

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

combined
with **inprecor**

Vol. 22, No. 8

April 30, 1984

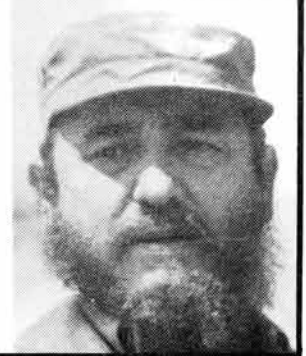
USA \$1.25 UK 50p



British cops attack picketing miners.

Growing Labor Support for British Coal Miners

What 'Newsweek' Didn't Print Full Text of Interview With Fidel Castro



Poland

Behind 'War of the Crosses'
Church Pushes Reactionary Aims

Uruguay

Unions Take Lead
Against Dictatorship

**Interview With New Jewel Movement Leader
Kenrick Radix on Bernard Coard's 'Creeping Coup'**

Nicaragua under U.S. gun

By Ernest Harsch

"We are in a full-scale war," Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge told the people of that besieged Central American country on April 12.

In Nicaragua, Borge said, "there are no war zones. There is only one zone: It is all of Nicaragua that is at war with imperialism."

Borge's address, like one a week earlier by Commander Daniel Ortega, emphasized the seriousness of the current stage of U.S. imperialism's drive to overthrow the Sandinista revolution, a drive that is being carried out on many fronts.

In addition to the U.S. mining of Nicaraguan ports, U.S.-armed, -trained, and -directed counterrevolutionaries ("contras") based in neighboring Honduras and Costa Rica have launched a new — and massive — offensive into Nicaragua. Nicaragua, Borge said, is suffering "the largest offensive that has been mounted so far. More than 8,000 mercenaries of the CIA are participating."

In his April 6 speech, Commander Ortega confirmed reports that fighting was taking place in three of the five northern provinces, as well as in the southern province of Rio San Juan.

U.S. helicopters and supply planes

Ortega also revealed that the counterrevolutionaries were "being supplied by helicopter."

This was partially confirmed by an April 11 Reuters dispatch from Tegucigalpa, the Honduran capital. According to the report, some officials of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the main counterrevolutionary group based in that country, admitted that they were now using U.S.-made helicopters.

Other U.S. aircraft are aiding the contras of the so-called Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE), who operate primarily out of Costa Rica. This was underlined by the crash in late March in northern Costa Rica of a DC-3 cargo plane, loaded with arms and ammunition. Of the seven bodies on the plane, four were reported to be of U.S. citizens, presumably CIA employees. Peasants in the crash area told a Costa Rican newspaper that there were an average of four such supply flights a week.

Plans for a much greater involvement of U.S. troops are being prepared as well. The April 8 *New York Times* reported that, according to Reagan administration officials, "contingency plans are being drawn for possible use of United States combat troops in Central America if the current strategy for defeating leftist forces in the region fails."

Ports mined

While the land and air war against Nicaragua has received little publicity in the big-business news media around the world, the mining

of Nicaragua's ports became a major international news item.

The sophisticated mines, placed in three key Nicaraguan ports, have damaged a number of ships already, including vessels from Nicaragua, the Soviet Union, Japan, and the Netherlands. Because of this risk, other ships have been diverted to ports in neighboring countries.

The Sandinistas have gone on an international campaign to expose Washington's aggression and to mobilize world opinion against it. This has already had some success.

A resolution brought before the United Nations Security Council by Nicaragua condemning the mining of Nicaraguan ports came up for a vote on April 4. A number of Washington's allies (the French, Dutch, and Pakistani regimes) voted for it, while the British government abstained. The U.S. delegate blocked adoption of the resolution by vetoing it. Several days later, on April 9, the Nicaraguan government filed a suit with the World Court — an international judicial body attached to the UN — charging the U.S. authorities with aggression against Nicaragua. Again, the U.S. government was exposed when it announced that it would not accept the World Court's jurisdiction in this case.

Initially, the Reagan administration denied that it was directly involved in the mining of the ports — a denial that hardly anyone believed. Then in face of the mounting international criticisms, it decided to leak details of its role to the U.S. press.

Citing Reagan administration officials and members of Congress, a front-page article in the April 8 *New York Times* reported that the mines had been placed by Latin American employees of the CIA, operating from a U.S. ship off Nicaragua's coast.

Congressional sideshow

With this revelation, dozens of U.S. congresspeople suddenly expressed "outrage" over the mining of the Nicaraguan ports. Both the Senate and House of Representatives passed resolutions opposing the use of federal funds for further mining. Many were quoted in the press criticizing the Reagan administration's action, and some threatened to try to block any further funds for the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries.

This debate in Congress — which received considerable media coverage — was largely for show. Its aim was to cover up the support that both Republican and Democratic legislators have provided to the Reagan administration's war against the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador.

At first, some congressmen — including members of the House and Senate intelligence committees — claimed that they had not

known about the U.S. role in the mining of the ports.

But the facts soon proved otherwise. The CIA, the State Department, and the White House all stated that the congressional intelligence committees had been informed about the plans for the mining in late 1983. Edward Boland, the Democrat who chairs the House committee, later admitted that the CIA had specifically told the committee about the mining on January 31. There was not a peep of criticism by these congressmen until the White House itself had decided to admit its role.

Moreover, when they did finally say something, they limited their criticisms to the mining itself. A number stressed that it would be politically counterproductive; others that it was badly carried out or endangered ships belonging to some of Washington's imperialist allies.

Expressing the position of many congresspeople, Republican Senator Howard Baker, who voted for the resolution condemning the port mining, declared, "I continue to support covert aid in Nicaragua. . . . There's a clear distinction to be made between our disagreement with the mining of the harbor and our support of continued assistance for covert aid."

Reagan himself, noting that the resolutions were nonbinding, commented, "I can live with it."

Deeper into war

Congress's real attitude toward the U.S. aggression in Central America was evident in the attempts to find ways to allocate new funds for the Salvadoran dictatorship. Since Reagan's aid request had been temporarily stalled, Baker proposed that money be "reprogrammed" from other sources. House Speaker Thomas O'Neill, a Democrat, said that the appropriate House subcommittee would approve such a reprogramming.

On April 13, Reagan invoked an "emergency" power to allocate \$32 million for the Salvadoran dictatorship, without direct congressional approval. However, a State Department official said that a series of telephone consultations found that most members of Congress supported the move.

Thus despite the public dispute over the harbor mining, the U.S. government is marching toward greater direct involvement in combat in Central America — with the support of both capitalist parties.

Already, it has been revealed that U.S. pilots are flying reconnaissance missions for the Salvadoran military. In addition, a dispatch from San Salvador in the April 12 *New York Times* reported, "A United States military official said today that American advisers based in El Salvador had accompanied Salvadoran pilots on training missions in which they had occasionally engaged in combat and targeted or bombed guerrilla positions."

This direct intervention in El Salvador, the covert war against Nicaragua, and the contingency plans for use of U.S. combat troops in the region all show that the stage for a large-scale U.S. invasion of Central America is being set. □

Do U.S., China plan to teach Vietnam a 'lesson'?

By Will Reissner

Are U.S. imperialism and China's governing bureaucracy preparing to "teach Vietnam another lesson," as they did in 1979 when 600,000 Chinese troops, with backing from Washington, invaded Vietnam and ravaged its northern provinces?

There are ominous signs that this may be the case. The 1979 Chinese invasion was preceded by Deputy Premier Deng Xiaoping's visit to Washington, where he discussed the upcoming attack with President Carter. Peking hoped that by demonstrating China's value as a regional ally it could entice Washington into providing development aid and better trade terms.

In early January of this year, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang met with President Reagan in Washington, the first high-level Chinese visit since Deng's. And Reagan is scheduled to pay a return visit to Peking in late April.

As preparations for Reagan's trip to China proceed, Chinese troops have launched new attacks on Vietnam's northern border.

Between April 2 and April 9, the Chinese army fired more than 10,000 artillery shells into Vietnam. In addition, several battalions of Chinese troops tried to seize two hills in Vietnam's Lang Son province.

At the same time, Thailand's armed forces, in close collaboration with the U.S. government, have stepped up their military attacks against Kampuchea, where Kampuchean and Vietnamese troops are fighting Pol Pot's rightist guerrillas. The Pol Pot forces operate from bases in Thailand and are armed and financed by the Chinese and Thai governments, and other members of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

In recent weeks Thai troops have repeatedly shelled Kampuchean territory, and the Thai air force admits that it conducted two bombing raids on a Pol Pot ammunition dump that had been captured by Kampuchean and Vietnamese troops.

In the midst of Thailand's stepped up intervention in Kampuchea, Thai Premier Prem Tinsulanonda met with President Reagan in Washington on April 13 to receive Reagan's pledge of "full support" in operations against Vietnam and Kampuchea.

Reagan announced that Washington would provide 40 more U.S. tanks to the Thai military and suggested that Thailand would receive 100 top-of-the-line F-16 jet fighters. Reagan also stated that "high-level defense consultations" would soon take place between Bangkok and Washington.

The Chinese and Thai governments both justify their military actions against Vietnam and Kampuchea by claiming that they are responding to Vietnamese incursions into their territory.

To bolster its charges, the Thai government even announced that it had captured 40 Vietnamese soldiers on Thai territory. But John McBeth reported in the April 12 *Far Eastern Economic Review* that "most of them had been long-term captives of [Pol Pot's] Khmer Rouge. . . . Newsmen who saw some of them said their skeletal appearance indicated they had been in isolation for months."

The Thai government has a long history of working closely with Washington against the peoples of Vietnam and Kampuchea. During the U.S. war against the peoples of Indochina, U.S. air bases in Thailand were used to bomb Vietnam and Kampuchea, and two divisions of Thai troops fought alongside U.S. troops in South Vietnam.

Vietnam's ambassador to the United Nations, Hoang Bich Son, told an April 11 news conference that the actions by China and Thailand are designed to poison the atmosphere in Southeast Asia and cut across the trend toward dialogue between Vietnam and other countries in the region.

Son added that the attacks are also meant to bolster the morale of Pol Pot's forces, who have suffered serious defeats at the hands of Kampuchean and Vietnamese troops recently.

In the past five years Vietnam has repeatedly proposed measures to insure peace and security along the Vietnam-China and Thailand-Kampuchea borders. But all these proposals have been rejected by the Chinese and Thai governments. □

—IN THIS ISSUE—

Closing news date: April 16, 1984

BRITAIN	236	Labor support for miners grows — by Clive Turnbull
POLAND	237	Behind the "war of the crosses" — by Ernest Harsch
CHINA	239	Interview with Hong Kong Trotskyists
JAPAN	242	Labor movement under attack — by Diane Wang
BELGIUM	244	LRT-RAL holds congress
GRENADA	253	Interview with Kenrick Radix
NEW CALEDONIA	256	Kanaks wage independence fight — by Andy Jarvis
URUGUAY	258	Military rulers on defensive — by Marcelo Zugadi
CHILE	259	National Day of Protest — by Fred Murphy
FRANCE	264	Steelworkers march on Paris — by Will Reissner
DOCUMENTS	245	No to U.S. offensive in Caribbean
	246	A talk with Fidel Castro
	260	Spanish "Combate" on U.S. elections — by Oriol Grau
	261	"Rouge" on U.S. elections — by Christian Piquet
	262	Debate in Swedish Trotskyist weekly
	263	Reunification of Germany — by Ernest Mandel

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

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it re-

Editor: Steve Clark.

Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Managing Editor: David Frankel.

Editorial Staff: Steve Craine, Ernest Harsch, Fred Murphy, Will Reissner, Steve Wattenmaker.

Business Manager: Sandi Sherman.

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

flects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

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

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

For air-speeded subscriptions to Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 515, Broadway 2007. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 8852, Auckland.

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

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

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

Labor support for miners grows

Cops arrest hundreds of strikers; use of troops threatened

By Clive Turnbull

SHEFFIELD — With the miners' fight against pit closures entering its sixth week, 80 percent of the 183,000 work force is now on strike.

The *Sunday Times* of London headline announced, "Thatcher calls war covenant to combat Scargill." Arthur Scargill is the president of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government has been forced into the open, no longer able to pretend that the fight against pit closures is just a matter for the National Coal Board (NCB) and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). Indeed, coal board boss Ian MacGregor is threatening to use troops to move embargoed coal — particularly to keep the power stations functioning.

This sharpening of the strike into open class warfare follows a massive campaign by the employing class to crush the miners.

Thousands of police are continuing to be mobilized from around the country to prevent picketing at the pits that are still operating, mainly in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Roadblocks have been established on the motorways and roads leading to the pits. Drivers transporting pickets have been arrested, cars impounded, and workers left stranded miles from anywhere.

In a well-publicized incident, miners from the Kent coalfield in the southeast of England were stopped at the police checkpoint in London, 150 miles from where they planned to picket. They were told they would be arrested if they tried to travel any further.

At the latest count 962 miners have been arrested by police, mainly charged with "obstruction of the highway." The police action and the Thatcher government's claim that it had given no special instructions to the police chiefs regarding the strike led to a call by the Labour Party for an emergency debate in Parliament. Labour MPs described in detail the arbitrary arrests of miners, plain clothes cops masquerading as miners on the picket lines, and the tapping of telephones at strike headquarters.

Mass picketing organized

Despite the attempts at intimidation, mass pickets were successfully organized in the last week, at Babbington in the Nottinghamshire coal fields. There a 2,000-strong picket was organized despite significant police presence. At Cresswell in Derbyshire a 700-strong picket was mounted, again despite the massive police presence.

Early in the dispute, an attempt was made to implement the Conservative government's



ARTHUR SCARGILL

new anti-union legislation which aims to outlaw "secondary picketing," that is strikers going to other groups of workers not directly or initially involved in the action and attempting to get their support. Despite a court ruling in its favor, the NCB backed off. It feared that such an attack on the NUM would spur the miners still working to back the union and possibly lead to greater support from other sections of the working class.

Even though some miners are still working, there has been widespread support from other sections of the labor movement. First to pledge their solidarity were the national executives of the 1.8-million-strong transport workers, the railworkers, and the seafarers unions, who undertook to block the movement of all coal. Money to help organize the flying pickets and relieve hardship to miners' families has been pouring in. For example the National Union of Public Employees has donated £50,000 to the miners' fund, and workers at Scott Lithgow shipyards on the Clyde in Scotland have promised to contribute £1,000 per week.

The NUM leadership has effectively prevented the right-wing dominated Trades Union Congress General Council from taking the conduct of the strike away from the NUM. This is important in light of recent betrayals by the TUC, particularly its refusal to support the print workers union in a crucial confrontation with the government's anti-union laws a few months ago. Instead the miners have gone directly to each union individually at national and local levels.

On the eve of the Scottish TUC conference, engineering workers in Dundee and Fife announced plans for one-day stoppages in support of the miners.

A sign of the growing mass support for the miners was given by David Basnett, general secretary of the General, Municipal, Boilermakers, and Allied Trades Union (GMBATU), Britain's third largest union. Basnett is a key figure on the TUC General Council. He expressed support for the miners and predicted that the whole trade union movement would mobilize to ensure that the miners

were not "starved back to work." He further pledged that there would be industrial action in defense of any group of workers brought into conflict with the anti-union laws.

Thatcher tries to deepen divisions

To deepen divisions between a minority of miners who believe their jobs are safe and the rest of the union, the Tory government headed by Thatcher, and the news media waged a huge campaign for the NUM executive to call a national referendum of the miners at its monthly executive meeting on April 12. Along with the NCB, they hoped that if the NUM executive could be pressured into holding a national referendum, the Scargill leadership would be defeated. This is what happened in three previous ballots for action over jobs and wages during the last couple of years. It was this experience that led the Scargill leadership to initiate strike action in the most militant regions and then extend it to other areas.

Right-wing members of the NUM's executive even went to the lengths of holding a much-publicized "secret" meeting to pressure the left-wing majority leadership into calling an emergency meeting. They failed. The NUM executive met as scheduled and voted to reject the referendum proposal. Instead it recalled the national delegate conference, at which every pit in the union is represented, to discuss the next stage of the fight.

Outside the meeting, over 3,000 miners expressed their determination to continue the fight. Sixty-three miners were arrested by the large police force that surrounded the NUM headquarters.

The fight to bring all the pits in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire into the strike continues. Daily, carloads of pickets seek to evade police roadblocks to reach the pits where miners are still working. Demonstrations and meetings have been organized to bring the maximum pressure to bear. Following the NUM executive meeting, demonstrations of miners were organized in Nottingham — 10,000 strong — and at Chesterfield in Derbyshire — 4,000 strong.

Addressing a packed rally in Nottingham, on April 14, Arthur Scargill declared, "We are facing the greatest test and crisis in the entire history of our union." He concluded with a call on the entire trade union movement to join the miners in their struggle, with wave after wave of applause from the audience and chants of "Arthur Scargill, Arthur Scargill, we'll support you evermore," "We can win, we can win," and "Miners united can never be defeated." □

Behind the 'war of the crosses'

Church hierarchy pushes reactionary aims

By Ernest Harsch

For nearly a month, political attention in Poland was focused on a small agricultural college in Mietno, southeast of Warsaw.

