workers and farmers. That is the message the socialist campaign will take to plant gates, to the streets, and door-to-door in the 1st Congressional District. It is the message we will take throughout Chicago and around the country." □

## Don't miss a single issue of Intercontinental Press! Send for your subscription now!

- Enclosed is \$25 for a one-year subscription.  
 Enclosed is \$12.50 for a six-month subscription.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Postal zone \_\_\_\_\_

Country \_\_\_\_\_

### Make checks payable to

Intercontinental Press  
410 West St.  
New York, N.Y. 10014 U.S.A.

# Quebec national struggle at turning point

*Workers need their own party to advance fight for independence*

By Arthur Young

[The following originally appeared as a series of four articles in the February 21, March 7, April 4, and April 18 issues of the biweekly newspaper *Lutte Ouvrière*, which reflects the views of the Revolutionary Workers League, the Canadian section of the Fourth International. The translation is from *Lutte Ouvrière's* English-language sister paper, *Socialist Voice*. The articles have been slightly abridged.]

## Origin of Parti Québécois

MONTREAL — At a time when Quebec is going through its worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, Parti Québécois (PQ) leader René Lévesque has taken on the task of taming the public sector unions. He is trying to take back rights that the unions won over twenty years ago in hard-fought battles against the regime of former Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis.

At the same time, the PQ is putting up less and less resistance to the federal government's attacks on Quebec's national rights.

On January 20, Lévesque made a revealing admission to foreign diplomats in Quebec City. He said that even though the federal system was not the best possible system for Quebec, it was a "viable" form of government for the province.

The PQ is powerless in the face of the economic crisis. It is yielding more and more to the pressures of the federal government. But it is waging a merciless war against union members.

A significant number of Quebec workers are thinking all these things through. They are wondering:

- How can this situation be explained?
- How can they make progress now? How can they build a society that is able to meet their needs both as workers and as Québécois?
- The PQ has betrayed the hopes of a generation of workers. What sort of political instrument should replace it?

These are critical questions for the future of both the Quebec national struggle and the union movement.

In order to contribute to this process of rethinking by our readers, we propose to examine the origins and nature of the Parti Québécois in this article.

### Struggle against national oppression

At the time of Maurice Duplessis's death in 1959, Quebec was a superexploited region reserved for big business. Canadian and U.S. multinationals plundered Quebec's natural resources with no restrictions. They paid starvation wages and functioned in English only.

Quebec's educational and health systems were run by the churches rather than by the state. The quality of services available to the

francophones, the Québécois, was pathetic; the English community, on the other hand, had its own well-financed networks. There were two English-language universities in Montreal and only one that taught in French. Québécois leaving university had scarcely any prospects; the top positions were reserved for anglophones. The Quebec public sector hardly existed.

To get a position as foreman and often even to land an unskilled job it was necessary to speak English.

The struggle against these conditions produced the "Quiet Revolution," which brought about substantial social progress at the beginning of the 1960s.

It was largely in the course of these struggles that nationalist consciousness spread. "French-Canadians" became "Québécois."

But the reforms quickly came up against the resistance of the federal government and the giant corporations. There were fewer reforms; winning them became harder and harder.

The number of mass actions in the streets carried out by the national movement and the union movement multiplied. They fought, among other things, for the right to form unions and the right to strike, for greater autonomy for Quebec, and against assimilation into the minority English-speaking community.

These struggles led a growing number of people to conclude that only national independence would allow the Québécois to end their national oppression. This radical change in consciousness was very important.

The change was illustrated in 1967 by the massive response to [then French President] Charles de Gaulle's cry of "*Vive le Québec libre*" ("Long live free Quebec"). A few months later, popular pressure led René Lévesque to leave the Quebec Liberal Party (where he had been a government minister during the Quiet Revolution) and set up the *Mouvement Soveraineté-Association* (Movement for Sovereignty-Association — MSA).

The MSA absorbed two older independentist formations — the *Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale* (Assembly for National Independence — RIN) and the *Rallie-*

*ment national* (National Rally — RN) — to become the Parti Québécois. The PQ was the first mass party in favor of independence in Quebec, at least since the "Patriot Rebellion" of 1837–38.

The leadership of the new party was made up of former leaders of the Liberal Party and the Union Nationale (the party of Duplessis), along with top-level civil servants of the provincial government (such as Jacques Parizeau, currently minister of finance, and Claude Morin).

### The rise of the PQ

A series of important struggles took place between 1968 and 1972; the battle for *McGill français* (demanding that McGill, Quebec's most prestigious university, become French-speaking); the battle against the Union Nationale's Bill 63, which proposed to guarantee "free choice" [i.e., English] in the language of education; the resistance to the War Measures Act of October 1970;<sup>1</sup> the *La Presse* strike of 1971 [at Quebec's leading daily newspaper]; and the first Common Front of 1972,<sup>2</sup> which led to a spontaneous nine-day mass wildcat strike by industrial workers across the province.

These struggles demonstrated the deepening radicalization of the population and their growing support for Quebec independence. Hundreds of thousands took to the streets, raising radical and anti-imperialist demands. Though

1. Under the War Measures Act, proclaimed by Prime Minister Trudeau on October 16, 1970, federal troops and police occupied Quebec. Hundreds of trade unionists, left political figures, and members of the PQ were arrested in pre-dawn raids.

The proclamation suspended all civil liberties guarantees in Canada. It was sparked by the October 5 kidnapping of the British trade minister in Montreal, James Cross, and the October 10 kidnapping of Quebec Labor Minister Pierre Laporte by members of the Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ). The FLQ was demanding the release of dozens of pro-independence political prisoners.

The day after the proclamation of the War Measures Act, the body of Pierre Laporte was found following an anonymous call to authorities. Cross was released unharmed on December 3. — IP

2. A general strike of public sector workers represented by Quebec's three main union federations took place from April 11 to April 22, 1972. It was broken by the proclamation of Bill 19, making the strike illegal. On May 8, one-year jail sentences were imposed on the leaders of the three federations, although they were released on May 23, following protest strikes by public and private sector workers. Further struggles by the Common Front took place in 1976 and earlier this year. — IP

union struggles and nationalist struggles took place independently of each other, in the end each struggle stimulated the one which followed.

This development did not jibe with the fundamental orientation of the PQ leadership. The PQ sought to channel this militancy into an electoral path, at the same time emptying it of most of its anti-imperialist content.

The PQ did not want to be identified with the RIN, which it claimed was "too radical." It did not allow the RIN to affiliate to the PQ as a group; RIN central leader Pierre Bourgault was never able to play a leadership role in the PQ. During the *La Presse* strike, René Lévesque accused the unions of acting in an "irresponsible" way. He said the same thing during the 1972 Common Front strike.

Nevertheless, these struggles were extremely important, for they established the leading role of the PQ within the labor and national movements.

For many militants involved in these battles, one conclusion became evident: to really change things, demonstrations and militant union action were not enough. To get at the source of the problem, the solution had to be political. And the PQ was a *political alternative*.

The dead-end of the Quebec Liberation Front's (FLQ) terrorist actions of 1969 and 1970 led to the same conclusion.

But the PQ was more than a political alternative. It was *the party of the national struggle*, the party that proposed to implement the bulk of the nationalist demands.

*The PQ fought for the achievement of national sovereignty*, which made it a completely new type of party.

For Quebec workers, independence is not an abstract question. For them, Quebec independence does not mean how best to set up the structures of a new state. Rather, it is a concrete question affecting their daily lives. Independence means the possibility of building a Quebec free of foreign domination, of building a more just society without the oppression and poverty associated with Canadian Confederation and the federal system.

#### Labor movement at the crossroads

The labor movement played a central role in the rise of the PQ. The turbulent years of 1968 to 1972 reinforced the conviction of many workers that fundamental change was necessary. The Liberals, led by Robert Bourassa, were discredited by their attachment to federalism, their groveling before the multinationals, and their clear hostility to the unions. The Union Nationale was in its death throes and offered no alternative.

From 1972 onwards, the watchword in the labor movement was the necessity to "defeat the Bourassa regime." But how?

The labor movement had two choices: to support the PQ or create a political party based on the unions. Such a party would necessarily be for Quebec independence; its program would defend all the interests of working



Under War Measures Act, Trudeau called out army against Quebec independence struggle. Above, scene in Ottawa in October 1970.

people. It would be accountable to the labor movement.

In Montreal, the labor councils of Quebec's three main labor federations took an important step in this direction in 1970. They set up the *Front d'action politique* (Political Action Front — FRAP), whose program was summed up in the slogan "Wage earners to power."

During the municipal elections, the FRAP presented a strong slate of labor candidates to run against the administration of Montreal's Mayor Jean Drapeau.

But the War Measures Act decrees in October 1970 dealt a mortal blow to the FRAP.

Drapeau called the organization "terrorist," and many of its members were thrown in jail. The FRAP didn't elect a single candidate. The PQ had worked hard to sabotage the FRAP, which had also received no support from the top leaderships of the three labor federations. The FRAP, which was only just beginning, was unable to survive all these pressures.

