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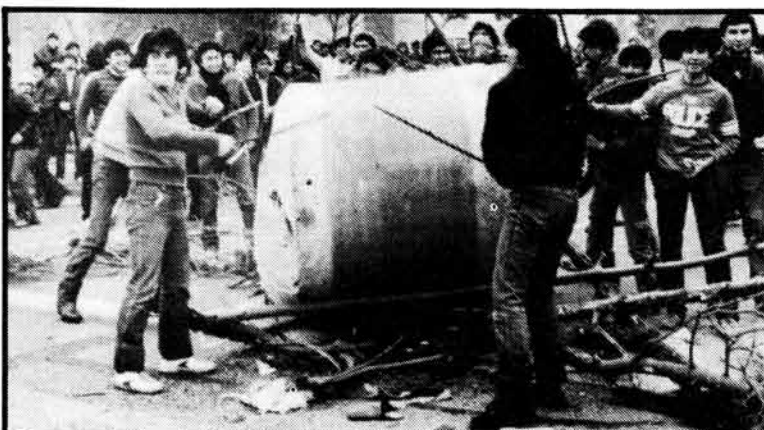
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## **Central America Washington on the March Toward a Wider War**



U.S. adviser training Salvadoran troops.



Demonstrators in Santiago beat drum against Pinochet.

## **Mass Protests Shake Chilean Dictatorship**

### **South Africa**

## **Black Workers Stand Up to Apartheid**

# 'Out with Pinochet!'

By Steve Wattenmaker

Led by the trade unions, massive protests are shaking the military dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet in Chile. A National Day of Protest June 14 brought hundreds of thousands of people into the streets of Chile's major cities.

After a decade of brutal army rule, the Chilean people are demanding economic and social changes, an end to repression, and a quick return to civilian government.

The June 14 protest was followed two days later by the beginning of a nationwide strike by copper miners — the most powerful section of Chile's working class. The strikers demanded the release of their union head, Rodolfo Seguel, who Pinochet had arrested as a key organizer of the protests. And on June 23 truckers, coal miners, steelworkers, and other workers around the country responded to a call for an indefinite general strike.

Union stickers announcing the strike boldly proclaimed, "Out with Pinochet!"

The Pinochet regime reacted to the upsurge with repression. At least four protesters were killed by police gunfire. More than 2,000 persons were arrested and Pinochet ordered that the striking copper miners be fired.

The June 14 protest came barely a month after a similar demonstration rocked Chile May 11. The May action marked the first coordinated mass protest since the CIA-engineered coup that overthrew and murdered Chilean President Salvador Allende in 1973.

Washington conspired to block Allende's election and later to topple his government in order to crush a working-class upsurge. Allende had responded to the demands of the workers movement by establishing relations with Cuba and nationalizing several U.S. corporations.

These anti-imperialist acts outraged the U.S. rulers. They were alarmed by the extensive organization of the workers into factory and neighborhood committees after Allende took office.

In the aftermath of the coup, Pinochet dealt harsh blows to the working class. Thousands of trade union and political activists were killed. The military regime jailed or forced into exile some 150,000 opponents and outlawed trade union activity.

## Barricades and bonfires

The May and June protests show that the popular movement is again on the upswing. Workers, students, slum dwellers — even middle-class professionals who once supported Pinochet's policies — poured into the streets June 14. In Santiago, Valparaíso Temuco, Punta Arenas, and other cities students stayed home from school; bus and truck drivers stayed off the roads; and thousands of

Chileans showed their support for the action by honking car horns and banging empty pots and pans.

Demonstrations were held throughout the day and evening. Catholic church sources reported that police opened fire on a number of gatherings. Students who had occupied the University of Chile in Santiago were viciously attacked with water cannons, dogs, and tear gas.

Reflecting the impact that the Nicaraguan revolution has had among Chileans, students at the Catholic University in Santiago chanted, "Somoza's gone, now it's Pinochet's turn."

By nightfall, working-class neighborhoods had been sealed off by barricades and the residents held the police at bay. Bonfires blazed on street corners in many parts of Santiago.

The June 14 actions were called by the National Workers Command, which was formed following the May antigovernment protests. Spearheaded by the 23,000-member Copper Workers Confederation (CTC), it has united virtually the entire labor movement and vowed to continue national days of protests until the government meets its demands.

According to CTC leader Sergio Barriga, the first goal of the National Workers Command is "the reestablishment of democracy in our country and the free exercise of the rights of workers and citizens."

Manuel Rodríguez, another leader of the National Workers Command, emphasized, "We aren't just talking about wages and jobs. We want Pinochet and the military out. We want democracy now."

## Copper miners down tools

Before dawn on June 15, plainclothes police broke down the door of an apartment where CTC head Rodolfo Seguel was staying and arrested him on charges of threatening national security. Seguel played a major role in organizing both the May and June protests.

The CTC immediately went on a 24-hour strike to demand his release — the first major "illegal" strike since Pinochet seized power.

Despite the government's promise to fire any miners who struck and the virtual occupation of mines by heavily armed government troops, union leaders announced June 17 that the strike was between 97 and 100 percent successful at three of the country's most important copper mines.

At El Teniente mine high in the Andes 35 miles south of Santiago, all work was halted. Only about two dozen scabs boarded the 17 buses that are normally full of workers going to the mine.

"Despite all the threats we have received, and even if we didn't believe up until yesterday that we would be successful, we will win this

time," said a jubilant union official at El Teniente.

Pinochet vowed to crack down on dissent "whatever the cost." He ordered the arrest of some 20 other top leaders of the CTC and began firing the strikers. Union representatives at El Salvador mine, 700 miles north of Santiago, said that almost 1,000 miners had already gotten dismissal notices.

Responding to the arrest of Seguel and the other CTC leaders, the National Workers Command called for an indefinite general strike to begin June 23.

"We are carrying on a battle for all the Chilean people," said Eugenio Lopez, the president of the union local at the El Teniente mine. "We are asking for democracy and liberty and we think that all of the Chilean people should identify and join with this."

## Strike movement spreads

In response to the general strike call, Pinochet ordered yet more repression. Additional union leaders were picked up by the police, including Adolfo Quinteros Soto, the head of the truckers' association, who was held briefly. The truck owners, who had previously supported Pinochet, have become increasingly critical of his regime.

Newspapers and radio stations were ordered not to publish or broadcast any news whatsoever on the strike call or on antigovernment demonstrations.

Army troops were sent into the streets of Santiago and other cities to carry out sweeps of "subversives."

At the same time, in an obvious bid to undermine support for the strike, the regime announced on June 21 that it was lifting the prohibition on returning to Chile for 128 prominent exiles. Among them was Isabel Letelier, the widow of Orlando Letelier, a member of Allende's cabinet who was killed by Chilean secret police agents in Washington, D. C., in 1976. Tens of thousands of other Chilean exiles still may not return, however.

Despite the regime's censorship and show of force, many workers answered the strike call.

Chile's largest steel mill, coal mine, and concrete factory were struck. More than half of the plastics, textile, and petroleum industries were paralyzed, according to strike organizers. Some of Chile's ports were shut down. Several of the copper mines that had gone out a week earlier were still on strike.

Quinteros of the Truck Owners Association reported that 70 percent of the 46,000 owner-operators in Chile did not drive their vehicles on the first day of the strike.

Students at every major university in Santiago also boycotted classes and held demonstrations. Those at the Catholic University blocked streets. Students rallying at the University of Chile were shot at by the occupants of a passing car.

Strike leaders acknowledged, however, that the turnout on the first day of the strike was not as great as they had hoped, largely because of the repression and the lack of information

caused by the censorship. "This will be a movement that will grow little by little," Quinteros commented.

### Workers in vanguard

The Chilean workers, acting in their militant tradition, have taken the lead in protests against the Pinochet regime. The country's grave economic crisis has pushed them to fight back.

Chile's workers have been inspired by an upswing in workers' mobilizations throughout the continent, beginning with the overturn of Somoza and the establishment of a workers and farmers government in Nicaragua in 1979.

Over the past year, the other countries in the southern cone of South America have seen massive struggles. Argentina's struggle to retake the Malvinas from British imperialism helped spur these on. Since then, there has been a wave of protests against military rule in Argentina.

The military dictatorship in Bolivia was overthrown as a consequence of massive workers' actions. In March, a general strike paralyzed Peru, as workers demanded economic measures to protect their living standards.

Battered by plunging copper prices on the world market, Chile suffered a 13 percent negative growth rate in 1982. Business failures have reached epidemic proportions.

Inflation is running 30 percent a year, with nearly one-third of Chile's workers unemployed. The country's faltering economy — squeezed by U.S. financial domination — together with Pinochet's antilabor policies have driven real wages down by 16 percent.

Tied to demands for economic concessions, the protest movement is also calling for an end to the dictatorship itself.

Over the past year the Pinochet regime has responded to the mounting discontent by stepping up its attempts to silence critics. The Chilean Human Rights Commission documented 1,789 political arrests in 1982 — triple the figure for 1981.

The May and June demonstrations also demanded that Pinochet repudiate the results of aphony 1980 plebiscite that keeps him in power at least through 1989. Asked after the May protest if he would speed the return to democracy, he answered flatly: "I tell you no."

Whatever Pinochet's intentions may be, the

May and June uprisings mark a watershed in the Chilean people's fight against the U.S.-supported dictatorship. The growing combativeness and confidence of Chile's workers

was echoed by Seguel in a message he sent to the strikers from his jail cell June 17: "Our cause is just, let us not falter. Let us not defraud Chile." □

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# Reagan on the march toward wider war

## Honduran regime aids plans to provoke Sandinistas

By Steve Wattenmaker

The U.S. government is marching relentlessly toward putting combat troops on the ground in Central America. A full-scale military intervention eventually will be needed, Washington reasons, if it is to have any hope of crushing the revolution in El Salvador or overturning the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua.

Both the Reagan administration and Congress are preparing for the inevitable clash through a steady buildup of arms and advisers in Central America, combined with a well-orchestrated public relations campaign to dampen the stubborn antiwar sentiment of U.S. working people.

The Honduran government has proven to be a willing junior partner in Washington's plans. Not only is the Pentagon using a Honduran base to train thousands of Salvadoran soldiers, but Washington is using the Honduran army as a cat's-paw to engineer a war between Nicaragua and Honduras that would provide the pretext for the United States to intervene.

### 'Contras cannot succeed'

For more than a year and a half the CIA has organized, trained, and bankrolled thousands of *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) from the National Guard of Nicaragua's former dictator Anastasio Somoza. These killers, based in Honduran sanctuaries, have launched bloody raids into Nicaragua. More than 500 Nicaraguan workers, teachers, doctors, and others living in the border area have been killed this year by these Somozaist butchers.

However, as even the *New York Times* admitted in an editorial June 26, the *contras* alone have no hope of upsetting the Sandinista revolution.

While "there is nothing irredeemably immoral about backing the 'contras,'" the *Times* editors said, the overwhelming argument against backing them "is practical: the 'contras' cannot succeed. They have no prospect of being militarily strong enough. Even if they were, they are fatally burdened by the Yankee colossus on their backs. . . ."

"The exiles we support fight with the conviction that Nicaragua seethes with unrest. But in the major cities, where the Sandinistas won their revolution, no unrest is evident," the editors reluctantly concluded.

Provoking an all-out war between Honduras and Nicaragua, however, would give Washington the pretext it needs to dispatch troops. The Honduran army is actively helping to carry out this war plan. After months of aiding the *contras* with logistical support, Honduran

forces are now playing a more direct role in the attacks.

The Nicaraguan government charged in early June that the Honduran army was engaged in "virtual joint operations" with the Somozaist troops.

Capt. Roberto Sánchez, a spokesman for the Nicaraguan Defense Ministry, explained the change in tactics:

"In the past," Sánchez told the *New York Times*, "the Hondurans would fire a few shells to cover the retreat of the *contras*. Now they are using heavy mortars to soften up our positions for ground attacks."

The new U.S.-Honduran army tactics were displayed in a major *contra* offensive launched June 4 near the town of Teotecacinte on Nicaragua's northern border. The town and a nearby state tobacco farm, "El Porvenir" (The Future) came under heavy bombardment from Honduran artillery as a prelude to an attack by 600 Somozaist ground troops. While the counterrevolutionaries were driven back across the border by Sandinista soldiers, the farm was virtually destroyed.

Sánchez said that during the attack the Sandinistas were "at a disadvantage" because a counterattack against the Honduran gun emplacements, he said, "could be used as an excuse to allow Honduras to declare war against us."

Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomás Borge warned during the fighting that the Honduran army's growing participation in the counterrevolutionary attacks has increased "the danger of confrontation with Honduras, which is not what we want."

The Pentagon laid out its scenario for using the border war as a new "Gulf of Tonkin" incident in the June 20 *Washington Post*. Retiring U.S. Army Chief of Staff Gen. E. C. Meyer was asked in an interview if the United States would send combat troops if Honduras were "attacked by Nicaragua."

Meyer replied, "If Nicaragua were to invade Honduras, I don't know how we could not go in conjunction with other representatives of the Organization of American States [OAS] to reestablish the borders."

Asked if Washington should send combat troops even if the OAS refused to join in such an adventure, Meyer said "serious thought" would have to be given to it.

### Destroy Nicaragua's 'heart and soul'

If there were a war in Central America, Meyer was asked by the *Washington Post*, "would you favor repeating the strategy of the Korean and Vietnam wars where the objective was to seal the border and stabilize the country

being attacked rather than crushing the invading country?"

"Clearly from a military point of view," Meyer answered, "one of the great lessons of Korea and one of the great lessons of Vietnam is that you cannot win a war until you challenge [the enemy's] heart and soul."

Asked if that included attacking the Nicaraguan capital of Managua, Meyer answered, "I think that they have to clearly perceive that that is not ruled out."

Meyer's views, of course, are not his alone. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State George Shultz have echoed Meyer's words. "We would take a major outbreak of war [along the Nicaraguan-Honduran border] very seriously and beyond that I don't want to make a comment," Shultz said recently.

According to the June 11 *Miami Herald*, Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martínez, head of the Honduran armed forces and the real power in the country, has the same idea. While visiting Washington, he declared that he wanted a commitment that the U.S. government will "stand with us in defense of democracy" in the event of a Sandinista "attack." Asked if this would require U.S. troops, he answered, "If there's war, the only thing that will solve a war is troops."

Martínez was in Washington to work out the details of a big military aid package to solidify Honduras' position as a major staging area for U.S. war moves in the region.

The U.S. Air Force already has some 50 technicians staffing a U.S.-built radar installation near the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa. The radar station can scan most of Central America. Other U.S. military forces are supervising the modernization of a Honduran air base at Comayagua. In exchange for picking up the \$13 million price tag for the project, the U.S. Air Force will be able to use the base.

In addition, the Pentagon is conducting a "high priority" study of building six additional military airfields in the country.

### U.S. reporters killed

The deaths of two U.S. correspondents June 21 in Honduras near the Nicaraguan border was seized on by Washington and Tegucigalpa. Both the Honduran foreign minister and Secretary of State Shultz charged that Nicaraguan troops firing across the border had blown up the reporters' car.

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto denied the charges, pointing out that Nicaraguan troops have been kept well away from the border precisely to avoid being entrapped in such provocations.

D'Escoto also pointed out that both of the reporters, Dial Torgerson of the *Los Angeles Times* and Richard Cross, a freelance photographer, had been friendly to the Sandinista revolution.

Whether intentionally or otherwise, the evidence suggests that Torgerson and Cross were the victims of the U.S.-backed contras or Honduran troops.

### War on Southern Front

Washington is also keeping its options open on Nicaragua's southern border with Costa Rica. A contra force in that area, the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (ARDE), is headed up by Sandinista turncoat Edén Pastora. Pastora's operation has reportedly bogged down in a remote jungle area near the San Juan River, which separates Nicaragua and Costa Rica. A boast by Pastora that his ranks would be swelled by mass desertions from the Sandinista army has proved to be so much hot air.

ARDE sources told the June 24 *Washington Post* that they are already getting money from the CIA, channeled through private fronts in Europe, Venezuela, Colombia, and Mexico.

To pump up their sagging effort, however, another leader of Pastora's counterrevolutionary gang, Alfonso Robelo, spent several weeks in June lobbying in Washington for more funds. He was reportedly pressing for a minimum of \$200,000 to \$300,000 a month, according to the *Post*.

Robelo complained to reporters that the Reagan administration was more interested in bankrolling the contras based in Honduras than the ARDE effort in Costa Rica. He explained one reason why the Pastora cabal was at a "disadvantage" when it lined up at the CIA trough. Speaking of the ARDE attacks in the south, he said the administration "cannot use the excuse that this is for arms interdiction."

Meanwhile, Pastora pulled a publicity stunt to highlight ARDE's demand for a bigger CIA budget. Pastora announced June 22 that he was suspending his attacks, at least temporarily, to undertake "a reevaluation of our resources . . . our means of assistance and a look at the real perspectives for moving ahead."

### Beating the drums

War talk in Washington is coming from every quarter, as both Democrats and Republicans cast about for the right formula to convince U.S. working people that another Vietnam is in their interest.

Speaking on the NBC television news program "Meet the Press" June 19, former vice-president and current Democratic presidential hopeful Walter Mondale claimed to be "utterly and completely and profoundly" opposed to the Reagan policy in Central America. With Reagan's policy, he said, "it is inevitable that American troops will be sent into Central America."

Further probing, however, exposed Mondale's "profound" opposition to war in Central America as a fraud. "If the Soviet Union or the

Cubans, in conjunction or alone, were to establish a major base or military position in Central America," he said, "I think it would go to the vital interests of our country."

The charge that the Soviet Union in conjunction with Cuba is "establishing a military position" in Central America that threatens U.S. national security is already the administration's excuse for its war moves in the region.

In a June 20 speech in Jackson, Mississippi, Reagan repeated the administration stance that a "Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan axis" could "take over Central America" unless Washington steps up its military aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship and the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries.

And the administration argues that U.S. imperialism could win in Central America, given enough leeway. "We succeeded in Chile, in Bolivia, in Guatemala militarily. . . . That's the only thing they understand: might is right," an administration official was quoted in the June 20 issue of *Newsweek*.

The Pentagon has contributed to the war of words by revealing that it has drawn up contingency plans for possible air strikes against Cuba and Nicaragua, reported Phillip Taubman in the June 26 *New York Times*. The plans also call for a U.S. naval "quarantine" of Nicaragua.

To back up its accusation that Cuba is trying

to take over Central America, the White House "leaked" a story that a Cuban general had been "secretly assigned to duty" in Nicaragua with the mission of paving the way for a "large-scale Cuban move into Nicaragua." The story even suggested that he might take command of all Cuban and Nicaraguan forces in Nicaragua.

The account, carried on the front page of the June 19 *New York Times*, under the headline "Cuban Commander in Nicaraguan Post," marked an ominous escalation in Washington's preparations for a wider war in Central America. It is the first time the Reagan administration has charged that Cuba might take over the direction of day-to-day military operations in Nicaragua or El Salvador.

The *Times* story prominently reported that the commander, Gen. Arnaldo Ochoa Sánchez, had extensive combat experience.

According to the account, Ochoa served with Cuban troops defending Angola against South African invaders and commanded Cuban combat and support forces in Ethiopia.

What the *Times* skipped over is that Cuban troops played a decisive role in helping both Angola and Ethiopia beat back U.S.-supported invasions.

Washington's military moves and increasingly hostile propaganda has convinced Cuba that "the possibility of the use of military force" against Cuba "not only exists but is much closer now than at any other time,"

## FMLN counters 'Operation Well-Being'

The Salvadoran guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) are continuing to press their struggles while the Salvadoran army appears to be having little success in a major antiguerrilla offensive in two key Salvadoran provinces.

A force of more than 4,500 Salvadoran army troops has begun what the government says is a major effort to "pacify" San Vicente and Usulután provinces. The first phase of the operation, U.S. military advisers explained, is a military sweep to rout guerrillas in those provinces. It is code-named "Operation Well-Being."