On March 7, hundreds of students at the state-run institution began a series of sit-ins, marches, and other protest actions in opposition to efforts by school authorities to remove religious crucifixes from the classrooms in compliance with government regulations enforcing the separation of church and state.

Compared with many of the demonstrations in Poland in recent years, this conflict involved relatively few protesters. But it was soon transformed into a national issue and received widespread international press coverage.

The Roman Catholic Episcopate — the nine-member council of bishops that heads the Polish Catholic church — publicly supported the students. Sermons were delivered from pulpits from one end of Poland to the other demanding that the government allow the display of crucifixes in schools. Bishop Jan Mazur of Siedlce launched a protest fast, which was joined by 450 clergymen throughout Poland.

Imperialist propaganda

The big-business news media in the United States and Western Europe, in particular, seized on these protests to further the imperialists' anticommunist propaganda. Photographs and film footage of Polish youths holding up crucifixes and rosaries were prominently featured in an effort to portray the conflict in Poland as one between religious freedom and "atheistic Marxism."

Initially, the Polish government took a firm stance against the demonstrations, sending out riot police to clear occupied buildings and to halt planned marches. Jerzy Urban, an official government spokesman, declared on March 13, "State schools in Poland were, are and will remain secular institutions according to the law on the school system. It follows from the secular character of the state schools that religious symbols should not be hung up in such schools."

Yet on April 6 a compromise was worked out between the protesters and regional authorities. Students agreed to halt their actions and return to classes, while the government said it would permit crucifixes in the reading rooms and dormitories of the agricultural school, but not in the classrooms themselves.

The conflict in Mietno is just one example of the growing influence of the Catholic church hierarchy over political life in Poland, following the government's breaking up and outlawing of the Solidarity union movement. While those who supported the Mietno students in-

cluded former supporters or members of Solidarity, it was church officials who rushed in to provide the leadership for the protest.

Many Poles saw their support for the student action as an expression of continued opposition to the government's bureaucratic and anti-working-class policies. But that was not the motivation of the church hierarchy. Nor did the demands of the Mietno protest have anything in common with the overall thrust of the mass working-class struggle that Solidarity had led.

Workers' demands

Solidarity — which came out of the massive July–August 1980 strike wave — encompassed the bulk of the Polish working class during the year and a half in which it was able to function openly. Its leadership was elected from the factories, shipyards, and mines and was accountable to the nearly 10 million workers who belonged to the union.

Solidarity's main demands were for trade-union rights, the elimination of bureaucratic privileges and abuses, a lessening of social inequalities, an end to repression on the basis of one's political views, a strong alliance between the workers and farmers, and direct worker participation in the making of economic and social policy decisions.

These demands were progressive. Their achievement, by advancing the interests of the workers and farmers against those of the privileged bureaucratic caste that governs the country, would strengthen the workers state established by Polish workers in the late 1940s.

Church's reactionary aims

The church hierarchy, however, has a different perspective. While it dresses its aims in the guise of "defending the nation," its actual course is contrary to the interests of the Polish workers.

Before the Second World War, the Catholic church in Poland was directly allied with the Polish capitalists and landlords, railed against communism, and permitted anti-Semitic and pro-fascist currents within the ranks of the clergy.

The abolition of capitalism and landlordism in Poland after the war was a big blow to the Catholic church hierarchy. As part of the agrarian reform, some 450,000 acres of church lands were confiscated and either transformed into state farms or given to peasants who needed land. The separation of church and state was officially decreed.

Yet those democratic features of the socialist revolution in Poland — like many

others — remained uncompleted. The state authorities and the leaders of the governing Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) did not seek to mobilize and politically educate the working class and its allies with an internationalist outlook. They did not inculcate Polish workers with the view that defending and strengthening the gains made by the working class requires actively allying with working people in other countries who are fighting to extend the socialist revolution. For the bureaucracy, to do this would undermine its attempt to preserve its privileges and dominance at home.

The PUWP leadership's failure to implement policies in the interests of the workers and farmers has weakened the fight for a materialist perspective and against the persistence of religious beliefs. This enabled the church leadership to maintain some of its influence over the population in spite of its socially and politically reactionary role.

The church officialdom could no longer represent the interests of the Polish capitalists and landlords, but it continued to maintain close ties with the Vatican — which itself seeks to promote the interests of imperialism around the world. The Polish church periodically denounced the "atheistic and materialistic philosophy of communism" and sought to promote the Vatican's reactionary social doctrine (such as opposition to the rights of women to abortion and divorce).

Because of their hostility to the Polish workers state, church officials periodically came into direct conflict with the bureaucracy that rested on that state. But in general, due to the weakness of its material base in Poland, the church had to disguise its hostility, seek some form of accommodation with the bureaucracy, and confine itself to pressing for concessions from the government.

Solidarity and the church

With the emergence of Solidarity, however, the role that the church officialdom had carved out for itself was threatened.

It feared the workers' independence and the potential challenge that Solidarity posed to its authority over the masses. The more workers went into action, the more they became aware of their own class interests, the less would they look to the church hierarchy for direction.

Yet at the same time, the church leadership hoped to take advantage of the fact that most of Solidarity's leaders and members were churchgoers in order to strengthen the church's bargaining position with the government.

This effort was greatly facilitated by the narrow political perspective of the Solidarity

leadership. The leaders of Solidarity only rarely explained their demands within an explicitly prosocialist framework. They failed to consciously place the Polish workers' fight in the context of the broader international class struggle against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression. Many expressed illusions in the role of the imperialist governments and especially of the proimperialist union leaderships in the United States and Western Europe. Some went so far as to profess admiration for the "Western democracies" and put forward openly anticommunist views.

All this made it more difficult for the Polish workers to draw the necessary conclusions about where their class interests lay and made it easier for church officials (and various anti-communist political currents) to gain a hearing among the workers.

The church hierarchy continually sought to influence Solidarity's leadership and political direction — and to get the workers to accept a more conciliatory course.

But the union remained independent of the church. As Lech Walesa proclaimed at one Solidarity regional congress in mid-1981, "I have always tried to prevent the party or the church from taking over Solidarity, because, as I have repeatedly said, this is a movement of working people in the factories."

As long as Solidarity was active, workers thus had a vehicle through which they could freely discuss and express their aims. But the imposition of martial law in December 1981 and the subsequent repression deprived workers of that vehicle.

For a while, those leaders of Solidarity who had evaded arrest managed to build up underground union structures and an extensive network of bulletins and newspapers. This provided a focus for continued worker resistance to the bureaucracy's attacks.

But gradually this underground has been weakened by arrests, demoralization among layers of the working class, the failure of a number of protest actions, and growing political divergences among the remnants of the Solidarity leadership.

This has provided the church hierarchy with an even greater opportunity to try to advance its influence. Since the imposition of martial law, it has sought to further promote its reactionary religious ideas, discredit the political legacy of Solidarity, and channel expressions of political dissent within the framework of church institutions.

Pope's visit

A high point of this effort came with Pope John Paul II's tour of Poland in June 1983. Millions of Poles turned out to greet him. Supporters of Solidarity took advantage of the occasion to hoist Solidarity banners and chant Lech Walesa's name.

But the pope did not come to advance the Polish workers' struggle — whatever those who turned out to hear him may have thought.

In many different ways, he put forward the view that the Polish people should side with

the "free" capitalist West against "totalitarian" communism. "Perhaps at times we envy the French, the Germans, or the Americans . . . because they are much more easily free," he proclaimed during one sermon.

The pope also told the Polish workers to look to the church for their salvation, not to their own efforts and organizations. The "true aspirations of the workers," he preached, are "fully met by the social doctrine of the church."

Since the pope's visit, the church has served increasingly as a rallying point for those opposed to the bureaucracy's policies. This has enabled the church hierarchy to further extend its influence. Lectures, classes, and seminars directed by academics who are critical of the government are being organized under the church's auspices. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the former editor of *Tygodnik Solidarnosc*, Solidarity's main national weekly newspaper before the imposition of martial law, now delivers lectures for the church. Foreign assistance for Polish farmers is channeled through church institutions.

In addition, committees to defend political prisoners or to provide assistance to the families of persecuted workers are often organized out of churches. Masses are occasionally followed by antigovernment demonstrations.

While the church's influence is clearly growing, there is still political protest activity taking place beyond its immediate control. Pro-Solidarity workers committees exist in many individual factories, and in some cases on regional levels, though they are but a shadow of their former strength. Numerous factory bulletins and newsheets continue to be published. In recent months, there have been a series of brief strikes in Warsaw, Wrocław, Radom, Chelm, and other areas, largely over specific economic grievances.

The church hierarchy's hostility toward this legacy of support for Solidarity was evident during a tour of Latin America by Jozef Cardinal Glemp, the top official of the Polish Catholic Church. On March 2, he was quoted by a Brazilian newspaper, *O Estado de São Paulo*, in an attack on Solidarity for having supposedly become a "political organization." He claimed that Solidarity was a "mixed bag" of "Marxists" and "Trotskyists" and that Lech Walesa was an "independent who has been manipulated." He also charged, "Half of its 10 million members belong to the Communist Party, which means that its ideals are not the same as the church's."

Actually, only 1 million of Solidarity's members were also in the party, but Glemp's point that the union's "ideals" were different from those of the church was clear enough.

Shortly before leaving on his Latin America tour, Glemp sought to crack down on those elements within the church who are considered too sympathetic to Solidarity. The Rev. Mieczyslaw Nowak, who often held masses for the workers of the giant Ursus tractor factory out-

side Warsaw (a former Solidarity stronghold), was transferred to a remote rural parish in an effort to silence him.

This move sparked the first open protest action against anyone in the church hierarchy in recent years. More than 2,000 Poles attended a mass held in Nowak's church to protest Glemp's transfer order. Several supporters of Nowak subsequently launched a hunger strike. A delegate from the Ursus tractor factory, after unsuccessfully appealing to Glemp to reverse his order, told a journalist, "The Primate is not with us. He's against us."

Criticisms of Glemp in the underground press have also begun to appear. *Wola*, which is distributed in a working-class neighborhood of Warsaw, accused him of advancing "the interests of the church alone, as an institution," to the detriment of "the interests and aspirations of the nation as a whole." Such criticisms of the church, however, are still quite rare.

The Polish bureaucracy — while nervous about some of the political activities going on in the churches — has nevertheless been willing to seek an accommodation with the church hierarchy. It looks favorably on the church's efforts to counter the legacy of Solidarity. The authorities have granted the church 700 new building permits and have for some time allowed it to publish its own newspapers. On April 6 — the same day as the compromise on the crucifixes — the Sejm (parliament) took the first step toward government approval of the church-sponsored fund for channeling foreign assistance to Polish farmers.

What course for the workers?

Many workers in Poland viewed the government's compromise on the issue of the crucifixes as a partial victory.

During the course of the protest action in Mietno, workers sent messages of support to the students, including from the FSO automobile factory in Warsaw, another former stronghold of Solidarity. Lech Walesa publicly sided with the demands of the students and warned the government against any attempts to remove crucifixes from workplaces.

But keeping up crucifixes in public institutions in Poland is no victory for the working class. Separation of church and state is a long standing democratic demand supported by the world workers movement — and by the workers movement in Poland itself. To fight *against* that democratic principle, even in the name of opposing the bureaucracy's arbitrary and undemocratic methods of rule, harms the workers' interests. It can only serve to deepen the ideological confusion that persists among working people in Poland and provide further openings for the imperialist campaign against the Polish workers state.

Support for the reactionary aims of the Roman Catholic Church is an obstacle to the fight of the Polish workers, a fight that can only be advanced through political clarity on its basic direction — toward a deepening of the socialist revolution in Poland and its extension internationally. □

Interview with Hong Kong Trotskyists

'Deng's reforms strengthen capitalist elements'

[Since the death of Mao Tse-tung in 1976, China has undergone important changes in its domestic political and economic life. In early March, *Intercontinental Press* editor Steve Clark and correspondent Diane Wang interviewed leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) in Hong Kong about these changes. Both groups are part of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The present government in Peking inherited a great many economic problems from the Gang of Four period, stressed Lee Sze, a leader of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

In the cities, due to mismanagement and waste, many of the economic resources had been used up without being replaced. Most of the state-run enterprises were operating at a loss, and their production did not meet society's needs, either in terms of quantity or quality. Much of the equipment was outmoded and worn out.

In the countryside, even before the Gang of Four period, the people's communes were near the point of bankruptcy. Peasants showed little enthusiasm for production in the bureaucratically managed communes, and production was low. In addition, the state had made little investment in agriculture over the years.

When the Deng Xiaoping faction came to power, Lee said, they needed a period of readjustment to solve these economic problems. The first thing the Deng grouping had to do was deal with the accumulated discontent in the urban and rural populations. They did this in two ways — by increasing the wages of urban workers, mainly through bonuses, and by increasing the price paid the farmers for their grain.

The process of readjustment, Lee maintained, has been largely completed, and it is now possible to see the outline of the Deng faction's concept of how to manage the economy.

The main thrust will be the planned economy, but complemented by aspects of a market economy. This means, Lee explained, that the state wants to control the main material resources and daily necessities and to retain control over distribution. But it also wants to use market mechanisms as a way of making adjustments in the economy.

Local factories and factory managers are being given more decision-making power and responsibility for the factories' results, as the state moves away from a general system of subsidies for money-losing enterprises. "The state is trying to exert its control through tax-

ation rather than through subsidies," Lee explained.

But while eliminating subsidies, the state wants to retain overall control over the economy. "But it cannot do both at the same time, and during the past few years we have seen constant swings between giving more power to local leaders and trying to retain power in the central apparatus," the RCP leader stated.

There have been major reforms in the rural economy. The introduction of the "household responsibility system" has led to large increases in agricultural production. Under this system, peasant families are allotted a piece of land to farm. In return, they agree to sell a set amount of produce to the state at a predetermined price. They are free to dispose of anything over that amount as they choose — retaining it for family consumption, selling it on the open market, or whatever.

Lueng, a leader of the Revolutionary Marxist League, pointed out that "the enthusiasm of the peasants is now quite high because they can decide most major questions for themselves — how much produce to sell, where to sell it, what price to charge, and so on."

According to Lee, under the present system "the former people's communes no longer exist in actual fact. It is true that there are still official organizations called communes that control distribution of seed and fertilizer and have control over the larger equipment. But local government administration has been separated from the people's communes," and the commune is no longer the basic unit of local government.

Lee and Lueng both see serious dangers in the introduction of the responsibility system.

Rural differentiation

Lee pointed out that "the new rural policy has caused differentiation in the countryside in terms of income." This differentiation, he noted, was not obvious at first, but has become much clearer as the responsibility system has been extended to specialized activities like pig breeding, managing fish ponds, and maintaining orchards.

The households that are assigned these tasks, Lee said, are the ones that get rich very fast. "These people are often the former cadres of the commune or are related to the cadres and are becoming a new force with special privileges and power in the rural areas."

In addition, "we see a phenomenon where some households are now transferring the land that they have been allocated to other people."

According to Lueng, "although it takes very curious forms, land is being sold by those who

have received an allocation from the commune. There are now some farmers who have accumulated so much land that they hire over 100 workers to farm it," the RML leader maintained.

In his view, "this accumulation of capital in private hands will inevitably seek its own expression in the political system. What impact this will have depends on the policies of the Communist Party."

Lueng feels that "China is the workers state where the capitalist remnants have the biggest possibility to exert influence because 80 percent of the population is made up of peasants, who have no special affinity for the socialist system."

According to Lee, there have already been instances of peasant households refusing to sell the government the agreed-upon quota of produce and concealing profits from the government.

Lee pointed to another area of rural life where capitalist influence is growing — the establishment of light industrial enterprises under private control in farm areas.

He noted that "there is a serious labor surplus in the countryside and a need for rural labor power to be shifted to industrial production. At the same time the government's production of consumer goods is limited and cannot satisfy the internal demand. The government's response, after some hesitation, has been to sanction the establishment of small production units that are privately run."

At present, he said, the government allows a private enterprise to employ three workers and five apprentices, "and it is expected that this ceiling will be raised."

Lueng also pointed out that the Communist Party has made a number of concessions to the former capitalists and landlords. "During and after the Cultural Revolution," he noted, "these capitalists could not collect income from their former holdings. Now they are again allowed to collect interest and rent from their old properties."

Capitalist influence

Lueng also feels that "the Chinese government's growing dependence on the imperialist powers for foreign investment and technology for its modernization program" adds to the pro-capitalist pressure.

He warned that "although it is too early to tell, the convergence of capital accumulation by the peasants, the restoration of investment income to former capitalists, and the foreign investment and loans could be an impetus to capitalist influence in China."

He added that as the polarization in the

countryside increases, the richest peasants might join forces with the capitalist elements or the most right-wing elements in the Communist Party as a political force.

As a result of the economic reforms, the central government's control over the economy has declined, and it is becoming increasingly difficult for the government to implement its decisions. Lueng pointed out that although the central government wants to lower investment in heavy industry and concentrate resources in the energy and transportation fields in order to eliminate those severe bottlenecks in China's economy, Peking has been unable to carry that decision out.