Another important experience began in Oc-

tober 1969 with the launching of the first mass-circulation labor weekly newspaper: *Quebec-Presse*. Supported by the three labor federations, by community and social action groups, this pro-labor and pro-independence paper appeared for five years.

It was also between 1971 and 1973 that the three labor federations adopted a series of manifestoes that rejected capitalism in favor of a "Socialist Quebec."

These social and political initiatives demonstrated the natural tendency of union action to advance toward political action. They could have been the basis for ongoing independent labor political action.

#### Union bureaucrats back PQ

But that is not what happened. The union bureaucracy consciously oriented the unions to support for the Parti Québécois. It was opposed to the idea of a political party controlled by workers. It remains so today.

Quebec labor leaders allow that sometimes unions should engage in very militant action at the economic level. But they have always rejected the idea that unions should carry this activity into the political arena. They favor combining action on economic demands with political "pressure" on parties already in parliament, with the result that the unions are left to the mercy of these parties. But the parties in parliament exist only to meet the needs of the bosses.

This approach is called "business unionism."

By opposing the alternative route of a labor party, they remained faithful to this approach. But there was something *new* in their support to the PQ. The PQ was not only a procapitalist party; it was also *independentist*. This brought it into conflict with Canadian imperialism.

In the absence of a pro-independence labor party, the choice was easy for hundreds of thousands of workers. Either support the PQ or support Bourassa's party, a puppet of the federal government. Workers did not participate passively in the fight. By the thousands, they worked for the PQ and became militants in its ranks.

This tendency could already be seen very clearly in April 1970, when the PQ ran in the provincial elections for the first time. It won 23 percent of the votes, half of them from industrial workers in Montreal. Other highly industrialized regions such as Saguenay-Lac St. Jean produced a large turnout for the PQ.

Support for the PQ kept rising right alongside the deepening of nationalist consciousness and the labor radicalization. Independence for the Quebec nation appeared more and more as the solution to all the problems that afflicted Quebec. And the PQ was the party of independence.

Between 1972 and 1976, Quebec workers waged bitter struggles against the big imperialist companies (for example, United Aircraft and Firestone) and against Trudeau's wage controls.

There was also the struggle of the *Gens de*

*l'air*, the Quebec air traffic controllers and pilots who fought for the right to use French as well as English in air communications in Quebec. All these conflicts helped to reinforce pro-independence sentiments and thus support for the PQ. This sentiment was strongest among industrial workers.

In the 1973 elections, the PQ won 30 percent of the vote. In November 1976, it took power with 41 percent of the popular vote and 69 seats out of 110 in the National Assembly.

The PQ's accession to power marked a profound change in Canada as well as in Quebec.

### The PQ's program

The PQ's basic aim was to eliminate national oppression (or at least to substantially reduce it) without touching capitalist property relations.

Once independence was won, the French language would be protected, imperialism would have to function in a "civilized" manner, and labor relations would be modernized. A limited number of other social reforms would be implemented.

The institutions of the Quebec state would have as their priority to broaden the base of francophone capital. At the same time, an economic union with Canada would avoid upsetting the existing pan-Canadian market.

The PQ did not propose any significant change in the domination of the Quebec economy by Canadian and U.S. corporations. But this domination is at the heart of national oppression, its economic basis.

Thus, from a Marxist point of view, the PQ is a bourgeois party, a bourgeois nationalist party.

The founding program of the PQ expressed its fear of the labor movement. While supporting several demands raised by the unions, it proposed to place them under tighter governmental control.

The PQ operated on the basis of preserving capitalism. Even so, it had a major problem. Imperialism was totally hostile to its goal of creating an independent state. Canada's rulers were not convinced the PQ could control the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist dynamic of the Québécois mass movement. Imperialism had no intention of allowing a new francophone state in North America.

What force could the PQ rely on to achieve its aims? The Quebec "national" bourgeoisie. But the francophone capitalist class in Quebec is very small. Moreover, with few exceptions, it supports Canadian Confederation.

Quebec's small businessmen and high-level civil servants in the provincial government? They lend strong support to the PQ but have little social weight.

No, the strength of the PQ has always come from its mass base, from the massive support it has among Quebec's working class.

Working people suffer every day the discrimination and inferior working and living conditions resulting from national oppression. That's why they are nationalist and independentist. Their struggles naturally tend to chal-

lenge imperialist domination.

The PQ leadership is confronted by a basic contradiction. National independence, even within the framework of capitalism, requires the mobilization of the great majority of the Québécois against imperialism. It requires, above all, the mobilization of Quebec workers. Therefore the PQ has been forced to head up several important nationalist struggles.

At the same time, it can't allow the mobilization to go too far. The PQ has to try to maintain the mobilization within a purely electoral framework.

On the one hand, it must work at building a movement sufficiently powerful to force imperialism to accept its independence plan. On the other hand, it has to prevent the nationalist movement from going after the holdings of the Canadian and U.S. multinationals, and must

## PQ's role in power

On the evening of November 15, 1976, the ruling class was shocked by the news that the PQ had won the elections. A party supporting Quebec sovereignty would from now on officially represent the oppressed nation of Quebec.

But the reaction of the big majority of the French-speaking Québécois was totally different. At the Paul Sauvé arena in Montreal, the crowd was delirious. They partied and demonstrated in the streets all night long. For young Québécois, for the militants of the nationalist movement and the labor movement, the victory of the PQ was *their* victory.

The PQ accomplished a lot during the first term in office:

- The PQ canceled the fines and court suits against the unions which had participated in the 1976 Common Front struggle of Quebec public sector workers. It refused to apply Trudeau's wage controls to the public sector in the province.

- The PQ rescinded the legal proceedings against Dr. Henry Morgentaler. (Three juries had already acquitted him of the charge of having violated the federal law on abortion.) Since then, women in Quebec have benefited from improved access to abortions in private clinics and in community health centers.

- The PQ set up the Keable commission to reveal the facts about the illegal actions of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in Quebec. This inquiry led to important revelations and legal actions against RCMP agents. The PQ has been the only government, either federal or provincial, to go this far.

- The PQ adopted Bill 101, the French language charter. [Bill 101 made French Quebec's sole official language.]

Despite the opposition of the courts, the federal government, and the multinationals, Bill 101 has led to significant improvements. A greater number of Québécois can now work in French. Companies find it harder to make knowledge of English a precondition to getting a job. In Montreal, the school system no longer functions as a machine to assimilate immigrant

prevent the movement from following through on its anti-imperialist logic.

That's no small contradiction!

The PQ's entire strategy was based on two essential ideas. First, that it is possible to carry on a struggle for independence without defending, at the same time, *all the interests* of the Quebec working class. Secondly, that imperialism would remain passive when confronted with the growth of pro-independence forces; that it would respect the right of self-determination and the rules of democracy; and that it would submit to the will of the Quebec majority.

The PQ's election to government in 1976 put this strategy to the test.

For a good part of the PQ's first electoral mandate, everything seemed to indicate that the PQ would meet the challenge.

children into the minority English community. And it's much easier to get served in French in the stores.

- The government passed a number of other important measures, like the reform of automobile insurance, the "antiscab" law, legislation on health and safety at work, and a law on agricultural land zoning.

These gains resulted mainly from the radicalization of the Quebec nation and the big struggles in the years prior to the 1976 elections.

In comparison to the years of stagnation under preceding Liberal and Union Nationale governments, these reforms were like a breath of fresh air. Finally, things were moving again. Many hoped there would be even more fundamental changes in years to come. Unfortunately, these hopes turned out to be short-lived.

### Imperialists put spokes in the wheels

At every step, the multinationals and their political spokesperson — Pierre Trudeau — have done all they could to block the changes brought in by the PQ. Their main weapon: blackmail.

In a television interview on January 1, 1978, Trudeau calmly declared that he was ready to use "the sword" (i.e., the Canadian army) against Quebec, which he had already done in 1970.

Big business has sung a constant refrain about how PQ policies forced it to withdraw its money and investments from Quebec.

The federal government threw obstacle after obstacle in the way of the Keable commission. Finally the commission was forced to cease functioning without fulfilling its mandate. The systematic obstruction of the federal government and the built-in prejudice of the judicial system allowed the accused cops to go scot-free. Not one of them has been punished for the crimes he committed.

The courts have ruled many sections of Bill 101 unconstitutional. A whole series of court challenges to Bill 101 remains to be heard.

The May 1980 referendum<sup>3</sup> was a period when consciousness advanced rapidly. For months, the entire Quebec nation discussed and debated the multiple aspects of national oppression and the necessity to win Quebec sovereignty to fight that oppression. The mobilization of supporters of Quebec sovereignty was unprecedented. It was the first time that the Québécois were able to decide their future as a nation since the Rebellion of 1837-38.