Then, say the advisers, who modeled the offensive on the Coordinated Regional Development Strategy (CORDS) used by Washington in Vietnam, the army will follow up with humanitarian "civic action."

During the Vietnam War, CORDS' real aim was to herd Vietnamese peasants into concentration camps called "strategic hamlets" and assassinate thousands of civilians suspected of National Liberation Front sympathies.

Washington propagandists called this "winning the hearts and minds" of the Vietnamese people.

Radio Venceremos, operated by the

FMLN in El Salvador, reported over the weekend of June 11 that the Salvadoran military had already begun the operation by bombing the civilian population on the slopes of the Chinchontepec volcano in San Vicente.

While the Salvadoran army targeted civilians in San Vicente, FMLN forces stung government troops in other parts of the country.

Radio Venceremos reported that the FMLN had bruised the army's crack Atlacatl Brigade during three days of fighting near Cerro El Fuego in Morazán Province. During the battle for the area, which began June 9, rebel forces inflicted 80 casualties and damaged a U.S.-supplied Huey helicopter.

On June 23 guerrillas overran a military post guarding the Las Guaras Bridge, only 12 miles northeast of the capital. The rebels then dynamited the bridge, isolating two hydroelectric dams that supply half of El Salvador's electricity.

After earlier vowing that nothing would divert it from concentrating troops in San Vicente, the Salvadoran army was forced to throw 2,000 troops into an effort to dislodge the FMLN from positions controlling the main road to the dams.

— Steve Wattenmaker

Cuban Vice-president Carlos Rafael Rodríguez told a group of Associated Press (AP) executives in Havana.

According to a June 16 AP dispatch, Rodríguez "said United States-Cuban relations were at their lowest point since Fidel Castro came to power in 1959, including the periods of the unsuccessful 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion by Cuban exiles and the 1962 Cuban missile crisis."

In response to the possibility of an attack, Rodríguez said, Cuba has added 500,000 people to its territorial militias and made other defense preparations.

Nonetheless, Rodríguez explained that Cuba was willing to enter into "serious negotiations" with the United States. What is not up for negotiation, Rodríguez made clear, is Cuba's active solidarity with those fighting imperialism around the world.

"We feel an obligation to help other people fight for their national freedom and national interest" the Cuban vice-president told the AP executives. "We prefer to help those people with our technicians and support workers."

"Although pressed on the point," the AP report added, "he declined to say whether Cuba was sending arms through Nicaragua to help

the rebel forces battling the government of El Salvador."

Nicaragua, likewise, has already proved in blood that it is not about to back down in the face of Washington's threats to commit U.S. combat troops in Central America. But American imperialism is playing for high stakes and the Reagan administration is prepared to drive ahead its military plans, whatever the obstacles.

As one administration official told the June 20 *Newsweek* "The die is cast — there's no turning back. We've got to do whatever is necessary." □

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## Poland

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# Pope brings anticommunist message

## *How tour aids Washington's war drive*

### By Fred Feldman

The imperialist news media are painting up the pope's tour of Poland as a historic event. They are working overtime to convince working people that the pope is a defender of union rights and democratic freedoms.

In Poland, millions of workers have taken advantage of the tour to openly express their identification with the outlawed Solidarity trade union. This massive support for Solidarity is an embarrassment to the regime of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, which clearly underestimated the intensity of feeling on this issue in the Polish working class.

The Polish workers took advantage of the papal visit to voice some of their progressive sentiments. When the pope completed mass in a Warsaw soccer stadium June 17, a million people "saluted him with a forest of upraised arms, hands in the v-for-victory sign, and a thundering chant of the name of the founder of the outlawed Solidarity union, Lech Walesa," reported John Kifner in the June 18 *New York Times*.

They left no room for doubt that they want the restoration of the Solidarity trade union and the release of imprisoned union supporters.

### 'Nonpolitical' tour?

But the pope's trip to Poland has nothing to do with defending the rights of workers there or anywhere else.

The Vatican hypocritically insisted June 21 that the tour was entirely nonpolitical and devoted solely to spiritual matters. But nothing could be more political. The pope's trip to Poland is the focus of an international anticommunist propaganda campaign. It is the latest stop in his world travels on behalf of reaction.

He is providing a smokescreen and a justification for the imperialist military buildup, including the placing of the new NATO Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe. He is

fostering the imposition of economic and other sanctions against Poland and other workers states. Most important, he is providing aid and comfort to Washington's relentless escalation of its military intervention in Central America, which is being carried out in the name of defending "democracy" against "communism."

He is attempting to strengthen the grip of the church hierarchy's reactionary ideology on working people in Poland and around the world.

The pope carried the same message to Poland that he brought to Central America in March, when he gave his blessing to the phony elections being planned by the U.S.-backed Salvadoran dictatorship. He warned peasants not to take up arms against their murderous oppressors.

### Nicaragua visit

In Nicaragua, he criticized the Sandinista government for establishing an education program that has taught the alphabet to hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers.

He did not say a word in Nicaragua about the rights of workers to control the factories and farms. He had nothing to say to those Nicaraguans who declared, "We want a church on the side of the poor."

Despite pleas from thousands of workers and peasants for him to speak out for peace, he did not say a word against the armed attacks on Nicaragua by U.S.-organized counter-revolutionary bands. There was no word of comfort from the pope for Nicaraguan parents whose children had been murdered by the CIA's squads.

Instead he demanded that the workers and peasants submit to the authority of the bishops, who are closely tied to the Nicaraguan landlords and capitalists. He made no calls for the "solidarity of workers" in Nicaragua, such as he cynically issued in Poland.

The pope's trip to Nicaragua was followed by a step-up in the Reagan administration's war moves against the revolution.

In Poland, too, the pope's message was right in line with the needs of imperialism's war propaganda. In a dozen different ways, he declared that Poles ought to stand with the "free" capitalist West against "totalitarian" communism. "Polish culture possesses characteristics which are, above all, Western European," he declared.

And again: "I ardently desire the re-creation of conditions of good cooperation with all the Western nations on our continent . . . above all, with the United States of America. . . ."

The biggest lie of all was reserved for Polish youth in a June 18 speech:

"Perhaps at times we envy the French, the Germans, or the Americans . . . because they are much more easily free."

So this is the free world!

Where workers do not know from one day to the next whether they will have a job and a livelihood. Where Blacks, Latinos, and immigrant workers face racist discrimination, and women meet sexist discrimination from cradle to grave. Where illness means ruin to working-class families. Where workers and farmers have their homes taken away by bankers backed by police guns.

A "free world" where FBI and CIA informers are licensed to carry out spying, disruption, and even murder against those who dare to oppose exploitation, oppression, and war. Where hundreds of working people are gunned down each year by cops. Where the imperialists prepare to launch brutal wars against small nations that refuse to bow to the dictates of the rich. A "free world" that sent 50,000 youths to their deaths in Indochina.

### 'Social doctrine of church'

The "true aspirations of the workers," the



Pope John Paul II: Preaches proimperialist gospel to Polish workers.

pope declared in Poland, are "fully met by the social doctrine of the church."

But the top church hierarchy has opposed every progressive change since the Dark Ages. Today, it is one of the biggest capitalists and landlords in the world. It has never fought against the death penalty, but is the engineer of an international crusade against women's right to abortion under the slogan of "right to life."

The pope claims to speak for God on many matters, but in reality the church hierarchy represents a class much closer to home. Its interests are essentially those of world imperialism.

The hierarchy's social program is simple. Workers should obey their bosses. Peasants should bow to the landlords. The oppressed should obey the oppressors. The reward of the rich comes here on earth, but the rest of us must hope for the best after death.

While in Poland, the pope had not a word to say against the economic sanctions imposed on Poland by the U.S. government and its imperialist allies, which have taken food out of the mouths of working people.

He had not a word to say against Washington's expanding arsenal of nuclear missiles, which are aimed at Poland, the Soviet Union, and other countries where capitalist exploitation has been abolished. Not a word against NATO, the imperialist military bloc that has threatened war against Poland for 30 years, and which threatens it today.

In Nicaragua, the Sandinista leadership took advantage of the pope's visit to advance the education of the toilers about the true role of the Catholic hierarchy. Hundreds of thousands of people, including many religious Nicaraguans, saw through the pope's reactionary hypocrisy.

#### An ideal opportunity

In Poland, however, the outcome was the

opposite, due to the policies of the government there. The Jaruzelski regime's antiworker policies handed the pope an ideal opportunity to package his proimperialist homilies as a defense of workers' rights.

Poland is a workers state, closely allied with the workers state in the Soviet Union. In the years following the victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler — who slaughtered 6 million Poles — a social revolution took place in Poland. With the support of the workers and poor farmers, capitalism and landlordism were abolished. The factories and mines became public property and a planned economy was established.

Polish workers gained a lot from the revolution. Illiteracy was abolished. Health improved. No one starves. The economy recovered from the ruins of war and has grown rapidly.

Today there is little or no joblessness. Production for use rather than profit has enabled Polish workers to escape the kind of devastating economic insecurity that workers in the United States and other imperialist countries have been going through, even though Poland is a much poorer country than they are.

But the government that was imposed on Poland after World War II, under conditions of Soviet occupation, did not reflect the interests of the workers and farmers. Modeled on the Stalin government in the Soviet Union, it represents a caste of bureaucrats whose first concern is to protect their special privileges. They try to keep the workers from having any say over how the workers state is governed, often by means of brutal repression.

The result has been corruption, mismanagement, and incompetent economic planning. All of this is made worse by economic pressures that the imperialist powers are able to

exert because they continue to dominate the world economy.

#### Why Solidarity was established

Solidarity was established out of a nationwide strike wave in August 1980. It was the workers' attempt to assert their right to participate in deciding how to overcome the difficulties.

Its fundamental demands were for an end to repression, participation of the workers in economic decision making, and efforts to move in the direction of social and economic equality.

Contrary to what the imperialist media and the pope would have working people elsewhere think, the Polish workers were not demanding a return to capitalist rule. Their demands were for a greater workers' voice in the economy, more equality, *more socialism*.

With the support of the majority of the workers and farmers behind it, Solidarity sought to negotiate an accord with the government based on immediate steps to begin overcoming the problems. The government responded with the declaration of martial law on December 13, 1981.

Martial law was partially lifted a year later, but many restrictions remain. More than 2,500 Solidarity activists have been sentenced to prison terms and the union has been suppressed.

With these events, Poland became the centerpiece of international imperialist propaganda. The repression of the Polish workers was pointed to as proof positive of the evils of communism and the need to stop it at any cost. War moves in Central America, the nuclear buildup, economic sanctions, and other attempts to ostracize Soviet bloc countries — all were justified by pointing to Poland.

The pope's trip represents the latest escalation of this public relations campaign.

The massive response to the pope in Poland is an indication of the confusion caused by the crimes of the bureaucratic caste in Poland over three decades. Many Polish workers mistakenly see the church hierarchy and even imperialist "democracies" like the United States as defenders of freedom. Such illusions weaken the fight of the Polish workers, cutting them off from real allies among the billions oppressed and exploited by imperialism.

The pope sought to strengthen these illusions, spreading the lie that the exploited workers of the capitalist West have what the Polish workers are fighting for.

The media's saturation coverage of the papal cavalcade attempted to instill into working people everywhere the lie that imperialism is the defender of freedom, and its wars are wars for democracy. □

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# Black workers stand up to apartheid

*Organize unions, launch massive strike wave*

By Ernest Harsch

"The signs are there. Something new is abroad in the factories."

That comment in the Feb. 19, 1982, *Rand Daily Mail*, one of South Africa's leading newspapers, came in the wake of a national strike to protest the death in police detention of Neil Aggett. A 28-year-old doctor who had served as a regional secretary of the Food and Canning Workers Union, a predominantly Black union, Aggett was the first white political prisoner to die in pretrial detention.

The February 11 protest strike saw more than 100,000 workers — most of them Black — down their tools in such major industrial centers as Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban,

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This is the first of three articles on the freedom struggle in South Africa. The second will examine the growth of the African National Congress' activity and influence in recent years, and the third, the failure of the regime's various attempts to stem the mass radicalization in the country.

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Port Elizabeth, and East London, as well as in smaller towns like Sasolburg and Grabouw. Backed by most of the country's Black and nonracial trade unions, it was the largest political strike action since 1976. It was also the first one called by unions on such a social issue since the 1950s.

But the strike was not the only sign of something new. At Aggett's funeral two days later, thousands of Black and white mourners marched for miles through Johannesburg, chanting slogans and defiantly waving flags of the African National Congress (ANC), the main national liberation movement. It was the first time since the ANC was banned in 1960 that its black-green-and-gold colors were unfurled publicly in downtown Johannesburg.

The response to Aggett's death took the apartheid authorities by surprise. More than any other single event in the past few years, it highlighted the growing convergence of several new — and highly significant — developments in the struggle against white supremacy: the emergence of an independent and militant union movement; the increased popularity and strength of the ANC within South Africa; and the greater, though still limited, involvement of whites in the fight for majority rule.

Confronted by frequent demonstrations and strikes, by stepped-up guerrilla actions by the ANC's armed fighters, and by a tenacious insurgency in South African-occupied Namibia,

officials in Pretoria often wail that their system is facing a "total onslaught."

While this challenge is not yet organized enough to seriously threaten the immediate survival of white supremacy, it certainly is giving the apartheid strategists and their corporate backers many restless nights. Like the political slogans scrawled on the walls of Soweto and other Black townships, the signs are there for everyone to see.

## Working class stirs

The protests over Aggett's death came in the midst of the most massive and sustained labor upsurge South Africa has witnessed since the 1940s.

Despite decades of fierce repression, despite the crushing of earlier workers organizations, despite a thousand and one laws and regulations that seek to bind them hand and foot, Black workers are now beginning to fight back in a militant and increasingly organized manner.

Because of the sheer power of the Black working class — 8 million, comprising a big majority in every key sector of the economy — this new combativity will have an enormous impact on the future of the liberation struggle.

The prime factor driving Black workers into conflict with their employers and the apartheid government is the extreme class exploitation that they daily face, an exploitation that is

greatly reinforced by national oppression. The whole apartheid system is designed, basically, to extract the maximum surplus value from the labor of Black workers. Their wages are kept at the lowest possible levels, while South African profit rates remain among the highest in the world.

Black workers are thus driven to rebel, despite the risk of being fired, expelled from their homes, imprisoned, tortured, or even killed.

Important changes in the economic and political situation in South Africa in recent years have provided an even greater impetus to labor militancy.

South Africa is currently in its deepest recession since the 1930s. The world market prices of many of its key exports — such as diamonds, manganese, and sugar — have fallen. The price of gold has been fluctuating sharply. In 1982, South Africa's gross domestic product fell by 1 percent, after years of a relatively high growth rate.

Black unemployment has risen considerably. Even in "normal" times, South Africa has a very high Black unemployment rate, generally affecting about 2 million workers. According to some estimates, this has now risen to as high as 3 million. The metal industry has been particularly hard-hit by the slump, and employers are laying off thousands more workers.

Inflation has seriously eaten into Black liv-



Funeral for Neil Aggett, slain trade-union organizer, in Johannesburg, February 13, 1982.



ing standards, which were already hovering around poverty levels before the onset of the recession. Food prices, rents, bus fares, school fees — all are being pushed up relentlessly.

In the Bantustans, the isolated rural reserves that most Africans are assigned to (whether they live in them or not), poverty, disease, hunger, and even famine conditions are becoming particularly acute. Since small-scale agriculture in the Bantustans had previously served to supplement the wages of many Black workers — those who are deemed to be “migrants” — this deterioration in the Bantustans has further depressed real incomes.

But Black workers have been driven into action not only by their immediate economic grievances. They have also been inspired by political events.

The attainment of independence by Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe; the struggle in Namibia; and the massive rebellions in South Africa's Black townships in the mid-1970s — all gave Black workers a greater feeling of strength and self-confidence. They realized that the apartheid regime was not invincible, and that it was possible to score some victories.

#### Massive strike wave

By 1980, Black workers were starting to go on strike in increasing numbers.

According to the government's own figures (which tend to be conservative), there were 207 strikes in 1980. The number of workdays lost was nearly three times greater than in the previous year. In 1981, the number of strikes rose to 342 — almost one new strike each day — involving nearly 100,000 workers. The next year surpassed even that record, when 141,000 Black workers took part in 394 strikes — not counting the strike called to protest Aggett's murder. On average, these strikes lasted longer than those in the previous years.

These strikes affected many of South Africa's key industries, drawing in textile workers, dockers, auto workers, metal workers, and gold miners, as well as transport workers, municipal employees, food workers, and many others.

The largest number of strikes were over immediate economic grievances: for higher wages or against a new pension scheme that meant greater deductions from the workers' pay packets. Often workers laid down their tools to demand the reinstatement of fired colleagues or an end to employer victimization of union activists.

In many cases, these strikes also involved disputes over union recognition and the right of workers to negotiate directly with management, through their own representatives.

Since Black workers are effectively denied the right to strike, practically every one of these strikes has been illegal. This has led to frequent clashes with the police, the arrests of workers' leaders, and sometimes shootings (10 Black miners were killed during a series of walkouts in the gold mines in July 1982).

The government's open support for the em-



Black workers are big majority in every key industry in South Africa.

ployers in such labor disputes has often encouraged management to try to ride out the strikes and ignore the workers' demands. Because the wages of Black workers in South Africa are so low, most do not have any savings and cannot afford to be away from work for more than a few days at a time. And where Black unions exist, they are still too weak and financially strapped to provide adequate strike pay.

In many cases, the employers resort to wholesale firings in order to break a strike. They then either hire an entirely new work force or rehire the former employees on an individual basis, selectively excluding the union activists and strike leaders.

Migrant workers — those who are signed up for annual employment contracts and do not have permanent residency rights in the cities — are especially vulnerable to such reprisals. Since Blacks can get urban residency permits only if they hold a job, being fired can mean immediate deportation to a Bantustan. A strike by more than 10,000 Black municipal workers in Johannesburg was broken in July 1980 when the city council had the strike leaders arrested and hundreds of migrant workers forcibly driven to various Bantustans.

In face of such government and employer attempts to isolate and break strikes, the workers have responded by seeking to build broader class solidarity among Black workers and between workers and the rest of the Black community.

One of the first sympathy strikes in South African history took place in Port Elizabeth in 1981, when thousands of Black workers at the Ford and General Motors auto plants struck in solidarity with fired unionists at a nearby Firestone tire factory.

Although the government usually tries to pit the different sectors of the Black population against each other, there have been numerous cases in which African, Coloured, and Indian workers have engaged in joint strike action.

Direct community support for striking workers has become increasingly common as well. Mass meetings, the collection of funds, and in some cases well-organized consumer boycotts have occasionally proven decisive in helping strikers win their demands.

In June 1980, for example, thousands of Black auto and tire workers struck in 11 factories in Uitenhage. Barricades went up in Uitenhage's Black townships, and a mass march through the center of the city was broken up by riot police. As a result of this massive support for the strikers within South Africa — and the widespread international publicity they received — the main auto companies conceded the workers' wage demands and even agreed to full-time, company-paid shop stewards for Black workers, at that time an unprecedented step in South Africa.

Even when strikes have been unsuccessful, such community mobilizations have helped soften the impact of the defeats and have cemented closer and more lasting ties between the unions and the various Black community organizations, ties that will be crucial for future struggles.

Pointing to some of the underlying differences between the current strike wave and earlier ones, the ANC's fortnightly newspaper *Mayibuye* (no. 6, 1980) stated:

In 1972/73 when hundreds of thousands of workers came out in action in major industrial areas, their demands centered mainly around economic issues. On the other hand, black workers' contribution to the 76/77 students' uprising was in the form of general political strikes without massive independent actions by workers at factory floor. The current wave of strikes, reinforced as it is by the schools boycott and other political developments including the attainment of independence by black people in neighbouring Zimbabwe, is underlined by both political and economic actions encompassing in some cases action by the black community as a whole.