Although the central government has lowered investment in the heavy industrial enterprises it controls, provincial and local authorities have increased their investments in that field. Since the local managers and authorities now can retain a high proportion of an enterprise's profits, they can invest as they choose, without following the guidelines set centrally.

Within the banking system the same thing is taking place. The more loans a bank makes, and the bigger the loans, the more profit the bank earns, even though the central government may be discouraging investment.

Lueng noted that "although financial policy may be quite sound as it is formulated at the higher levels, by the time it gets to the grass roots it is often seriously distorted."

He added that "once the law of the market prevails in the economy, everyone follows that law rather than the plan."

Lueng said the overall effect of these reforms will be to lower the standard of living of the working class, except for those working in enterprises producing high-profit items.

Because of the higher price paid to farmers for their produce, the state's subsidies of food prices have increased substantially in recent years. The bureaucracy has stated that it will not continue to subsidize food prices in the future. This will lead to sharp increases in the prices paid by the workers.

Lueng expects that this "will lead the workers to ask for more rights to participate in the political and the economic system as decision-makers."

According to Lee, the central government's declining control is also seen in the Special Economic Zones set up to attract foreign investment. The government originally stated that the social character of these zones would still be socialist and that the state would continue to control production within the zones.

But because the central government does not have much capital available to invest in the Special Economic Zones, it has changed the way it describes the zones in an attempt to attract foreign capitalists. The government now describes the zones as capitalist in nature.

And very soon after the zones were set up, local cadres were given the right to negotiate contracts directly with foreign investors, thereby undercutting the state's monopoly on foreign trade. According to Lee, many of the



A peasant examines wheat hybrids he is developing.

contracts entered into by the local cadres do not meet the state's guidelines or requirements.

As a result, recently the central government has reasserted its control over the Special Economic Zones and has taken back the final right to approve all contracts with foreign capitalists.

Repression of discontent

"Although the Chinese people officially had some democratic rights under Mao, these really existed only when the government wanted to use the masses," Lee said. "One example was the Cultural Revolution. Because Mao wanted to use the Red Guards against his opponents inside the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people were encouraged to use certain rights."

Between 1978 when Deng Xiaoping's faction in the CCP came to power, and April 1981, people had much greater opportunities to express their views without being subjected to immediate repression. During that period people could put up large-character wall posters describing their opinions on various questions, unofficial publications appeared throughout the country, and "Democracy Wall" in Peking was allowed to function. Although there were periodic crackdowns, the Deng regime could not put the lid on developments.

"But once Deng Xiaoping's power was secure, there was a return to general repression," Lee noted. "Most of the activists in the Democracy Movement were arrested in April 1981. Since then the whole movement has had to go underground."

The repression has extended to general society, he added, citing the recent heavy-handed drive against crime, marked by mass, highly publicized executions.

But, Lee noted, despite the increased repression, controls are still looser than in the period

when Mao's faction controlled the Chinese Communist Party. "Although the Chinese people and workers have no officially recognized democratic rights and have no access to publications to publicize and exchange their views, people in general are more open in expressing their views," the RCP leader stated.

"During the Gang of Four period that preceded the rise to power of Deng's faction, people who expressed discontent in public would be immediately arrested. But now in the streets and on trains people discuss their opinions about Deng's rule or other topics without being arrested."

Lee added, "This does not mean that people have been given more rights by the government. It means that the government is less able to control the expression of discontent." Lueng pointed out that although the Democracy Movement has been wiped out for now, "the bureaucrats have made some concessions to the working class and other layers of society." He pointed to the fact that thousands of peasants went to Peking to voice their grievances and to demand that the regime clear its files of the many political charges levelled against people during the Cultural Revolution and Gang of Four periods. As a result, the government was forced to purge the files, clearing out the records of hundreds of thousands of political cases. "This was a big concession to the peasants," Lueng said.

"Because the situation during the Gang of Four period was so bad," Lueng said, "the average person was quite happy to see some concessions from the government." He feels that the government still has a considerable reservoir of goodwill among the population as a result.

All strata of society

In the early period of Deng's rule, Lueng stated, there was pressure for greater freedom from all strata of society. "The peasants," he asserted, "were most backward in this regard, simply wanting freedom to freely cultivate the land."

Young people recognized that unless there was institutionalized democracy nothing would change and there would be no progress.

"Workers voiced their grievances and demands within their own work units, asking for more say in the whole system," the RML leader said. "Their consciousness started with the struggle against the bureaucracy in their own factory. This layer of workers and young people will become the backbone of the future democracy movement."

In addition, a faction of the Communist Party wanted greater reforms and more freedom of expression in order to try to overcome the damage done during the Gang of Four period.

According to Lueng, the fact that the bureaucracy had mobilized so many people as members of the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution has had an important continuing influence in the early years of Deng's rule.

The former Red Guards had experience in

working with and organizing the masses, and they had lost all their illusions.

"Participation or nonparticipation in the Cultural Revolution is a big dividing line in China," Lueng stated. Those who participated have no illusions in the central government or various wings of the CP, while those who did not take part in the Cultural Revolution tend to have more illusions regarding the party's liberal wing, he said.

A large number of activists, Lueng believes, "have already concluded that the whole system in China is hopeless."

Rotten degeneration

Lee pointed out that in recent years "the ruling apparatus in China has developed from being the crystallization of bureaucratic privileges to rotten degeneration. The Chinese Communist Party itself has admitted that self-reform is a life and death question," he noted. "But all the attempts at reform of the party in the last few years have failed."

Lee explained that "now cadres have a lifetime position, and the jobs of middle-level cadres are becoming hereditary, being passed on to one's children."

The RCP leader said that "after the Cultural Revolution and the accompanying turmoil, few lower- and middle-ranking cadres retain any communist ideas or convictions. Their chief concern now is how to maintain today's rights and privileges, and they place their bureaucratic interests above all other considerations."

Lueng of the RML made a similar point, stating that many low-level cadres in local government are resigning from their posts. Because recent economic reforms have made it possible for people to earn large sums of money in the countryside, many local cadres have resigned in order to devote themselves to making money. "My uncle is one of those cadres," Lueng added.

In light of the fact that half the membership of the CCP is made up of low-level cadres in the countryside, this development can have a big impact on the party if it continues.

Democracy Movement

Because China's problems are obvious and striking, when the bureaucracy's controls over the population were loosened in 1978 the Democracy Movement arose very quickly. That movement, although never numerically very large, had considerable influence around the country until its leaders were all arrested in April 1981.

In Lee's view, the Democracy Movement encompassed three general tendencies.

One tendency, represented by Wei Jingsheng, focused on "classical democratic and liberal ideas." Wei initially opposed both the Mao and Deng factions, maintaining that they did not represent genuine Marxism or socialism.

After his arrest, and in his defense speech, Wei stated that he was vacillating between socialism and the democratic system. He did

not reject socialism, he said, but was against the sort of socialism practiced in China.

A second tendency is represented by Chen Erjin and He Qiu, both of whom clearly maintain a socialist orientation but pose questions about how to arrive at socialism.

According to Lee, "their initial conclusion about Chinese society is that China is in a transitional stage between capitalism and socialism and they cite the theory of Marx and Lenin concerning the transition from capitalism to socialism."

This tendency sees that China's ruling institutions are bureaucratized and that bureaucracy and privilege are like cancers that are spreading and endangering the whole system. "They argue," said Lee, "that the whole system must be totally reformed by democratic revolution."

They also stressed, Lee added, that "the state-ownership system should be maintained and that the key reform is that the workers should have full democracy."

The third tendency in the Democracy Movement is represented by Wang Xizhe, who was one of the three authors of the famous 1974 wall poster issued under the collective name Li Yizhe. This tendency also maintains a socialist perspective, but argues that Mao was too radical and too rapid in moving against capitalism. "This tendency believes in the need for stages in the development to socialism and feels that China needs more capitalist development in order to further set the basis for socialism. They mainly look to the example of Yugoslavia," Lee stated.

"While they talk about the need to have more capitalist elements, they also stress that the workers should have real democratic rights to organize and supervise production," he said.

Wang Xizhe, the leading figure in this tendency, has said that he agrees with Leon Trotsky's views on the development of bureaucracy, although he does not agree with Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, Lee observed.

Lueng maintained that the key contribution the Democracy Movement activists have made in the fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy in China is their contention that the people must have the right of free expression and the right to decide matters.

Lueng also stated that the Marxist elements in the Democracy Movement have drawn their own conclusions on why there have been so few material and political gains after 30 years of so-called socialist construction.

"The Marxist current," he said, "challenged the political system that now exists in China and found that the main obstacle to progress toward socialism is the political system itself. They used many basic Marxist writings in their criticism of the present system." They went back, for example, to the documents of the Paris Commune to seek answers to the problems in China.

Both the RML and the RCP opposed the Chinese invasion of Vietnam in 1979.

"We noted the Deng Xiaoping visit to the

United States shortly before the war and the proposals on the four modernizations. We connected these two things together," said Lueng. "We came to the conclusion that Deng tried to use the invasion to show his willingness to cooperate with U.S. imperialism and, of course, other imperialists."

Lee said that "basically the hostility toward Vietnam is a direct consequence of the rift between China and the Soviet Union. China's support for Pol Pot is based on its hope to oppose Vietnam, and this is mainly to seek favor with imperialism. It is a most reactionary position."

He said that within China, however, only a small number of activists criticized the Chinese bureaucracy's foreign policy because they focused mainly on domestic problems. "But we know of one publication in Peking, called the *Peking Youth*, that talked about foreign policy and proposed that China should resume its relationship with the Soviet Union," Lee noted.

Some activists, such as Wang Xhijing, took a very bad position, according to Lueng. "Wang said that it is important to punish the Vietnamese because they interfere with the economic activities along the border. So he supported the Chinese government."

What accounts for this confusion? "Even though most of the activists knew that it was wrong to go to war with another socialist country they seemed to be swayed by a sort of nationalist feeling," suggested Lueng. Among some, he said, support for the invasion may have been intended as a maneuver to curry favor with the bureaucracy.

"But other activists were more reserved," Lueng said. "The number of casualties had a very big effect on the southern part of China. Then, to the north, where the activists were generally more political, some opposed the war."

Lee noted that the activist Wei Jingsheng had expressed dissatisfaction with the Sino-Vietnam war.

Access to information

Lee made the point that because many of the young Democracy Movement activists are the children of middle-ranking or high-ranking cadres in the Chinese Communist Party, they had access to a wider range of theoretical works than others might. Because of their family connections they could even read some of Trotsky's works since the Chinese Communist Party has published books and articles about Trotsky and the Fourth International in recent years for internal reference by high-ranking party members.

Lueng of the RML noted that through contacts with Overseas Chinese, including those in Hong Kong, the Democracy Movement activists were also able to learn about recent trends in Marxist thought in the West.

The development of the Solidarity trade union in Poland had a big impact on Chinese workers, RCP leader Lee pointed out. "The Chinese press usually ignores news of the out-

side world so activists do not know much about developments outside China," he noted. "But the Chinese government wanted to demonstrate that there is opposition in Eastern Europe to 'Soviet imperialism,' so the Chinese workers learned a lot about events in Poland."

Lueng added that "the Polish experience had a big impact on the activists in the Democracy Movement. They saw it was possible to organize the majority of the people rather than just writing articles and publishing theoretical journals."

"Toward the end of the Democracy Movement's legal period," he added, "they tried to organize a group like the KOR (Committee for the Defense of the Workers) in Poland, which would defend the rights of the workers and peasants." They were just in the process of moving in that direction when the movement was repressed, Lueng stated.

Lee said the Democracy Movement was in the initial stages of discussion and exchanging views and experiences when it was suppressed. The activists had not yet reached a level of drawing up their own program. But they were

very conscious of attempting to link up with the masses and placed strong emphasis on workers struggles. When struggles broke out in factories, activists from the Democracy Movement would go there and publish interviews with the workers and report on their demands.

During Deng's initial years in the leadership of the CCP, when his rule was still rather insecure, the Democracy Movement was able to function quite openly. Until April 1981, when the publications were suppressed and activists were jailed, publications were able to come out with remarkable consistency.

Some of the publications in Peking, for example, put out up to 40 issues. Others published several dozen before April 1981. In addition, there was considerable coordination between the publications, which joined together in 1980 to form the China National Unofficial Publications Association.

This group put out a national organ called *Duty*, which began publishing in Sept. 1980, first in Guangzhou (Canton) and then in

Shanghai. While headquartered in Guangzhou, it had considerable contact with forces in Hong Kong and had access to materials from there. *Duty*, for example, quoted from some articles in *October Review*, the organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and reprinted the 21 demands of the Polish Solidarity union movement.

Since the repression of the Democracy Movement inside China, a new publication has appeared from outside China, called *China Spring*. According to Lee, "it initially seemed like it would continue the role of *Duty*, but that has not been the case." The majority of those involved in *China Spring* have moved in a pro-capitalist direction, while a pro-socialist minority has split and is planning to issue its own publication.

This procapitalist trend, however, has not totally crystalized. One issue of *China Spring*, for example, contained an article written by a member of the RCP supporting a socialist economic system for China. "*China Spring* published it," Lee recalled, "although they published a lot more articles against that view." □

Japan

Labor movement under attack

Interview with Japan Revolutionary Communist League leader

By Diane Wang

TOKYO — "Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone calls his policy a total change of Japan's post-war political system," explained Hino Osamu, a member of the Political Bureau of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, in a March 22 interview with *Intercontinental Press*.

"The Nakasone government has launched four main attacks," Osamu said. "One is a military build-up of the Japanese self-defense forces.

"Second is the rationalization of the public sector, which also implies destroying the militant trade union movement in the public sector. For example, the plan is to fire many national railway workers. And some public sector enterprises will be sold to private capitalists," Osamu said.

Currently the public sector includes, in addition to government workers and teachers, the national railway, the telephone and telegraph systems, the postal system, and the tobacco and salt industries.

"The third attack is the policy of strengthening government control over education," Osamu continued. "The fourth attack is a radical reorganization of Japanese industry."

Military build-up

The military build-up reflects Japan's growing role as an imperialist power and U.S. part-

ner. This year the Nakasone government has budgeted \$12.6 billion for military spending. This is a 6.5 percent increase over last year's war budget, more than six times the increase given to education and more than three times the increase given for welfare payments. Pensions and public works spending were lowered.

Japan is currently spending about \$1 billion each year to help maintain U.S. bases in its country. In addition it spends some \$2.3 billion in foreign aid, much of it, of course, to prop up dictatorships in South Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, and even Honduras.

"The United States demands that Japan play a bigger counterrevolutionary role in world politics, but this is a big burden for the Japanese economic imperialists," Osamu said.

But the Japanese imperialists cannot escape that burden any more than they can the other problems of the worldwide capitalist crisis.

"Now the Japanese economy has become internationalized. Originally Japanese imperialists had refused American economic demands to open Japan's internal market or limit exports to the United States. But this is a very serious problem for the Japanese economy. There is no perspective of the Japanese being independent from America; finally Japanese imperialists have to accept the American demands on the economic issues. Therefore the

perspective of the Japanese economy will totally depend on the American economy," Osamu pointed out.

Previous Japanese governments tried to resist U.S. demands, he said, "but Nakasone gave this up as a useless attempt. The reason Nakasone can behave so is that the government attack has already been partly successful in destroying the militant workers movement so that now there is little resistance."

Labor movement in disarray

"In order to achieve his objectives, Nakasone is trying to destroy the traditional Japanese militant workers movement," Osamu said. "Sohyo [the General Council of Trade Unions], the majority of whose leaders are Socialist Party members, has been the biggest national organization of trade unions, the center of the Japanese workers movement. But now the employers and the Liberal Democratic Party government are concentrating their attack on Sohyo. They are trying to divide and split it."

Leaders of unions in steel, auto, and other big industries set up an alternative All Japan Council of Private Industry Labor Unions, which dominated last year's contract negotiations. "This was not real labor unity," Osamu said. "This unity was initiated by right-wing bureaucrats so that leaders of private industry unions in Sohyo could leave the federation.

"The next step of the Japanese bourgeoisie will be to organize the same sort of so-called unity in the public sector," Osamu continued. "There are many 'yellow unions' in the public sector. The Japanese bourgeoisie is trying to unite these and the Sohyo-affiliated unions. If this second step is achieved Sohyo will be totally dissolved."

SP moves right

"In parallel with these attacks," Osamu said, "they try to push the Socialist Party rightward. The leaders of the SP and labor bureaucrats are now giving up their traditional militant positions."

"One milestone is the position on the Japanese-United States alliance. The majority of trade unions and the SP had been opposed to the Japan-U.S. Security Pact. But more recently most of these leaders have given up that opposition and call the pact a 'realistic' approach," Osamu said.

"In matters of foreign policy the Japanese workers movement has been leftist since World War II," he explained. "Majority sentiment was pro-China and in favor of the Asian revolution, in reaction to the experience with Japanese and U.S. imperialism. It was a vague but strong sentiment."

"But this was destroyed by the 1971 U.S.-China pact. Anti-imperialist sentiment was confused, as Peking supported the Japan-U.S. Security Pact and a Japanese military build-up. Since then the anti-imperialist movement has been in decline and confusion."