Whatever the precise wording of the referendum question, the stakes were quite simple: for or against Quebec sovereignty, for or against an independent Quebec.

All sectors of Quebec society participated in the struggle. Working people understood that they had a special interest in seeing the victory of the Yes vote for sovereignty. Numerous committees of workers for the Yes were formed in the factories. The main labor federations held special conventions on the national question. The Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ) officially supported the Yes.

The Canadian capitalists also threw all their weight onto the balance, but on the other side. The big corporations contributed huge sums of money to the No committee. They threatened to leave Quebec if the Yes vote won. The federal government violated Quebec laws in spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on publicity for the No side.

They weren't shy about making "election promises" either. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, speaking in Montreal on election eve, promised that if the No won, he would revise the Canadian Constitution to satisfy the main demands of the Québécois.

In English Canada, the establishment forces did all they could to build up anti-Quebec chauvinism. But English Canadian workers didn't respond to the "separatist threat." Their sentiment was: "If the Québécois want to separate from Canada, then go right ahead. . . ."

In general, the efforts of the ruling class were unsuccessful. Half the French-speaking Québécois, and 41 percent of the overall population of Quebec, were not frightened by the threats and the lies, and voted Yes to Quebec sovereignty. For supporters of Quebec independence, the majority No vote was only a postponement; next time the majority would vote Yes.

Trudeau and those he represents decided to act before it was too late.

#### The Canadian Constitution

That was the function of Trudeau's Constitution.<sup>4</sup>

3. In May 1980 the PQ government held a referendum seeking approval to negotiate "sovereignty-association" between Quebec and Canada. — *IP*

4. On November 5, 1981, Prime Minister Trudeau signed an agreement with nine premiers of English-Canadian provinces on a new constitution to replace the British North America Act (BNA) of 1867. — *IP*



PQ supporters celebrating party's electoral victory in November 1976.

Instead of responding to the demands of the Québécois as Trudeau had promised, the new Constitution represents an historic setback for the Quebec nation. It takes away Quebec's veto rights on constitutional changes. And it renders null and void an important part of Bill 101.

This whole operation allowed the federal government to prove that it has the legal power to impose whatever changes it wants on Quebec. It has demonstrated to the Québécois that they have no right of self-determination. The jailers have let Quebec know they will never allow it to escape from prison.

But the Constitution has an even deeper meaning, which is its relation to the economic crisis.

There have been many economic crises before. But this one is different. It is not a short-term or temporary crisis, and it is hitting all the advanced capitalist countries at the same time. The economic crisis definitively ends the long, postwar economic boom and marks the beginning of a long period of stagnation. Markets are diminishing; profits are falling; international competition is getting more severe.

The future for the big capitalists in each country is directly dependent on their ability to reduce their costs of production, i.e., their ability to cut salaries, worsen working conditions, and so forth.

The economic context has changed drastically. Healthcare and education programs, as well as women's rights, have become too costly for the capitalists.

The national rights of the Québécois fall into the same category. In order to survive, Canadian capitalists need a sizable *increase* in the national oppression of the Québécois.

In the United States, the election of Ronald Reagan was the signal for this new reactionary course. The constitutional battle announced the same thing here in Canada.

Trudeau needed to take harsh measures against the working class as a whole: to impose the "6 and 5 percent" wage controls, to increase the level of unemployment, and to take on and defeat the most powerful unions. But before doing that, he had to put an end to the rise of the Quebec national movement. By its very existence, this movement posed a major challenge to his whole reactionary program.

This turn in the economic and political situ-

ation had big consequences for the Parti Québécois. The tactics it had used up till then to institute its reforms, the tactics which it wanted to use to win national sovereignty — these did not work any longer.

#### The PQ's first setback

The PQ strongly denounced Trudeau's constitutional scheme. It formed *Solidarité-Québec* (Quebec Solidarity), a broad nationalist front which gathered over 715,000 signatures against the Constitution in the winter of 1980-81. It was the largest petition in Quebec's history.

The Constitution was a major issue in the provincial elections of April 1981. The PQ received a second mandate, winning nearly 50 percent of the total vote and 60 percent of francophone voters.

During the following year, the PQ led the Québécois in their resistance to the Constitution.

The struggle took place under favorable conditions. Almost all the Québécois opposed Trudeau's project; virtually every member of the National Assembly condemned the plan in a special session. The union federations opposed it as well, and the FTQ officially participated in *Solidarité-Québec*. (The CSN and the CEQ refused, partly because the PQ's economic cutbacks were already beginning to have negative effects on their members.)

But in the new political context, defeating Trudeau's plans demanded much more radical measures than the PQ had used before. Lévesque and the other PQ leaders didn't meet the challenge.

Instead of deepening the mass mobilization, the PQ pinned its entire strategy on legal maneuvers and an alliance with the English-Canadian premiers. Following the successful petition drive, *Solidarité-Québec* was put on the shelf.

This whole approach collapsed during the fateful night of November 5, 1981. The nine English-Canadian premiers came to an agreement with Trudeau; Quebec found itself all alone. In April 1982, the Queen came to Ottawa to sign the official documents.

The Constitution was a major blow against Quebec. It provided further proof that Canada is a prison house for the Québécois. When to the Constitution one adds the devastating effects of the economic crisis, it is clear why national independence for Quebec has become an ever more urgent necessity.

In the past, every struggle, every problem confronted by the Quebec population had resulted in greater support for the Parti Québécois. The popular vote for the PQ had risen every election. And since coming into power, the PQ had accomplished some important reforms. The 1980 referendum results offered the possibility that a majority of Quebec's voters would opt for sovereignty the next time round.

According to PQ leaders, independence could be won by sticking with the PQ and the tactics the party had adopted. It was only a

question of time. Independence would be won in a peaceful and orderly fashion through negotiations with the federal government. Independence would mark a big step forward for Quebec, following which other necessary changes would be made.

This strategy was generally accepted by the people of Quebec. But the constitutional defeat showed that the old strategy would not work. The federal government didn't give a damn about the opinions of the people of Quebec. And the PQ strategy had led to the biggest defeat suffered by Quebec since Confederation.

#### December 1981 PQ convention

There was tremendous anger following the "night of the long knives" in November 1981 in Ottawa. Lévesque and other PQ leaders vehemently denounced the agreement, made at the expense of Quebec. They talked about defying the new constitution, about "civil disobedience."

The national movement had arrived at a major turning point.

At the end of December 1981, the PQ held a convention. The delegates took stock of the new situation. They voted in favor of a set of resolutions to step up the struggle for national sovereignty. They refused to make Quebec sovereignty conditional on an economic association with English Canada. They declared

## The PQ moves against the working class

To explain the sharp turn to the right of the Parti Québécois, it is necessary to start from the actions of those forces which dominate Quebec: Canadian imperialism and the government which represents it in Ottawa.

Ever since the adoption of the Constitution, the ruling class has been raining blows on Quebec.

The Québécois are suffering from the most serious economic crisis since the Great Depression: 15 percent official unemployment, and a lot higher than that for youth and women; 575,000 people on welfare; whole regions of the province devastated, like the North Shore and the Laurentians. Nobody even bothers to count the number of factory closings any more.

The economic crisis has hit Quebec harder than anywhere else. The policies of the capitalists and the federal government have placed the heaviest burden on Quebec. They have consciously used the crisis to increase Quebec's oppression.

- A few years ago, Quebec was the center of Canada's aeronautics and oil refining industries. Today, Ontario leads Quebec in both these sectors.

- Last year, the federal government unilaterally slashed \$700 million worth of transfer payments to Quebec. More cuts are expected, including in key sectors like education.

- The big international bankers have decided that Quebec must tighten its belt. They are the ones who have established what is the

that the PQ could declare Quebec independence if it won a majority of seats in the next provincial elections. And they gave a big ovation to Jacques Rose, a former member of the Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ) who had served a prison term for his role in the assassination of Pierre Laporte in 1970.

Instead of sharing this reaction, the PQ leadership was aghast at the results of the convention.

They had been all sweet reason in their opposition to Pierre Trudeau. But they brought out the big guns against members of their own party. Lévesque staged an internal membership referendum to reverse the convention decisions. He threatened to resign as party leader if the decisions stood. Lévesque won the referendum, but in so doing he broke the back of the party.

The PQ leadership made their choice. They decided to put the struggle for the national rights of the Québécois on hold. They agreed to administer the economic crisis at the expense of the workers, and (at least temporarily) to impose significant concessions on the people of Quebec in the areas of social and national rights. In short, in the next period the PQ would more and more serve as a transmission belt for the demands of the federal government and the multinationals.

maximum allowable deficit in the provincial budget.

According to the Montreal daily *La Presse's* financial columnist Alain Dubuc, "the three billion [dollar budget deficit] limit seems to be the threshold of tolerance of the international financiers, who are worried about the evolution in Quebec's finances." These bankers reduced the financial rating of both the provincial government and Quebec-Hydro from "AAA" to "AA," and they are threatening to cut it still further.