#### Growth of Black unions

With this labor upsurge has also come a massive growth of the independent Black union movement. While the 1973 strike wave was largely spontaneous, many of the recent strikes have been led by trade unions.

Today, some 300,000 Black workers belong to such unions, compared to just 40,000 or so in 1974. While still a small percentage of the

total Black work force, this is a larger number of unionized Black workers than at any previous time in South Africa's history. Moreover, the worker and community support for these unions is far wider than their active memberships.

Another 260,000 or so Black workers (mostly Coloureds and Indians) belong to segregated branches of the white-led Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), whose class-collaborationist leadership supports many of the regime's racist policies. It has been steadily losing Black members to the newer and more militant unions.

The main unions and federations leading the recent struggles by Black workers are:

- The Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), with nearly 100,000 members in a dozen industrial unions. Founded in 1979, FOSATU is the largest grouping of predominantly Black unions, and concentrates on organizing workers in three key sectors: metal, textiles, and auto assembly. Its biggest and fastest growing affiliate is the 24,000-member Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), which played a major role in a massive strike wave that swept the metal industry in the East Rand in 1981.

- The South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU), with more than 90,000 members in 26 affiliated unions. The SAAWU emerged in 1979 and quickly won a wide following, first in East London and then later in Johannesburg and Durban. It tries to organize workers in all occupations. It has been one of the most militant and combative of the new unions, and its leadership has suffered the greatest repression.

- The Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), with a membership of nearly 100,000 in 11 unions. Officially established in 1980, its origins actually go back to the early 1970s, when a number of Black unions formed a consultative committee. The most dramatic struggle led by a CUSA affiliate was the 1981 municipal workers' strike in Johannesburg.

- The Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU) and the African Food and Canning Workers Union (AFCWU), with a combined membership of about 15,000. They function as two wings of the same union, with the FCWU being predominantly Coloured and the AFCWU almost entirely African. The union was a leading affiliate of the ANC-allied South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), until that federation was forced underground in the mid-1960s. Though the FCWU and AFCWU work closely with other unions, they are now unaffiliated.

- The General Workers Union (GWU), with some 15,000 members. It functions as a general union, recruiting workers from any occupation it can, but it has been particularly influential among African meat workers and dockers in the Western Cape, especially Cape Town.

In addition, since late 1982, at least five different unions have been attempting to organize Black mine workers. The largest of them, the



Striking workers of retail clothing chain in Johannesburg demand recognition of their trade union.

CUSA-affiliated National Union of Mineworkers, now claims 18,000 members. If these unions are able to grow, they could pose a particularly serious challenge to the ruling class, since the half a million Black miners are employed in the single most important sector of the South African economy.

Although the pro-ANC South African Congress of Trade Unions cannot function openly within South Africa, it too has active members in the factories, and sympathizers within other unions.

#### Labor controls weaken

The growth of the new unions and of Black labor militancy in general is confronting the apartheid authorities with an exceptional problem.

Strict control over the powerful Black working class is a cornerstone not only of South Africa's highly exploitative capitalist economy, but also of its whole system of national oppression. Because of the extremely close interconnection between class and national oppression in South Africa, any move by Black workers to organize themselves and go into struggle can develop a highly explosive dynamic. Even a minor dispute over a specific economic grievance can quickly lead to a political confrontation. South Africa's whole history bears witness to that.

But the employers and government have also come to realize that repression by itself — even in its most brutal forms — can no longer keep this Black working class in check. So, over the past three to four years, they have been searching for newer, more effective ways to weaken and restrain the Black labor movement.

In 1979, the government adopted the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, which for the first time offered legal union rights to some African workers. While presented as a major reform, it actually marked an attempt by the apartheid authorities to bring the already existing Black unions under some kind of statutory

control. To gain legal recognition, unions had to first register with the government and submit to numerous checks on their finances, structure, and methods of functioning. They could not engage in political activities, and they could still only register as segregated unions.

Most of the independent unions refused to register under these conditions, while some applied for registration and then simply ignored the restrictions they were supposed to follow. By and large, the unions continued to organize and strengthen their bases of support.

Confronted with this failure, the authorities passed a new Labour Relations Amendment Act in 1981. On the surface, it went even further than the previous law. All formal references to race were eliminated, making it possible for nonracial unions to be registered. All African workers, including migrants from the Bantustans and other African countries, were allowed to belong to officially recognized unions. African and nonracial unions were also, for the first time, allowed to join the Industrial Councils, bodies that set wage guidelines for entire industries.

At the same time, however, more legal restrictions were imposed on *all* unions, registered and unregistered alike. Government inspectors were given the right to launch investigations of the unions at any time, to examine and seize documents, and to question anyone. Refusal to comply is liable to a fine and up to one year's imprisonment. Providing strike pay during an illegal strike (and most strikes would remain illegal) would likewise be punished. Even greater restrictions on political activity were imposed.

By extending these controls to unregistered unions as well, the authorities were obviously hoping to eliminate the greater legal leeway that unregistered unions had previously enjoyed. On top of this, it sought to make it even more difficult for unregistered unions to organize. For example, it is now illegal for employers to automatically deduct union dues

from pay packets for unregistered unions.

Alongside these new legal moves, the authorities have been sharply escalating their police repression against the most militant unions. Hundreds of unionists have been arrested or detained over the past two years, including some prominent union leaders and activists. Many were tortured, as was Neil Aggett.

Moreover, employers and TUCSA leaders have been sponsoring conservative "parallel" Black unions. They are quickly accorded official recognition, with the clear aim of heading off organizing drives by the independent unions. Many Black workers regard these TUCSA affiliates as "zombie unions."

### Steps toward unity

In face of such government and employer attacks, the emergent Black unions have been striving to unite their forces in a common struggle for workers' rights.

In August 1981, representatives of 29 unions — representing at that time 150,000 workers — met in Langa, one of Cape Town's Black townships.

A resolution signed by all of the main Black and nonracial unions declared that "we refuse to subject ourselves to control by anybody other than our own members." They rejected the government's conditions for registration that were then in effect, and presented a united stand against the Industrial Councils system. They vowed to defy the regime's prohibition on strike pay.

Nine months later, in May 1982, a second trade-union summit conference was held in Wilgespruit, near Johannesburg. Representatives of the FOSATU, SAAWU, GWU, and a dozen other unions agreed to set up an inter-union committee to "plan for unity on a more permanent basis after consultation with members."

While these conferences marked important steps toward trade-union unity, the Wilgespruit summit also underlined some of the continued difficulties. The CUSA, which was at the Langa conference, did not attend the second one. And the delegates from the Motor Assemblers and Component Workers Union of South Africa (MACWUSA), a major Black union in Port Elizabeth, walked out of the Wilgespruit conference.

Another summit was held in Cape Town in April 1983. At it, leaders of seven unions and federations representing some 200,000 workers voted to begin preparations to set up a new, broader trade-union federation. Those who favored this included the FOSATU, SAAWU, GWU, and the FCWU and AFCWU. The CUSA initially hesitated, but then decided to go along with this effort as well.

The frictions and differences among the unions reflect some of the movement's growing pains. A number of unions have divergent approaches to various questions, resulting partially from their different origins, experiences, and, in some cases, geographical bases.

They do not all have the same concept of union organizing. While the FOSATU unions are organized along industrial and trade lines, the SAAWU and GWU began as general unions, recruiting workers of all occupations within the same union branches. Related to this, FOSATU has stressed the importance of building up strong shop-floor organizations, while the SAAWU and GWU have laid greater emphasis on close ties with the Black community as a whole, and often recruit their members out of mass meetings in the Black townships.

These differences have been diminishing, however. By early 1982, the SAAWU had begun to place greater importance on the need for strong industrial union organization, and started to regroup its members along those lines.

### Role of whites in unions

A more contentious issue among the new unions has been what role, if any, whites could play within them.

Most of the unions call themselves nonracial, that is, open to both Black and white workers. Since they are still overwhelmingly Black, this is primarily an expression of their political stance, indicating their rejection of segregation in any form and their support for unity among all workers.

While the vast majority of South Africa's nearly 1 million white workers are not yet conscious of the need to link up with Blacks in a common struggle against the bosses — and are saddled with reactionary union leaderships — a few have been attracted by the nonracial unions.

In late 1981, five members of the all-white Yster en Staal Unie (Iron and Steel Union) at a Volkswagen auto plant in Uitenhage resigned to join the FOSATU-affiliated National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU), after NAAWU shop stewards helped resolve some of their work problems. Another 70 or so white workers in the same plant attended several NAAWU meetings in the Black township of KwaNobuhle.

In 1980, the Boilermakers, Iron and Steel Workers, Shipbuilders and Welders Society (BS), a predominantly white affiliate of TUCSA, decided to admit African workers for the first time. Interestingly, this led to an increase in the number of whites who applied to join the union as well. In 1982, the general secretary of the union attended the Wilgespruit trade-union summit.

In addition, a number of FOSATU unions, as well as the FCWU and AFCWU, have a few whites in leadership positions or as legal or organizational advisers.

However, the unions belonging to the CUSA exclude whites from membership. They are suspicious that whites may try to manipulate the predominantly Black unions and have expressed some hostility toward those unions that have whites in them. This was one of the

reasons for the CUSA's failure to attend the Wilgespruit conference.

### Tactical disputes

The unions also have differences on certain tactical questions, primarily on how to respond to the recent changes in the regime's labor legislation.

While all of the unions have rejected the conditions and controls the authorities have set for registration, many of them do not reject registration as such. This has been particularly true since the regime dropped its objection to registering nonracial unions. All but one of the FOSATU unions have now registered, as well as a number of those in CUSA. But some of the unions are quite categorical in their rejection, including the MACWUSA, which walked out of the Wilgespruit summit precisely over the willingness of other unions to register.

Those unions that have registered argue that it allows them to take advantage of new openings to legally organize and function. The accompanying restrictions, they say, will not qualitatively hamper their internal democracy or ability to act, while being registered will make it easier to win recognition from employers.

In a similar manner, there have been varying responses to the regime's efforts to get the new unions to participate in the Industrial Councils, which are biased in favor of management and are designed to cut across negotiations within individual enterprises.

All of the unions, without exception, insist on the right to negotiate with the bosses on the plant level, where the pressure of the ranks of the workers can be applied most directly. For this reason, most of the unions oppose joining the councils. FOSATU has indicated that its affiliated unions may join the councils, but only if they are also allowed to bargain directly in individual factories.

Such plant-level bargaining is not now legally sanctioned. But many of the new unions have been strong enough to force the employers to recognize them anyway. By May 1983, they had been successful in compelling more than 250 companies to sign recognition agreements with them, outside of the official bargaining structures. This has in turn further weakened the apartheid regime's complex system of labor controls, and has encouraged other workers to press for similar concessions.

### 'We must act politically'

Another question that has provoked many debates and discussions within the union movement is the relationship between the struggles of the trade unions within the factories and the broader fight for national liberation.

When they were first formed, both the SAAWU and GWU were the most vocal in emphasizing the links between the economic struggles of Black workers and their involvement in fighting against all the ruling class's racist policies. As a result, they were very ac-

tive in local community struggles, such as rent strikes, protests against hikes in bus fares, and so on. At the same time, they actively sought to win broad support for the strike actions they were leading.

FOSATU initially tended to belittle the importance of political questions for the trade unions, and counterposed the need to build up strong shop-floor organizations. Its stress on fighting almost exclusively around immediate factory issues drew criticisms from other unions.

By 1982, however, FOSATU had made some significant shifts in its orientation. It still pointed to the importance of fighting over immediate economic grievances, but it began to pay more attention to political questions as well.

In an address to FOSATU's national congress in April 1982, General Secretary Joe Forster emphasized "our determination to take the great militancy of our members and use this to build a just and fair society controlled by workers.

"We have no intention of becoming self-satisfied trade unionists incapable of giving political direction to the workers struggle."

Forster declared that FOSATU should become involved in community issues and hailed the African National Congress as "one of the great liberation movements in Africa." While underlining the necessity of workers having their own independent organizations, such as FOSATU and other unions, he said that these should not be placed "in opposition to the wider political struggle or its major liberation movement."

FOSATU has also introduced some important new forms of union organization into South Africa. In Germiston, an industrial center east of Johannesburg, various FOSATU affiliates established a shop stewards' council in April 1981, in which shop stewards from plants throughout the area get together to discuss common problems and plan joint actions. This has also helped draw more of the Black community in the Germiston area behind the union.

One factor in the growing politicization of the union movement has been the regime's unambiguous and direct support for the employers during labor conflicts. It makes no pretense of being "neutral."

One leader of SAAWU, in an interview in the August 1981 issue of *SASPU National*, a leftist publication put out by white students, noted, "The state will always side with the bosses — they will try to repress the feelings of the workers or try to quell the movements of the workers which are aimed at the total liberation of the working class and the toiling masses in this country."

Asked whether the unions should organize outside the factories, the SAAWU leader said, "The exploitation does not end on the shop floor, it goes beyond the factories to the locations. . . ."

"We believe that trade unionism should extend beyond the shop floor to the squalid con-

ditions we live under in the locations or villages. In fact we believe that if you are pricked by a thorn you must use another one to take it out — our fate was decided for us long ago by

politicians (in the houses of parliament). If we wanted to solve the problem we must act politically — there is no other way."

[Next: *ANC challenges racist regime.*]

## 'Liberation yes! Apartheid no!'



Lou Howort/Militant

June 16, the seventh anniversary of the Soweto uprising in 1976, was marked in New York City by a spirited demonstration and march by some 1,500 Blacks and several hundred whites and Latinos.

Coming just a week after the South African regime had executed three young combatants of the African National Congress, the action also paid tribute to their sacrifice. After a rally outside the South African Mission to the United Nations, the march began, headed by uniformed ANC members carrying three symbolic coffins with portraits of Jerry Mosololi, Simon Mogoerane, and Thabo Motaung, the executed martyrs. Many of those at the head of the march carried the black-green-and-gold flag of the ANC.

A central focus of the demonstration was opposition to the U.S. government's sup-

port for the apartheid regime. A large banner near the head of the march declared, "Down With Apartheid! U.S. Out of S. Africa! Victory to the ANC-SWAPO!" SWAPO is the South West Africa People's Organisation, which is fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule.

Among the favorite chants of the marchers were "Liberation yes! Apartheid no! Death to apartheid — blow by blow!" and "Reagan, Botha — you can't hide! We charge you with genocide!"

Another rally was held at the end of the march at Madison Square Garden, and was addressed by a number of speakers, including Johnny Makatini, the ANC's representative to the United Nations, as well as representatives of SWAPO, Casa Nicaragua, and other organizations.

# Cubans 'repay debt to humanity'

*Interview with Cuban journalist Norberto Fuentes*

[The following is an interview with Cuban journalist and short-story writer Norberto Fuentes. For the past two years, he has been based in Angola as a correspondent for the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina, and is currently writing a book on the Cuban experience in Angola.

[Fuentes has received numerous journalism and literary awards in Cuba for his writings in such publications as *Mella*, *Cuba Internacional*, and *Hoy*. In 1968 he received the Casa de las Americas award for *Condenados de Condados* (The Condemned of Condados), a collection of short stories based on his experiences as a journalist covering the struggle against counterrevolutionary bands in the Escambray Mountains in the 1960s.

[After several years of research among Ernest Hemingway's papers in Cuba, Fuentes has also written a book entitled, *Hemingway en Cuba*, to be published in Cuba this year and the United States in 1984. After giving this interview, Fuentes commented, "The Africa of today is not the Africa that Hemingway knew."

[The interview was obtained by Ernest Harsch on May 11 in New York City.]

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*Question. For about a year now, the Reagan administration has been raising the idea of "linkage," that is, that a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola should be linked to a withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia. What is the reaction in Angola to that, and what is the Cuban government's response?*

*Answer.* First of all, my responses are those of a writer and freelance journalist, not those of an official of the Cuban government. I am not speaking in any way in an official manner since my responses are a product of my personal observations and of the information I have been able to gather.

As is known, the Cuban presence in Angola is the result of a request from the Angolan government and the MPLA [People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola]. When I speak of the Cuban presence I mean more than just Cuban internationalist troops.

Cubans will remain in Angola until such time as the Angolan government decides they should leave. Nobody disputes this, not even the head of the U.S. Interests Section in Cuba. In a recent public statement he made in Havana, he acknowledged that from the legal point of view, the presence of Cuban troops was unquestionable.



Cuban doctor in Angola.

The Cuban presence is solely and exclusively the sovereign decision of the Angolan government and people, and Cuban troops will be withdrawn the moment the Angolan government decides and informs the Cuban government.

It is unacceptable, and would be destructive to the morale and policies of the Angolan government and people, to link the withdrawal of Cuban troops in Angola to the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia. These are two forces that are in totally different positions. Cubans are in Angola at the request of the Angolan people and government. The South African troops in Namibia are illegal invaders in a territory that does not belong to them. There is no way one situation can be linked to the other.

From what I could see in Angola as a journalist, the position of the Angolan government, and of the Front Line states,<sup>1</sup> is very clear and determined in this regard and has been publicly expressed.

There cannot be discussions and an agreement based on South African troops withdrawing if the Cuban troops leave Angola. The mo-

1. The "frontline" states, so named because of their proximity to South Africa and their role in providing assistance to the liberation struggles, include Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania.

ment such an agreement was accepted, it would seriously damage the sovereignty of the Angolan people and government.

*Q. Related to this, how do people in Angola and the Angolan government view the Reagan administration's closer economic, political, and other ties with the South African regime?*

*A.* It's not just how they view it, but how they suffer it.

From the moment Reagan entered the White House, a war in Angola has been building up, a war that is largely unknown. It is the Angolan people who suffer from it. South Africa has carried out a medium-scale invasion of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola and has encouraged the activities of counterrevolutionary gangs, giving them financial and material aid.

This has allowed the counterrevolution to increase its strength and carry out a war that is very costly for the Angolan people, both in lives and in material wealth.

Naturally, in the face of this the reaction of the revolutionary Angolan people can only be to defend their rights and defend their sovereignty. Angolans have been very cruelly attacked by this policy of aggression, and what attitude can one have in regard to it?

Angolan youth are dying in a dirty war, a war waged against a people who have had very few moments of tranquility, of liberty, of possibilities to dedicate themselves to peaceful labor since they gained independence.

The Angolans are a people who truly merit the support and solidarity of other peoples, because they have spent so many years fighting for their freedom.

*Q. Could you explain in a little more detail the consequences of the South African attacks?*

*A.* First of all, the South Africans clearly know that they don't have the ability, at least at this moment, to carry out the war the way they usually do in southern Africa. The South African army is accustomed to cross South Africa's borders and invade neighboring territories with hardly any opposition.

After the defeat they suffered at the hands of the MPLA troops and the Cuban internationalist troops in 1975-76, the relationship of forces in Angola naturally changed. The South Africans were taught a lesson, a somewhat heavy lesson.

In my personal opinion, the South Africans hope for victory in Angola by riding the horse of internal counterrevolution, by supporting

the UNITA gangs.<sup>2</sup> I am convinced, and again this is just my personal opinion, that the South Africans are not interested in committing their armed forces to a war on Angolan territory. What they are doing is encouraging and supporting the development of the counter-revolutionary gangs.

And these gangs act in Angola the way they do everywhere. Their dirty war is basically aimed against economic targets: sabotage of means of communications, of industrial centers, attempts to paralyze the country's economic life.

We must understand that Angola is a very young country. It gained its independence barely seven years ago. It is a country that emerged from one of the most brutal colonial systems ever seen in human history — Portuguese colonialism. Knowing all that, we can clearly see that this is a people who now face huge economic and social tasks, and face them with a lack of cadres, a lack of all types of trained personnel.

When we add to this an internal war with strong support from the imperialist countries, we see that this country really faces difficulties of every kind.