The Japanese government boasts that while 10 years ago only four out of ten people supported the security pact, today two-thirds support it.

The SP capitulation to the Nakasone government on foreign policy compounds other problems facing the labor movement.

Trade union weakness

Osamu explained that trade union membership has declined to below 30 percent of Japan's work force. There is no closed-shop system.

In most cases each trade union is organized and based on a single company, such as Toyota or Nissan. Then those unions organize an auto-workers federation, for example.

In the mid-1960s Communist Party members and other militants were dealt severe blows by the combined efforts of the private companies and trade-union bureaucrats.

"Today there is no democracy in the private industry unions," Osamu noted. Workers who complained about the poor contracts negotiated last year were constantly harassed by union bureaucrats and thugs.

"The current reorganization of the labor movement started in 1974-75, with the international economic recession," Osamu said. "But frankly speaking, Japanese workers have not yet faced a major crisis in the post-war period. So they are confused about how to deal with it, how to organize a fightback."



Diane Wang/TP

JRCL leader Hino Osamu.

"We are seeing the dissolution of the post-war Japanese reformist movements. Sohyo faces dissolution, and the SP will turn to the right more and more. We are seeing a turning point in the Japanese workers movement," Osamu summarized.

JRCL hit by violent attacks

Launches campaign against ultraleft goon squads

By Diane Wang

TOKYO — Four members of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (JRCL) and one member of its youth group the Japan Communist Youth (JCY) were badly injured by goon squads of a sectarian group called Chukaku (Revolutionary Communist League, National Committee-Core Faction).

The five militants were ambushed in separate, coordinated attacks staged in Tokyo, Hiroshima, and Osaka-Kobe on January 9 and 10. Chukaku goon squads attacked Toshikazu Tanabe, Tsunehisa Ota, and Tadeo Miki as they were on their way to work. Jun Ogata and Naruaki Kuno were attacked at their homes.

Chukaku declared that it intends to "stamp out" the JRCL, the Japanese section of the Fourth International, as "counterrevolutionary agents."

In response, the JRCL has launched a public campaign to oppose such violent attacks. Some 358 well-known Japanese intellectuals issued a joint statement condemning Chukaku's violence against the JRCL. The *Rodo Joho* ("Labor Information") network of militant trade unionists, the Democratic Women's Club, and the Farmers Opposition League Against the Sanrizuka Airport and its solidarity group have all protested the Chukaku attacks.

The JRCL has been a consistent supporter of

"Most leftists in the workers movement think that to organize defense against Nakasone's four attacks we need to organize new, previously unorganized layers of the working class to counter the right wing," Osamu said. "We think this is necessary, but combine it with work within the already existing unions of Sohyo."

"For example, in the Japan National Railways there are 350,000 official employees. But there are many more who are sub-contract workers, who are unorganized and suffer poor conditions. A fightback means organizing them."

The JRCL is active on several fronts that also point the way forward for Japan's workers.

First, said Osamu, is solidarity with the Sanrizuka farmers who continue an 18-year battle against the Narita international airport built on their land.

Second is opposition to the Tomahawk nuclear weapons that the United States intends to station in Japan this year.

Another front is the necessary international solidarity with the liberation struggles in South Korea and the Philippines.

And finally is the struggle against attempts to deepen divisions in the working class and further attack the rights of working women. □

the farmers' struggle against the Sanrizuka (Narita) international airport. In addition, the JRCL is active in solidarity work on behalf of the struggles in the Philippines, Korea, Indochina, and Central America. JRCL members are active militants in their trade unions.

These attacks only serve the police and the bourgeois state, the JRCL has emphasized. The police have used the Chukaku attack as an excuse to harass the JRCL, stationing police in front of JRCL offices or trailing activists to factories or meetings.

Chukaku's attacks have also been used to smear the mass political movements in the media.

The violent ultraleft attacks by Chukaku make it more difficult to defend the labor movement and international solidarity groups from right-wing violence in Japan. In the last few years an emboldened right wing in Japan has attempted to disrupt national conventions of the teachers' union and has attacked those demonstrating in solidarity with the Philippines and Korea.

The recent Chukaku violence is also an attack on the Farmers Opposition League Against the Sanrizuka Airport. For 18 years, farmers in the Sanrizuka area outside Tokyo have opposed the construction of the Narita international airport on their land. The long struggle has involved massive mobilizations,

martyrs, and arrests. (Several members of the JRCL are serving four-to-ten-year prison sentences for participating in 1978 protests.)

The farmers are now organizing opposition to a second phase of airport construction. They have decided to sell small plots of the land lying in the path of the airport's proposed second runway to active supporters around the country. By selling land to thousands of "joint owners," the farmers hope to make it difficult for the airport corporation to acquire the land.

Chukaku charged that this was a "sellout" to the airport corporation and publicly campaigned against the farmers' decision. The JRCL, on the other hand, supported the decision and affirmed that the farmers have the

right to decide such matters of tactics and strategy. At a March 8, 1983, meeting the farmers voted by a majority of 173 to 30 to break relations with Chukaku.

The farmers have continued to organize and held a rally of some 4,000 people on March 25 this year.

Chukaku organized its own rump "airport opposition league" and escalated verbal attacks on the farmers and JRCL, culminating in the January ambush attacks.

Chukaku has a long history of sectarian violence. In the 1970s it launched a war against another radical group, violence that ultimately took the lives of 50 militants. The JRCL was in the vanguard in opposing such violence and

calling for the formation of united-front organizations to advance the interests of Japanese workers and farmers against the capitalist government.

Since the January attacks, Chukaku has telephoned death threats to members of the JRCL and the farmers league. They have distributed threatening leaflets at places where JRCL members work. JRCL members' apartments have been burglarized and political material stolen for publication by Chukaku.

Messages supporting the JRCL's campaign against violence within the workers movement can be sent to: Japan Revolutionary Communist League, Shinjidai-sha, 5-13-17 Shiba, Minatoku, Tokyo, Japan. □

Belgium

LRT-RAL holds Congress

Discusses building a 'vanguard workers party'

[The following article is slightly abridged from the April 9 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly review published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The Revolutionary Workers League (LRT-RAL), Belgian section of the Fourth International, held its seventh national congress on February 17, 1984. A very large majority of the 60 delegates present approved the political resolution entitled "Towards a vanguard workers party," adopted a motion that decided to change the name of the party to Socialist Workers Party (POS-SAP), and approved new party statutes. Far from being a routine event, this seventh congress marked an important turning point in the history of the Belgian section of the Fourth International. It followed a long internal discussion on a self-critical balance sheet on its 15-year history.

The LRT-RAL was formally founded in 1971 by the fusion of three organizations: the Belgian section of the time, the Jeune Garde Socialiste; the youth organization of the Socialist Party, which had been sympathetic to the Fourth International since 1969; and a small left centrist party, the product of a split in the SP in 1965, whose Walloon (French-speaking) wing in particular had a workers base in several big industrial plants.

Nevertheless, this new organization had to build itself in difficult conditions. There was a very markedly uneven development between, on the one hand, the decline in workers struggles and rising student radicalization on the other. However, at the same time the Walloon working class was suffering the effects of un-

employment from 1966-67 while the Flemish proletariat was strengthened and made more combative by the effects of assisted economic expansion in the north of the country, although this combativity was not reflected in a level of consciousness or union organization comparable to that which still existed in the Walloon country.

Despite the presence of seasoned worker militants and influential union delegates [shop stewards] the line and the functioning of the LRT-RAL was determined during this period by the role played by activists who had come in large part from the student movement. This led, among other things, to a certain delay in accumulating experienced comrades and some difficulties in recruiting and keeping workers with experience of leading struggles. The decline in revolutionary prospects in Europe, particularly after 1974-75 in Portugal, and the violent austerity offensive of the bourgeoisie led in the end to a sharp political crisis within the organization at the end of 1978.

Thus the seventh congress had to be a congress of rectification. This demanded a rigorous analysis of the organization's main weaknesses. It meant making a critical survey of the current state of the workers movement, its vanguard, and the present situation.

The correction and rectification took place step by step as the self-critical discussion progressed. The "turn to industry" decided by the Eleventh World Congress in 1979 gave a new enthusiasm to the Belgian section. This important tactical measure forced a rethink of political orientation and the way it was put into practice.

The LRT-RAL leadership, therefore, took a firm grasp of the work among workers and in

the trade unions. The almost uninterrupted rise of social movements in the period 1979-1983, expressed in several movements towards a general strike, the annual "Women Against the Crisis" mobilizations, the youth marches for jobs, and gigantic anti-missiles demonstrations, allowed the LRT-RAL to test out its new political orientation in a lively social context and anchor the "internal debate" in the reality of the class struggle.

The congress which decided to form the POS-SAP broke with a certain tradition of having a political resolution based on a detailed analysis of the objective situation, in which the tasks of building the party were relegated to a small section at the end, with a few ritualistic formulas in the body of the text. This time the task of building the party was placed centrally in the resolution.

Thus, this conference prepared a new stage in the growth of the POS-SAP which, according to the resolution, offers certain possibilities despite the difficult political situation for the workers movement. The political resolution outlined a specific organizational objective for the next two years: "To recruit and organize within and around the party several dozen vanguard workers from the working class and modify the party's organizational system from top to bottom to form these workers, often important trade-union militants, into party cadres."

The next few months will tell if the POS-SAP can meet this challenge. There is no doubt that the organization has already made some important gains. Between the sixth and seventh congresses it grew by 20 percent. Today, 82 percent of the members are employees, 25 percent are industrial workers, and 22 percent are elected union representatives, some of whom have also been elected to their regional executive committees. Everything will depend on the ability of the new 28-member central committee elected at the congress — a third of whom are industrial workers — to involve all the members of the former LRT-RAL in carrying through a thoroughgoing transformation of the POS-SAP. □

No to U.S. offensive in Caribbean

Parties in region hold consultative meeting

[At the initiative of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, parties and organizations from throughout the Caribbean met in Georgetown, the capital of Guyana, in early March, and issued the following joint communiqué on March 4. We have taken the text from the March 25 issue of the Cuban Communist Party's English-language weekly *Granma*. In its introduction to the document, *Granma* noted that the conference had been held "to exchange views on the current situation in the area after the U.S. invasion of Grenada."]

* * *

1. A consultative meeting of communist and revolutionary parties and organisations was held in Georgetown from 2-4 March, 1984.

2. The meeting was attended by representatives from the Movement for National Liberation (MONALI) of Barbados; the Communist Party of Cuba; Action Committee for a Socialist Movement (ACSAM) of Curaçao; the Dominican Liberation Movement Alliance; the People's Progressive Party of Guyana; the Communist Party of Guadeloupe; the Workers Party of Jamaica; the Martinique Communist Party; the United People's Movement of St. Vincent and the Grenadines; the Workers Revolutionary Movement of St. Lucia; the February 18th Movement, and the People's Popular Movement of Trinidad and Tobago.

3. Meeting for the first time since the illegal and unjustified U.S.-led invasion of Grenada, which was condemned internationally and by the UN, the delegations made a profound assessment of developments in Central America and the Caribbean and concluded that the Grenada tragedy introduced a renewed emphasis on the use of force by U.S. imperialism as a solution to the region's problems.

4. Participants unanimously agreed that the deteriorating economic situation and the declining living standards of the Caribbean peoples are endangering peace and security in the region. Delegates emphasised that the Reagan-sponsored Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) is basically an instrument aimed at creating a military/political bloc linked to imperialism and against the interests of the peoples of the region.

5. Speakers emphasised the need to counter the U.S. imperialist military offensive in the region. Attention was paid to the increasing dangers facing the Nicaraguan Revolution as well as to the heroic struggles being waged by the revolutionary forces of El Salvador. In this connection, all participants reiterated their whole-hearted support and solidarity with the people and government of Nicaragua and with the revolutionary forces of El Salvador, led by

the FMLN/FDR. Firm support and solidarity was also reaffirmed with the people and Government of Cuba in their endeavour to build a socialist society. Emphasis was made on the necessity to step up the fight for world peace and to make the Caribbean a Zone of Peace.

6. All delegates expressed their firm repudiation of U.S. military bases in the region, against all aggressive military manoeuvres, Washington's increased militarization of the region, and in particular the proposed Washington sponsored and controlled Eastern Caribbean Sub-Regional Interventionist Army, being established against the dignity, sovereignty, and wish of the Caribbean peoples for the peaceful and independent development of their respective countries.

7. Participants in the meeting highly appreciated the positive stand taken by the Governments of Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, the Bahamas, and Belize for the dignified and sovereign stand in their rejection of the crimi-

nal invasion of Grenada by U.S. imperialism.

8. Delegates expressed deep regret at the death of Maurice Bishop and his colleagues and agreed to take appropriate actions in their respective countries to sustain the memory of the Grenada Revolution. Delegates also recognised the heroic resistance put up by patriotic Grenadians and Cuban internationalist workers to the U.S. aggression against tiny Grenada; lamented the loss of civilian life; and agreed to protest vigorously against the illegal occupation of Grenada and insist on the recognition of the Human Rights of all Grenadian citizens.

9. Representatives exchanged information and experiences pertaining to the work of the parties and organisations in their respective countries.

10. Participants agreed that meetings of this kind are very useful to the fight for peace, the defence of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all Caribbean countries — and the well-being of the Caribbean peoples.

11. There was a coincidence of views among delegates that the parties and organisations should continue working in a spirit of equality and cooperation in the interests of peace, democracy, national liberation, and socialism.

12. The discussions took place in a frank, constructive, and comradely atmosphere. □

'You do an excellent job'

By Sandi Sherman

For the past several weeks, *Intercontinental Press* has been campaigning to raise funds and win new subscribers. As part of the subscription effort, we have also been promoting the recently published Pathfinder Press book, *Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution 1979-83*.

IP's contribution to the ongoing discussion on the lessons to be learned from the achievements of the revolution in Grenada as well as the events leading to the overthrow of the Bishop-led government there has been especially welcomed by our readers. The exclusive interview with Don Rojas, former press secretary to Maurice Bishop, which we published in our Dec. 26, 1983, issue, was so popular that despite an initial press run twice the usual size, we completely ran out of copies and recently published a special reprint edition.

News of *IP's* Grenada coverage has gotten around. We recently received a letter from Rev. Tarrel Miller, a member of the state legislature in South Dakota. He wrote, "I am interested in obtaining a copy of your April 2 issue. Friends have told me you carried extensive information in that issue concerning the invasion of Grenada.

"As a supporter of the late Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, I would be grateful to

have a copy of this issue and any other materials that you think would interest me."

IP readers from Sweden, Norway, West Germany, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Britain, and the United States have taken advantage of our special discount offer for the book, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, with the purchase or renewal of a subscription.

Our distributors in New Zealand received a letter from the research officer for the government of Vanuatu indicating appreciation for *IP's* coverage of the achievements working people have made in that country.

The response to our appeal for funds has been equally gratifying. A \$25 contribution from a Latino reader in Los Angeles was accompanied by the following message. "This is my contribution to help cover Nicaragua and other places. You do an excellent job. I learn a lot."

These donations, however large or small, help *IP* to continue its high-quality coverage, like the series of eyewitness reports from Vietnam, Kampuchea, Hong Kong, and Japan filed by Steve Clark and Diane Wang. Please send your contribution to *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, USA.

A talk with Fidel Castro

'Bohemia' publishes full text of 'Newsweek' interview

[The following is the complete text of an interview with Cuban President Fidel Castro that was conducted in late December by correspondent Patricia Sethi of the U.S. magazine *Newsweek*. That publication carried substantial excerpts from the interview in its January 9 edition, but more than half of the material, including entire questions and answers, was omitted. The full text was published in the February 10 issue of the Havana weekly *Bohemia*, Cuba's most widely read news magazine. The translation from *Bohemia's* text, and the footnotes, are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Q. On the eve of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, what have been the major achievements of the revolution? If, as the leader of this revolution, you had the opportunity to do things all over again, would you change anything?

A. The Cuban people — and you can confirm this by speaking with any of our citizens — have achieved a sense of national independence that they never had before. They enjoy a personal dignity that had always been denied them. For the first time, Cubans are masters of their own country. Nothing and no one can threaten them from within their own country. No one can belittle them for being Black, or discriminate against them because they happen to be women.

Their social standing is not determined by their economic income. To find a bed in a hospital when they are ill, or to get a job, they no longer have to humiliate themselves if they are men or prostitute themselves if they are women, as often happened in the past. On the basis of that dignity, which makes us all equal, there comes all the rest — the social and economic transformations that have characterized the revolution.

Our economy has grown at an approximate annual average rate of 4.7 percent for 25 years, one of the highest rates in the continent, despite the U.S. blockade. In Latin America, we are the second country in terms of per capita food consumption. Moreover, our "per capita" are better distributed than in any other country of the hemisphere.

In health, education, culture, and sports, we hold first place among Third World countries and rank higher than many industrialized countries. You will be surprised when I tell you that there are more illiterates and semilliterates in the United States, in proportion to the population, than in Cuba.

It will surprise you less, perhaps, when I say that in the United States there is drug addiction, gambling, prostitution, unemployment, extreme poverty, racial discrimination, and

sexual exploitation of children, all of which make up an inseparable part of U.S. capitalist society. Such problems do not exist in Cuba. Acts of bloodshed and violence occur in the United States at a rate at least 10 times higher than in Cuba. So I think we have advanced somewhat in relation to North America since the victory of the Cuban Revolution.