The same Canadian and U.S. bankers don't seem nearly so concerned about the federal government's deficit, which will be over \$30 billion this year.

#### Attacks on national rights

Meanwhile, the federal government is stepping up its attacks on Quebec's national rights. As always, Quebec's Bill 101 in defense of the French language is a special target. One section of the law having to do with the language of education was ruled illegal by Quebec's Supreme Court. Numerous challenges to the law are now before the courts.

Recently, the media attack on Bill 101 has reached new heights around the case of a unilingual francophone woman who died at St. Mary's Hospital in Montreal. The woman's relatives charged that she was not able to live out her last few days in her own language, since — contrary to the requirements of Bill 101 — many of the nurses and the doctors at



St. Mary's spoke little or no French. The commission set up to enforce the provisions of Bill 101 found in favor of the dead woman's relatives, producing a storm of protest against Bill 101 from the anglophone and pro-federalist media in Quebec.

Then there was the case of Trudeau's Bill S-31. This law would severely limit the ability of a Quebec government-owned investment fund (the *Caisse de dépôt et de placement*) to invest in key sectors of the Canadian economy. The *Caisse* looks after the money the Québécois have invested in retirement plans, automobile insurance, and health insurance. If Bill S-31 is passed, all these services will cost more for the Québécois.

Following his success on the Constitution, Trudeau imposed wage controls on federal government employees. The province soon followed in his footsteps, but in no other province did they go as far as did the Quebec provincial government.

The PQ just carried out Trudeau's orders. In a now famous speech on December 13, 1981, the Prime Minister made it clear that his princi-

pal target was the Québécois workers. He said that working people in Quebec, especially those in the public sector, were too well paid. Public sector employees, he said, were "diverting to themselves money which should have gone for the industrial development of the province," i.e., into the pockets of the big corporations.

Public sector workers dare to condemn "supporters of private enterprise as vulgar exploiters." They are also the ones who continue to defend "certain finicky regulations of Bill 101," charged Trudeau.

#### The PQ changes course

Confronted with the sharpest crisis since the Great Depression and the all-out offensive of the ruling class, the PQ chose to manage the crisis. It accepted responsibility for unprecedented cutbacks in social services. It agreed to do the dirty work of the federal government. It crawled on its belly before the multinationals.

Confronted with the "new reality" of the economic crisis, the PQ — a procapitalist party — didn't really have a choice. Consider

a few of the measures it has taken over the last few years:

- The budgets of PQ Finance Minister Jacques Parizeau have hit working people hard: a constantly rising tax on gasoline, the de-indexation of taxable deductions (meaning deductions no longer rise with the rate of inflation), and unprecedented cuts in health and education services.

- The capitalists pay less and less in taxes. Taxes on corporate profits in Quebec are now the lowest in Canada. The PQ cut them from 12 percent to 3 percent for small and medium enterprises and from 13 percent to 5.5 percent for big corporations for a period of three years.

If the Quebec government had merely applied federal regulations outlawing certain tax loopholes, it could have collected another \$334 million.

- Since April 1982, Quebec Premier René Lévesque has hammered away at public sector workers as being the ones responsible for the provincial deficit. The attack on public sector workers has become the PQ's major preoccupation. This is what Trudeau urged it to do in his 1981 speech.

- To prepare the ground for Bills 70, 105, and 111 (which decreed sharp wage cuts and worsened working conditions for Quebec's public sector employees), the PQ government twice imposed back-to-work legislation on Montreal's transit workers. The president of the maintenance workers union and four other officials were imprisoned for defending their union's right to negotiate and to strike.

- The PQ's response to the attacks on Bill 101 was to name Gérard Godin the minister responsible for the application of the law (except in the areas of education). Nobody was surprised when Godin made known his intention to "loosen up" on the application of the law.

- This is the context of Lévesque's statement January 20, 1983, to diplomatic personnel stationed in the province that federalism was a "viable" system for Quebec. Also the more recent affirmation by Godin that Trudeau's "French Power" in Ottawa had brought significant improvements for the Québécois.

- This is also the context of Quebec Minister of Industry, Trade, and Commerce Rodrigue Biron's declaration January 14 that the government was going to pay special attention to the big corporations, whereas up till now it had mainly helped out the small business sector.

#### National oppression deepens

The PQ has not disavowed its goal of Quebec sovereignty. It still promises to hold the next provincial election on this question. But the day-to-day reality is that it is operating fundamentally according to the priorities spelled out by big business and the federal government.

*Administering the crisis at the expense of the exploited — that has become the fundamental strategy of the PQ. It means that the PQ does*



G.M. Cookson/Lutte Ouvrière

October 1976 general strike (above) helped set stage for PQ's defeat of Liberal government the following month. Now PQ is carrying out attacks on unions.

not seriously defend Quebec against attacks on its national rights. It means that the PQ tramples the most elementary democratic rights. It especially strikes heavy blows against working people.

## Why Quebec labor must launch its own party

During the past year, the PQ has undertaken the most far-reaching assault on the national rights of the Québécois. Its offensive against the public sector workers and its cuts in social service spending are leading to a deterioration in the quality of education, health care, and other services. The Québécois suffer the most from these changes; anglophones in Quebec are able to take advantage of a substantial number of private schools and clinics. Thus, the PQ's actions have reinforced national oppression.

Women, who especially depend on such services and who are the majority of public employees, also suffer unequally as a result of the PQ's attacks.

A series of special laws, especially the Bill 111 back-to-work law, has struck a blow against democratic rights without parallel in the past 30 years.

This brutal about-face by the PQ has provoked tremendous anger from workers. But working people are not just angry. For many years they had put their faith in the project of social change through the Parti Québécois. Now they are trying to understand what went wrong.

A recent major public opinion poll showed that if an election had been held in mid-March, the PQ would have received only 19 percent of the votes. Some 26 percent of those polled said they were undecided.

In another poll conducted a few months earlier, 38 percent of those questioned thought a new political party should be formed in Quebec. They said they were looking for a party which could defend their interests.

### Why the PQ failed

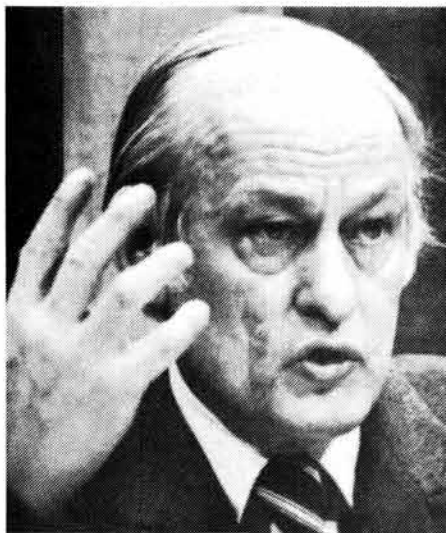
The entire strategy of the PQ to win national independence was based on the belief that the Québécois could free themselves without a major showdown with imperialism. This idea turned out to be a costly illusion.

The multinationals which dominate Quebec use Quebec workers as a source of cheap labor. They exploit Quebec's natural resources at bargain prices. They recoup enormous profits from this set-up. They have no intention of letting it slip out of their hands. The federal state, with its Parliament, courts, and army is there to defend their interests.

The PQ is unwilling to struggle consistently and to the end against those who profit from Quebec's national oppression. It is not prepared to mobilize the working masses in any serious fashion against Canadian imperialism. The PQ will therefore never be able to liberate Quebec.

When the PQ was founded, it won very

*The PQ is increasingly becoming a tool for reinforcing Quebec's national oppression. It is increasingly playing the role of a transmission belt for the demands of the federal government and the multinationals.*



RENÉ LÉVESQUE

broad support in Quebec for its goals. With few exceptions, all those who wanted change were partisans of the PQ. The PQ took up the main demands of the nationalist movement. It recruited virtually all the activists of that movement, and a considerable number of union militants swelled its ranks.

But despite this, the PQ was never "a party of the whole Quebec nation."

The PQ's leadership was always concentrated in the hands of a very limited group. These people are very conscious of what they are doing and what they want. They support the capitalist system. In the latter half of the twentieth century, that means that they do not wish to break the hold of the English-Canadian and U.S. monopolies over Quebec. The leaders of the PQ set themselves very limited goals. They want to modify the present situation so as to increase the share of the profits going to certain Quebec capitalists. At the same time, they want greater sovereignty for Quebec and a partial reduction in national oppression.

*The PQ's program does not defend the interests of all Québécois, but those of a quite specific layer. This layer consists of the owners of small and medium-sized firms who dream of some day owning large Quebec corporations (the Parizeau and Biron families, for example) and some top-level provincial civil servants who share their dreams.*

### The PQ's about-face

The PQ's sharp turn to the right, which came at the beginning of its second term of office in April 1981, was obvious to everyone.

During its rise to power in the early 1970s,

the PQ was associated, in one way or another, with the big nationalist and labor struggles. When it took office, it began implementing a series of major reforms. This helped reinforce its support among working people.