I could give you many examples I have seen of sabotage of villages, schools, a hydroelectric dam. I can also tell you that the majority of the victims of the war are women and children. And it could not be otherwise, because in Angola, through custom and necessity, it is nearly always women who work the land, usually with their children on their backs. And the counterrevolutionaries bury landmines in the fields.

I am so sick of seeing mutilated children, without legs, without arms. You see that all the time in Angola and it is something that is very difficult to look at. But it has become a normal occurrence in Angola because this is a war being waged fundamentally against the civilian population.

The Angolan people have had to pay and are paying a heavy price in lives for their freedom.

The resistance of the Angolan people to such cruel aggression against them shows their firmness and their political maturity. In one form or another they have already been resisting this undeclared war for six years. And they maintain their revolutionary spirit, their willingness to struggle, and their determination to carry the revolution forward.

There have been months in which 2,000 or 3,000 civilians have lost their lives in this war.

The South African invasion of Angolan territory in July 1981, under the name Operation Prometheus, was obviously aimed at diverting Angolan troops from their operations against the counterrevolutionary gangs and forcing them to face the South African troops.

The South Africans did not advance any further than they thought was prudent. And they stayed in that position. But the strategy did



Cuban troops in Angola. They help defend the country from continued South African attack.

not yield results because the Angolan forces continued to carry out operations against the counterrevolutionary gangs, while leaving the parts of the south that were invaded by South Africa alone, knowing that this is not their main military objective.

The South African troops have not advanced further, because, among other things there are more Cuban troops in front of them.

*Q. The areas where the UNITA operates are areas where historically, including before independence, the MPLA did not have a strong base. What kind of measures have the Angolan government and the MPLA leadership been carrying out to try to extend their authority in those areas, and to socially and politically isolate UNITA?*

A. Because of the legacy of colonialism, Angola as a nation is still in a process of coming together. It was a country in which colonialism was anxious to keep the Angolans divided by tribes. There are about a dozen tribal groups, which have sometimes not gotten along with each other. This was encouraged and fed by centuries of colonialism.

UNITA is basically rooted in the Ovimbundu tribe of southeastern Angola. The first thing that the Angolan government and the Angolan party must do to extend their influence — not just in that area but in the other zones as well — is to make the revolution. In saying “make the revolution,” we must start from what this country is, what the present conditions are, which are of course different from those in the United States, but also from those in Cuba or any other Latin American country.

Angola is a country that was divided by tribal concepts. It is a country where even the most poorly paid workers were brought from Portugal.

Despite the very low scientific and cultural level of the people as a result of Portuguese colonialism, these people, using the material at hand and with a very clear-sighted revolution-

ary leadership, have understood the road of the revolution.

I could, for example, tell you about the experience in Cuba. In terms of radicalizing a process, in terms of bringing the influence of the revolution to a specific area, there were people on hand to do it — the poor peasants or the proletariat. We could carry out the land reform to deepen the revolution in an area.

In Angola it is not the same. Angola is 11.5 times the size of Cuba and has half as many inhabitants. The proletariat was imported from Portugal. Any progressive measure carried out in Angola is a measure that is more than revolutionary. But sometimes these measures prove ineffective because although you may have planted the seed of reforms, the soil, so to speak, is not adequately cleared to allow it to grow.

For example, in some parts of Angola settled agriculture does not exist. In such places you cannot carry out a land reform.

Therefore the question of how to make the revolution in some parts of the country is a challenge, including a challenge to the imagination. You continually run up against the terrible legacy of underdevelopment left by colonialism.

*Q. What do you see as the gains of the Angolan people, and the working class in particular, since independence?*

A. Everything. They had nothing. Under the Portuguese they could not even live in the cities, except in some provincial capitals. No Angolans were proletarians. There were no Angolan drivers. Almost no one knew how to drive a car.

As I told you, in Angola the proletariat had been imported from Portugal. This is no longer the situation. Today, the workers are Angolans. This one change by itself has been so significant that it has totally changed the ideological, cultural, and philosophical structure of the country. It is not as though the Angolan

2. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, led by Jonas Savimbi.

proletariat was one thing before the revolution and has now gained the benefits of the revolution. Now the worker is *Angolan*, whereas before this was not the case.

In some cases, the means of production have been socialized. In others, there is mixed capital, and in yet others, private capital. But there is a revolutionary situation in the country. The Angolan worker has all the rights flowing from a revolutionary situation. Even in the private companies, the workers are represented not only through what a union can do for them, but through the Angolan government and state itself. The change has been like night and day, an absolutely radical change.

*Q. The capitalist press in the United States, whenever they talk about the Cubans in Angola, always focus on the Cuban troops. Can you talk a bit about the other Cuban internationalists in Angola, what kind of assistance they provide?*

A. The civilian collaboration is larger than the military collaboration. I don't know how many Cuban troops are in Angola, and if I did I would not say! But Cuba aids a whole series of levels of Angolan economic and cultural activity. Basically this consists of teachers; doctors and medical personnel of all kinds; and construction workers building bridges, structures, and the like.

There is also Cuban help in some other fields, like fishing and air transport.

You should be aware that it is not just Cubans collaborating in Angola. There are many people from Scandinavia, Japan, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia.

The bulk of Cuban civilian aid is in medicine, education, and construction. Currently doctors go for one or two years under a contract. Teachers go for the same period.

The teachers basically are young people studying teaching in Cuba who volunteer for the "Che Guevara" teachers brigade serving in Angola. You find them all over Angola giving classes.

The doctors of course are people who are already quite specialized and are older, most being in their thirties. The construction workers are of all ages.

As I said, there is also collaboration in a whole series of other fields like fishing, communications, and air transport. These are minor fields, and fields in which Cuba also has less experience. Logically the Angolans use countries that have greater experience in other sectors.

We have also given them intermediate aid in the sugar industry — some Cuban cane-cutting machines — because they do not have a large sugar industry.

*Q. Many Cubans by now have gone to Angola as volunteers and helped out. What do you think Cubans have learned from that experience?*

A. First of all, before saying what we have learned, we Cubans say that — with our inter-

nationalist aid to any country that asks for it — we are repaying our debt to humanity to some extent. We know that, in its most difficult years, the Cuban revolution survived thanks to the international aid it received.

We have a debt of permanent gratitude toward almost all the peoples of the world. And I think that being an internationalist when we are asked is the best and most correct way to express our gratitude.

So we see internationalist aid as a duty in almost all cases, a gratifying duty to fulfill. I think, as Fidel has also said, that the Cuban youth of today have their Sierra Maestra, their Bay of Pigs, their Escambray campaign in internationalism, in Angola, in Ethiopia, and other countries in the world.

That is how it is. The life in Angola, certainly the life of a Cuban internationalist soldier or doctor or teacher is not easy. They gain experience in struggle, experience as revolutionaries. And I think all that is positive.

Furthermore it is a vital and necessary experience for any person, especially a revolu-

tionary, to become familiar with and aid another people. And in some way this forms part of the broad, daily revolutionary culture of the people of Cuba.

Fulfilling an internationalist mission is a real source of pride for anyone who does it.

What can one learn in Angola? Take my case. I am not that young. And I had the experience of the initial years of the revolution, including military struggles. But having been in Angola, I think of Angola today as my second homeland. I love these people and this country and it expanded my revolutionary mission, my revolutionary culture. I learned about a revolutionary phenomenon that was different from the Cuban revolutionary phenomenon, although the principles and attitude of the government and people are as firm as the Cuban.

If that is how it is for me, who has already undergone a certain development, I think that logically this experience would be much more stimulating and have a greater impact for a younger person. And it would aid their development as revolutionaries, as revolutionary fighters. □

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## Iran

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# Zahraie in solitary confinement

By Fred Feldman

More than five months have passed since Iranian revolutionary Babak Zahraie was imprisoned in Tehran. Neither his family nor friends have been allowed to visit him and no charges have been made public against him.

Recently Iranian authorities moved Zahraie from Evin Prison to Rajaie Shahr Prison in nearby Karaj. He has been placed in solitary confinement. Jurisdiction in his case has been turned over to the Pasdaran (Revolutionary Guards).

Zahraie, a central leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) of Iran, spent years in exile during the tyrannical reign of the shah. Living in the United States, he was active in the anti-shah student movement and in the movement against the Vietnam War.

Because of these activities, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) attempted to deport him to Iran in the early 1970s.

Zahraie and his supporters successfully exposed the deportation move as a conspiracy between the U.S. government and the shah's secret police, SAVAK. Protests by opponents of U.S. support to the shah, anti-Vietnam War activists, Blacks, and others forced the INS to withdraw its deportation proceedings.

Zahraie went on to help found and lead the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), which helped win the release of religious figures, writers, and other political prisoners from the shah's jails, including Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri and Hajatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani. It de-

nounced attempts to restrict the political activities of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini when he was living in exile in France.

In early 1979, Zahraie returned to Iran and participated in the insurrection that toppled the monarchy. Since that time he has been active in helping advance the revolution and in defending the Islamic Republic from imperialist attack.

He and his party, the HKE, have supported and participated in the mobilizations to defend Iran from the invasion perpetrated by the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein.

Zahraie served as editor of *Kargar*, a socialist newspaper put out by the HKE, until it was banned in 1982.

Supporters of the Iranian revolution are urged to send messages calling for the release of Babak Zahraie. Such messages should request:

"As a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of U.S. imperialist attacks on the revolution, I urge you to free anti-imperialist fighter Babak Zahraie, currently held in Rajaie Shahr Prison.

"His continued imprisonment — based on no crime against the revolution — can only harm the just struggle of the Iranian people."

Messages should be sent to the committee established by Ayatollah Khomeini to investigate violations of constitutional rights:

Seta'd Peygiri, Karimkhan Avenue, Iran-shahr, Tehran, Iran.

Copies should be sent to *Intercontinental Press*. □

# 'The people are fighting back'

## Interview with Hugo Blanco

[The following is an interview with Hugo Blanco, a central leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Peruvian section of the Fourth International. It was obtained by Gerry Foley in Paris on May 26, a few days before the Peruvian government declared a state of emergency. It is taken from the June 13 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly magazine published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

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*Question. What sort of impact is the world economic crisis having on Peru?*

*Answer.* The economic situation in our country is disastrous. To give you an example, at the beginning of the year, the exchange rate was \$1 to 1,000 soles. Now it is \$1 to 1,500 soles. That amounts to a devaluation of the Peruvian currency by 50% in less than six months.

According to the government itself, the present economic situation is the worst in the country's history since it lost the Pacific War [1879-83] to Chile, when the economy collapsed.

Moreover, we have not yet reached the bottom of the present decline. The government's policy is clearly aggravating all the problems. Instead of taking defensive measures, introducing some protectionism, as Mexico has done and as the imperialist countries have done, the Peruvian government has done exactly the opposite. It has opened up the country wide to foreign products, which are crushing Peruvian industry.

The government is taking the taxes off the oil and mining companies and thereby robbing the public treasury. They are putting public money in banks that are on the verge of bankruptcy in a futile attempt to save them. That is, they are subsidizing the families that own these banks and who are robbing them from within.

Another policy of this government is to attack the cooperatives that exist both in the cities and in the countryside. It is out to reprivatize everything that was nationalized. One of the harmful effects of this is the present shortage of sugar, of which, until recently, Peru was an exporter.

The sugar shortage, fundamentally, is a result of the fact that the government destroyed the sugar cooperatives that distributed sugar in an organized way to the entire country and thereby created chaos in distribution.

The disasters caused by the bourgeoisie and its government have been aggravated by a whole series of natural catastrophes, droughts

in some areas, floods in others.

The hardest hit region is the north, where the conditions are the worst in a century. The immediate effects of this are bad enough, but the longer-term ones will be still worse.

With the destruction of the crops, the people in the north have nothing to eat. Obviously a lot of children and old people are going to die. But the bulk of the people will emigrate to other areas, increasing the scarcity of food and general poverty.

*Q. What has been the response at the political level to these economic disasters?*

A. The main bourgeois opposition party is the APRA [American People's Revolutionary Alliance], which has certain tendencies to be a bit less proimperialist than the government. It doesn't call for a break with imperialism or anything like that, but for some protectionist measures.

Naturally, some sections of Peruvian industrialists, traders of the national bourgeoisie, including the agrarians, are opposed to the completely proimperialist policy of the government. But this opposition is only verbal and parliamentary. That's as far as it goes.

However, the parliament is totally dominated by the government party [People's Action Party — AP] and its ally, the People's Christian Party [PPC], which is still further to the right.

*Q. What about the left parties and the workers movement?*

A. The dominant force on the left is the Izquierda Unida (United Left), which is a front including a whole range from the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), which is the political heir of the Velasco Alvarado dictatorship, to the Communist Party and Maoist groups.

Unfortunately, this front has an electoralist policy. It is mainly concerned with presenting itself as an alternative in the municipal elections in November and in the presidential elections and general elections that will be held in 1985.

The forces in the Izquierda Unida see that this government, as a result of its policy, is rapidly becoming discredited. So they think that if the left shows that it is an alternative with a perspective for protecting the national economy, people will vote for it, and the left can actually win the elections. Therefore, they are completely absorbed with the elections.

Even forces such as the UDP [Democratic People's Unity] and UNIR [Revolutionary Left Union], which played a progressive role be-

fore, have been caught up in this logic. The result of all this is that the masses have to all intents and purposes been abandoned.

Naturally, the Peruvian people are fighting back against the terrible situation that has been imposed on them.

One example of this is the protest of the workers at the Canarias mine. They marched to Lima across the Andes, 700 kilometers. Miners died on the march, children died, women died. Today, the miners and their families are still in Lima, supported by public solidarity. They keep demonstrating, demanding that they be paid 10 months' back pay.

The miners say they know the mine is productive, and that they could run it. But the government is answering them only with repression.

In some cases, such as Cristal Ferran, workers have taken over factories to keep the bosses from closing them down.

In state-owned enterprises such as Sucareps, a trading company, and Moraveco, the country's biggest engineering enterprise, workers have been fighting against reprivatization.

There have been marches and demonstrations by workers in the automotive industry.

Recently, there was a general strike in the department [province] of Puno, which was a success as a mobilization. This is an example of the struggle against the neglect of regions such as Puno by the government, which is very centralist.

As much as the government neglects Lima, its neglect of the provincial towns is much worse. Its only interest in the interior is to take out taxes. It has not undertaken any public works in these areas either to develop them or to better the conditions of those who live there.

In this last period, regionalist struggles have been common. The Puno strike is only the latest.

There have been two peasants' strikes, which paralyzed Peru's main internal highway as well as its main thoroughfare for international traffic — the Pan-American Highway.

Then, in March, there was a national general strike, which was called by the main labor confederation, as well as by other unions. It was a success as a mobilization, although it did not gain its demands.

The problem is that when leaderships such as the CGTP [General Confederation of Peruvian Workers], the national labor confederation that called the March strike, do mobilize for actions, it is only to avoid becoming discredited. It is to maintain their credibility and support and in order to be able to direct it into electoral channels this November and in the 1985



elections. The CGTP, for example, is controlled by the Izquierda Unida, specifically the Communist Party.

When people call for continuing the struggles, when they demand a plan of struggle, which would be the first step for a generalized fight against the government, the bureaucratic leaderships put the brake on, because of the electoralist line of the parties they follow.

The example of the Sendero Luminoso [Shining Path] guerrillas shows that people want to fight and the dangers that arise when they find no effective alternative. Many people have been driven to desperation by the economic situation. Despite its limitations, therefore, Sendero Luminoso has not yet been crushed.

*Q. What is the PRT doing to help build an alternative for the masses?*

A. We are trying to group the forces that want to force the bureaucratic leaderships of the working class to carry the struggles forward and to do this without dividing the workers organizations.

In this work, we are collaborating with the POMR-PST [Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party-Socialist Workers Party] and some sections of the MIR, which divided into various sections some time ago. One such section, led by Comrade Benítez, favors giving impetus to the struggle.

At the same time, we are trying to push union leaderships such as those of the miners union, the municipal workers, the Puno regional leadership that led the strike I mentioned, to link up with other local and sectoral leaderships to make a more serious effort to unify the struggles.

However, we have not made significant progress so far. I think that the main reason for this is the electoralism of the Izquierda Unida, which has caught up a lot of the forces we used to work with in the unions and for the time being left us relatively isolated.

*Q. Is this absence of a mass alternative opening up more space for Sendero Luminoso?*

A. We think that Sendero Luminoso's orientation is wrong, because our people have a long tradition of struggle through their trade unions and other mass organizations — not just unions but peasant communities, and neighborhood organizations as well. For example, neighborhood associations have been very active in the Northern Cone, that is, the northern part of Lima.

For the moment, our people are not being attracted by the actions of Sendero Luminoso. An indication of this is that the area where Sendero Luminoso has influence, where it has been carrying out actions, where it has not been crushed, is the area where those involved in this group did mass work before in the unions and peasant organizations.

Some leaders of Sendero Luminoso were leaders of the CCP [Peruvian Peasants Federation], the main peasant confederation, and



Fred Murphy/IP

Hugo Blanco's return to Peru from exile in 1978.

have support in the area, for example, Compañero Mesich. That is why they have support, not for their armed actions.

These actions have not spread to any other part of the country. There have been some sporadic actions outside Sendero Luminoso's home area, that is, Ayacucho and a bit of Apurímac, but they have not been significant. So, Sendero is not spreading, but it is not about to be crushed right away either.

The problem is that if the situation continues as it is today, the repression of the government is going to grow. It has already been very brutal. For example, government agents have taken patients from hospitals and killed them outside the door in front of doctors and nurses.

There have been cases of wholesale slaughter in villages with incendiary bombing and strafing. This has happened in Ayacucho. And there was the well-known case of the brutal murder of the eight journalists. In this instance, it seems that the government did not act directly but through peasant auxiliaries. The government is offering the peasants all sorts of bribes. Of course, this has some effect among desperately poor people. The government has been promoting clashes between groups of peasants. Peasants paid by the repressive forces have been attacking other peasant communities.

The danger is that if the struggles remain as isolated as they are now, the various vanguards will be repressed one after the other, and that nothing will come out of these struggles.

*Q. Could you describe what the PRT is doing in the unions?*

A. The PRT is a very small party. The pres-

tige that it has is out of all proportion to its actual size. We are active, for example in the Moravecos enterprise, where we have comrades in the leadership. This is one of the reasons why the Moravecos union pushed for joint actions involving the unions of other workers in the state enterprises against privatization.

The Moravecos union has also built common demonstrations with workers in the automotive industry. A comrade of ours who is in the leadership of a factory union local was jailed in connection with the March general strike.

We have comrades in the leadership of the municipal workers union, the shoe workers union, and also in the Puno regional leadership. We were able to play a role in the Puno strike.

*Q. Is the PRT doing work among the peasants?*

A. Yes, but the work is not well organized. We are active in Cuzco, Puno, and Catamarca, and we have sympathizers in other areas.

*Q. Is there a possibility for uniting the peasants and workers as in Bolivia, where the peasant organizations are part of the national labor confederation?*

A. The CGTP does not want to accept the CCP as a member organization because it is not controlled by the Communist Party. It tries to substitute for the CCP and other genuine peasant organizations with a fake CP-controlled peasant union. For these sectarian

reasons, the CGTP refuses to allow the CCP to affiliate.

The CCP and the CNA [National Agrarian Federation], which are the big peasant organizations, have participated together not only in the farmers strikes but in the March national general strike, and they participated in the United Command that the CGTP set up to lead that strike.

In the regional struggles, the peasant unions are the most important organizations, more important than the workers organizations. To take the case of the regional strike in Puno, the majority of the population there are peasants.

*Q. So, the CP control of the labor movement is still strong?*

A. Yes, maybe stronger than before. During the military dictatorship, the Maoist currents and centrist ones such as Vanguardia Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Vanguard] opposed the reformist and capitulationist CP leadership. But now they are in the Izquierda Unida and being carried along by its electoral logic. So, they are not putting up any consistent fight against the CP leadership. They just fight a skirmish now and again.