If we were to have the chance to do things over again, there are things we would do differently, such as not starting our revolutionary struggle by attacking the Moncada Barracks but rather by beginning straight from guerrilla warfare in the mountains. But the strategic line we have followed in the revolutionary process and the principles underlying it would be no different.

Q. One often reads reports that your revolution is on the verge of collapse and that it is only a matter of time before your leadership comes to an end. But you and your revolution remain a vital force. What is the secret of this success?

A. The defeat and collapse of the Cuban Revolution have been ceaselessly predicted throughout these past 25 years. And I do not believe we will soon be free of such predictions, since they form part of the policies of isolation and aggression waged against Cuba.

All the while such forecasts go on being artificially propagated, thanks to Washington's influence over the mass communications media — not only of the United States but also whole networks of international propaganda — the Cuban Revolution keeps on demonstrating its vitality, even though it is besieged militarily, politically, economically, and through propaganda. This is the result of its authenticity and of the fact that, like all true revolutions, its roots lie deep among the people. If the Cuban people had not been profoundly identified with their revolution, we could have been crushed, since the powerful United States has used all possible forms of aggression against the Cuban Revolution. Our people are the ones who sustain and determine the course of our revolution.

What is involved is not blind, uncritical adherence. To the contrary — if you go out on the streets and listen to the Cubans without them finding out you are not Cuban yourself, you will learn that they are quite explicit in making known everything that seems wrong to them. We know this not only through our responsibilities as leaders but also because the citizens let us know their complaints by means of the many forms of democratic communication that exist. There is also quite frequent direct contact between the leaders and the people.

We are aware that there is still much to be done. Still, we are advancing and making yearly improvements on all levels. At the beginning all we had was ideas; now we also have experience.

Q. Will relations between Cuba and the United States ever reach a more normal level? What must happen for that to be possible? Some observers insist that so long as Fidel is around no change will be possible — that you are too "anti-establishment," too revolutionary, to be acceptable. What do you think about this?

A. The current relations between Cuba and the United States are so irrational, so absurd, that I feel obliged to have a certain "historical" confidence that they must reach a more normal level someday. For this to be possible, the first thing that has to happen is for a U.S. administration to realize that the premises that led the U.S. government in 1960 to try to prevent the Cuban people from taking the political-social course they found most convenient are not justified — either in political terms or much less in terms of international law.

The time has come for U.S. rulers to grasp that the Latin America they considered for decades to be their "natural backyard," where they set up and removed governments, issued orders, and had U.S. ambassadors making decisions that properly belonged to presidents of republics, has ceased to exist. It is also time it was understood in the United States that socialism is a solid reality in a considerable portion of the world and that it can be eliminated neither by war nor by economic or military pressure.

In the years to come, and quite possibly before the year 2000, Cuba will not be the only Latin American country to adopt socialism as a system of government, even though what's involved is not the poorly labeled "Cuban Model," which we in no way intend to universalize. There will also be nonsocialist governments determined nonetheless to block economic domination by the multinational corporations. The United States will have to adapt to all this, like it or not. It is a fact of history. This has nothing to do with my presence at the head of the Cuban government, since it was bound to happen sooner or later whether I existed or not.

I do not deny that I am, as you put it, very "anti-establishment." And perhaps some find me "too revolutionary." But my entire rejection of the U.S. imperialist structure — a rejection now shared by tens of millions throughout Latin America — poses very little threat to the stability of the capitalist system in the United States. I would like the capitalist system to disappear and be replaced by a more rational and humane system that Latin America could come to a better understanding with, but I can assure the U.S. people that I have no intention of fomenting a socialist revolution in the United States. I see this as still distant, and when that day comes it will have to be led by those who

come forward from among the U.S. working class and people.

Q. Are there certain areas in which you and the United States could establish constructive ties even though a philosophical or ideological reconciliation is impossible? Would some form of dialogue with the Reagan administration be totally out of the question?

A. You are right when you assume that a philosophical or ideological reconciliation between us and the current U.S. administration — or even between us and other possible administrations in coming years — is out of the question. But the fact that we in Cuba go on being socialists and the United States remains the most important center of world capitalism does not mean there cannot be important areas in which both countries and governments could work constructively.

Right now, if the Reagan administration were to renounce its ideological obsession and heed the call of the Contadora Group by deciding to seriously sponsor a negotiated solution to the problems that are shaking Central America today, it would be possible for Cuba and the United States to contribute along with other countries of the region to lay the basis for peace and for the democratic structural change Central America requires.

We have never rejected a dialogue with the Reagan administration. As you know, conversations were held between Secretary of State [Alexander] Haig and Vice-President Carlos Rafael Rodríguez. Later, Gen. [Vernon] Walters came to Havana, and I talked at length with him myself. But we cannot say that a dialogue was established; instead, it was a confrontation of viewpoints.

We have no hope at all of a dialogue so long as Mr. Reagan goes on thinking that what happens in Central America is the result of evil plotting between the Soviet Union and Cuba and does not grasp that these social upheavals have been going on in Central America for 50 years, even back when the Soviet Union was fighting to survive and the Cuban Revolution did not exist.

Q. President Reagan constantly argues that your aim is to export the revolution and communism to the entire hemisphere.

A. I do not believe that revolution is an exportable product. I must confess that I do find the example of the Cuban Revolution to have exercised important influence on the revolutionary movements of Latin America during the last 20 years, since it showed that even on a small island, subjugated and reduced to neo-colonial status by the United States, it was possible to make a deepgoing and genuine revolution. Nor shall I hide the fact that revolutionary Cuba has offered its active solidarity to other Latin American revolutionaries in countries like Somoza's Nicaragua, where any democratic action and any possibility of protest outside of armed struggle had been wiped out through brutal terror. It is all too well known

that Cuba was not the only one to help out in the fight against Somoza; that other governments, which I will not mention, cooperated as well.

Nor will I deny that when an important group of Latin American countries, acting under the inspiration and guidance of Washington, not only tried to isolate Cuba politically but also blockaded us economically and helped with counterrevolutionary actions (sabotage, armed infiltration, assassination attempts, and so on) aimed at defeating the rev-



Fidel Castro speaking on Grenada events, Nov. 14, 1983, in Havana.

olution, we replied in self-defense by helping all those who at the time were trying to struggle against such governments. We were not the ones to initiate subversion, they were.

But in the same way I can affirm categorically — and I challenge anyone to demonstrate the contrary — that no government that has maintained correct and respectful relations with Cuba has failed to enjoy Cuba's respect in return. That has been the case with Mexico, which was the only Latin American country to refuse to apply Washington's diktat in 1964.¹ It has been the case since then with those other governments of Latin America and the Caribbean that reestablished normal and respectful relations with us.

The reality is that we cannot export revolution and the United States cannot prevent it.

Reagan utilizes this argument with cunning to frighten the U.S. people, stirring up primitive anticommunism like that of [Senator

1. A July 1964 meeting of foreign ministers of the Organization of American States directed all member governments to cut off diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba. Only the Mexican government refused to apply the sanctions.

Joseph] McCarthy's time, which has now begun to prevail again among a considerable section of the people of the United States. Such arguments enable Reagan to carry out a policy of open intervention, as was brutally put into practice against Grenada, a tiny island of 100,000 inhabitants.

Q. Mr. President, what exactly was going on in Grenada? The Reagan administration recently divulged what it termed a "warm bag of evidence" and suggested that Cuba was: a) training and organizing the armed forces and security forces of Grenada; b) building a communications base tied in to the Soviet Sputnik satellite system; c) building a huge airport capable of servicing Soviet transport aircraft furnished to the Cuban armed forces; d) storing immense quantities of Soviet arms and equipment for Cuban use; and e) preparing an anti-aircraft defense system designed to protect Grenada against precisely the operation the United States carried out there last October.

Let's take these charges one by one.

A. That is all laughable, of course. They talk about the Grenadian "armed forces" Bishop was trying to organize, for example, giving the impression that what was involved was a gigantic army capable of invading the entire eastern Caribbean. But the facts are evident.

The events in Grenada showed that the armed forces that were being set up there corresponded wholly to the dimensions of a small island constantly threatened by invasion from Miami by counterrevolutionaries sheltered by the CIA — the sympathizers of the eccentric and reactionary [Eric] Gairy, among others. The United States had also made threats and insinuated that other Caribbean countries could be utilized for an invasion.

Moreover, Washington found it necessary all of a sudden to close down its "exhibition" of the "armaments" it had seized in Grenada. According to its initial claims, these showed Bishop's intention to dominate the Caribbean. What the visitors saw was a limited number of modern weapons to which Grenada had every right as a sovereign country, along with many useless old firearms.

As for the airport, it was shown after the invasion that Grenadians had wanted to build it long before Bishop's government. It was proven also that the technical tasks had been under the direction of a well-known English company whose representatives explicitly confirmed that the airport lacked any aspect whatsoever that could have caused it to be considered a military installation. Rather, it was a civil facility designed for the modern planes that fly into Caribbean countries today. Several of the Caribbean countries have bigger airports than the one that was being built in Grenada.

Regarding what was said about Bishop storing "Soviet arms for Cuban use," our weapons are kept here for defending our country against a possible invasion. It would be absurd for

3,000 or 4,000 automatic weapons to be deposited for our use in Grenada.

Finally, it is true that we had sought to help the Grenadians to establish a communications base, but everyone knows that there are many similar bases in the Caribbean and Latin America. This is something that is required by the modern conditions of today's communications, and everyone aspires to have them.

The historical and irrefutable truth is that Reagan and his aides made 19 false statements regarding the events in Grenada. These have been exposed by Cuba, and the U.S. government has not been able to substantiate them. On the other hand, it has not been possible to use the facts to refute any of Cuba's statements.

The press was totally manipulated; a select group of journalists was sent in 72 hours after the invasion. The press was furious at first, but then it changed its stance and let itself be carried away by the wave of chauvinism. The politicians changed their position as well. Thus it was that a big crime could be committed with the unconscious complicity of U.S. public opinion. And Reagan could present his people with a victory. It is shameful, offensive.

The scope of the crime committed in Grenada is inversely proportional to the size of the island. Bishop was our friend. We respected him; he was a true revolutionary. He was the man of his people.

Our position toward the new government was well known. Relations between us and the Coard grouping were very bad. It was quite probable that in the future we would have withdrawn from the country once construction of the airport was finished. We could not cooperate with that grouping. Perhaps we would have left medical personnel in the country for humanitarian reasons, but we would have reduced our assistance.

Our assessment of the situation was that the Coard grouping could not sustain itself after having killed Bishop. The revolution had committed suicide. But this did not justify intervention. U.S. citizens were in no danger. The extremist grouping visited them and offered them guarantees, and we knew they were not in danger. We even informed the U.S. government of this 72 hours before the invasion.

The whole theory Reagan has utilized to try to justify the invasion is false — it is a big lie from beginning to end. It was a show of force — a cheap, opportunist political operation to take advantage of the tragedy that had taken place in the country.

There were other factors as well — Reagan recalled the fate suffered by the hostages in Iran, how the U.S. people were humiliated by that experience. He recalled that a week before 230 U.S. marines had died in Lebanon. There was also the defeat suffered in Vietnam. Reagan exploited all this to present the Grenada invasion as a great victory to the U.S. people. That's dangerous. That's an irresponsible policy that can lead to war and to new adventures in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Cuba.

Q. Given the close ties between you and Bishop, how was it possible that you did not have the slightest idea of the turmoil inside his party?

A. Yes, it is hard to understand how, with all the personnel we had in the embassy there, we did not know the split was taking place. That is the greatest criticism that we must make of our own political, diplomatic, and military aid personnel.

We did not have any idea what was happening. And even though Bishop visited Cuba while this turmoil was going on, he said not a word to me. In a certain way, this makes me happy, because it showed the respect he felt for his own country and people. The only thing he did in that period was submit to self-criticism, stating that he felt he had not devoted full attention to work with the masses.

Now, of course, we know what was going on — there was a deep ideological contradiction between Bishop and Coard. Coard presented himself as the theoretician, the intellectual drunk on political theory. But I am convinced to the marrow of my bones that there was great personal ambition involved. A majority decision was made that Bishop and Coard share the leadership, with Bishop remaining prime minister and Coard assuming the leadership of the party.

After that, Bishop attended no further meetings of the party, but even then he did not insinuate in any way that there had been a split. I explain this in two ways: at that time he was in an absolute minority inside the party and had a defeatist attitude; thus he did not want to talk about it owing to deep pessimism. Or else he underestimated the seriousness of the situation and thought he could solve the problem.

It was only the day before his arrest that he visited our embassy and explained that there had been a serious split. He said he feared he might be killed. It was a brief conversation — he said he was only informing us.

Q. There was nothing you could have done to save Bishop's life?

A. When they arrested Bishop I sent a message that the situation could create a serious problem in international public opinion and weaken the revolution inside the country.² I asked those people to be understanding and generous. I feared that one of those radical elements might try to resolve the problem with violence. I made an appeal, but it was only when the real danger from the United States became evident that they made contact with us. It is beyond doubt that there was no coordination between their defense plans and our own.

All we could do was appeal for Bishop's life and the revolution. Besides, we were receiving reports that Bishop's friends were leading and organizing a response among the people. But

2. This letter was printed in the April 16 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

that was suspended when they thought it was possible to achieve a solution.

We could not intervene in a situation where Bishop was in a minority inside his own party. When a group of conspirators is a minority there is greater room for action. But what happened in Grenada was that the Coard grouping had a majority against Bishop. This was apparently clean, and even legally in accord with democratic norms.

It is necessary to accept such a situation, even when one realizes it is an error or a grave development. We could do no more than what we did do. We show great respect for international relations with other parties. We give them opinions only when they ask us. That is the secret of our relations with all revolutionary organizations — with El Salvador and Nicaragua. We know that the peoples are sensitive regarding their independence, autonomy, and sovereignty. If we told revolutionary governments every day what was right and what was wrong, things would be impossible. Such relations are delicate.

We have great respect for the internal affairs of parties and organizations.

Q. One of the criticisms that Third World leaders make of the United States is that it tends to see things in black and white — if you're not with us, you're against us. That leaves no room for nationalism, for the inherent and autonomous nationalism of each particular nation.

A. The attitude of the Reagan administration flows from its conception of the world — hegemonic ideas, a position as the world's gendarme, inability to understand the changes that are bound to take place. Not only do they not understand nationalism and the sentiments of independence among the peoples, they do not grasp the world's economic problems either — the economic catastrophe and other problems facing the Third World. They dream of a world that conforms to their mandate and their orders.

That's why Reagan considers anyone who is independent to be a puppet of the Soviet Union. In Cuba we have the concept of internationalism and cooperation among the peoples. That's why we have so many of our doctors, teachers, and workers helping other developing nations. At the same time we understand their independence.

But an imperialist nation cannot conceive of what nationalism and independence mean. The United States believes itself the owner of Latin America. They do not understand what nationalism is. Nor are they sensitive to the problems of Latin America, the need for social changes, Latin America's \$300 billion debt, the fact that military dictatorships have failed, that bourgeois democracy has failed, that people are dying of hunger in Latin America and the Third World.

But one day the situation will have to change. The policy of the United States will have to come to grips with the situation in



Raúl and Fidel Castro welcome Cuban construction workers home from Grenada.

Latin America and the world. It will have to draw up a policy of respect and cooperation among all countries, among all social systems, and accept a framework of peaceful coexistence.

But this administration doesn't understand anything. It cannot understand political, social, and economic problems; it can understand neither nationalism nor internationalism. It is incapable of understanding anything. It has a hegemonic and imperialistic outlook — openly and completely imperialistic. This is shown by the way it treats its allies, England or West Germany. It treats them as its subjects because it is accustomed to treating everyone as its subjects.

Reagan and his administration are millionaires, they have money, they can impose their will on the masses. They simply cannot conceive of any other kind of system — a system of independence and mutual respect — such as exists between us and the socialist countries or the other nations of the Third World.

Q. Under what conditions would you be willing to withdraw your advisers from Central America?

A. If there is an agreement or a solution in Central America — either through the Contadora process or through discussions among the various countries involved — and the Nicaraguans decide to find a solution on that basis. If that solution calls for the total withdrawal of advisers, we will fully accept such a measure and will fully support that decision by Nicaragua.

We would not be an obstacle.

But the Nicaraguans will have to make that decision. Because we would not be living up to our association with Nicaragua if we were to make a unilateral decision. We cannot withdraw our advisers unilaterally from Nicaragua. That is a decision for Nicaragua, and we will respect and support any decision they adopt.

But Reagan will not accept that. The Nicaraguans have shown their readiness to freeze all arms purchases. They are ready to send back all advisers if the United States pulls its advisers out of Central America and halts arms supplies to Central America. The U.S. administration will not accept this because it is not interested in such a policy; they are interested in a policy of force and domination.

The Reagan administration knows that without its military support and its presence, the people of El Salvador will not go on accepting their government. The U.S. administration is not interested in finding a solution; rather, they have a policy of intervention and force.