But this period of the PQ is definitively over. The austerity offensive it is now leading is much harsher than in the rest of the country.

The turnabout was brutal and rapid. What brought it on?

Fundamentally, it was "the crisis." The PQ was forced to make a very basic choice. The economic and social crisis is hitting Quebec very hard. Canadian imperialism must tighten the screws on the working class across the country. In addition, it has ruthlessly set out to deepen the national oppression of the Québécois. It has no choice, if it is to maintain its level of profit and compete with its capitalist rivals in other countries.

If the PQ had been a party truly fighting for the interests of the Quebec nation and Quebec workers (who are, after all, the big majority of the nation), it would have mobilized the population against the demands of the capitalists. But such a course would have pushed it toward a break with the capitalist system. That was out of the question as far as the PQ was concerned. A housecat can't change itself into a tiger.

René Lévesque and the other leaders of the party fully understand how deep the crisis really is. They agree with Trudeau and capitalists such as Bronfman and Desmarais on what must be done to maintain profits at a "sufficient" level. And the only way to do that is to make the working class pay for the crisis. Deepgoing takebacks must be imposed on the Quebec nation.

The PQ leaders continue sticking to their austerity plan so resolutely because to achieve their own dreams of expanding the role of Québécois capitalists, the private property system must itself remain in good working order — at the expense of the masses.

*A party like the PQ which defends the interests of the capitalist system can never liberate Quebec. Another kind of party must be built, a workers party.*

*That is the key lesson of this entire experience.*

### The capitalists and the workers

But is this perspective realistic? Can such a party be built?

Yes. The recent struggle of the Common Front unions has demonstrated more than just the betrayal of the PQ. It has also shown the potential of another force within the Quebec nation, the working class.

This class has not given in to the dictates of imperialism.

The struggle of the Common Front was certainly a struggle to defend the wages and working conditions of the public sector workers. But much more was also involved. The workers were also defending the health care and public school systems. They were opposing the efforts of the PQ and multinationals to deepen national oppression. They were resist-

ing the attacks on women. They showed that they were the true defenders of democratic rights.

The workers in the Common Front had to face a number of obstacles — for example, the divisions of the Quebec labor movement into three large federations and a host of large unaffiliated unions. And none of the union leaderships was able to put forward a serious political alternative to the PQ in the course of the struggle.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, the public sector workers resisted for more than a year. They fought hard and well. Despite a flood of lies in the capitalist media and the millions spent by the government on lying propaganda, the workers were able to win substantial sympathy from the general population.

Through their actions, these workers reacted to the crisis in a way that was the complete opposite of René Lévesque's response. They fought against the PQ's decision to tend to the needs of capital before the needs of the majority.

In action, the Common Front workers were making an important political point. The struggle for their demands was itself a step on the road of independent labor political action.

These events made it clear that there are two diametrically opposed class responses to the crisis: the response of the bourgeois and upper petit-bourgeois layers in Quebec who capitulate to imperialism, and the response of the working class, which does not want to pay for the crisis of the system.

Only the working class can lead Quebec to its liberation, to a Quebec that meets the needs of the great majority of its people. It is this tendency toward working-class leadership of the national struggle that began to emerge during the fight of the public sector, even if this wasn't always understood by everyone taking part in the struggle.

But as long as the labor movement continues to support "lesser evil" capitalist political parties, it will be betrayed just as it has been by the PQ. The same thing happened during the 1960s when labor gave its support to the Quebec Liberal Party of Jean Lesage.

Yet right now, some labor leaders are suggesting that the workers vote Liberal in the next provincial elections as a way of "punishing" the PQ. These labor leaders have learned nothing from the history of the labor movement in Quebec.

To avoid being betrayed time and again by parties that are supposedly their "friend," workers have to organize their own party, one they control themselves. This is the next historic step for the Quebec labor movement to take.

### The example of Nicaragua

What kind of labor party do we need?

It's worth examining the example of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua.

Basing itself on the workers and peasants of that country, the FSLN led a long struggle for

national liberation against a bloody dictatorship.

Today, governmental power in Nicaragua is in the hands of the workers and peasants. As a result, these classes are better protected from the worldwide economic crisis than those in any other Central American country.

The workers and peasants government in Nicaragua is educating and mobilizing the people against U.S. aggression and the economic sabotage of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. It is leading the country toward the establishment of a socialist society.

The Sandinistas seek to unite the greatest possible number of Nicaraguans in the struggle against imperialism, for genuine national independence, for a thoroughgoing agrarian reform, for literacy campaigns, and other goals. But at the same time, they have no illusions about the intentions of Uncle Sam or the national bourgeoisie. Their slogan is: "Only the workers and peasants will go all the way."

### Build a labor party in Quebec

It's obvious that Quebec is not Nicaragua. In that country, the urban working class is very small, while in Quebec it is the majority of the population. A Quebec labor party will be different from the FSLN. The unions in Quebec represent the natural base on which to build a mass workers party.

But in considering the lessons of the PQ's betrayal, the Nicaraguan example is important. It demonstrates that *it is possible* to build a mass party that will not betray its own supporters. It's possible to build a party that doesn't retreat before imperialism in the struggle for national independence and a socialist society.

The Nicaraguan experience helps define the kind of party that must be built in Quebec in order for the Québécois to achieve these objectives.

1. The party will have to have an anti-imperialist character. It will have to struggle for Quebec's independence and against all forms of national oppression. It must contest the idea that the national struggle is the exclusive property of René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois. It's now mainly the workers who are leading the struggle for national rights.

2. The party will have to be based on the unions, the mass organizations of the working class. It must be a mass party.

3. The party must not limit itself to electoral activity or speeches in the National Assembly. It must support and participate in every important labor struggle, while at the same time explaining to the workers why they must fight to win political power.

4. The party must struggle to establish a workers and farmers government.

A government like this could use its power to aid working people rather than defending the privileges of big business as is the case in Canada today. If the capitalists refused to carry out the decisions of the toilers, their factories would be nationalized and placed under workers control.

The establishment of such a government

would be a giant step toward a socialist Quebec, the only way forward out of a capitalist system in its death agonies.

5. The labor party must be internationalist. René Lévesque worked to win allies among "enlightened" businessmen and the anglophone provincial premiers. The PQ still hopes to win the friendship of someone like Joe Clark. On the other hand, the allies of the Quebec workers are the workers in English Canada. These workers are exploited by the same capitalist class that oppresses and exploits the Québécois.

Internationalism also means building solidarity with the oppressed the world over — the Palestinians, the Blacks in South Africa, and the heroic freedom fighters of Central America.

\* \* \*

Today, the labor movement finds itself at a crossroads, just as it did during the period of 1968 to 1972.

If workers continue to support the Parti Québécois, they will suffer a series of major defeats. The same is true for the Quebec nation as a whole.

Working people must take another road. They must draw the lessons of the experience they have been through with the PQ. They have to build a labor party based on the unions.

Struggles like those of the Common Front will occur more and more often in the coming months and years. It's in the fire of such struggles that a growing number of workers will come to see that this road forward is both realistic and an urgent necessity. □

## Intercontinental Press . . . It's Unique!

Analysis and features on the most important world events and the issues facing working people — from the unfolding revolutions in Central America, to the liberation struggles in Southern Africa, to the changing consciousness of the U.S. working class . . .

*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

[The following selections deal with the assassination April 6 of Commander Ana María (Mélida Anaya Montes), a top Salvadoran revolutionary leader, and with the subsequent suicide on April 12 of a second top leader, Commander Marcial (Salvador Cayetano Carpio).]

## Bandera Socialista

"Socialist Banner," newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International. Published in Mexico City.

A statement issued by the political committee of the PRT April 24 and published in the May 2-8 issue termed the deaths of Salvadoran revolutionary leaders Mélida Anaya Montes and Cayetano Carpio "a hard blow for the Salvadoran revolution."

"Together," the statement continued, "they constituted the central leadership of the People's Liberation Forces (FPL) and they stood out among the first leaders of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN)."

The statement explained that the deaths of the two commanders came at a crucial time for the Salvadoran revolution. Imperialism, "facing the impossibility of defeating the Salvadoran revolution, has resorted to extending the conflict throughout Central America.

"Imperialism will try to utilize the blow that the deaths of the two *comandantes* represents. In fact, any action that promotes violence among revolutionaries to resolve political differences has served and will continue to serve the enemy. Therefore, all those who support or carry out actions totally contrary to proletarian and socialist democracy are traitors to the proletariat and its revolution."

That understanding is due in large measure to the growing maturity of the international proletarian movement through more than 50 years of experience, the PRT political committee stated. "Democratic practices are absolutely necessary in order to deepen and open the revolutionary road, and all actions against its free and complete realization are only obstacles to the socialist victory of the workers — if not barriers that make such victory impossible."