*Q. What about the Castroist organizations?*

A. I don't know what those would be. Maybe, the Vanguardia Revolucionaria and the MIR. But I don't know to what extent you could call them Castroist. When Cuba supported Velasco Alvarado, they did not go along. Now they are up to their necks in electoralism. I can't think that that is the Cuban line, although Cuba maintains good relations with the Izquierda Unida.

*Q. There is no sign that the Cubans are trying to encourage the development of any definite political tendency in Peru?*

A. I don't see any.

*Q. What are relations like between the PRT and POMR-PST, the other main group that claims to be Trotskyist?*

A. Naturally, we want to unite as many forces as possible that want to advance revolutionary struggle. We work with the POMR-PST and there is a broad area of agreement between us today on domestic questions in Peru. But that is not the whole story.

For example, we in Peru realize how important the struggle is in Central America and the Caribbean. We know that Yankee imperialism is escalating its intervention. We know that it could intervene directly at any time.

We have decided to begin preparations now for recruiting international brigades to fight in defense of Nicaraguan sovereignty. We are participating in the provisional committee for building such brigades. Of course, they will fight under the command of the FSLN, which is the leadership of the Nicaraguan revolution.

In this, we have a strong disagreement with the comrades of the POMR-PST, who continue to accuse the Nicaraguan leadership of being bureaucrats, capitulators, and I don't know what else.

We cannot consider for a minute collaborating in this work with the comrades of the POMR-PST; they are the very last people we would work with in this.

*Q. What sort of solidarity movement exists in Peru?*

A. The main organization is the Committee

in Solidarity With the Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. Of course, we work in this committee. It does not do much ongoing work, but sometimes it organizes important demonstrations.

*Q. Does the POMR-PST participate?*

A. Yes, it goes to the demonstrations. But that is one thing, and going to Central America to fight is another, because the latter has to be done under the command of the FSLN.

*Q. What do you think about the level of international solidarity with your own struggle in Peru?*

A. The government is very sensitive to protests about human rights violations in Peru. [President Fernando] Belaúnde Terry even claimed there was an international plot against his regime because the French Committee for Solidarity with Human Rights in Peru pushed a campaign for sending letters of protest.

I think that journalists' organizations everywhere have an interest in demanding that the case of the eight murdered journalists be cleared up. Those who were killed were not just leftists.

We have a thousand political prisoners in Peru now, who include people from most tendencies on the left — as I said one PRT union leader — and many peasant leaders. There are solidarity organizations in New York City, Paris, Vancouver, and in some parts of West Germany that provide support for the families of prisoners, medicines, etc.

We think that it is essential that this work be extended.

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## Paraguay

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# Cracks in Stroessner's rule

## Workers launch strikes, reforge unions

### By Will Reissner

For the past 35 years, Paraguay has been ruled under a state of siege. But one day every five years the state of siege is lifted and the voters are trooped to the polls to cast ballots for Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, the military dictator who has ruled since 1954.

The latest such exercise took place February 6. Running against Stroessner were two officially sanctioned opposition candidates. Under the rules of the election, their campaigns were restricted to three rallies and 15 minutes of radio coverage per week. None of the rallies or radio coverage could take place in Asunción, Paraguay's capital and its only major city, nor were the candidates allowed to directly criticize Stroessner.

In the February election, Stroessner re-

ceived 90 percent of the vote, an increase over his 89.6 percent showing in 1978.

In some parts of the country General Stroessner did especially well. In Ciudad-Presidente-Stroessner, for example, he polled 99.2 percent of the vote. In Colonia-Stroessner he got every one of the 5,555 votes cast.

### Behind the facade

Despite this appearance of political stability in Paraguay, the Stroessner regime is worried. Workers have gone out on a series of strike actions in recent years, and in 1982 won several important victories. Moreover, the revolutionary upheavals in Central America and political unrest in several neighboring countries (Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil) have aroused interest within Paraguay as well.

Since Stroessner's latest electoral charade, there has been a crackdown on dissent in Paraguay. In April, the government-controlled newspaper *Patria* began calling for a campaign to weed out what it calls the "extremists" who are to blame for spreading unrest.

The first large-scale arrests took place in May, when 25 students and professionals were taken into custody on charges of being Marxists.

Police checkpoints were set up on major arteries leading into the capital and military helicopters made surveillance flights over Asunción neighborhoods that were the scene of earlier repression.

According to the June 2 *Latin America Press*, "reports from the country's outlying areas indicate that repression in these areas has

indeed been more severe than in the capital. There is evidence of military intrusions into farm communities and harassment of church institutions working with peasants in their struggle for land rights."

### Economic changes

The 29-year reign of Stroessner and the "business as usual" character of the rigged elections could give the impression that Paraguay has been frozen in time for three decades. But since the mid-1970s important changes have taken place in the country's economic and social life.

While remaining one of the poorest countries in South America, Paraguay has undergone some rapid economic growth, prompted by the construction of the \$10 billion Itaipú hydroelectric dam on the Paraná River that forms the border with Brazil.

Along with the influx of foreign capital for construction of the dam, which is planned to be the world's largest hydroelectric power complex, there has been heavy foreign investment in agricultural export industries.

Brazilian companies have played the largest role in the agribusiness field, although European and U.S. corporations like Gulf & Western have also entered Paraguayan agriculture.

The yearly inflow of foreign capital jumped from \$84.7 million in 1974 to \$491 million in 1979.

In the late 1970s civil construction grew at an annual rate of 30 percent, and in 1980 alone, direct investment in industry totalled \$208.7 million, creating about 6,000 new jobs. Most of the industrial investment has been in areas of agricultural processing.

Although about 44 percent of the economically active population remains engaged in agriculture, the 1980 census showed an absolute decline in small commodity production and a big increase in the number of agricultural workers.

But economic growth rates slowed dramatically beginning in 1981 as the Itaipú dam project neared completion. It had been expected that the Yacretá hydroelectric project, a planned \$10 billion joint undertaking with Argentina, would take up the slack. But the start of that project has been postponed due to Argentina's severe economic crisis.

The Paraguayan economy has also been hit by the impact of the recession in Brazil and Argentina, the country's two major trading partners. Paraguayan exports face increasing restrictions, particularly in the Argentine market.

### Working class revives

Despite the present slowdown in economic growth, the boom of the second half of the 1970s led to a growth of the working class and a revival of its organizations after two decades of terrible repression.

In 1958 the Paraguayan working class suffered a gigantic defeat in its fight against the International Monetary Fund (IMF) "stabilization" plan applied by Stroessner.



An August 1958 general strike called by the Communist Party-led Paraguayan Workers Confederation (CPT) was crushed, and the government took control of all unions that had participated in the strike.

Under the impact of the IMF austerity plan, the country sank into deep economic depression. In the 1960s, some 500,000 Paraguayans were forced to emigrate to Argentina in search of work. The magnitude of this exodus can be seen from the fact that the country's total population today is only slightly more than 3 million.

Under these conditions, the urban working class was severely weakened, and its remaining organizations were transformed into appendages of the Ministry of Justice and Labor.

The boom of the mid-1970s, however, brought with it a resumption of trade-union struggles. In 1978 several strikes in the construction industry led to the reorganization of some urban unions.

Strikes spread to the textile, agribusiness, and soft drink industries in 1979 and 1980.

In 1981, as the economic crisis began to make itself felt, the employers launched strong attacks on the small gains workers had won in the three previous years. The object was to cut wages and tame the new-found confidence of the unions.

### Employer attacks beaten back

But the employers' offensive was resisted, and in 1982 the workers won several victories. The union representing workers of the Bank of Brazil in Paraguay won big increases for its members by using the threat of escalating strikes backed up by broad involvement of the ranks.

And in October 1982 Paraguayan workers won a major victory, the biggest since the independent trade unions were destroyed in 1958. A grouping of 17 trade unions joined together to form the Trade-Union Solidarity Movement to back workers at Asunción's Coca-Cola bottling plant.

The plant's management (General Stroessner is widely rumored to be a major stockholder), with the support of the government and the Paraguayan Workers Confederation, had fired the entire union leadership in the plant along with more than 200 workers.

Police and agents of the Labor Section of the Department of Investigations functioned as armed guards in the plant, accompanying foremen on their rounds and discouraging strikes

or other protests against the firings.

In September the Trade-Union Solidarity Movement launched a consumer boycott against Coca-Cola that was highly successful. Sales of the beverage dropped more than 50 percent within a month.

On October 6, the day Stroessner's first re-election campaign rally was held, the company capitulated and rehired the fired workers, including the union leaders.

With the rise in labor militancy, the government-controlled CPT is finding it increasingly difficult to control the working class.

The June 25, 1982, *Latin America Regional Reports* noted that as the government's control over the labor movement (through its appointment of bureaucratic leaders of the CPT) has begun to break down, "some military officers are talking of allowing a new type of unionism, inspired by the local office of the American Institute for Free Labour Development" (AIFLD).

AIFLD is linked to the bureaucratic leadership of the AFL-CIO union federation in the United States and has been exposed on a number of occasions as operating as a CIA front. In Paraguay, AIFLD is encouraging unions to reject participation in political struggle. While taking their distance from the Stroessner regime, AIFLD-influenced unions like the Bank Workers Federation and the Christian trade unions do not put forward any alternative to it.

While the Paraguayan workers have gone through important experiences since the beginning of the strikes in 1978 and through the creation of the Trade Union Solidarity Movement, the leftist organizations remain weak.

In the mid-1970s the Paraguayan left suffered major defeats. Pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese Communist parties were broken up by the regime.

A number of armed struggle organizations had arisen, some from splits from the Communist Party and others inspired by Argentine groups like the Montoneros and the Revolutionary Workers Party—People's Revolutionary Army (PRT-ERP). These groups, however, were smashed by the Stroessner regime's repression.

Yet the underlying changes that are taking place in Paraguay — especially the increased restiveness and combativity of the working class — show that the country is not immune to the political ferment that is sweeping the rest of Latin America. □

# Cuba and the war of ideas

*Interview with Cuban Minister of Culture Armando Hart*

**By Gabriel Molina**

[The following article appeared in the May 15 issue of the Cuban *Granma Weekly Review*.]

\* \* \*

Dr. Armando Hart Dávalos, Cuban minister of culture and member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, returned to Cuba recently following a visit of over one month to the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, France, Spain and Italy. In these last three countries, in addition to a number of official activities, he was engaged in virtual ideological confrontation with the press.

It was this that we wanted to talk about with the minister who, at age 52, talks and acts with the same passion as when he was a student leader at Havana University. In 1952, when Fulgencio Batista took power in Cuba through a coup d'état, Hart was president of the student association of the Law School and was one of the first to declare battle on the tyranny.

An outstanding fighter among the national leaders of the 26th of July Movement, Hart became the first minister of education of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. One of the principal tasks he took in that post was the Literacy Campaign. It could be said that his personal trajectory runs parallel to that of the Cuban people over the past 25 years, for he has been the guiding light in the development of Cuban education from the lowest to the highest levels.

Minister Hart snatched time between meetings to talk with us. Never still by temperament, he was all the time toying with a pencil, throwing it up in the air between two fingers, catching it in his hands, only to throw it up again, to the fascination of everyone else who watches and waits in vain for it to fall on the floor.

Hart loves a discussion and is not one to shun polemic. He speaks with force and conviction, Cartesian fashion, on the growing anti-Cuba campaigns in Western Europe, a kind of war of ideas. Yet, as a fighter, he seems to favor the Von Clausewitz formula: the best defense is to be on the offensive.

"That is a very contradictory, complex society," he said. "It's impossible to analyze any of its problems in black-and-white terms. But one thing is certain, which is that in the last instance the mass media, including culture in general, are in the hands of the transnationals and are tailor-made for the interests of the big bourgeoisie. I don't mean to say that there are no independent, socialist or left-wing newspapers. There are, but the basic thrust of images that are shaped in certain Western countries comes from the information transnation-

als. And they set out to present a distorted image of socialism."

Hart illustrated this with the poor mainstream press coverage given to the 7th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, which elicited protest from the Indian government.

Hart said that in spite of the fact that the Conference was a major world meeting of heads of state, the majority of Western publications failed to give it the rating it deserved, spotlighting the contradictions that exist among the non-aligned — on the problems of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, for example — or pointing to the alleged differences of opinion between India and Cuba.

"It is true that at the Non-Aligned Summit there were contradictions and differences, but it was demonstrated that over and above these discrepancies there is a strong unity, a closing of ranks against imperialism. The press did not attach importance to the fact that the Non-Aligned Conference formulated an all-out attack on imperialism, calling it by its name, or to the way in which economic problems were discussed and analyzed.

"Fidel's report to the non-aligned was based on world economic questions but this was not the emphasis in the press. They picked up on questions that might lead to contradictions among the non-aligned, never on those that were the very essence of the Movement meeting. This is not the rating that would have been given to a meeting of capitalist heads of state, say, in Paris, Washington, London or Bonn.

Are we to take it then that this press distorts not only the reality of the socialist countries but also that of Third World countries in general?

"Not only the reality of socialist and Third World countries but also their own reality. I've never known the press — I'm talking of the big bourgeois press that shapes opinions and ideas — to give adequate coverage to certain aspects of reality in the United States regarding racial discrimination and the Chicanos, or the fact that the Latin minority in the United States is becoming increasingly a powerful one — by the year 2000 it will be the largest minority in the country — or about the internal contradictions within capitalist society.

## **García Márquez barred from U.S.**

"For instance, that kind of press never says a word about the large number of Latin American intellectuals who are barred entry into the United States. Only recently, filmmaker Julio García Espinosa, deputy minister of culture of Cuba, was denied an entry visa even though he was invited by a respectable Los Angeles film

institution. García Márquez is barred from entering the United States except under specific conditions. Mario Benedetti is also prohibited entry. There are many intellectuals who are unable to enter the United States. I haven't read any editorial about this.

"If a Nobel Prize winner is not allowed to enter the Soviet Union, if he's from the United States and wants to visit the Soviet Union and is denied an entry visa, there's a tremendous uproar and big editorials are written. But there's no big uproar or big editorials about this that's going on in the United States. During the trip, I refreshed a French journalist's memory about the bomb planted on a Cuban airliner in Barbados [in 1976]. That was one of the most heinous crimes of this century and yet no editorials or special reports are ever written about these things.

"I'd like to know what importance would be attached to the news of a plane assassination of 70 or 80 U.S. athletes. I'd like to know if there wouldn't have been a tremendous uproar about such an incident. That kind of press deforms not only the reality of the Third World and the socialist countries but also the reality of its own world."

Much of the Western European and U.S. press mentions Cuba almost exclusively referring to so-called dissident intellectuals. We asked Dr. Hart for his opinion on this. In all fairness, the Cuban minister acknowledged that the Western European media published many of the views he expressed in interviews, which shows that Cuba can participate in ideological debate in the cultural field if it sets out to do so.

"They use their publicity machine to bolster certain personages, dissidents who are of little intellectual import, when the real problem is not that of four or five turncoat writers. We have said very clearly that every social system has its own contradictions and shortcomings in comparison with other social systems. And we know that there are Cubans who leave the country and that there may be an intellectual among them. That's nothing to us. That happened during the French revolution, for example. We'd have to study this phenomenon in the great revolutionary movements in Europe.

"Furthermore, in all countries there has been emigration. We have always favored the policy that whoever wants to leave should. The Mariel incident of two years ago is a case in point.

## **Dissidents: a publicity pretext**

"So it's a little ridiculous to talk about the people who leave our country. What's more, these so-called dissidents are only a publicity

pretext — that's the crux of the problem — they are only a publicity pretext for the bourgeoisie to avoid taking on profound cultural problems. It's a smoke screen of scandal-mongering thrown up around four or five cases so as not to tackle the real problems.

"I once said that the bourgeoisie had made important cultural contributions in a certain stage of history. There's the example of Balzac, so admired by Marx. But today the bourgeoisie is evidently in a process of cultural decadence; the working class will have to revive the cultural traditions of Western European peoples, for the bourgeoisie is no longer capable of developing them.

"The decadence of contemporary bourgeois culture can be seen through violence, pornography and not one iota of decency in approaching art problems. I believe that the reason for this decadence is that the bourgeoisie is locked inside itself and makes no attempt to break out.

"Art and culture have always been developed by those who have a vocation for the universal, an outlook that transcends borders. European culture once was universal in character, but today the universe is not only Europe. It moves also in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The only solution to the bourgeoisie's economic, moral and institutional crisis is found in a closer, more just relationship with the underdeveloped countries.

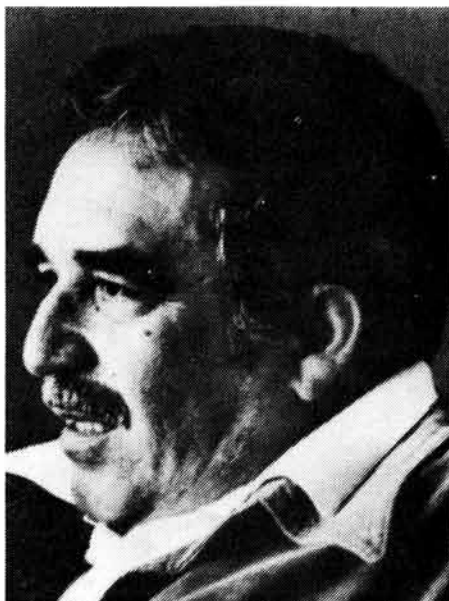
"That sector of the press reduces Cuba's problems to the level of one person who leaves the country. There's a big scandal and lies even are put out. Those who are not intellectuals are presented as such with a tremendous amount of big propaganda.

"The way I see it, scandal-mongering has taken the place of art and culture, which is a sign of the bourgeois cultural decadence. A country's cultural development is measured by the fact that maybe four or five people have left, instead of by the number of schools, universities, students, cultural activities, houses of culture, and the number of people who have access to education and culture.

"There's a dual purpose behind this smoke screen: first, to conceal from the people of Western Europe what has been done in the socialist countries; and second, to hide the fact that there is a lot of dissidence regarding the system in the capitalist countries. We could symbolically name two great figures of this century: Picasso, a Communist, and Chaplin, who left the United States because of intellectual persecution and attacks on freedom, to become a dissident of the capitalist system.

"No dissident of socialism can ever attain the stature of these two men. And we could mention a long list of intellectuals and artists throughout the world who do not agree with the capitalist system. Those who dissent from the imperialist system do not number four or five. There's a whole intellectual movement. The intellectual movement in the United States dissents from Reagan's policy.

"In Latin America, intellectuals are on the left. The press ignores this and therefore limits itself to isolated cases. We're not going to



Gabriel García Márquez: Difficulties getting into United States.

allow ourselves to be caught in that trap. We're not talking about isolated cases!"

We pressed Hart to say more on the interesting and polemical subject of bourgeois cultural decadence.

#### **No one in the literary world wants to be identified with U.S. imperialism**

"The Latin American literary presence over the last 20 years and more is a historically transcendental fact closely related to the struggles against imperialism and our people's social struggles against or marginal to the bourgeoisie.

"We could say that the literary boom in Latin America is developing in contradiction with the bourgeois system and is often manifest in concrete political questions. Most of the intellectuals in Latin America maintain anti-imperialist, progressive positions. Most are friends of Cuba. Even those who are exceptions, who are not for socialism or are not friends of Cuba, do maintain a certain apparently or at least formally equidistant stand regarding U.S. imperialism.

"Barring the odd exception, nobody in the literary world wants to be identified with imperialism. This shows that the Latin American literary movement — the strongest or at least one of the strongest literary movements at the present time — is in contradiction with the bourgeoisie.

"There's nothing in Western Europe that resembles the Latin American literary movement of late. There's nothing like it. This movement should be studied more closely, for it is perhaps one of the most important of the last few years in ideological, as well as literary and cultural development. It has incomparable political and cultural significance.