Q. What exactly is your relationship with Nicaragua, in quantitative terms?

A. We give them moral support, and we have never denied that we have military advisers in Nicaragua. But I do not want to contribute to the aggressive plans of the U.S. administration by revealing figures. For the same reason, I will not mention arms supplies to Nicaragua. Still, the only thing I have to say is that Nicaragua is an independent country. It has a right to request arms supplies, and any

independent country has a right to provide them if it considers it appropriate.

Q. If I gave you a crystal ball and asked you to look into it, what would you predict for Grenada?

A. The people of Grenada know what independence and revolution mean, and those sentiments can never be uprooted. The people of Grenada have also been fooled, mainly by the group that murdered Bishop. There was an initial stage of confusion, but the events themselves will provide clarity, and Bishop's banner will go on flying. Sooner or later the people of Grenada will take up Bishop's banner and gain independence.

Right now Grenada is not an independent country; it is an occupied country. Some day it will again be independent and revolutionary. This is an inexorable law of history that cannot be eluded, neither in Grenada nor in Central America.

Q. But the reports on U.S. television showed the Grenadian people offering thanks to the U.S. Marines for having liberated them.

A. It is possible that some Grenadian citizens did so. When Hitler invaded Poland, some fascist and reactionary Polish citizens welcomed him. After the invasion of the Soviet Union, some persons collaborated with the invaders and also greeted them and called them liberators, but this was not the sentiment of the majority of the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union.

In my view, the special circumstances in which the invasion of Grenada took place, the trauma brought on by the death of Bishop, the repugnance of the Coard grouping, and the confusion that followed these events could have caused some confused Grenadians to welcome and congratulate the Yankee soldiers, and probably this was televised and photographed.

But I can assure you that this effect will not last long. In the most recent report I have received, it is said that the people are more and more irritated with the methods being used by the occupation forces and the measures being taken in Grenada. That is the news we have received. It is only a matter of time. It seems that Mr. [Alister] McIntyre refused to head the government because of the humiliating conditions; he refused to be the instrument of the occupation forces.

Q. Why do you consider it necessary to play a role on a world scale? Cuba is a small country with limited resources. Why do you find it necessary to send teachers, doctors, technicians, and advisers to other developing countries when they could be put to use in your own country? Why do your people have to sacrifice in this way? The day will come when the people may say to Fidel, "No more. Please, let's stay home."

A. That day will never come, because there

is a sentiment of solidarity that is growing in our country, an internationalist spirit that keeps on growing. To live up to that internationalism is a great honor for the Cuban people.

Do you find this strange? I will explain this phenomenon. If you observe what happens in capitalist societies and industrialized societies, and even in the Third World, you will see that individualist and egocentric attitudes prevail. That was the case in Cuba before the revolution. Then we could never have sent anyone abroad to help meet the needs of other developing countries. Now we have thousands who want to go to Yemen, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Angola.

Q. The secret is Fidel?

A. No, the secret is not Fidel, nor is it economic resources, because our economic resources are limited. The secret of that sentiment of dedication is the revolution. Our economic resources may perhaps be limited, but our human resources are unlimited.

The U.S. Peace Corps was set up and mobilized on a salary basis. Catholic missionaries have devoted their lives to work in Africa and Asia out of sentiments of charity, self-sacrifice, and vocation. But let me tell you something: when 2,000 teachers were needed in Nicaragua and we asked for volunteers, 29,000 Cubans expressed willingness to go.

When a few months later they murdered a Cuban teacher in Nicaragua, 100,000 Cuban teachers expressed their willingness to go and replace that teacher. That means that we have plenty of people here ready to go teach in Nicaragua.

In Cuba we have more people willing to go to the Third World in a spirit of self-sacrifice than the missionaries of all the churches and the Peace Corps put together. We have an unlimited number of youth who are ready to go fulfill any task assigned to them because they understand the moral values of the revolution. They will be willing to go anywhere, except, perhaps, to the moon. This is the greatest treasure our revolution can offer.

Q. What about the 4,000 teachers who recently returned from Nicaragua — will they go back there again?

A. They returned to spend the holidays with their families. As soon as the holidays are over, we will send as many teachers as the Nicaraguans need.

Q. The Reagan administration insists that the Grenada invasion constituted a serious blow to Cuba's prestige and to its aims in the hemisphere. How do you respond to that?

A. Our view is that the Grenada invasion was a blow to the United States. It was a cow-

ardly and ridiculous action, which brought the United States no glory and only helped to intensify the fighting spirit of Nicaragua, Cuba, and the revolutionaries in El Salvador. At this moment we are in a stronger position to confront U.S. aggression. The morale of our people has risen. The revolution is stronger than ever.

Cuba's prestige in the world has grown. This event showed that we do not interfere in the internal affairs of a country and that Cuba refused to withdraw in face of Yankee military might. It showed our revolutionary spirit and our determination to struggle. Now our peoples are more convinced than ever that the Reagan administration is a government that simply does not respect international law.

Q. The U.S. invasion of Grenada helped you to strengthen ties with Spanish-speaking Latin America. But what were the consequences for your relations with the English-speaking Caribbean?

A. Before the invasion of Grenada, we had already lost an intimate and valuable friend with the death of Bishop. With that the revolutionary process was virtually liquidated. The United States, by invading the island, killed a cadaver and carried out a monstrous crime against the sovereignty and the aspirations for freedom and progress of all the peoples of the Caribbean and Latin America.

Castro gives 'Parade' reporter tour and 12-hour interview

In an article published in the April 1 issue of *Parade*, a magazine supplement carried in the Sunday editions of many U.S. daily newspapers, journalist Tad Szulc reported on a series of discussions he had held recently with Cuban President Fidel Castro.

"Our 12 hours of talks," Szulc wrote, "took place during an all-night session at Castro's office at the Palace of the Revolution in Havana, during a jeep tour of Havana's suburban beaches, over drinks and dinner in a rural hideaway, and aboard his helicopter. I had not been with Castro in many years, and I found him, at age 57, slimmer and trimmer and in excellent physical condition, though his beard is beginning to turn gray."

In speaking with Szulc, Castro touched on many of the same themes taken up in the earlier *Newsweek* interview. He pointed to the prospect that the "increasingly demoralized" Salvadoran army could collapse, leading to direct U.S. military intervention. "I know that the Salvadoran rebels, although they are stronger than ever and have a great battle spirit, would be disposed to negotiate," Castro said, "because, while they do not fear U.S. intervention,

they consider that the cost in lives and destruction for their people would be very high. . . . But a formula for a negotiated political solution must be accepted in which all sides would make concessions. In my judgment, this is possible."

U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, Castro added, would be "even more costly" than in El Salvador. "I am certain that hundreds of thousands of soldiers would be required only to occupy the country."

Szulc devoted considerable space to Castro's account of the October 1962 "missile crisis," in which U.S. President John Kennedy threatened to launch a nuclear war to force the Soviet Union to withdraw missiles it had stationed in Cuba.

Castro, Szulc wrote, "stressed that the missiles were not deployed under Soviet pressure." He quoted the Cuban leader as follows:

"They didn't come to us one day and say, 'We want to deploy the missiles because it suits us.' The initiative of requesting measures giving Cuba an absolute guarantee against a conventional war and a U.S. invasion was ours. The concrete idea of the missiles was the Soviets'."

"Perhaps in our revolutionary fervor of

those days," Castro continued, "we didn't consider the possibility of withdrawing the missiles. . . . But in the last two days [of the crisis], events moved so rapidly that it was impossible for an exchange to occur in time over the proposal to withdraw the missiles. And we were really very irritated over the fact that an agreement had been reached without us having been consulted."

The unilateral removal of the missiles "damaged for a number of years the existing relations between the Cubans and the Soviets," Castro said. "It never really crossed my mind that the alternative of *withdrawing* the missiles was ever conceivable, although events were occurring with great speed."

According to Szulc, Castro "added that he later came to understand that the settlement worked out between Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and President Kennedy had averted a nuclear holocaust."

During his talks with Szulc, Castro also "went out of his way to draft in longhand a message to the people of the U.S. pledging that 'feelings of hostility and hatred toward the North American people' would never be sown in Cuba." The text of Castro's message was published in *Parade* alongside Szulc's article.

That is why I called President Reagan's victory a "pyrrhic" one. By invading Grenada, he showed Latin America that he would not respect the commitment to nonintervention that forms part of all continental agreements and that he was determined to go on using the "big stick" of the old days. This served to bring Latin America and the United States still more into conflict; it aggravated the situation brought about by the Malvinas affair.

So the United States is not more respected now. To the contrary, the crime of Grenada has intensified the fighting spirit and will to resist of the Cubans, Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, and all revolutionaries, progressives, and democrats of our continent.

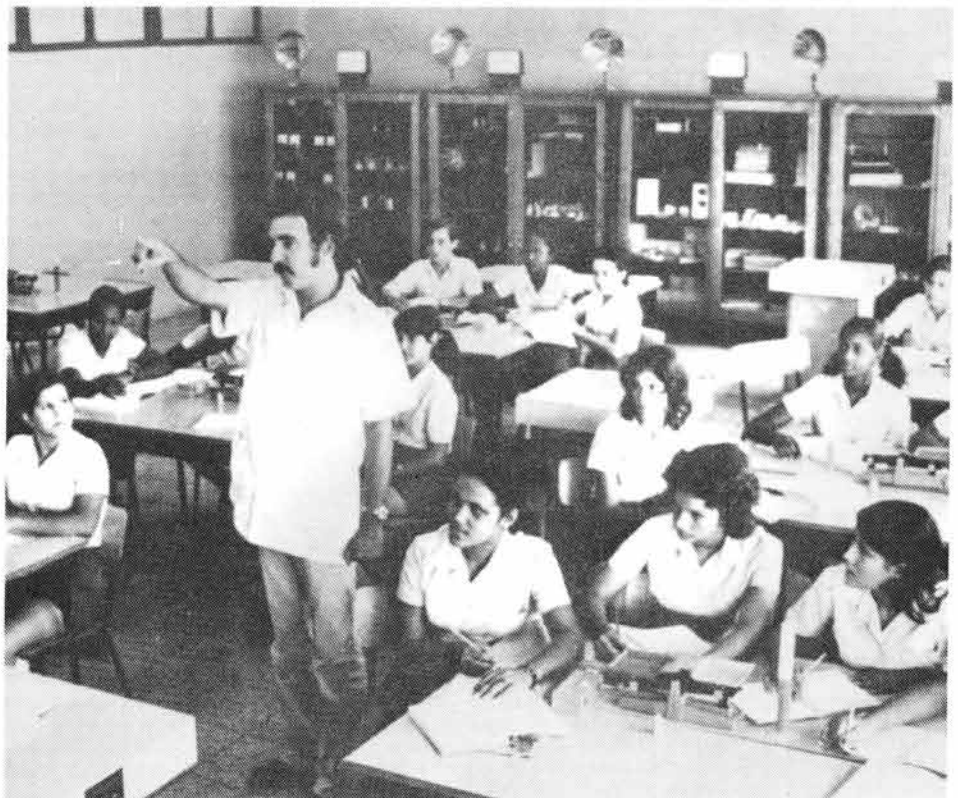
As for the English-speaking Caribbean, it is unfortunate that the two recent events that helped to strengthen the cohesion of Latin America have also served to separate a group of English-speaking Caribbean countries from Latin America as a whole. This had already occurred at the time of the Malvinas and has now been repeated in the case of Grenada.³ Cuba itself does not suffer much from this drawing apart, since the governments that were complicit with Reagan's invasion of Grenada, especially those of Jamaica and of Mrs. [Eugenia] Charles of Dominica, had already been the promoters of anti-Cuban campaigns for some time.

We attribute special significance to the fact that two countries of obvious importance within the [British] Commonwealth, Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, which could be considered the most important of that group, also took a firm stand in condemning the U.S. invasion.

Q. Mr. President, do you envision Namibia gaining its independence at some point? Reagan has linked the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola. Are we facing a situation of indefinite deadlock?

A. I always have faith in the peoples, and the people of Namibia, under the respected leadership of SWAPO, [South West Africa People's Organisation] have been fighting for their independence for a long time. But certain significant things have now taken place regarding Namibia. The African countries of the OAU [Organization of African Unity] have rejected the "linkage" that Reagan sought to establish between Namibian independence and the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola.

The United Nations has condemned such "linkage," which is now virtually dead and defeated as a political notion. For its part, France withdrew from the so-called Contact Group, and Canada and other countries seem to have



Future Cuban secondary-school teachers in training at the Rene Fraga Moreno school in Matanzas, Cuba.

decided to do the same. The United States will thereby lose its room for maneuver, and the problem will be left entirely under UN jurisdiction.

Namibia will be free. The era of colonialism has come to an end, although colonial remnants like Namibia and Puerto Rico still remain.

In no way do we face a situation of indefinite deadlock. No one can prevent the independence of Namibia, just as no one can forever block freedom, equality, and justice for the immense majority of the South African population, brutally oppressed by a racist, fascist regime.

Q. Mr. President, do you think the Contadora process will produce results before another serious escalation of the conflict in Central America? Has the threat of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua diminished in the months since Grenada?

A. I have just been looking over the interview President Reagan gave to *U.S. News & World Report* for its December 26 edition. Mr. Reagan says he is supporting the efforts of the Contadora Group. But the Contadora Group speaks of "negotiations," "accords," and "political solutions," while Mr. Reagan aims to dictate his own conditions to Nicaragua and impose an outcome to his own liking on El Salvador. Certain analysts suggest that Reagan, who has improved his electoral "rating" at what they call a "low cost" — a cost of no more or less than 20 U.S. dead in Grenada —

will be content with that electoral boost and will not attempt new adventures. But it would be naive to limit oneself to a "rational" assessment of the outlook in view of the irrationality that spurs Reagan to wage a "holy war" in Central America.

Reagan imposes conditions and gives no guarantees. He aids, prepares, and encourages Honduras in its threatening stance against Nicaragua. He goes on supplying the Somozaist counterrevolutionaries and the ARDE forces [of Edén Pastora] in the south with all the aid they need for action on both borders. At the same time, he continues preparing joint operations with Honduras and other Central American countries in the vicinity of Nicaragua. All this involves dangers it would be naive to ignore.

Q. Do you foresee greater U.S. intervention in El Salvador as the government there collapses?

A. In El Salvador it is evident that Reagan is trying to sustain the army and absolve it of the thousands of deaths it has caused the Salvadoran people. Reagan does not seem to realize that there is little time left for him to encourage negotiations with the guerrilla forces, since the inexorable victory of the revolutionary fighters can be perceived more and more clearly every day.

The collapse of the military could take place in such a way that any negotiations would be unnecessary and impractical. It remains to be

3. Several Caribbean governments, including Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago, refused to condemn Britain's aggression against Argentina in the Malvinas War.



Part of crowd of 1 million that gathered in Havana Nov. 14, 1983, to honor Cuban workers killed in U.S. invasion of Grenada.

seen whether Reagan and his collaborators would then be sensible enough to accept a defeat that could cause them negative results in the U.S. electoral process, or on the contrary would embark on a still more dangerous adventure entailing their responsibility to the U.S. people for the deaths of thousands of American youth sent without long-term hope of victory to shore up a corrupt and murderous regime.

Q. How do you see the danger for Cuba?

A. In Cuba we cannot fail to remain constantly on guard in face of the dangers we have to confront, since Reagan continually threatens us with blockades and military aggression.

It would be a question, of course, of an irrational attack counter to all laws, but Reagan has shown that reason and law matter little to him. We cannot forget his abominable statement that the UN General Assembly vote of 122 nations condemning the United States for invading Grenada did not disturb his breakfast in the slightest.

Therefore, neither Latin American public opinion nor the support the Contadora efforts receive in Western Europe, Scandinavia, and Japan can suffice. We have to prepare ourselves, and we are preparing. We prefer negotiation to confrontation, but we also reiterate that no threat of confrontation will make us turn back. Whoever seeks to humiliate and subjugate us will have to think several times before deciding to pay the high cost involved.

It is necessary that U.S. public opinion be aware of this. We do not harbor any feelings of hostility toward the U.S. people. We want to come to an understanding with the United States, and we think that we could understand

each other on a basis of equality and mutual respect. But whoever seeks to invade us will clash not only with modern, powerful, and well-organized Revolutionary Armed Forces, but also with the resistance of millions of armed, trained, and organized citizens who will go on fighting even if the country is occupied.

The resistance would never end. The United States would need millions of soldiers, which it does not have, simply to occupy Cuba, and in the end the invasion troops would have to withdraw in defeat. Conventional war is one thing, but war against an entire people is something else. No power, however mighty, will ever be able to defeat a people of 10 million inhabitants with deep combative and patriotic traditions, ready to fight to the death for their lives, their homeland, their independence, and their social achievements.

Such an invasion, moreover, would flagrantly violate the 1962 accords,⁴ and, while we count fundamentally on our own forces for defense and therefore consider ourselves an absolutely independent country, no one can predict the consequences for world peace an invasion of Cuba would entail.

Q. The Reagan administration insists that you are a puppet and lackey of the Soviet Union. How do you answer such an accusation? What exactly is your relationship to the Soviet Union?