"Solidarity with the Salvadoran revolution should be redoubled in this difficult moment — without hesitation and without doubt, more than ever at the side of the people in struggle and its vanguard, the FMLN. Salvadoran revolutionaries have overcome hard trials, and they will pass this test also. All the aspects and circumstances of the unfortunate deaths will continue to be investigated, as explained in the FPL statement. Imperialism and the enemies of the revolution in general will not be able to

profit from this tragic episode."

## Rouge

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

The April 29-May 5 issue carries an article by Jean-Pierre Beauvais entitled, "The death of Commander Marcial."

"The tragic death of Salvador Cayetano Carpio, 'Commander Marcial,' a few days after that of his deputy, Commander Ana María, was in every respect a grave blow to the Salvadoran liberation forces," Beauvais begins.

After reviewing Carpio's political record and his role in the Salvadoran revolution, Beauvais continues: "With new and difficult political and military questions looming, Marcial's death has created a considerable void within the leadership of the FPL and FMLN. But the circumstances, following the death of Commander Ana María, bring the risk of still more grave consequences.

"The assassination of our Commander Ana María was an action planned and carried out by the one named Marcelo, who at the time was a member of the Central Command of the FPL. In doing this he lent himself to the diversionary maneuvers of the CIA. . . . In committing this act of high treason Marcelo sought to resolve a resentment and alleged ideological and political differences with Comrade Ana María."

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

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

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

"These conditions include a civil war, in which the scope and intensity of the confrontation, the considerable cost in human lives, have not, for two or three years, led to a deci-

sive and lasting shift in the relationship of forces between the two sides. The conditions are also those of lack of a tradition of democratic debate within the organizations. . . .

"At the moment, the situation is obviously difficult. On the one hand, differences exist between the components of the FMLN on how much emphasis to give to attempts to open a process of negotiations. At the same time, and most importantly, Reagan is preparing a new offensive. . . . In these circumstances, the primary task for revolutionaries in Central America is obviously to preserve and reinforce the unity within the FMLN.

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

## Guardian

An independent radical newsweekly, published in New York.

An article by Robert Armstrong in the May 18 issue quotes FPL leader Salvador Samayoa, who said, "It would have been easier for us and for Nicaragua to keep blaming the CIA" for the deaths of Commander Ana María and Commander Marcial, but that the FPL had decided to "tell it straight."

Although most of Armstrong's article is based on an interview with Samayoa that appeared in the May 8 *New York Times*, Armstrong also includes some additional material.

"According to a Guardian source within the FPL," Armstrong writes, "the internal frictions [in the organization] followed a 'profound self-criticism' that the FPL had undertaken at the beginning of the year over its attitude within the FMLN's unified structures. Although an integral member of the FMLN, for almost two years the FPL has functioned as a kind of 'permanent opposition.' One FMLN representative told the Guardian that the FPL's attitude toward many questions of joint strategy and action was 'sí, pero no' ('yes, but no'). It often voted — many say rigidly — in opposition within the Unified Revolutionary Directorate, the FMLN central command.

"In January, the FPL command and the entire organization reviewed its history and concluded that its attitude toward unity required serious rectification and that it must work within the FMLN in a less aloof way. Anaya Montes and Carpio were reportedly strong advocates of the change. Rogelio Bazzaglia, 28 — arrested by Nicaraguan authorities for the murder of Anaya Montes — strongly opposed the improved integration of the FPL within the larger umbrella organization."

According to Armstrong, "Over the years the FPL had developed a considerable mystique about the maturity of its practice. The murder and suicide of its most respected com-

manders was a profound shock. . . .

"Contrary to speculation in Washington, the tragic events appear to have had no effect on the FMLN's capacity to continue the war. . . .

"The deaths of Carpio and Anaya Montes grew out of political and apparently personal differences that were confined to a very small sector of the FPL leadership and involved none of the other FMLN organizations. FMLN unity has been growing in strength with the increased military capability that the rebel forces have shown. Nonetheless there always have been political disagreements, as is inevitable when five separate left organizations try to unite. Discussions about the nature of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie and its relationship to U.S. imperialism, the appropriate kinds of class alliances, the most effective military strategy and the possibilities of a negotiated solution to the war have been regular topics of debate. Similarly there have been discussions about the nature of the Salvadoran military and its future in a post-revolutionary society as well as the future character of agrarian reform.

"But these debates have been a consistent element of the Salvadoran revolution, even while it has built itself into the most effective insurgent army in Latin American history and the most important liberation struggle of the 1980s. Almost unanimously observers believe that despite these deaths, the FMLN will show increasing military capability and closer internal cooperation."

## **Socialist ACTION**

*A labor weekly supported by the Socialist League, the British section of the Fourth International. Published in London.*

An article in the April 29 issue by Phil Hearse is titled "Cayetano Carpio — hero of the Salvador revolution."

According to Hearse, "Carpio was the originator of the political strategy which has brought dictatorship and reaction in El Salvador to its knees. The formation of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the development of a political strategy coordinating mass work and armed struggle, are in many respects the result of Carpio's genius."

Hearse traces Carpio's political history, first as a leader of the Salvadoran Communist Party and later as a founder of the FPL. Carpio, Hearse says, "put forward the idea that the FPL would initiate military actions . . . and that these military actions would act as the starting off point for mass organisation. . . .

"The strategy of armed struggle combined with mass work was soon followed by the other main organisations of the Salvadorean left."

According to Hearse, "The FPL soon developed theses on the character of the revolutionary process which corresponded to the main ideas of permanent revolution.

"Stressing the important role that democrat-

ic demands and tasks play in an 'under-developed' country, and the necessity of mobilising the peasantry and non-proletarian sectors of the population, they concluded that only a 'Peoples Revolutionary Government' which they identified with the dictatorship of the proletariat could accomplish these tasks. Carpio himself played a crucial role in formulating these theses."

Hearse concluded that "Salvador Cayetano Carpio will be remembered as a crucial inspirer and organiser of victory."

## **Socialist Voice**

*Fortnightly newspaper published in Montreal. Reflects the views of the Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian section of the Fourth International.*

The May 16 issue reprints an article from the Cuban newspaper *Granma* summarizing the statement issued by the FPL on the deaths of Anaya Montes and Cayetano Carpio, along with the conclusion of the FMLN statement. The introduction by *Socialist Voice* says, "Salvadoran revolutionaries are responding to the deaths of two of their top leaders with a redoubled military drive against the country's bloody dictatorship and stepped-up efforts to reinforce their unity. . . .

"Supported by Prime Minister [Pierre] Trudeau, U.S. President Ronald Reagan has recently announced a new escalation in the war against the peoples of Central America.

"In answer to Reagan, the Salvadoran guerrillas launched a successful offensive on April 29. . . .

"To further ensure the progress of the revolution, the organizations making up the FMLN-FDR have been engaging in a process of unifying more and more of their work. In the wake of the deaths of the two FMLN leaders, the organizations have stressed the need to be particularly on guard against disruptions, smear campaigns, and 'disinformation' efforts by the CIA aimed at using the deaths of the two leaders to foil FMLN-FDR advances toward unity.

"Given the ever-increasing danger of a new Vietnam in Central America, our responsibility is to respond to the latest events in the same way as the Salvadoran freedom fighters, by stepping up solidarity work."

## **die linke**

*"The Left," fortnightly newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (GRM), Austrian section of the Fourth International. Published in Vienna.*

The May 18 issue devotes more than a page to the death of Salvador Cayetano Carpio and the events surrounding it.

"The tragedy was perfect," begins the main article by Georg Chametis. "Within a few days the top leadership of the Salvadoran guerrilla organization FPL (People's Liberation Forces)

had completely wiped itself out. This self-destruction began on April 8 in the Nicaraguan capital, Managua, when Mélida Anaya Montes, the second most important figure in the FPL, was found murdered. . . . The next day Bazzaglia Reginos, number three in the same organization, was arrested as the instigator of the murder. 'Shocked and disheartened' over the action of 'one of his closest confidants' — in the words of Radio Managua — Cayetano Carpio, the founder and head of the FPL, took his own life three days later. With that he unleashed an even greater shock among his cofighters and within the worldwide movement in solidarity with the Salvadoran revolution.

"The causes that led to this drama are little known. The FPL's declarations on it are worded very vaguely, as are those of the FMLN, the umbrella organization of the five guerrilla groups, of which the FPL is by far the strongest. The only thing that is certain is that the perpetrators were all Salvadorans. A direct involvement by the U.S. CIA also appears to be excluded — even though it will benefit from the events.

"The causes of this bloody conflict can be found in the political differences within the FPL. They concern the question of collaboration within the FMLN — the four other groups work very closely together, while the FPL appears to stand further apart. They also concern the question of the primary methods of struggle — political or military?"

Following a brief exposition on these differences, Chametis continues, "The death of [Anaya] Montes is no sudden accident. Already at the beginning of the conflicts within the FPL, the positions had hardened to a dangerous extent. People who changed their views in the course of the discussion were forcibly prevented from carrying out further political work. Traditional monolithism — in the FPL all power is concentrated in the high command — encouraged the use of force against oppositionists. And this was not without repercussions among the fighters. Misconceptions were driven to extremes."