"I'm not denying that there's a large number of writers and intellectuals in Western Europe and other countries, but they are bound by

limitations. The only real solution for the cultural movement in Western Europe is a shift to the left — for progressive parties, the working class, the left providing the lead in the intellectual movement. A rapprochement with the Third World is necessary.

"As we said before, the decadence is manifest concretely in literature, and it may also be manifest in other ways. For example, we import films from all over the world, the capitalist countries included, and yet there are times when we are unable to do so, not only for political reasons. It's not a question of directly political reasons, it's that there's a large number of films that are pornographic.

"Drugs and violence are overriding themes in the great majority of films, outright violence that is of no artistic value whatsoever. Any theme can be dealt with from an artistic point of view, from a humanized, not inhumanized, approach.

"There's a great number of films produced in the capitalist countries that deal with violence in overt, brutal, primitive fashion, especially mass-produced films. I am not saying that there are no good films, because there are, and some are exceptionally good. I'm speaking overall. People watching those films are watching the most brutal, stupid — I would go so far as to say childish — primitive violence, developing the worst instincts of the West, bad criminal instincts serving as propaganda for crime.

"We do not believe we should import these films. Sometimes we have no alternative and then take a series of restrictive measures. However, one of the greatest problems we have showing films in Cuba is a marketable limitation, not in terms of political or artistic content, but of corruption. They are anticulture and antiart.

"I also believe that this decadence is not only because of social class decadence, because as I said culture is no longer universal, but also because of cultural developments of an internal nature. They are forced to mass production, and mass production without quality, utilizing the most modern techniques but in the most elemental fashion appealing to the most primitive of entertainment. I think culture is not to arouse man's most primitive instincts, but to develop the finer and more pleasant aspects of life."

#### **Is there creative freedom in Cuba?**

Going back to the subject of dissidents, or at least a certain aspect of it. The dissidents talk a lot and that sector of the press echoes their views about freedom in Cuba. Would you say that there is creative freedom in Cuba?

"I usually answer that question with an initial firm affirmation. Never before in the history of Cuba has there been more creative freedom than there is today. Never before in the history of Cuba has so much respect been shown for our intellectuals as today. Ask any of the leading figures of the Cuban intellectual movement, and ask the people.

"I see freedom on two levels: we guarantee

artists and writers full freedom to create. Take books, for instance. Whereas less than a million books a year were published in pre-revolutionary Cuba, the number now runs to some 50 million, for a population of ten million. Fifty million is quite an impressive figure.

"There is freedom to create and to develop. But there are other freedoms they never talk about.

"What could talking about freedom mean to millions of people who don't even know how to write that very word? The struggle against illiteracy, the extension of primary education to all the people, the extension of secondary education to incredible limits and the multiplication of university education — we have now 200,000 university students as against 17,000 in 1958. Don't all these things spell freedom?

"They see freedom in its limited metaphysical aspect, a creative, intellectual freedom, and to this we give broad guarantees, broader than in the majority of countries in the world and we are ready for a confrontation on this anywhere.

"Needless to say, in Cuba we do not allow the publication of works that are an insult to man's dignity. Not a single fascist book or a single book contrary to the interests of the people. As far as I know, this happens in every country the world over, that no book that goes against certain basic interests is published or at least there are limitations imposed.

"I believe that freedom is not only the right to write but also the right to read, which many countries do not guarantee. We guarantee the right to write and the right to read. Many countries guarantee neither and yet those press organs say nothing."

Since last year, Hart has been drawing attention to the need for dialogue between Latin American and Caribbean intellectuals and those of the United States and Europe. In July last year there was a successful meeting in Mexico with U.S. intellectuals. In this sense, the Cuban minister takes up the postulate of José Martí who, in the 19th century, made a distinction between the Spanish people and the Spanish colonial government. And he thinks that one of the missions of the continent's intellectuals is precisely to help influence decision-making in Washington, to promote the recognition of our peoples' views.

"These problems will never be solved without influencing U.S. public opinion, without influencing the core of U.S. society.

"The solution is to make the problems of peace, war and the defense of human rights into problems of the U.S. people, of the masses in the capitalist countries, so that they can influence their governments. And I believe that Latin America, which already has a strong cultural movement with many prestigious intellectuals in its ranks, which has links with U.S. intellectuals, can play a major role despite Mr. Reagan's opposition and obstacles to visits by our delegations.

"We will always send delegations to the United States, because we are not interested in

Mr. Reagan's opinions. What matters to us is U.S. society."

You mentioned the case of Cuban filmmaker Julio García Espinosa and that of García Márquez. Do you remember any occasion when a U.S. intellectual was denied entry into Cuba?

"I don't remember a single case of a figure of the intellectual movement coming to Cuba with the desire to make contact with our people having met any obstacles. On the contrary, at the time of Carter's administration I had the opportunity to meet with a large group of professors from universities in the United States who visited Cuba. It was quite a large group, and we had a long, frank talk. They were very satisfied with their visit.

"I explained all about our cultural movement, our political ideas, and our ideas in the field of culture. It was a very fraternal, open dialogue, and although we had different ideas we did share certain feelings regarding culture and cultural exchange. It was also under the Carter administration, remember, that Cuban and U.S. musicians got together, which was promising; but Mr. Reagan is afraid of that. We're not afraid. On the contrary, that's what we want."

#### Felipe González

What can you tell us about your meeting with Felipe González, head of the Spanish government?

"Yes. I met with him, and I can say that I had the opportunity to meet with a man who very much wants to strengthen relations with Cuba, who is obviously on top of the situation in this country, who wants solutions to be sought and found to Central America's problems, who is deeply concerned with the area's problems, but is also fully aware of the limitations. I had the impression that I was talking with a leader who is fully aware of the problems he must face."

That picture the press paints of Cuba, to what extent has it permeated the peoples and governments you contacted in Western Europe?

"Regarding Cuba's image, we could say that, generally speaking, I found great respect for our country in the countries I visited. Cuba is known for its feats and its achievements. What's more, the political figure of Comrade Fidel is respected by millions of people in those countries. However, as I told you before, the anti-Cuba and antisocialist propaganda in Western Europe is very strong and there is a great deal of distortion of socialist ideas.

"The great news and information transnationals in Western Europe shape people's ideas about socialism and culture under socialism, influencing certain major sectors of public opinion. But I must say that in spite of this, a respectable image of Cuba still emerges. Reviewing this on a country-by-country basis, I would like to make a special mention of Spain, where profound historical and cultural bonds make Cuba, Fidel and the Revolution both loved and admired and contribute to a strong

desire to strengthen relations between the two countries.

"There's been broader exchange and opportunities for exchange. We must bear in mind that in Western Europe a number of socialist and social-democratic movements and parties have triumphed in the last few years, as in Spain, France, Sweden and Greece. We must also bear in mind the Communist Party's great influence in Italy.

"There's been growth in left-wing ideas in the governments of those countries, and that opens new possibilities. Those countries, many of those governments, are showing very interesting trends toward a rapprochement with the Third World, even though these have not yet been materialized at all broadly as yet. For example, France shows a trend toward cultural rapprochement with the Third World.

"Spain shows an even more pronounced trend toward Latin America, toward Ibero-America. Spain always had that historical trend. Now, with the advent of a socialist government, this trend has taken on new strength, and relations with the Third World, especially Latin America, will necessarily develop and further strengthen relations with Cuba.

"So relations between Cuba and the Western world, in both a cultural and political framework, cannot be seen as divorced from those between Latin America and the Third World in general and Western Europe. This policy which is being followed by socialist parties in Europe works toward increasing relations with Cuba."

Dr. Armando Hart's extensive tour was indeed a fruitful one in many respects. Concrete agreements were signed in certain countries and in others the outlook for increasing future exchange was analyzed. Above all, it renewed contact with that different world to see the information gaps and the distortions that [cloud] people's vision of Cuba in those latitudes.

This in itself was important to give the lie to those who act on bad faith. His tour gave people there the opportunity to be better informed and not be won over by propaganda campaigns designed to create a negative image of Cuba. In general, it also served to step up the battle against the war of ideas that is being waged on the Third World and socialism. □

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# Tour by Vernon Bellecourt

## American Indian leader speaks on Central America

**By Steve Wattenmaker**

Vernon Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), recently toured New Zealand to speak against U.S. military involvement in Central America. During his monthlong visit, which ended May 19, Bellecourt spoke to dozens of meetings of trade unionists, factory workers, university students, and New Zealand's indigenous Maori people.

In particular, Bellecourt publicized the situation of Indians in Central America. He strongly defended the Nicaraguan revolution against slanders that the Sandinistas have mistreated the Miskito Indians living in the northeastern part of the country.

In addition, he gave a firsthand account of the repression against Indians in Guatemala after visiting refugee camps in southern Mexico this spring.

### Fighter for Indian rights

Bellecourt first gained prominence in the United States a decade ago when he helped lead the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan, which involved 1,800 American Indians from 250 different tribes. In 1972 the Caravan converged on Washington, D.C., to demand Indian rights.

A few months later AIM was involved in the occupation of Wounded Knee in South Dakota, site of an 1890 massacre of Sioux Indians by the U.S. Cavalry. During the 70-day occupation, federal authorities killed two Indians and wounded a number of others. Bellecourt and other AIM leaders toured the United States to win support for the occupation.

More recently, Bellecourt has been touring the United States campaigning against the U.S. war in Central America. He describes AIM as an "open and vocal supporter of the Nicaraguan revolution."

Bellecourt and other AIM leaders first visited Nicaragua in 1981 to explore the Sandinista government's policies toward the indigenous people in the country. After the visit he said he was convinced that Nicaragua's government was the first in Central America to deal justly with the problems of native peoples.

He returned to Nicaragua in December 1982 to investigate U.S. government charges that the Sandinistas were committing "genocide" against the Miskito Indians in an effort to prevent them from joining counterrevolutionary forces in Honduras.

In fact, Bellecourt found that the Nicaraguan government had relocated Miskito villages away from the Honduran border to pro-

tect the Miskitos' lives and defend the revolution. While in Nicaragua, Bellecourt represented AIM at a meeting of the Nonaligned Movement held in Managua.

In March 1983 Bellecourt spent two weeks among the 140,000 Guatemalan Indian refugees living in terrible poverty in southern Mexico. Bellecourt recorded the firsthand accounts of Indians who fled the brutal repression by U.S.-backed dictator Gen. José Efraín Ríos Montt.

### Workers hear Bellecourt

Highlighting Bellecourt's New Zealand tour were a number of meetings with factory workers and trade unionists.

He was greeted warmly by the Auckland Regional Conference of New Zealand's Labour Party. "I understand that you are the party of New Zealand workers," Bellecourt told the 200 delegates, "And so for that reason my message about the struggles of workers in Central America is a very timely message."

Delegates to the New Zealand Federation of Labour's annual conference in Wellington gave Bellecourt a standing ovation after he spoke. While in Wellington he met with 100 workers during a lunch break at a railway workshop.

In Palmerston, meatpackers invited Bellecourt to tour their plant and give a talk in the plant dining room. At a union meeting the following day, the workers voted to donate \$360 to help offset the costs of Bellecourt's tour.

Meatpackers in Hawkes Bay also heard Bellecourt. About 150 workers attended plant-gate meetings and gave Bellecourt an enthusiastic response. Bellecourt talked to about a dozen shop stewards at the Kinleith timber, pulp, and paper plant in Timberlands after a tour of the factory.

Bellecourt also spoke at 13 public meetings around the country. Attendance at these was usually around several hundred. Trade union figures helped to organize the meetings in a number of cities.

### Appeal to Maoris

Maori trade unionists and activists played a special role in making the Bellecourt tour a success. Maoris are the indigenous people of New Zealand, who face oppression at the hands of the European-descended ruling class.

Asked by a journalist if he saw any similarity between the situation of the American Indian and the Maori, Bellecourt replied:

"It's almost exact. It's the same type of denying people's rightful claims to their lands, original rights to fishing and other traditions that they have."

Before he left New Zealand Bellecourt was appointed by a number of Maori organizations in Auckland to take a declaration in their behalf to the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC), and from there to the United Nations. Bellecourt is a leader of the IITC and represents it at the UN, where it has consultative status.

At a news conference May 18, Maori leader Pat Hohepa explained that "we cannot any more trust the New Zealand government" to give Maoris treaty rights.

Bellecourt struck a responsive chord when he made the point that if Washington pulled New Zealand into the war in Central America as it did in Vietnam, Maoris would be the most



Vernon Bellecourt speaking outside Whakatu freezing works in Hawkes Bay.

Socialist Action

directly affected.

"You know, you might be asked to send your children to Central America to kill our people," Bellecourt told the Labour Party meeting, "particularly those of you in the Maori community," whose children make up a

large percent of the military. "They may be asked to go and put down other indigenous peoples of Central America."

While Bellecourt warned of the danger of a wider war, he was optimistic about the eventual outcome of the struggle:

"I can tell you history has been reversed in Nicaragua. History has been reversed in many countries of Africa and Asia. And history will be reversed throughout the world where indigenous people are suffering under the yoke of colonialism." □

## STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# No U.S. intervention in Central America!

[The following statement was issued by the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on May 30.]

\* \* \*

Ever since the revolutionary Sandinista government took power in Nicaragua on July 19, 1979, in the aftermath of the mass insurrection against the Somoza dictatorship, the U.S. imperialists have been trying to bring pressure to bear on it and subject it to blackmail.

Most recently, using the forces of the ousted corrupt and savage dictatorship, U.S. imperialism has mounted a counterrevolutionary intervention against the government put in power by the insurrection of the Nicaraguan people.

For several months, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has been exposing and protesting against these imperialist operations. But nonetheless the counterrevolutionaries' masters decided to give the go-ahead for an invasion.

To facilitate this, U.S. imperialism has made use of the governments of Honduras and Costa Rica. It has used both countries as bases for training former Somoza National Guardsmen. In connection with this, a number of American advisers have been sent in.

The pretext for the arrival of U.S. military advisers was the Pino Grande maneuvers, which were supposed to be a rehearsal of joint operations by the Honduran and U.S. armies to repel an invader. The objective in reality was to prepare for an invasion of Nicaragua. The U.S. advisers and Honduran officers were given the job of training the counterrevolutionary forces in the use of the first-class weapons that these forces were given by their imperialist patrons.

On March 18, about 1,200 operatives under the command of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) penetrated into Nicaragua from Honduras and established bases in Matagalpa and Jinotega.

On May 13, all the counterrevolutionary groups — the FDN, UDN [Nicaraguan Democratic Union], and ARDE [Revolutionary Democratic Alliance] — concluded a pact, signing a declaration calling for the creation of a common front, the UNICA, the Nicaraguan Union.



The proimperialist position of such people as Edén Pastora was confirmed by this compact between the self-proclaimed democratic counterrevolutionaries and the Somoza butchers.

One of the first actions of the counterrevolutionary alliance was to kidnap a community of 1,200 Miskito Indians who refused to support them. Similarly, they went on a campaign of burning harvests, murdering teachers, doctors, and members of the people's militia.

Thus from its very inception this counterrevolutionary front has shown by its example what sort of society it wants to establish.

The assault on Nicaragua is part and parcel of a general strategy of imperialism, which calls for fighting the revolutions in El Salvador and Guatemala and for attacks against the Grenadian government and the Cuban workers state.

The imperialists are out to crush the Central American revolution militarily. To this end, they are pouring millions of dollars into the rebuilding of the counterrevolutionary armies of El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Honduras.

They are trying to isolate the revolutionary movements from each other by mounting a counteroffensive against the revolution in each of these countries. This is the framework in which the intervention in Nicaragua is being carried out.

A series of battles have been fought both in the north and south of Nicaragua, in which, once again, the Nicaraguan people and their vanguard, the FSLN have demonstrated their revolutionary strength.

The invasion the Nicaraguan masses face

has been equipped, organized, and directed by the richest country on the face of the earth. It is the duty of revolutionaries throughout the world to mobilize support for them.

It is particularly important to raise the issue of solidarity with the Central American revolution and the concrete need to oppose the invasion of Nicaragua in the mass movements that are struggling against the arms race and for peace, as well as in the important trade unions.

It is essential to promote the development of a worldwide movement that can stay the bloody hand of imperialism. Building such a mass movement in the United States, and in all other imperialist countries is the best help we can give to the Central American revolution.

The Fourth International proclaims its total solidarity with the people of Nicaragua and their vanguard. It declares its determination to redouble its efforts in the solidarity movement with the Central American revolution.

At the same time, we wish to make known our willingness to participate in initiatives that may be taken by the FSLN to organize active solidarity with the Nicaraguan people in the fight against imperialist aggression.

Imperialist hands off Nicaragua!

Long live the Central American revolution!

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# Cops join rightist offensive

*Shout racist and anticommunist slogans*

On June 3, several thousand police staged a rightist demonstration in Paris, protesting what they claimed is the Mitterrand government's "laxity" on questions of law and order.

The police demonstration took place after the funeral of two cops killed in Paris May 31 while attempting to stop an auto theft.

The police organizations claimed these deaths were the result of the government's abolition of the death penalty. This, however, was simply a pretext for the demonstration. Nine cops were killed in 1980, the last full year with the death penalty, while in 1982, the first full year without capital punishment, eight cops died on duty. And in the first six months of this year, only two have been killed.

During the demonstration, police units that were sent to maintain order openly fraternized with the marchers and allowed the demonstration to go through police lines, alter its route, and march to the headquarters of the ministry of the interior. Some units took part in the demonstration in uniform.

Racist and anticommunist themes were widely expressed by the marching police officers. Ultraright figures like Jean-Marie Le Pen of the National Front were also prominent in the demonstration, railing against what they called the "foreign scum-ocracy."

The police demonstration was simply the latest in a string of rightist mobilizations in France throughout the spring. In recent months, the bourgeois political parties have carried out a multifaceted campaign to increase pressure on the Socialist Party-Communist Party government of President François Mitterrand and to regain the political initiative they lost with their defeat in the 1981 presidential and legislative elections.

Throughout the spring, rightists have been active in demonstrations by farmers, students, shopkeepers, and other social layers against various governmental measures. The bourgeois parties have used these demonstrations to create a climate placing the government on the defensive.

Leading bourgeois political figures openly proclaim that their aim is to force the Mitterrand government to resign before its six-year term expires in 1987.

Mitterrand's standing in public opinion polls has declined sharply since he began applying austerity policies in mid-1982. Just after taking office in 1981, his popularity was higher than that of any of his predecessors. But a poll published in early June indicates that only 33 percent of the French population now approves of his performance in office.

The drop in support for Mitterrand's government stems from a dual process. On the one hand, the working-class base of support for his

government has been alienated and demoralized by the government's moves toward full-fledged austerity policies that cut living standards and social services. But because the Socialist and Communist parties make up the government, and because the unions back it, there have been few organized working-class protests.

On the other hand, these attacks on the working class have not pacified the employers

and bourgeois parties, which want even further cuts and hope to use Mitterrand's sliding popularity to regain the reins of government. They have gone into the streets to create an atmosphere conducive to that end.

Following the June 3 police march, several prominent police officials were stripped of their positions and the government suspended seven officers in charge of the units that had stood aside to let the demonstrators pass.

Christian Picquet, writing in the June 10 issue of *Rouge*, argued: "It is still possible to neutralize and battle the reactionary sectors. To do this it is necessary to resolutely base oneself on the democratic police organizations and to immediately take radical measures: on all levels of the state apparatus, evict the men who plot with the right; dismiss fascist police officers, those who carry out 'head-splitting'

## 'The workers must retake the streets'

[The following unsigned article appeared on the front page of the June 10, 1983, issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The right wing has just taken a new step in its strategy of wearing down the regime. Up to now the right had stepped up its war of words and announced that the left government would not make it to the end of its elected term. We saw the right use and even organize the demonstrations by certain social categories. It did not hesitate to make use of the services of fascist groups to create a climate of tension and confrontation.