4. In the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union ending the October 1962 missile crisis, President John Kennedy pledged that the U.S. government would not invade Cuba.

A. Anyone who has studied the history of our revolution and understood its origin will see that our revolution is a truly autonomous one. We made it ourselves. We did not even have relations with the Soviet Union when our revolution triumphed. Therefore, the interpretation of the doctrine of our revolution was our own interpretation. The forms and the road we followed were truly our own.

But to our good fortune, the Soviet Union did exist. What would have happened if the Soviet Union had not existed? What would have happened to Cuba when the sugar quota was suspended? The country would have died of hunger. What would have happened when oil supplies were suspended? When replacement parts could not be obtained for all the U.S.-made manufacturing equipment? When the United States imposed the blockade?

We could not have survived if we had not found another market for our sugar, if we had not had access to fuel and oil supplies for our country, if we had not had access to the weapons needed to defend ourselves against the threats of an invasion — like at Playa Girón [Bay of Pigs] — and the assassination plans and acts of sabotage. It was a privilege for us to find a friendly country that helped us face all those difficulties.

Never in 25 years have the Soviets tried to interfere in our affairs, in our policies, or in our behavior. They have been extremely respectful toward us. Even at certain moments when we were critical of certain conceptions — not even at those times were they tempted to affect us economically; rather, they treated us with respect. They made no public criticism of us.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba have been exemplary. They have been based on a policy of independence and mutual respect. Do not forget that while we were waging our struggle against U.S. imperialism under particularly difficult conditions, the Soviet Union had relations with the United States and traded with the United States.

Reagan's statements don't bother me, since he is an absolute liar. It's a traditional charge against us. But we are not willing to become enemies of the Soviet Union or sacrifice the excellent relations we have with them just to prove we are not their puppets. We don't have a puppet complex. We consider ourselves firmly independent, masters of our own country, our fate, and our policies. Our consciences and our morale are at peace. The Soviets do not have a single piece of property in Cuba. There are mutual relations and influences, but they are as independent of us as we are of them. That is the reality.

Q. Do you have any reaction to the preliminary reports that the Kissinger Commission's conclusions will be quite conservative? If you could pick up the telephone right now and talk to Mr. Kissinger before he issues his report, what would you tell him?

A. In the first place, even if I did have the opportunity to call Mr. Kissinger, I would not pick up the telephone because I have nothing to say to him. I have no confidence in him at all because he gave proof of his character during the war in Vietnam. He planned in cold blood the bombardment and murder of thousands of persons. I am convinced that he is playing Reagan's game and that the Kissinger report will turn out to be aggressive and reactionary. It will reflect Reagan's intentions like a mirror.

Q. Let's suppose the U.S. administration tells you, "O.K., President Fidel, we are going to make a deal. We lift the blockade, establish diplomatic relations, open technical

and economic ties with Cuba. But in return, for your part, you will have to stop supporting the governments of Nicaragua and Angola and revolutionary movements like SWAPO."

A. They would be putting a very high price on our honor and our principles, in exchange for material benefits we are not very interested in. But even if we were interested in such benefits, we would not be willing nor could we ever pay such a price.

Q. Everyone says that this is Fidel's revolution, that this is Fidel's Cuba, that the Cuban people are Fidel's people. Mr. President, we are all mortal, we all have to go someday.

What will happen to Fidel's revolution when Fidel goes?

A. There is a strange opinion abroad that this is my revolution and that when I go it will go too. Let me tell you that whether Fidel is here or passes away, the revolution will continue. Because this is the revolution of the people of Cuba. There is a collective leadership here. We are a united people, and we now have thousands of cadres with a high level of consciousness and experience, all working together in the same direction, toward the same goal. This not Fidel's revolution. It is the people's revolution. And the future does not worry me. □

Grenada

Bernard Coard's 'creeping coup'

Interview with New Jewel leader Kenrick Radix

[Kenrick Radix, upon his return to Grenada in 1970 after studying abroad, established a law practice there with a boyhood friend, Maurice Bishop. In 1972, Radix and Bishop founded the Movement for Assemblies of the People (MAP), which merged the following year with the Joint Endeavour for Welfare, Education, and Liberation (JEWEL), headed by Unison Whiteman, to form the New Jewel Movement (NJM). In 1976, Radix, along with Bishop and Whiteman, was elected to parliament on an opposition ticket.

[Following the March 13, 1979, insurrection that toppled the Gairy dictatorship and brought the NJM to power, Radix became ambassador to the United Nations and United States for the new People's Revolutionary Government. He subsequently held the posts of attorney general, minister of legal affairs, and minister of agroindustry and industrial development.

[One of the few supporters of Prime Minister Bishop within the Grenadian leadership to have survived the October 1983 coup by Bernard Coard's faction, Radix is currently a member of the Board of Trustees of the Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19, 1983, Foundation in Grenada.

[The following is taken from an interview with Radix, conducted on Dec. 6, 1983, in St. Paul's, Grenada, by Leonor Kuser.]

* * *

Question. How did the divisions within the New Jewel Movement develop?

Answer. Basically, there had been some difficulties within the Central Committee of the party over the last year or so, related to the growing trend of hegemony, I would say, by the Bernard Coard faction.

I got ill in March or April 1982 and went away for some medical treatment. During that period, I had been charged within the Central Committee with neglect of my state functions. On my return, I understood that an inquiry had been instituted into the ministries for which I was responsible. It seemed to me extraordinary.

I did not get a full report on this matter. But on checking through I discovered that, in fact, it was an attempt to lay the basis for my removal from the Central Committee. However, being genuinely ill, I did not do much to find out what the real basis for it was. But I knew that Bernard Coard and I did not have the most cordial relations. I laid the matter to rest then.

Sometime later in the year, however, I was formally charged in the Central Committee with the same things. I said that I thought the accusations were totally unjustified and that these elements in the Central Committee were wrong. I said I thought that a certain polarization was taking place, that there were certain factions that were developing within the party. Everybody denied it most vigorously, and I was told that I was so "ideologically underdeveloped" that I would not only be removed from the Political Bureau, but I would also be removed from the Central Committee.

In the face of that, I said that I would resign from the Central Committee and the government at that time.

Bernard Coard had also resigned from the Central Committee at that meeting. It was a strategy to remove himself from the Central Committee, while at the same time to strengthen the hand of his people and to remove me from the Central Committee.

Clearly, what was happening was that the nucleus of the planning was being done. I think

the year before, Vincent Noel was also removed from the Central Committee. This was intended to weaken our influence and Maurice's support within the party and within the Central Committee in particular.

What was happening was a progressive removal of the "old" members of the party. One has to look at this thing in a historical sense. The people who had gotten involved in this thing, in this disservice to our nation and revolution, were not active participants in the years from 1970 to 1979. In a sense, they wanted to "make history." And they were used to make history, since they had not participated in all the struggles that led up to the events of 1979.

Q. They were not politically active at that time?

A. Many of them were very young. Many were schoolboys at the time. So there was a generational element.

But at the head of it all, there was Bernard's outstanding ambition to head the revolutionary process in the country and to lead "another" revolution. As they characterized it, they would get rid of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and transform it into a Marxist-Leninist one.

Essentially, however, that was not the question. The question was really the style and character of leadership. Maurice was a leader of consensus. All the years, the entire leadership of the party was able to discuss any proposition, and people had the latitude to think things through. The policy would then come out of free thinking and discussion.

But I would say from the end of 1981, early 1982, there was a tendency for Bernard's com-

puterized types of positions to be forced through.

One can see that there was an organized grouping. Using the state, Bernard was able to cater to people's needs — jobs, for example. His opinion-makers would get jobs through his functions in the Ministry of Planning. Also, during those years, Bernard was chairman of the Organizing Committee of the party. He used his position there, in a very clever, cunning way, to further his position.

Bernard pushed to develop more centralized planning in the country, which meant that more and more uncontrolled power would be vested in his hands. All of us, however, in our desire to see the economy advance, unselfishly surrendered those powers, in a sense for the greater good.

If one can say anything at this juncture, the "older" people in the party romanticized and intellectualized and did not pay sufficient attention to the day-to-day realities of power. The older people were more collective in their views and thinking, based on human relationships, rather than power centers.

Bernard, who was out of the Central Committee for one year, still continued to pull some strings from behind the scenes. He had hoped during that year for everything to collapse, for the party and state to fall down. This did not happen.

But Bernard was an organizer. Certain people felt that he should contribute and be brought back. The question was one of the formula to be found.

The formula was that he should be brought back as a joint leader of the party.

To us, the older and more experienced people, who had been in contact with the Grenadian people historically, that posed some serious theoretical difficulties. It has worked nowhere. It has prompted serious division and even instances of civil war, because polarization takes place. Therefore it was opposed by a number of people.

In September [1983], it was said that Maurice was the main fetter on the development of the revolution. He was accused of being incapable of transforming the party into a Marxist-Leninist one. It was said that he was responsible for the shortcomings in the work of the party.

Bernard was then introduced. It was agreed, I can't remember by how many votes, that the joint leadership syndrome would have to develop.

Unfortunately, there was a state visit to be undertaken to Czechoslovakia and Hungary. It had been postponed from 1982, I think, and so another postponement would not have been politic. It was agreed that the matter would be held in abeyance until the prime minister returned.

But while the prime minister was away, I think, a decision was taken that he should be removed from the party as well as the state and that there would be a transfer of power to the "Young Turks," the hardline people. A

number of secret meetings were held at Fort Rupert.

When the prime minister returned, Bernard, Ewart Layne, Leon Cornwall, and a couple of others went into hiding, but then resurfaced about three or four days later.

Q. Why did they go into hiding?

A. Well, because they thought that the conspiracy might have been blown. But they discovered that security was pretty tight.

They came out of hiding and called a Central Committee meeting to see if the prime minister had, in fact, changed his mind, since he had reserved his position during the earlier meeting in September.

Maurice expressed the view that he could not retreat. In the interests of the revolution and the country, he could not agree to this. Two days later, he was placed under house arrest.

On Friday, October 14, Selwyn Strachan had gone around various workplaces in the country. He had been to the international airport to tell the workers that Maurice was a dictator. The workers ran him out of there. He went to the electricity company and got run out of there. He went to the Ministry of Construction and was also run out of there.

They were not succeeding in talking about the faults of Maurice. People knew him and knew he was not dictatorial. If anything, he was a little too generous in not pulling people up.

So people started to get information that something was radically wrong.

Selwyn then went into St. George's. He went to the *Free West Indian*, asking the workers there to print some propaganda. They refused.

Then Selwyn publicly said that Maurice was to be removed as prime minister and Bernard Coard was to be appointed prime minister. Well, the workers got so angry they nearly lynched him in town. He had to run out.

While Maurice was under house arrest, negotiations were going on with Bernard Coard and Selwyn Strachan. I kept in touch with Unison Whiteman and George Louison, the negotiators, and considered all the points on which negotiations were taking place, since I was hardly on speaking terms with Bernard and Selwyn.

The negotiations basically amounted to the fact that they wanted Maurice to remain as titular head of the Central Committee, while the real power would rest with Bernard and Company. It was agreed that this was unacceptable and nonnegotiable and that the Grenadian people would not stand for it.

In any event, on Tuesday, October 18, those negotiations were broken off by Coard.

Q. Hadn't you been arrested by then?

A. I had a discussion on Saturday morning with Unison Whiteman, in which I told him it appeared to me that what we had was a coup d'état taking place. The prime minister was

under house arrest, the army was on the move; the Department of the Interior was on the move. I perceived that we had a creeping coup.

I said that the negotiations were not going on in good faith. They had agreed to leave aside anything that would aggravate the situation, but their side was not keeping any good faith.

We discussed the problem about doing something to move on Maurice's side. We decided — in the event of failure in the negotiations — to have the people fully informed and to be ready to demonstrate.

As a result of that, I went into town that Saturday morning to prepare the people and let them know what was happening. There were so many people in town ready to do something. I addressed them, telling them that the prime minister was in custody. They wanted him released, and I told them that only the people could release him.

We demonstrated in St. George's, calling for the release of the prime minister by 6 o'clock. They said that the prime minister was the leader of the country and that the people didn't want Coard. I didn't lead the chants expressly. The people invented them. But I more or less gave the leadership to the thing.

Needless to say, the security and intelligence people were around. A few foreign reporters who were there were expelled.

After the demonstration, I went home. In the evening, the soldiers came and said to go with them. I told them I wasn't going anywhere. I wanted to rest, since I was quite tired from the demonstration. Then about 7:00 p.m. or so, they broke into the house and handcuffed me, with guns levelled. I was taken off to Richmond Hill prison as a "counterrevolutionary."

I stayed overnight. The next day I was taken to a house which was converted into a jail. I was kept there for three days, until Wednesday, October 19. In the morning I heard demonstrators coming down the street singing, "Long live Maurice!" Hundreds of people.

We were then transported by army people back to the prison. Sometime later that day, after midday, we heard a loud explosion. From the prison, I was able to look down on Fort Rupert. I saw a lot of people jumping over the walls of the fort, running in all directions. I then saw smoke and later fire. About a half hour after the initial explosion, there was automatic gunfire.

About an hour and a half later, we were taken by an armored car from the prison to Fort Frederick. The military-political headquarters of the Central Committee was there. I saw Bernard Coard, Selwyn Strachan, Liam James, Ewart Layne, the whole Central Committee.

We thought we were to be executed because there were a lot of soldiers and it was very tense. However, we were not. We stayed there for a couple of days, and then back to the prison.

On the second day of the U.S. invasion [October 26], we escaped from the prison. We prepared in advance, because it would have been a

hell of a thing to be liberated by the U.S. armed forces.

Q. That's when you took refuge in the Cuban embassy?

A. Right. We escaped on the Wednesday morning. At the time I lived very near the Cuban embassy and took refuge there.

The war was still going on. I think it was November 1, the war seemed to have stopped. I tried to leave the embassy. But the 82nd Airborne had by then surrounded the whole embassy, with their machine guns pointing inside, for our "safety and protection." When I tried to leave, they told me no one could leave or enter. But I did leave three days later, I think.

After that, I was harassed a bit by the U.S. personnel. I was put in the Point Salines concentration camp, where psychological warfare was being practiced on people. There I saw some Grenadians out, exposed in the night, their faces up against the barbed wire and dogs

coming up and barking at them. In my own case, they put me in a box, which had a tiny door, about 2 feet 6 inches square. One had to get down on hands and knees to get through it.

However, its psychological effects escaped me. I knew what it was all about. I've been to jail on three occasions now, all under different political dictatorships — under the Gairy dictatorship, under the RMC [Revolutionary Military Council] dictatorship, and under the American dictatorship. It was nothing new, so I wasn't disoriented or anything like that.

Q. One of the themes that has come out in the U.S. press is that Cuba was behind Coard. Could you comment on that?

A. That is absolutely untrue.

During the negotiations, for example, Maurice called both the Cuban and Soviet ambassadors to Grenada and gave them a briefing on the situation from his perspective. I know that Bernard and somebody else also gave them their perspective. So the Cubans had a

very clear picture.

On October 15, Fidel sent a message to the Central Committee pointing out a number of things: First, that Maurice was tremendously popular with the Cuban people and symbolized the Grenada revolution in Cuba, as well as internationally. Second, that he had tremendous respect. Third, that the charge that Maurice had discussed the troubles in the party with Fidel [during Bishop's last trip to Cuba] was totally untrue. Maurice did not do so, and that reflected the great dignity and respect he had for the Cuban government and people. The Cubans also said they would respect the sovereignty of the country and under no circumstances would they get involved in the internal affairs of our country.

Fidel said, "History and developments yet to come will judge what has happened in these last few days."

None of this registered with Coard and Company.

But now, the mere fact that the Cubans fought the Americans at Point Salines, at the

Origins of the OREL faction

[The following is an excerpt from an interview with Kenrick Radix conducted on February 26 by the New York chapter of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society during a visit by Radix to the United States to build support for the Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19, 1983, Foundation.]

* * *

Question: What happened in 1982 to discontinue your Central Committee membership?

Answer. The details surrounding my resignation from the Central Committee must be seen in the context of the overall internal situation that had developed. By October 1982, two identifiable factions had emerged within the CC, essentially divided between the original founders of the New Jewel Movement and those who came in later. Maurice Bishop, as one of the founders, and Bernard Coard, as one of those who subsequently joined, were of course the two strongest personalities.

Q. So Bernard Coard was not one of the original founders of the New Jewel Movement?

A. No, he was not. He came into the NJM somewhere in 1975. Previously, he had been out of the country for many years, working as a lecturer at the Institute of International Relations of the University of the West Indies, studying in the United States, I believe at Brandeis University, and spending some time in London. He was

a friend of Maurice Bishop for many years — I think they went to school together. They maintained a friendship while they were in Grenada as well as when they were in England together. After Bishop returned to Grenada, Coard would visit during the holiday periods and was invited to sit in at meetings of the New Jewel Movement.

During these visits home, he organized a group of 15–20 young men around him, young boys at the time, to whom he taught politics and Marxist-Leninist thought and acted as a guide. They functioned as a kind of study group and took the name OREL — Organisation for Revolutionary Education and Liberation.