Turning to the response within the Western European solidarity movement Chametis states, "The events within the FPL have evoked dismay among the Western European left. For example, in West Germany, where the solidarity movement is especially developed, a lively discussion has broken out over the priorities and forms of solidarity. . . .

"On the one hand, this discussion has shown how demoralizing the sudden shattering of illusions in the revolutionary organizations has been. . . .

"On the other hand, it is obvious that many on the left have learned much from the evolution in Vietnam, Kampuchea, or Iran. The Federal Assembly of El Salvador Groups, for example, has not limited itself only to a demand for the exposure of the exact circumstances of the affair. It has, at the same time, demanded that the causes for such a de-

generation be laid bare.

"Mixed in with this critical stance are also suspicions that a military victory by the FMLN could lead to a Pol Pot-ization of El Salvador. But warnings of this are entirely premature: there is no sign today of a full or advanced degeneration of the revolutionary forces."

Nevertheless, Chametis writes, criticism of the Salvadoran groups can prove beneficial. As he sees it, "Critical words out of Western Europe are as important for the FMLN as efficient weapons."

## Working class **Opposition**

*Newspaper of the Internationalist Workers Party (Fourth International) — the U.S. followers of Nahuel Moreno. Published bimonthly in Los Angeles.*

The May-June issue carries an unsigned article headlined: "Who killed comandante Ana María and why? How did Cayetano Carpio die? WE DEMAND A PUBLIC INVESTIGATION AND DISCUSSION."

The article begins by quoting snippets from various news accounts and statements dealing with the deaths of the two revolutionary leaders. It continues:

"U.S. imperialism's campaign to discredit the Central American revolutionary process will no doubt be intensified. More controversy and contradictory versions of what really happened will be told in order to create confusion, distrust and intrigue.

"This campaign must be stopped now! And the only way to do that is to tell the truth, as painful as it may be, about these deaths.

"Until now the only explanation given by leaders of the FPL/FMLN and the Sandinistas has been that 'those responsible were CIA agents', or 'simply traitors.' This explanation is not good enough. Besides being inadequate, it is dangerous to make this type of accusation without first thoroughly investigating the facts. The criminals must be named and any proof or evidence must be presented. If this isn't done, workers will only become more distrustful."

After recalling the killing of Salvadoran poet Roque Dalton by members of Cayetano Carpio's group in 1974 because of political differences, the article says: "Another mysterious event occurred in 1981-82. At that time the groups National Resistance (RN) and FAPU withdrew from the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU — the general military command of the FMLN) because of political differences. Shortly after their withdrawal, all the leading members of the FAPU and RN were killed in an 'airplane crash.' Then, a few weeks after, the FAPU and RN once again united with the rest of the groups in the DRU, the FMLN and other umbrella organizations. It was never made clear what the political differences that prompted the split had been. Nor was it explained why the plane carrying FAPU and RN leaders had crashed, or why they were in the plane in the first place. . . .

"Strangely, the airplane crashed in Nicaraguan territory. The U.S. took full advantage of

this fact to disparage the left in general, as it is doing now with the deaths of Ana María and Cayetano Carpio."

According to the article, the FMLN and the Sandinista leadership "are morally obligated to answer" a series of questions posed by the author. Among these are:

"1) Who murdered Ana María? Why? What were the 'political and personal differences' mentioned [in the FPL's statement on the crime]?"

"2) If those involved in the crime were direct or indirect agents of the CIA, where is the proof of their ties with the CIA?"

Continuing with its questions, the article asks: "If Carpio showed 'severe emotional distress' when he arrived in Managua on [April] 9th, why wasn't he immediately assigned someone to take care of him and why wasn't his gun taken away from him? Why did ten days pass before his death was announced?"

The article continues, "We believe it is highly improbable that Cayetano Carpio, a leader who had been a militant in the Salvadoran left for more than forty years, would kill himself without even leaving a note explaining the political reasons for his suicide. Why haven't Carpio's last writings been published?"

In conclusion, the article says that "our paper is calling for the FMLN, the FSLN and all left organizations, including our international current and our party here, to form an INVESTIGATIVE COMMISSION OF THE LEFT which would get to the bottom of all the questions raised by the deaths of Ana María and Carpio."



*A fortnightly review of news and analysis published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.*

In the May 23 issue Vincent Kermel comments that "The death of the two principal leaders of the FPL is a severe blow to that organization. It is also a factor that weakens the whole leadership of the FMLN at an important moment in the revolutionary struggle of the Salvadoran people. . . .

"In this regard, whatever the extent of possible manipulation of Ana María's murderers by the imperialist agencies, and even if no real tie could be proven, the participation of a leader and members of the FPL in the murder of one of its leaders is an objective victory for imperialism's battle, which aims to weaken the revolutionary forces fighting against the dictatorship in El Salvador.

"This shows, in a tragic way, the reality of the American threats in this regard. For example, in April 1982 at a secret meeting of the National Security Council, U.S. military and civilian leaders and CIA representatives took it upon themselves to 'make a concerted effort to exacerbate factional strife in [the] extreme left' in El Salvador. . . .

"The international bourgeois press, more-

over, lost no time in portraying the death of Ana María and Marcial as the product of such frictions. For example, the *New York Times* recently suggested the possibility that 'the Nicaraguan or Cuban government, feeling pressure on the Sandinist revolution, had decided Mr. Cayetano Carpio's group was an obstacle to negotiations to solve the problems in the region and had decided to eliminate that obstacle.'

"This grotesque appraisal — since the Nicaraguan security services themselves were the ones to carry out the investigation of Ana María's murder — obviously fits perfectly into the imperialist tactic of dividing the movement. . . .

"But above and beyond the imperialist maneuvers to profit from the deaths of these two leaders, the fact remains that Ana María's murder was organized inside the FPL itself. The FPL's communiqué . . . states in fact that the intent of the main organizer of the crime, Marcelo, who was then a member of that organization's central leadership, was to 'resolve a resentment and alleged ideological and political divergence with Compañera Ana María.'"

After taking note of some of the objective problems facing the FMLN, Kermel continues: "The conditions of an armed struggle against a bloody dictatorship backed by imperialism in a small country like El Salvador are not particularly conducive to maintaining and deepening an intense democratic life within the organizations in the struggle. To a certain extent these conditions make it indispensable for internal functioning to be governed by rigorous discipline. . . .

"In this context, discussions of problems related to the methods and pace of armed actions could not be debated in public.

"Moreover, no one outside the Salvadoran fighting forces could claim to have any definitive answers to questions as delicate as those regarding conditions for a step-up in guerrilla military actions which is linked to the problem of the reorganization of the urban-struggle front, the diplomatic initiatives to take in response to imperialist maneuvers aimed at regionalizing the conflict, and negotiations on this question. . . .

"That being said, one can only approve of Salvador Cayetano Carpio's formula characterizing the ideological struggle inside the revolutionary and people's camp.

"Cayetano Carpio felt this ideological struggle is not only inevitable, but legitimate. However, he said, it 'must be carried out with correct methods, since this is not the struggle against the enemy. . . . Within the people, persuasion is what must prevail.'

"It is necessary to note today that some people right inside his own organization and among his closest collaborators had not assimilated this fundamental maxim.

"And this took place at a time when only deepgoing political educational work on this question will make it possible under the present conditions of the Salvadoran revolution-

ary struggle to preserve the unity of the revolutionary organizations and of the FMLN, whatever internal differences might exist within them.

"But the political courage shown by the Sandinista leaders and the FPL and FMLN forces in making a public announcement of the identity of those really responsible for the murder of Ana María should be seen as a public disavowal of the use of cops-and-robbers methods

to settle stated political differences.

"Within the different Salvadoran revolutionary organizations this should be the occasion for reflecting on the conditions under which differences can be debated and resolved within the framework of the armed struggle, and on how these differences can be presented to the popular masses who participate in the revolutionary struggle inside El Salvador, and to those around the world who support it."

## DOCUMENTS

# May Day 1983

## Statement from 'Socialist Action'

[The following statement appeared in the April 29 issue of the British weekly *Socialist Action*, a labor newspaper supported by the Socialist League, the British section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

Lenin characterised the present epoch as the "epoch of imperialism" — that of the "transition to socialism" and of "wars and revolutions." Since the victory of the Russian revolution there has hardly been a day without war or without revolutionary struggle.

In 1983, the year in which we celebrate the centenary of Marx's death, the liberal and social democratic detractors of Marxism are repeating the old hackneyed phrases about the "failure" of Marxism and revolution. But two crucial struggles are living proof of the worldwide fight for workers power and socialism — Poland and Central America.