This time, by sending several thousand frenzied, armed police into the streets, spewing their hatred of the "reds" and the "niggers," the right is attacking the legitimacy of the government that arose from [Mitterrand's election on] May 10 [1981].

This is a very serious danger signal. For several hours, a gang of badge-carrying delinquents was able to impose its law on the capital. And we saw the stunning and unnerving spectacle of the units that were supposed to maintain order joining with the rebels, fraternizing with them, and giving them the run of the streets. One would have to go back 25 years, to 1958, to find demonstrations that have caused such shockwaves.

If the right no longer seems to be placing any restraints on its arrogance, that is because it feels it has a clear field. The June 3 demonstrations, from this vantage point, are revealing. Since the spring of 1981, the government has doggedly tried to conciliate the right and the employers. It has continually adjusted its policies to their demands.

It refused to carry out the reforms in the state apparatus demanded by the democratic police and magistrates' organizations.

This tactic has just provided stunning proof of its bankruptcy. Those who were defeated May 10 are not as indulgent as their adversaries. And they are perfectly capable of exploiting the left's capitulations and weaknesses.

This orientation, transmitted through the left parties and union federations, demobilizes and disorients the workers. One has to be singularly shortsighted to congratulate oneself, as François Mitterrand did on television June 8, because "the working class has known how to restrain its own demands."

The reactionary forces are able to sharpen their actions, and can occupy the streets virtually on a daily basis, because they know that no one will stir on the other side.

Nothing could be more dangerous now than to allow this process of disintegration to continue just because the vacation period is approaching. The reactionary police unions have announced that they will mount a mass response against measures aimed against them. The offensive by the right and far right is not taking time off. Each stage prepares the next one.

The more the workers remain passive, the more threatening the adversary will become. To put the fascist gangs to flight, to counter the attacks by the bosses, who always demand more austerity and subsidies, the workers movement must retake the streets, must establish, despite the differences existing within it, a vast united front against the reactionaries, and must force the satisfaction of its most pressing demands.

Our efforts must be focused on this objective.

or racist acts, all those who have shown their complicity with the seditious demonstrations dissolve the specialized tactical groups and political spying sections, which breed adversaries of the workers movement."

In June 1981, when police unions sympathetic to the Mitterrand government called for a purge of rightists from the upper echelons of the police forces, cabinet minister Gaston Defferre stated: "The unions asked me for heads.

I won't chop any."

Picquet also stated that in fighting the right, "obviously the basic thing remains popular mobilization. At a time when the right-wing unions are announcing a further response, nothing would be more disastrous than to let our adversaries have the streets. That is why we renew our appeal to all the working class and democratic forces to organize a common mass action." □

cils of social security. They should have been — and they should be as soon as possible — removed from that role. They have nothing to say about managing the contributions that they themselves count as part of wage costs, under the form of deferred wages! Rather, everything possible should have been done in the past two years to compel them to really pay up all they owe.

*4. Do away with banking secrets and establish control over investments.*

How can we accept that this two-thirds majority of SP and CP deputies has maintained the rule of capitalist secrecy? Who knows the truth about the bosses' profits, about what guides their investment decisions? In fact, from a simple democratic point of view, it is not justifiable that 2 or 3 percent of the population, the privileged who from "wages" or "salaries" get more than 15 or 30 times the monthly minimum wage, should have the right to make economic decisions whose consequences everyone must bear.

By nationalizing the banks, the government could have and should have decided that the real facts about the fortunes and all the financial resources would be made public. All investment decisions should have been and should be subject to prior approval by public authorities, preceded by a public discussion with all the workers concerned.

An "unbearable dictatorship," as the bosses would call it? Because it has not taken these elementary democratic measures, the government has reached the point where under its very nose the nationalized banks obey the same capitalist criteria as before, and nationalized companies are pressed into service behind the demands of the bosses.

*5. Refuse to submit to the decisions of the multinational corporations, and control foreign trade.*

Respect for the laws of the market means accepting that in their search for maximum profits the bosses will invest where they want and will do business as they want, while subjecting the workers to the law of the multinationals.

All the capitalist countries, moreover, practice a "protectionist" policy. The real debate is over what measures of "protectionism" are necessary to defend the interests of the workers against the multinationals.

It can be done by lifting capitalist secrecy over the operations of financial speculation, over the whole of international trade, over the investments made abroad. By publicly debating these realities, by giving the workers the means to intervene, state control over foreign trade would permit renegotiating all economic exchanges and defining new relations between the value of the franc and the European Monetary System.

*6. Take the money from where it is, to fulfill urgent collective needs.*

In the final analysis, there was no reform of the tax law to take the money from where it is. And we can therefore see that the portion of (declared!) profits that are reinvested has

## 7 steps to fight economic crisis

### *LCR's alternative to Mitterrand's policies*

By Pierre Rème

[The following article appeared in the June 10 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

If Mitterrand and his parliamentary majority sacrifice the interests of the workers, it is for one basic reason. By choosing to "respect profits," they cannot help but apply the consequences of that law. And the reign of the bosses' law remains intact.

No, the austerity measures are not "justified" by the economic crisis or by the "fight against inflation." And the best proof is that it would have been possible after May 10, 1981, to carry out a series of measures that would have protected the workers from the blows of the bosses, to acquire the means to get out of the capitalist crisis.

*1. Prevent the bosses from causing inflation and guarantee purchasing power.*

Who decides to raise prices? According to the law of profit, the bosses do. This right must be taken from them by establishing strict public control from the stage of production through the stage of consumption by significantly increasing the rights of the workers on all levels.

For wage earners, controlled prices are the most beneficial, with, as a supplementary guarantee, indexed wages protecting purchasing power. That is what is called the "sliding scale," which in no way encourages inflation if the prices are not rising any more!

If we must "fight against inflation" for a policy serving the workers, this is it!

*2. Take the right to lay off out of the hands of the bosses; impose a reduction in the workweek and additional hiring.*

Who decides on layoffs? In the name of free enterprise, the bosses do. Following May 10, their right to throw out of work whomever they choose should have been taken from them. This could have been done by passing a law imposing the right to veto layoffs, as had been demanded in the programs of the Socialist Party and Communist Party and in the platforms of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and the French Democratic Confedera-



MITTERRAND

tion of Labor (CFDT).

In addition, in order to give "priority to jobs," which was the main theme of the 1981 election campaign, that was the moment to impose the 35-hour workweek, with proportional hiring controlled by the workers. We would not now have more than 2 million unemployed, getting fewer benefits on the pretext that there are too many of them and it is too expensive!

In fact, the ordinances and the "contractual path" have yielded such ridiculous results that one of its apostles, Jean Kaspar — the CFDT's number two man hand-picked by Edmond Maire — was led to say that the government should adopt a law on the 35-hour week (*Syndicalisme hebdo*, June 2).

*3. Give priority to defending social protection.*

When the workers pay for social security, the bosses of the pharmaceutical trusts, the owners of private clinics, the pharmacists, etc., fill their pockets. We must break with this. Social security must not be a milk cow for all these profiteers.

The previous government led by the right placed the bosses in the administration coun-

dropped from 60 percent to 40 percent. The rest is "put aside" or used to speculate in the currency markets.

By making the truly rich pay what they owe, by effectively prosecuting the privileged who cheat on their taxes, it is possible to uncover sufficient financial resources to carry out a plan to build housing, daycare centers, health facilities, transportation. These priorities, moreover, are not in fact subject to "foreign constraint": the means of production needed to

carry them out already exist, in France itself, and are underutilized.

*7. Drive the agents of the right and of the bosses from the state apparatus and the management of the nationalized sector.*

With the current situation in the police, we can see where submissiveness toward the reactionary groups installed in the state apparatus during Giscard's time leads us. Who can believe that their role is less harmful in the com-

panies of the public sector? Who can believe that they have broken all their ties with the layers of the employers linked to Chirac and Giscard?

These measures, in contrast to those taken by the government, aim to reject surrender to the law of the bosses. Precisely because of the failure of the plans of the SP-CP majority, these discussions will increasingly take center stage in the present situation, together with the mass struggles. □

## DOCUMENTS

# GIM declaration on Soviet missiles

## 'No new SS-20s!'

[The following document appeared as a full-page article in the June 9 issue of *Was Tun*, the weekly newspaper of the International Marxist Group (GIM), West German section of the Fourth International. It appeared under the headline, "No new SS-20s!" and was signed by the "Leadership of the GIM." The translation is by Peter Thierjung.]

\* \* \*

1. Summit meetings of state and government chiefs of the seven largest imperialist countries in the world have in recent years become increasingly more of a forum for them to disagree on foreign policy. As opposed to last year, when the dispute over the natural gas pipeline dominated the meeting at Versailles and the Social Democratic Party-led regime in Bonn impeded a clear "yes" from the NATO countries to the stationing of medium-range missiles, this year the seven governments have succeeded in uniting around one position, which comes very close to the hard line of the U.S. administration.

NATO demands, furthermore, the total and unilateral Soviet scrapping of the SS-20 medium-range missiles. This so-called "zero option" is one of the variants by which NATO is trying to regain overwhelming military superiority. Only if it can force this through would it be willing to forego installing any additional missiles in Europe. An interim solution would of course not be ruled out. The Soviet Union's counterproposals, for example to reduce the number of SS-20s to the number of French and British missiles and warheads, are condemned by NATO, however, as a "splitting maneuver." At the summit the imperialist countries did not make any more negotiating proposals of their own. They thereby endorse the policy so far followed by the U.S. government of installing the new nuclear weapons no matter what the price.

2. Unless the upcoming elections in Great Britain or in Italy bring about political change, the

installation of the missiles will begin in the fall. On the level of negotiations, the Soviet Union no longer has any chance to prevent this massive NATO buildup. What the bureaucratic leadership of the Soviet Union never wanted to admit is becoming obvious: for the imperialists, negotiations are only a means to better carry out their aims. If talks are not useful to them, they will either reject them or only go through the motions.

The Soviet Union must therefore consider other ways to prevent NATO's buildup. In a pronouncement to the summit in Williamsburg the Soviet Union posed three possible counter-moves:

- Lifting the moratorium on stationing additional SS-20s in the European part of the Soviet Union.

- Stationing short-range missiles, which can reach West European soil in a shorter time than the Pershing 2, in East Germany or Czechoslovakia.

- Leveling first-strike weapons against the United States itself.

3. The warmongers in the Pentagon are pursuing the goal of making the Soviet Union subject to military blackmail, to force it to renounce all support for liberation movements in the world, be they in Central America or in the Middle East. Moreover, they have never renounced their goal of destroying the non-capitalist property relations in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe and to once again open these countries to capital. It is the right of the Soviet Union to defend itself against this; it is the duty of the peace movement to defend this right. For this reason, we reject the equation of East and West.

Even if we take the side of the noncapitalist countries against the military threats of imperialism, this does not change our opposition to the bureaucratic repression in the Soviet Union, in Poland, and elsewhere. The repressive regime of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and other noncapitalist countries must be overthrown, in order to reopen the way to a

democratic and self-governed socialism. This can only be the task of the working class itself.

4. The answer of the Soviet bureaucracy to the imperialist arms buildup must nevertheless be perceived by the peace movement and the workers movement in Eastern Europe and in the West as a threat. It is neither suited to defend the Soviet Union against imperialism, nor prevent a nuclear war.

- While a political answer is necessary, the Soviet answer remains military. The Soviet Union strives to improve its weapons arsenal in order to be on a par with the West in conducting a limited regional nuclear war. Therewith, it enters a race to perfect weapons systems. So it is attempting to do what it so far has itself declared impossible: to wage a limited nuclear war. That leads objectively to the conclusion that they have become an accessory to the growing danger of nuclear holocaust.

- The perspective of socialism and the foundations of a society not based on a profit economy cannot be defended through nuclear war. Nuclear war will take humanity back to barbarism. One cannot build a free socialist society where immense tracts of land will be made unlivable, where people by the explosion of ABC-weapons will be crippled and through gene damage made unfit for life for generations thereafter, as happened in the limited framework of the Vietnam War.

- The Soviet bureaucracy is pushing a deceitful and criminal game, if it is seeking to create the impression that it could win a nuclear war. It has no chance to economically, militarily, or technologically overtake imperialism. Private competition and wage labor plunder the workers more effectively than can a layer of parasites that manages the economy bureaucratically, enjoys its privileges, and deprives the working masses of their political rights.

The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact are behind the imperialist West economically as well as technologically — and therefore also militarily. This is not proof that "planned

economies just do not work." It only shows that the *bureaucratic management methods, the lack of political rights for the working masses, and the privileges of the ruling layer make a democratically planned economy impossible* and in the nationalized industries lead to mismanagement and waste.

5. Only through the independent mobilization of the working class in the West as well as in the East can the warmongering policies of NATO be stopped. Therefore the working class in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe must have the opportunity to organize itself in self-governing, democratic structures for peace.

The professions of peace by the same ruling state and party apparatuses that ordered the tanks to roll against the workers in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and in Poland in 1980, and that supported the bloody occupation of Afghanistan, cannot win the slightest credibility in either East or West.

We therefore support the initiation of a peace movement in the Soviet Union and in the East European countries that is independent of the state. Military measures that are necessary to defend against imperialist attack cannot be carried out against the will of the masses. The Soviet working class must maintain the right to decide for itself the allocation of economic resources between civilian and military sectors; it must be able to control the decision-making in foreign policy and in the army and also be able to affect unilateral disarmament decisions.

We protest against all attempts by the Soviet bureaucracy to go over the heads of the masses in wanting to station nuclear weapons in Eastern Europe. This violates the national independence of the peoples and the principle of equality of rights that applies between noncapitalist societies.

6. The Soviet bureaucracy attacks the Western peace movement, for whose partnership it is striving, from the rear. Its military decisions sabotage the goal of preventing a nuclear war before one breaks out. The rulers in the East and West are holding fast to a "balance of terror" that gets ever more dangerous.

The working class and the peace movement must take the protection of peace into their own hands. The overthrow of the warmongers in the West is therefore just as necessary as the elimination of the bureaucratic rulers in the East.

No new nuclear weapons in the West or East!  
Solidarity with the independent peace movement in East Germany and the Soviet Union!

For a nuclear weapon-free Europe from Portugal to Poland!

For a democratic, self-governing, and socialist Europe!

## Northern Ireland

# Nationalists gain in election

### *Vote registers more support for Sinn Féin*

**By Will Reissner**

One of the few bright spots in the July 9 British parliamentary elections — won by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party — was the big gains made in the voting in Northern Ireland by Sinn Féin, the party in solidarity with the Irish Republican Army. The outcome of the vote in Northern Ireland was also a setback for the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), the middle-class electoral formation that opposes armed struggle to force an end to British rule in Northern Ireland.

Gerry Adams, vice-president of Sinn Féin, was elected to the British Parliament from West Belfast, although in keeping with Sinn Féin's traditions he will not take his seat. Another Sinn Féin candidate failed to gain a seat by only 78 votes.

The SDLP, which had the tacit backing of the British and Irish governments and the hierarchy of the Catholic church, had confidently predicted that it would take four seats, but in fact won only one. Because of the split in the nationalist vote, candidates supporting continued British rule took the other 15 seats.

For many years Sinn Féin had chosen not to run in elections in the British-ruled north of Ireland. This left the field open for the SDLP to present itself as the voice of the oppressed Catholic population there. The SDLP claimed that its electoral victories showed that the nationalist population of the north opposed the IRA's struggle and supported the SDLP's gradualist approach to ending British rule.

But during the 1981 hunger strike in Northern Ireland, Sinn Féin decided to run hunger

striker Bobby Sands for a seat that had opened up in the British Parliament. Sands' election put the lie to the British government's claim that the IRA was an isolated handful of gunmen with no popular backing.

Following the death of Sands on his fast, Sinn Féin ran Owen Carron for his seat, and Carron too was elected.

Since then, while still refusing to take seats won in British elections, Sinn Féin has put up candidates in each election and has steadily increased its share of the vote.

In last October's elections for the Northern Ireland Assembly, Sinn Féin won five seats and got 64,000 votes, most at the expense of the SDLP.

Before the June 9 parliamentary elections, Sinn Féin set itself the goal of getting 90,000 votes, and using the election campaign to lay the basis for future organizing throughout Northern Ireland. It also hoped to deal a further blow to the SDLP's claim to be the real voice of the Catholic population.

In fact, Sinn Féin did even better than it had hoped, polling 102,000 votes, up 60 percent from the October Assembly elections. In Northern Ireland as a whole, Sinn Féin won the votes of 42 percent of the nationalist community.

The day after the election, Sinn Féin president Ruairi O Bradaigh issued a statement predicting that "in the 1985 local council elections in the six counties [of Northern Ireland] Sinn Féin will finally overtake the SDLP and nationalist politics will undergo their most radical and significant change since 1918." □



Supporters celebrate victory of Gerry Adams outside Republican Press Center in Belfast, Northern Ireland.

# The crackdown on the Tudeh Party

## New stage in regime's repression

By Michel Rovere

[The following article appeared in the June 13 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly magazine published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The subheads and footnotes are from the original. For a different assessment of the crackdown on the Iranian Tudeh (Communist) Party, see, "Ban on Tudeh Party a blow to revolution," by Mehdi Assar, in *Intercontinental Press*, June 13, p. 312.]

\* \* \*

"Before Imam Khomeini, the guide of the revolution and the founder of the Islamic Republic, I am going to try to beg for forgiveness today. Filled with shame, I will explain to him the crimes that our party has committed in its four years of activity under the Islamic Republic."

This was the way Nureddin Kianuri, general secretary of the Iranian CP, the Tudeh Party, began his televised "confession."

Kianuri went on to say: "We have not been able to free ourselves from our subordination to a foreign power. Our political activities have become activities of spying and treason against the Islamic Republic."

During this session of "self-criticism and confession," Nureddin Kianuri explained that the Tudeh Party "sent political and military reports to the USSR and tried to infiltrate the Iranian state apparatus."<sup>1</sup>

There is no need to comment about the value of such "confessions." In the pages of *l'Humanité*, the French Communist Party's daily paper, the exile leadership of the Tudeh Party explained that Kianuri's statements were the result of drugging or of the terrible moral and physical pressures to which the accused were subjected.<sup>2</sup> It is reported, for example, that a former collaborator of Abolhassan Bani Sadr, the ex-president of the republic, agreed to "confess" only after a group of young women prisoners, sympathizers of the Mujahedeen,

began being shot one by one in her presence.

It should be noted that at the time, when the ones under attack were friends of Bani Sadr or an adventurer such as Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, the Iranian Communists loudly applauded and utilized these remakes of the Moscow and Prague trials for their own political purposes.

Today, a thousand members of the Tudeh Party have been arrested. Recently, Mohsen Rezai, head of the Pasdaran, said: "We aren't in any hurry to execute these people. They still have a lot to confess. But by their confessions, they have signed their own death warrants." (*Le Monde*, May 12, 1983.)

These attacks against the Tudeh Party have been carried out with the enthusiastic assistance of ex-Savak agents, including the sinister Gen. Hossein Fardoust. "The Fifth Bureau of the shah's political police, which was encharged with fighting communists and subversive elements, has been given a new lease on life by the Islamic authorities." (*Le Monde*, June 3, 1983.) Parallel to this new wave of repression, more normal relations are being established with the imperialist powers. For example, the following observation was made at the time of the summit meeting of the imperialist powers at Williamsburg:

"Several of the ministers reported being approached in recent months by Iranian envoys carrying conciliatory messages seeking enhanced trade and political contacts . . . Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany, says Iran's ambassador to Bonn, Motlab Navab, asked for a special meeting last week in which he emphasized his country's strong desire to bolster cooperation in political, economic and cultural fields." (*International Herald Tribune*, May 31, 1983.)