Both these struggles, at a crucial stage, symbolise central aspects of the proletariat's fight for human liberation. World socialism, the "free association of the producers" of which Marx spoke, is impossible without the twin tasks of destroying world imperialism and its principal prop — world Stalinism. More than ever it is impossible to be a genuine partisan of the world working class without fighting for the interests of the workers East and West, without fighting for the destruction of the Stalinist and imperialist bastions of world tyranny.

The struggle of the Polish workers to establish their own organisation, Solidarnosc, and to re-mould Polish society, is the most politically advanced working class struggle anywhere since the Spanish revolution of 1936. The Polish workers have built a mass movement around the theme of *self-managed socialism*. Ten million members of Solidarnosc conducted a heroic 18-month struggle to make socialism under the control of workers, socialism with workers power, a reality.

Despite the brutal repression which followed the December 1981 *coup*, Solidarnosc has not died. Its provisional co-ordinating committee, after meeting with Lech Walesa,

has called for massive demonstrations this May Day.

It has continued the work of political discussion and elaboration. The "programmatic statement" of the provisional co-ordinating committee outlines the programme of a "republic based on self-management."

"The objective of our struggle remains the achievement of the programme of the First National Congress of Delegates of Solidarnosc . . . that is the building of a republic based on self-management.

- In such a republic the government would be under the control of society. The factories would be run by self-management bodies. The municipalities and provinces would be run by territorial self-management bodies. The country as a whole would have a democratically elected parliament.

- There would be independent courts to maintain justice.

- The means of production would genuinely belong to the society and would assure those who work in them a real share in the income that they bring in . . . The perspective of a republic based on self-management does not run counter to socialism."

If Poland shows the reality of a struggle for self-managed socialism, it also shows the reality of bureaucratic rule and Stalinism. New show trials are beginning of leaders of Solidarnosc and the KOR (Workers Self-Defence Committee). May Day 1983 must be an occasion for socialists the world over to pledge themselves to build support for the Polish workers.

The stakes in the struggle in Central America, despite the smallness of the countries involved, involve the future of the whole of Latin America — and hence the fate of workers struggle world-wide.

The recently leaked document of the U.S. National Security Council shows a fear that if El Salvador is "lost" to communism, then the whole of Central America from Mexico to Colombia could become a single socialist federation. That perspective is a realistic one.

Central America is in reality a single country divided by imperialism. Its economic and social problems cannot be overcome within the

existing national boundaries. A socialist El Salvador would link up with Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. Guatemala, the richest and most populous country in the region, would be the next to fall.

The United States is indeed on the verge of suffering a spectacular defeat in El Salvador. [President Alvaro] Magaña's regime is in a state of military and political decomposition.

Inside the government there is a bitter struggle between Magaña and the leader of the Assembly, death-squads supremo Roberto D'Aubuisson. The recent resignation of the defence minister, José [Guillermo] García, reflects the series of military defeats suffered by the Salvadorean army since the beginning of the year. More and more of the territory of the country is under the effective control of the left wing guerrillas of the FMLN [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front].

The only method of preventing defeat has for the military dictatorship and the U.S. been systematic terror — from the indescribable horrors of the death squads in El Salvador to the indiscriminate murders carried out by the insurgents during the recent invasion of Nicaragua.

The morality of Reagan and world imperialism is precisely the "morality" of the death squads. They stand in defence of their economic and political empires against every basic human right and freedom.

On May Day 1983 the cause of socialism and workers' power is far from dead. It lives on in the struggles of the Polish and Central American workers. These historic struggles show once again that the fate of humanity, the fate of human freedom, lies in the hands of the working class — the only social force capable of remaking the world "from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom." □

*Changing your address?*

**If you are, fill out this form *right away* and send it to us to avoid any interruption in your subscription.**

**Old address**

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**New address (please print)**

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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

# Speech by Maurice Bishop

*'Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada are one revolution!'*

[The following are excerpts from a speech by Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, presented in London April 16. The text is abridged from the May 6 issue of the British weekly *Socialist Action*, a labor newspaper supported by the Socialist League, the British section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

A lot has happened since 1980, the last time I spoke at a London rally. There has been the world capitalist crisis and now the new threats to peace. There have been invasions, and most recently the invasion of the free sovereign soil of Nicaragua. It has been a difficult and challenging period but also in many ways an exciting and successful period.

The crisis in the capitalist world has had very serious implications for the economies of developing countries.

For example, in Grenada, at one point we had 10 million pounds of nutmeg in storage in a situation where the annual production is around 6 million pounds. We have seen cocoa prices fall by 65 percent in the last two years.

At the same time the capitalist countries have been selling their goods to us more expensively and so the vicious circle has continued. Such countries have erected more and more barriers to trade with us: their protectionist policies have meant that even when we produce goods the tariff barriers erected around their countries have made it virtually impossible for us to have access to their markets.

So we now have a situation in the developing world unparalleled in the history of mankind. At the end of last year, the developing world was left owing debts of over \$600 billion and had to pay over \$130 billion by way of interest alone.

Over the last three years, as a result of loss of credits, as a result of low prices and high interest rates, we have lost over \$85 billion in purchasing power.

In turn this has meant starvation and death for many of the people of the third world. Twenty million children are dying every year from malnutrition; more than 800 million people could not get enough to eat last year.

On top of all this suffering, on top of the world capitalist crisis, on top of the crisis in the developing countries engendered by the world capitalist crisis, there is another even worse phenomenon facing the world. This new crisis is called Ronald Reagan — the greatest disaster to hit mankind since Hitler. He believes he can roll back the gains of the world socialist community and the non-aligned movement, that he can roll back the struggles of the national liberation movements.

Cuba, the first successful revolution in the western hemisphere, stands as a beacon for the people of Latin America and the Caribbean. But the strength of the Cuban people means that Reagan will have to use nuclear weapons if he wants to defeat them.

In the cases of Nicaragua and Grenada, much younger revolutions, processes which are still being consolidated, he believes that a combination of propaganda destabilisation, economic aggression and the use of mercenaries and counter-revolutionaries will be enough to achieve their overthrow.

So, in Nicaragua today, the sons and daughters of Sandino have to face invasion. The counter-revolutionaries — supplied, financed and trained by the United States — have been sent there by the United States as directly as if they had sent their own marines.

One of the reasons that Ronald Reagan is so blue mad at Grenada is that not only has he seen us resist all attempts at destabilisation, but he has seen our country go forward. Last year, we recorded an economic growth rate of 5.5 percent, in stark contrast to the period of backward and negative growth before the revolution. This has meant that over the last four years there has been an accumulated economic growth of over 15 percent.

In the same period we have seen a substantial increase in the public expenditure programme — from \$8 million in 1978, the last



Jerry Hunnicutt/Militant

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop (left) with Nicaraguan Commander Daniel Ortega in 1980.

year before the revolution, to \$101 million in 1982.

We also recorded public sector production growth of 34 percent last year at the same time as the phenomenon of greatly reduced unemployment — from 49 percent in 1979, down to 14.2 percent in the April 1982 unemployment census. Again, last year wages rose by an average of 10 percent while the cost of living rose by only 7 percent. This is accompanied by further growth in the social wage, the benefits which our people see but do not pay for. For example, health care is now completely free, as is education. So then Reagan says that we have no human rights in Grenada, no democracy. Grenada must go on the offensive — we have the best record in the region.

Democracy doesn't mean voting every five years. To us, it means five things, and if you lack one, then there is no democracy. It means accountability; it means responsibility; it means mechanisms for popular participation, to train the people to become the rulers; it means bringing benefits to the people, because you cannot talk of democracy if the needs of the people are not met but are stifled; it means an elective component.

When that approach doesn't work, Reagan claims that Grenada, the tiny island of Grenada, is a threat to the might of the United States. By chance, half the American oil and 60 percent of the bauxite imports pass off the coast of Grenada. Maybe he would be satisfied if we were to move our island! But our people would not want that; we like it where we are.

At the present time there are 77 warships and over 300 aircraft making manoeuvres off Grenada. We have to alert international public opinion to this threat, just as we have to mobilise internally. All the facts have been provided to our people, who have been organised into militia to guard strategic points and factories in the face of this threat.

Our air space is almost daily violated by U.S. spy planes; five unidentified warships have invaded our territorial waters, one ignoring our coastguards and patrolling a stretch of coast for three and a half hours. In the face of this we have to build a strong economy and maintain our defences if we are to earn the name of revolutionaries.

At the same time, we recognise the importance of total solidarity with the revolutionary people of Nicaragua. In Grenada we have held a Nicaragua Solidarity March, we have held rallies, we have made statements of support. Now 1 May has been designated a Day of Peace and Solidarity with Nicaragua.

Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada are one revolution! If you touch Cuba, you touch Grenada! If you touch Nicaragua, you touch Grenada! We also recognise that the fighters of the Faribundo Martí National Liberation Front in El Salvador are in the front line of resistance to Reagan, whose major concern now is to defeat the El Salvadorean revolution. We have to make sure that there will be more struggles like that in El Salvador, throughout Central America and the Caribbean. □