The first roundup hit the leading circles of the Iranian CP on February 6. Thirty leaders were arrested for "spying on behalf of the USSR." Among them, besides Kianuri, were figures such as Mohammad Ali Amaui, Taghi Kaimanesh, the party's financial director, Abu Torah Bagherzadeh, Shaltuki, Zolghard, Harzi, and Ehsan Tabari, a member of the party's Political Bureau, an internationally known philosopher and historian, nick-named "the Encyclopedia" by his comrades.

Also among the personalities arrested was the founder of the Iranian Writers Union, Behazeen, leader of the Democratic Unity Party, a satellite group of the Tudeh Party which is little more than a name.

According to information received in Paris, the wave of repression is also hitting the "Majority" faction of the Fedayeen, the Ekseriat, which has moved closer to the Tudeh

Party over the last two years on the basis of a common characterization of the Khomeini regime as "anti-imperialist."

In the first wave of arrests, when some Tudeh leaders sought to escape arrest, the pasdaran [revolutionary guards] took their wives or families hostage, in accordance with a procedure that, once again, the regime introduced against the far-left groups or the Mujahedeen.

Three days after the televised "confession" by the Tudeh general secretary, the prosecutor general, Hojatolislam Mousavi Tabrizi, announced the official dissolution of the Tudeh Party.<sup>3</sup> In the wake of this, 18 Soviet diplomats stationed in Tehran or in the consulates in provincial cities were expelled from the country.

Members of the Tudeh Party were officially invited to register with the Islamic authorities. They were asked to "bring along two photocopies of their identity cards and two pictures and come in and fill out forms."<sup>4</sup> If they failed to comply, they faced the severest penalties.

A week later, a new wave of repression led to the arrest of a thousand Tudeh members and sympathizers throughout the country. The worst has to be feared about the fate awaiting all these people. Televised confessions have often been only the prelude to travesties of trials followed immediately by executions.

### A victory for the Hojatieh wing

The repression that has descended on the Tudeh Party marks a new stage in the rightward evolution of the Islamic Republic. It reflects the changes that have resulted from the battles for influence among the various factions of the regime over economic and social policy within the country and over Tehran's foreign policy.

The extent of the repression against the Tudeh Party was an issue in the struggle among the various cliques within the Islamic regime. These groups can be divided roughly into two major tendencies.

One is called the "Militant Clergy" or the followers of the "Imam's Line" (the name taken by the students who occupied the U.S. embassy in Tehran in November 1979). The opposing tendency is known by the name

1. *Le Monde*, May 3, 1983.

2. The statement of the Tudeh Party Central Committee published in the May 3, 1983, issue of the French CP daily *l'Humanité* specifies that Kianuri's "confession" was extorted by "physical and psychological torture" carried out by the "enemies of independence, of freedom, and of social justice." It is said that the torturers were acting on behalf of "U.S. imperialism" and taking vengeance against "the main force fighting for the independence and freedom of the country, that is, the Tudeh Party."

3. Imam Khomeini expressed his satisfaction in the following terms: "God, we thank you for your blessings. Our anonymous young soldiers have arrested the Tudeh Party leaders, who were engaged in hypocritical activities aimed at overthrowing Islam. This miracle has come to pass with the aid of Allah." (*Le Monde*, May 6, 1983.)

4. *Le Monde*, May 6, 1983.

"Hojatieh." It includes the most traditionalist, most fundamentalist representatives of the clergy, who are based on the bazaar merchants enriched by the revolution and on certain technocratic currents of Industry, Foreign Trade and Labor.

The first current is concerned about the deterioration of the regime's social image and the narrowing of its social base as a result of the dragging on of the war with Iraq and the effects of the repression. It favors a certain number of economic and social measures designed to maintain the regime's populist image and consolidate its support in certain plebeian strata, a support that is based to a large extent on the distribution of state subsidies through the network of the Foundation for the Disinherited and other committees.

The "Imam's Line" current has pressed for the nationalization of foreign trade, for a new land distribution in the countryside, and for the confiscation in the cities of the property of the *taghoutis*, the big bourgeois and profiteers under the shah's regime, who have gone into exile.

On all these questions, the "Imam's Line" group has been outvoted in the leading circles of the Islamic Republic by the most fundamentalist elements, the Hojatieh. This faction has sought to use continuation of the war with Iraq and the need to keep the country supplied at any cost with military material and the necessities of life as arguments for "realism." What this means precisely is reopening Iran to the exports of big imperialist countries like Japan, Great Britain, and even, to a certain extent, the United States.

The special financial sections of the big international business dailies are filling once again with talk of juicy contracts being negotiated with Iran, and Tehran is once again becoming a favorite stopover for businessmen in search of profitable markets.

This process of opening up the country to the West is going very far, since two of the countries to which the Tehran regime has offered special economic relations are Iran's former CENTO partners, Pakistan and Turkey.

During a recent trip to Ankara, the Iranian minister of heavy industry, Nabavi, one of the brains of the Hojatieh group, signed an agreement calling for increasing Turkish imports to Iran — which amounted to about 12 million dollars worth of goods under the shah — to 2 billion dollars worth of trade. Along with this, the two governments agreed to mount joint repressive operations against the Kurdish movement.

Moreover, the Iranian minister of foreign trade, Asghar Oladi, reportedly had a meeting recently in Algeria with U.S. government figures. Over the first quarter of 1983, the U.S. administration granted 13 export permits for previously embargoed material, notably for electronic equipment.

U.S. exports to Iran reached the level of 200 million dollars last year, without even taking into account the goods exported to Iran through third countries or by the subsidiaries

of U.S. companies in Europe.

With respect to domestic policy, it has been learned recently that the Foundation for the Disinherited, which administers the holdings of the former Pahlavi Foundation as well as the property confiscated from supporters of the old regime, was considering restoring 2,000 property titles to their former owners. On January 20, minister of light industry Hashemi, explained that the state was ready to turn some nationalized enterprises over to private businessmen.

In this context, despite the Tudeh Party's weak base among the workers and its total subservience to the regime, it is hardly surprising that the indictment against it includes the charge of "promoting agitation among the workers and fomenting social unrest in the factories."

Finally, it cannot be underestimated how much the evolution of the USSR's policy in the Iran-Iraq conflict bolstered the arguments of the fundamentalists for isolating and repressing a party committed to unswerving support for the Soviet Union and its foreign policy.

For example, in recent months the Tudeh Party could be seen to favor an end to the fighting and to oppose the regime's plans that called for not stopping with the liberation of Iranian territories occupied by Baghdad troops but for pursuing the war on Iraqi territory until the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime and the establishment of an Islamic Republic in Iraq.

#### Orientation leading to bankruptcy

So, the repression that has come down on the Tudeh Party is an indicator of the evolution in the relationship of forces between the various cliques in the regime.<sup>5</sup> But it also points up the tragic and total bankruptcy of the line of unconditional support for Khomeini that the Tudeh Party has followed for four years. In fact, more than any other leader, Nureddin Kianuri has personified this orientation. Kianuri was boosted into the leadership of the Tudeh Party in exile shortly before Khomeini's return to Iran to replace Iraj Eskanderi and leaders considered too critical of the Imam.

This miniputsch could not have been carried out without the approval of the Soviet Communist Party, to which Kianuri has long been linked, more in fact than any other member of the Tudeh leadership. He is the grandson of Ayatollah Nuri, the Islamic fundamentalist hanged in 1905 in the center of Tehran by the constitutional revolutionists.

At that time, the top Shi'ite clergy was blocking with the monarchy against the republican movement. Ayatollah Nuri has been one of the sources of inspiration for Ayatollah Khomeini and for the entire extreme fundamentalist current in the Iranian Shi'ite clergy.

5. For an analysis of the course of the Iranian revolution, see the report to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on this question by Andre Duret, which was published in two parts in *International Viewpoint* Nos. 28 and 29 of March 31, 1983, and April 18, 1983, respectively.

Throughout the interminable power struggles in the leadership of the Tudeh Party, Nureddin Kianuri was responsible for organizational questions and for the party's military apparatus (which included up to 600 officers in the imperial army in Mossadegh's time in the 1950s). He was directly linked to the leading group in the Soviet Azerbaijan CP headed up by Aliev and Bagherov.

Bagherov was Beria's mentor and opened up the way for the latter to rise to the top of the Stalinist police apparatus. Up to the end, he remained Stalin's expert on everything concerning Iran and the Iranian Communist movement. Bagherov was one of the few leaders of the Soviet CP to be shot after Stalin's death and the execution of Beria. He was accused of being responsible for the murder of 25,000 Azerbaijani Communists in the Stalin purges.

As is traditional in the international Stalinist movement, Kianuri's unconditional loyalty to the Soviet CP is in direct proportion to the number of dirty jobs he has done for his mentors, often stabbing a section of the Tudeh Party leadership in the back. One example of this is the role Kianuri played in making contact with the shah's emissaries to counter Mossadegh's policy, whose "negative neutralism" ("Neither East nor West") was regarded by the Soviet leaders as contrary to their interests in the region.<sup>6</sup>

After February 1979, Kianuri personified the line of unconditional support for the new regime. In November 1981, at the time of the wave of repression against the far left and the Mujahadeen, Kianuri said:

"The Sixteenth Plenum of the Central Committee held in March 1979 confirmed the Political Bureau's line of total support to the people's anti-imperialist policy of Imam Khomeini, leader of the Iranian revolution. After having proved itself in the first three years since the overthrow of the shah's regime, this policy retains all its validity."

Kianuri acknowledged that there were, of course, anti-Communist currents in the Shi'ite clergy, but he maintained that the Tudeh Party's task was to support the "revolutionary" wing, the supporters of the "Imam's Line." "In the leading circles and in general among those who call themselves followers of the line of Imam Khomeini, two currents can be distinguished. The first, a revolutionary one, calls for radically transforming the social and economic system for the benefit of the disinherited. It calls for limiting the extent of personal property and the right to extract profit from capital.

"The second current, a reactionary one, declares its support for capitalism, private ownership, unrestrained exploitation. It wants to maintain the existing social and economic system. It is well known that the supporters of this

6. See the statement by Doctor Keshavarz, member of the Political Bureau of the Tudeh Party to Sharok Vaziri in 1977 in *Le petrole et le pouvoir en Iran*, Edition Piantanida, Lausanne, 1978.

second tendency have strong positions in the state apparatus and in religious circles. . . ."

To combat the "reactionary tendency," Kianuri proposed "the formation of a united national front based on cooperation and unity in action between Islamic fighters, supporters of the line of Imam Khomeini, and the true exponents of scientific socialism."<sup>7</sup>

#### Yet another example of the noncapitalist path of development

The whole analysis of the "anti-imperialist" Khomeini government put forward by Kianuri follows in a direct line from the "theory of the noncapitalist path of development." This is a new version of the Stalinist conception of revolution by stages applied to the colonial and semicolonial world in the era of decolonization. The formulation was developed and adopted in the program of the Soviet CP in 1960. It was subsequently endorsed by two international conferences of the CPs, first in 1961 and then in 1969. This position appears in the Tudeh Party's 1975 program in the following form:

"Therefore, the path of development that our party considers the correct one for the Iranian society is a socialist orientation, which does not yet mean the establishment of socialism but the preparation of the conditions necessary for the transition to a socialist society."<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, the Iraqi CP used this position as a basis for supporting the Baath nationalist party in power in Baghdad, until the regime turned on the Iraqi Communists. The same position was the basis of the policy of the Indonesian CP, which had 3 million members and was the biggest CP in the capitalist world.

In Indonesia also the argument that there were two lines within the bourgeois nationalist forces was used to justify support for Nasakom. This was the national front including the nationalist group led by Sukarno, then president of the republic; the CP; and the Muslims who were to take the lead in the anti-Communist terror launched in 1965.

In 1965, D.N. Aidit, general secretary of the Indonesian CP said:

"At present there are two antagonistic tendencies in the leadership of the Indonesian state — one representing the people's interests and the other the interests of the enemies of the people."

In Indonesia, the CP went along with the Sukarno regime's attacks on democratic rights under the pretext that the anti-imperialist struggle took priority. The result was the gravest defeat suffered by the workers movement in the colonial and semicolonial world in the postwar period, the slaughter of several hundred

7. *La nouvelle revue internationale*, Moscow, November 1981. The "exponents of scientific socialism" refers here to the Tudeh Party and the Fedayeen-Majority.

8. Tudeh Program, approved by the Central Committee in 1975, Paris, 1977.

thousand Communists.<sup>9</sup>

And before Indonesia, there was the experience in China, where the Chinese CP, on Stalin's orders, supported the "progressive" wing of the Koumintang during the 1926-27 revolution. In this case also, the existence of a right wing was pointed to as an argument to justify more support for Chiang Kai-shek and for a so-called left wing of the Koumintang, when in fact Chiang Kai-shek had already dropped his mask of "anti-imperialism."

In fact, when the masses of a semicolonial country mount an assault against a hated imperialist-backed dictatorship and bring it down, when they try to take advantage of the unleashing of such a revolution not simply to end tyranny and imperialist tutelage but to transform their own living and working conditions from top to bottom, the main contradiction is not between a "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie and a more conservative wing linked to imperialism. The real contradiction is between the movement of the working masses in the cities and countryside who are determined to end exploitation and oppression and those who defend private property and its last bulwark — the bourgeois state.

It was Lenin himself who demanded that the following passage be added to the theses on the colonial and national question adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International in July 1920:

"In the oppressed countries, two movements are diverging more and more every day. The first is the bourgeois democratic nationalist

9. The Indonesian Communist Party took a pro-Chinese position in the Sino-Soviet conflict. In fact, up to the mid-1960s, the Chinese leaders themselves did not challenge this theory of the noncapitalist path of development.

movement, which has a program of political independence and bourgeois development. The second is the movement of the workers and the poor and uneducated peasants who are striving to emancipate themselves from every form of exploitation.

"The first movement is trying to hitch the second to its wagon, and it frequently succeeds in doing this to a certain extent. However, the Communist International and its member parties must fight this tendency and seek to develop independent class feeling in the masses of workers in the colonies."<sup>10</sup>

These lines retain all their timeliness when after the arrests of the Tudeh Party members and of Kianuri, a leader of the Iranian CP passing through Paris could say coolly: "Even after the arrest of our leaders, our policy of support for the revolution remains unchanged."

We totally condemn the policy and the past actions of the Tudeh Party that helped to isolate the Kurdish movement and the Iranian progressive and revolutionary forces and even aided and abetted the direct repression of these movements. But completely aside from this, the Fourth International and all of its sections will do all they can to increase the protests against these new repressive measures by the Tehran regime and the demands for the immediate release of *all* those who have opposed the regime from the left — the members and sympathizers of the Mujahadeen, of the revolutionary organizations, of the movements of the national minorities, and the Tudeh Party members who have now fallen victim to Khomeini's repression. □

10. See the complete text of the *Quatre premiers congrès de l'internationale communiste* originally published in 1934, of which a facsimile edition was put out by Editions François Maspero, Paris, 1969.

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# Marroquín wins a round

## Presses fight for political asylum

By Nancy Cole

[The following article is taken from the July 1 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

A landslide of protest has forced the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to back down, for now, in its drive to throw Héctor Marroquín out of the United States.

Marroquín was forced to flee government repression in his native Mexico nine years ago. After coming to the United States, he joined the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. Because of his political views, the INS has been attempting to deport him, and his battle for political asylum is now in its sixth year.

Responding to calls and telegrams from labor leaders, church spokespersons, civil rights figures, and elected officials from across the United States and Canada, the INS was forced to agree in federal court to an extension of Marroquín's "voluntary departure" status. The INS made the concession late in the day on Friday, June 17. This legally protects Marroquín from immediate arrest and forced deportation to Mexico.

In a related move, the U.S. Supreme Court did not announce on June 20, as had been expected, whether it will hear Marroquín's appeal of his deportation order. While it is still possible that the court could rule before it adjourns some time in July, it is more likely that action on Marroquín's appeal will be held over for the court's fall session, which opens in October.

"The combination of the INS reinstatement of 'voluntary departure' for Marroquín and the Supreme Court deferral of its ruling is a big victory for political rights," says John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing Marroquín's fight.

"It's clear now more than ever that public support is critical to the success of this case. We're urging supporters of Marroquín's fight to continue the campaign of telegrams and letters to the INS demanding a halt to the deportation of Marroquín."

### Threat of arrest and deportation

On June 13, Marroquín's attorneys were informed that, according to the INS, his 30-day "voluntary departure" status had lapsed. Since the Supreme Court was to rule on June 20 whether it would hear his case, this posed the immediate threat of Marroquín's arrest and deportation to Mexico if the court ruled against him.

Under "voluntary departure" status, a per-

son ordered deported has a set period of time to leave the United States, thus choosing where to go, before being subject to arrest. The INS claimed the 30 days granted Marroquín had expired after he appealed his deportation order to the federal courts.

In Marroquín's case, the status of voluntary departure is particularly important. Marroquín is married to a U.S. citizen and has applied for permanent residence on that basis. Were he to be deported forcibly by the INS before that application is acted on, under immigration law he could not even apply to reenter the United States for five years without special permission from the attorney general. If, however, he leaves under "voluntary departure," he will be able to pursue his application for residence.

Yet, despite pleas from Marroquín's attorneys on June 14 and 15, the INS refused to grant him even 72 hours "voluntary departure" should the court rule against him.

PRDF then launched an emergency campaign, calling on supporters of human rights to protest the latest INS action and demand restoration of "voluntary departure" for Marroquín.

Virtually overnight, a huge response materialized.

Twenty-eight members of Congress signed a letter to the INS, including nine out of 11 members of the Hispanic Caucus.

A protest telegram from Atlanta was signed by 14 prominent individuals, including Coretta Scott King.

In response to urgent calls from the PRDF office, Jay Mazur, secretary-treasurer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union agreed to call the INS to press for "voluntary departure."

National Education Association President Willard McGuire agreed to call the INS, as did Charles F. Williams, international representative of the International Association of Machinists; United Steelworkers of America District 8 Director David Wilson; and United Auto Workers Subregion 10 Director Bob Killean.

Around the country, supporters of Marroquín's fight for political asylum went on a campaign footing, lining up protest messages from local union presidents and district officials in the International Union of Electrical Workers, United Electrical Workers, United Furniture Workers, American Federation of Government Employees, and International Hospital and Health Care Workers.

Leading representatives of Canada's trade union movement and of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party (NDP), also added their voices to the growing international outcry against the U.S. government's attempts to deport Héctor Marroquín.

Telegrams demanding political asylum for Marroquín have been sent to the INS by International Affairs Director John Harker on behalf of the 2-million-member Canadian Labor Congress; Cliff Pilkey, president of the 700,000-member Ontario Federation of Labor; the executive of the 170,000-member Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions; Bob Rae, member of Ontario's Parliament and leader of the Ontario NDP; and Dave Barrett, former premier of British Columbia and leader of the provincial NDP.

Meanwhile, attorney Stephen Somerstein put all else aside to seek emergency action in federal district court before it recessed for the weekend.

On Friday afternoon, attorneys for Marroquín and the INS were summoned before U.S. District Court Judge Dickinson Debevoise in Newark. The INS, accompanied by the U.S. attorney, immediately agreed to negotiate the matter.

### INS feels impact

"It was clear that the INS had already felt the impact of the campaign that had been launched," said Carla Riehle, an attorney for PRDF who, along with Somerstein, represented Marroquín in court.

"When we suggested a deadline of July 5 for 'voluntary departure' in the event of an adverse Supreme Court ruling on June 20," Riehle told the *Militant*, "the INS attorney objected, saying the government didn't want Marroquín here making speeches on the Fourth of July."

An agreement filed by the judge at 6 p.m. on Friday, June 17, restored Marroquín's "voluntary departure" status until July 1, and gave him two days' "voluntary departure" if a ruling against him occurred after July 1.

Marroquín received word of the victory in Dallas, Texas, where he was on national tour. Announcing the news moments later to a support rally, he said, "This shows that with support from people like you — from the labor movement, Latino organizations, and groups concerned with rights of immigrant workers and political refugees — with support like this, we can win!" □

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