Q. Was OREL strictly a study group, or did it engage in other activities as well?

A. In addition to their study of Marxism-Leninism, OREL published a newspaper called *The Spark*. In those early years, they attacked the New Jewel Movement, which was already rooted in the people, as a petit-bourgeois party.

Yet at the same time, they approached the NJM leadership proposing an amalgamation into the New Jewel Movement on one condition: that the NJM transform itself into their view of a Marxist-Leninist party. This idea was apparently based on the model of Jamaica, where the Worker's Liberation League, with which Coard worked closely, was in the process of transforming itself into the Workers Party of Jamaica — a Marxist-Leninist party.

The New Jewel Movement refused to accept this proposal, but the OREL people joined the party anyhow, dropping any preconditions.

It is interesting to note here that when the revolution triumphed in 1979, former OREL members were placed in strategic positions, particularly in the armed forces and the Ministry of the Interior. This is clearer in retrospect than it was at the time, when everyone was very enthusiastic and working very hard. I believe this was done quite deliberately so that they would be in the vital and strategic positions when the time came to initiate the "second stage" of the revolution — something they declared was indispensable.

Q. What do you mean by "a second stage"?

A. As far back as 1975, when they attacked the New Jewel Movement as petit-bourgeois, their analysis was that only they were theoretically qualified and competent, as they say, to push the revolution forward by building the movement into a second stage, a Marxist-Leninist stage.

Within the party, then, through conspiracy and other more subtle forms, they worked and pushed hard to polarize the organization, utilizing what I would call ideological jingoism. Through this polarization, they tried to capture the plurality within the Central Committee, to weaken and ultimately remove the supporters of Bishop on the CC, and of course ultimately come to power themselves and gain free rein to implement their vision.

airport where they lived, is being used by the Psy-Ops [Psychological Operations unit of the U.S. Army] people to claim that the Cubans were supporting Bernard Coard.

The war lasted six days, and Grenadians fought them for those six days. But up to now, the Grenadians really did not fight at all, according to the Americans. The Cubans did all the fighting.

The whole pitch of this was that Grenada was becoming a Soviet-Cuban surrogate. They needed to use this kind of mechanism so that

people could digest the invasion at home. If the truth were really known that this is a tiny country in which the Cubans were here assisting us in the construction of the international airport, it would have been a different picture altogether.

Our relationship with the Cubans has been wonderful and principled. They're the hardest-working people ever to set foot in Grenada, selfless people in their revolutionary duty and assistance to our country.

Our party had very warm, fraternal, cordial

relations with the government, party, and people of Cuba. Prime Minister Bishop was extraordinarily popular in Cuba itself.

Fidel and Maurice, from the very first, struck up a very warm personal friendship. There was a friendship in the spirit of the almost parallel experiences of the revolutionary struggle in Cuba and in Grenada. There was a feeling that something that had started in Cuba 20 years before had a historically parallel course here. □

New Caledonia

Kanaks wage independence fight

French imperialists, settlers resist struggle of native peoples

By Andy Jarvis

[The following is an expanded version of an article that originally appeared in the March 23 issue of *Socialist Action*, a fortnightly published in Auckland, New Zealand, which reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The start of 1984 in New Caledonia has been marked by clashes in the north of the country between Kanak protesters and right-wing French settlers.

The clashes occurred during the first of a series of land occupations that are being held to push forward the demands of the indigenous Kanak people for the return of former tribal lands and to demonstrate support for independence.

Tension has been mounting in New Caledonia as the French government has moved to carry out minor reforms in the colony.

The French reforms have served to deepen hostility towards the Kanak independence struggle on the part of New Caledonia's predominantly right-wing settler population, who are violently resisting even the most partial changes that could threaten their privileged status.

At the same time, the French government's proposals fail to meet even the most basic demands of the Kanak people for land rights and self-determination.

The coming months will be an important time for the Kanak independence struggle as the Independence Front (IF) seeks to push forward its campaign for an immediate and total end to French colonial rule.

French colony

New Caledonia has been a French colony since 1853. It was first used as a penal colony. Between 1864 and 1897, some 40,000 French

prisoners were shipped there, including many of the survivors of the defeated 1871 Paris Commune.

Earlier, in 1842, France had occupied Tahiti and the island groups associated with it in the eastern South Pacific — now known as "French Polynesia." France also colonised the Polynesian island group of Wallis and Futuna. All three of these territories remain French colonies today.

Until early this century, the indigenous Melanesian population was a major source of labour for the plantations and farms that were established in Australia and the South Pacific. Thousands died in conditions that were very little different from slavery.

As slavery had been formally outlawed in the British Empire, a system of "indentured labour" was introduced to enable the use of Pacific Island (and later Asian) labour on the plantations in the Australian state of Queensland, as well as in Fiji and other Pacific Island colonies. During the second half of the nineteenth century, a major trade in island labour developed, known as "blackbirding." While many were persuaded by the labour recruiters to volunteer, just as often they were simply kidnapped at gunpoint and enslaved. Blackbirding had its biggest impact on the Melanesian peoples of Vanuatu, but also on the territory of New Caledonia.

The Melanesian labourers worked hard in appalling conditions in return for a token annual wage. They were subject to a regime of terror on the plantations that included floggings and lynchings. Although a series of measures was introduced to restrict the trade in island labour, Kanak labourers were still being advertised for sale in Queensland as late as the 1920s.

Attempted rebellions by Kanaks against French rule in 1878 and 1917 were brutally crushed.

Between 1917 and 1946, an apartheid system similar to South Africa's was established

in New Caledonia. Kanak tribes were forced off their land and herded onto reserves occupying a mere five percent of the mainland territory, mostly in the infertile regions of the east coast and the central mountain chain. Kanaks were not allowed to leave the reserves and were stripped of all political and civil rights.

Although the apartheid laws were formally abolished following World War II, the situation for the Kanak people remained essentially unchanged until the rise of the Kanak independence struggle in the late 1960s.

The Kanaks are now demanding the return of their stolen lands and the recognition of their Melanesian culture. They want full independence from France and the establishment of a democratic republic. And they want Kanak ownership and control of the nation's wealth, presently in the hands of French imperialists and a small layer of capitalist settlers.

The independence struggle took a big step forward in 1979 with the formation of the Independence Front, a coalition of five parties united around a common platform of "Kanak independence and socialism."

Its component parties include the Caledonian Union (UC), Kanak Liberation United Front (FULK), New Caledonian Socialist Party (PSC), Melanesian Progressive Union (UPM), and Socialist Kanak Liberation (LKS). The joint programme of the Front was published in the Sept. 20, 1982, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

A sixth party, Palika (Kanak Liberation Party), is outside the IF. Both the LKS and Palika claim to be revolutionary Marxist organizations. The LKS split from Palika in mid-1981 when the latter withdrew from the IF. Both groups have their origins in the radical Kanak youth movement, the Red Scarves, formed in 1969 under the impact of the 1968 student revolt in France.

The oldest and by far the largest of the Kanak parties is the UC. It was formed in 1952, one year after Kanaks first gained the

right to vote. Initially the UC demanded internal autonomy, but in 1977 it adopted independence as its goal.

Another important force in the independence struggle is the Federation of Kanak and Exploited Workers' Unions (USTKE), formed in 1982. The main trade union organisation, the New Caledonian Workers and Employees Union (USOENC), also voted at its conference in December 1981 to support an "independent Kanak socialist state." Kanaks are a minority within the industrial work force, but most of New Caledonia's 20,000 unemployed are Kanak.

In elections held in July 1979, the Independence Front won 83 percent of the Kanak vote and 35 percent of the total vote, gaining 14 of the 36 seats in New Caledonia's Territorial Assembly.

A further boost for the Kanak struggle came in 1980 when neighbouring Vanuatu won its independence. Vanuatu, formerly the New Hebrides, had been a joint French and British colony. Its 10-year struggle for independence had a deep impact on New Caledonia. With independence, around 1,000 of Vanuatu's French residents resettled in New Caledonia.

Then in 1981, the Socialist Party came to government in France (in a coalition with the French Communist Party).

Prior to its election victory, the French Socialist Party had pledged its support for Kanak self-determination. In office, however, it has firmly opposed independence.

Instead, the Mitterrand government has sought to reassure the French settlers that it will protect the continuation of their privileges, while offering the Kanaks limited reforms aimed at undermining the independence struggle and dividing the IF.

Reforms ineffective

In 1982, a land reform was introduced in New Caledonia by the new French government. However, not a single acre of settler-held land has been restored to Kanak ownership under this law.

Now, the French parliament is about to vote on a statute granting increased internal autonomy to New Caledonia's Territorial Assembly. The statute, however, contains no commitment to independence and has been described by the IF as a "treaty of occupation." The IF says it will support the autonomy measure only as a transitional step, lasting no more than one year, towards full independence.

The French government has also refused to reform New Caledonia's electoral laws. The IF wants the electoral system changed to exclude temporary residents from voting. At present, any French person in New Caledonia can vote in elections.

This means that thousands of French government troops, police and civil servants and their families take part in New Caledonia's elections. As a result, the Kanak population, which makes up around 45 percent of New Caledonia's total, is kept in a minority.

In a total population of about 140,000, ap-

proximately 60,000 are Kanaks and 55,000 whites (predominantly French). Of the remainder, about 17,000 are Polynesians and 8,000 from elsewhere, including Indonesia, Indochina, and the Caribbean.

European migration has been encouraged by successive French governments. Between 1969 and 1976 14,000 Europeans settled in New Caledonia — 70 percent of total immigration. The continuing influx of immigrants has ensured that the Kanaks remain in a minority. In addition to those from Vanuatu, many of the French who have settled in New Caledonia are former settlers from Indochina, Algeria, and other former French colonies.

New elections are due to take place in New Caledonia this July. Meeting at its national convention on January 21, the IF announced that it will boycott the elections unless its proposed electoral reform is put into effect and the French government sets a date for independence.

At present the IF is the governing party in New Caledonia's Territorial Assembly. This came about in June 1982 when a centre party, the Federation for a New Society (FNSC), split from the previous government to form a coalition with the IF. The FNSC, a small party which supports liberal reforms, has its base in the French-settler community.

Although all the Independence Front parties supported the coalition with the FNSC in the Territorial Assembly which resulted in an IF-led government, there have been differences within the Front over the extent of its relationship with the FNSC. Disagreements have come to the fore in particular over election strategy. For example, in an election for the French senate last September the LKS and the UPM nominated a proindependence candidate, while the other three parties in the IF supported the candidate of the FNSC who was the sitting member.

Although the Territorial Assembly is subordinate to the French authorities and has no real powers, the IF has been able to use its position in the government to help build support for the independence struggle both at home and abroad.

Internationally, the IF has established relations with the Non-Aligned Movement and with the Socialist International. It has been able to lobby Pacific Island governments for support and put pressure on the South Pacific Forum, a regional association between the imperialist governments of Australia and New Zealand and the governments of all the independent semicolonial nations of the South Pacific — Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Solomon Islands, Western Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands, Niue, Nauru, and Fiji.

In February, for the first time, the IF was able to present the case for Kanak independence to the United Nations Committee on Decolonisation.

As the Independence Front has made gains, French settler opposition to Kanak independence has intensified. □

The majority of the French settlers support the right-wing Rally for New Caledonia in the Republic (RPCR), which is led by local capitalists and linked to the French rightist party Rally for the Republic. They are hostile not only to the IF, but also to the Mitterrand government in Paris.

Right-wing violence

The majority of the French population live in Noumea, New Caledonia's capital and only city, which has a population of 60,000. During the past two years, the right wing has been able to organise demonstrations numbering up to half the city's population.

As right-wing political opposition to independence has increased, so too has right-wing violence against the Kanak population, including racist murders and assassination attempts on the lives of IF leaders.

Not only have such attacks gone unpunished, but right-wing paramilitary groups function with the full protection of the French authorities, while the thousands of French police and soldiers subject the Kanak population to ongoing harassment and intimidation.

New Caledonia is a potentially rich country. It possesses one-third of the capitalist world's nickel deposits and highly productive farmland.

For years this wealth has been plundered by imperialism, while the Kanak people have been kept in a state of abject poverty.

Nickel mining and processing has been New Caledonia's main industry since the 1890s. Until recently the industry was monopolised by the Rothschild family in France, who also traditionally controlled all banking in the colony, as well as the only media and many other aspects of economic life.

Control of the nickel industry has now been taken over by the French government, although there are a number of small mines owned by New Caledonia's leading capitalist families.

The United States, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand also have imperialist interests in New Caledonia. At times throughout the past century the Australian and New Zealand ruling classes have expressed opposition to the French presence in the Pacific, as an infringement on their own imperialist interests in the region. But they have been firmly hostile to the rise of Kanak nationalism.

New Zealand Prime Minister Robert Muldoon has been a vocal opponent of Kanak independence, earning him the praise of New Caledonia's leading right-wing politicians.

The right-wing settlers also look closely to the Reagan administration in the United States. One of the most common slogans of the right painted on walls in New Caledonia is simply "USA." In turn, independence activists often rework these letters to create the slogan "CUBA."

The imperialists fear that a victory for Kanak independence will be a major spur to the struggles of working people throughout the entire South Pacific region. □

Military rulers on the defensive

Trade unions take lead in fight against dictatorship

By Marcelo Zugadi

MONTEVIDEO — The military government here released its most noteworthy political prisoner on March 19 — Gen. Liber Seregni, the leading figure in the Broad Front, who had been jailed for eight years.¹ With this step the dictatorship seeks to decompress the explosive political situation. It has thereby confirmed its intention to carry out an orderly withdrawal by means of elections that, in principle, are to be held in November of this year.

This outcome marks the virtual failure of the military junta's plans. It must now limit itself to guarding its rear. The generals have failed continually in their aims of building an official party, imposing a National Security Council that would have perpetuated military domination of the government, and finally, reaching public agreement with the traditional bourgeois parties in order to transfer power to civilians in 1985.

The government held a plebiscite in November 1979 on its proposal for constitutional reforms. Fifty-seven percent voted No, but nearly 30 percent opted to support the military rulers' aims. But when elections were held two years later for party officials, 90 percent of the votes went to candidates who opposed any constitutional reform whatsoever.² As a result, the complicated lineup of factions inside the National (Blanco) Party, the Colorado Party, and the Civic Union (the only parties allowed to function legally) underwent a drastic shift to the left. Leaders who raised the slogan "everything is negotiable but the Constitution" were elected by overwhelming majorities.

The new party officials who entered the dialogue with the regime had the sincerest desire to negotiate. But the internal conflicts in the parties and especially the pressure from the Blanco faction led by the exiled Wilson Ferreira Aldunate obliged the armed forces to combine the opening of a dialogue with stepped-up repression against the most radicalized sectors.

As was the case in neighboring countries of the Southern Cone, the central aim of the Uruguayan military rulers had been to destroy the labor movement and establish new trade-union organizations tightly regimented by the state. Having largely achieved the former through eight years of brutal repression, the dictatorship decided to take the following step: In 1981 it decreed a law to reorganize the unions. The aim was to atomize the labor movement by imposing unions at the factory level only. Federations were prohibited. Participation in electoral slates for union posts was limited to those workers approved by the Ministry of Labor — that is, to those who lacked any credentials as trade-union or political militants.

Activists in the small, clandestine trade-union resistance movement debated whether or not to participate in the process of reorganization called for by the regime's decree. But before the debate could be resolved, assemblies took place in a series of factories. In four months there were union elections in more than 40 workplaces. The government tried to obstruct the unexpected participation of the ranks, but the reorganization was already under way, and it was impossible to halt it.

This occurred while the Blanco and Colorado parties were seeking ways to put together a political plan with the military rulers. On May 1, 1983, 48 reorganized unions decided to commemorate International Workers' Day after 10 years of silence. The work of coordinating this May Day rally gave birth to the Inter-Union Workers Assembly (PIT). The participation of 150,000 people in response to the union's call brought a sudden political turn, marking a new relationship of forces between the workers and the dictatorship. The traditional parties realized the irretrievable exhaustion of the military government and allied themselves to the PIT in order to "recover democracy."

Despite the repression, which hardly let up, and the difficult situation in which it was born, the PIT led not only to the collapse of all the bourgeoisie's plans but also to a deepgoing transformation of the Uruguayan labor movement, which was now in full swing. The implacable persecution of the National Workers Convention (CNT) and of the leaders of the Communist Party, which controlled the CNT, had resulted not in the end of trade-union activity but in the coming forward of new cadres. The majority of these are political independents who seek democratic practices that are unthinkable under the political regime imposed on the entire society by the dictatorship. These cadres understand the need to bring together all

possible forces to confront the government, and have brought a new dynamic of democracy and unity to the trade-union movement.

The unique structure and mode of functioning of the PIT contributes to this. Some 180 unions are affiliated. Each sends one delegate to make up the General Assembly, the highest decision-making body of the PIT. Each delegate must consult the assembly of his own union before taking a position in the General Assembly. The new factory-level unions have grouped themselves into 27 industry-wide federations, which must function illegally. These in turn are represented in the PIT's Board of Federations. The PIT's Executive Secretariat is made up of seven members representing unions in the metal, textile, food and tobacco, rubber, beverage, banking, and health industries.

On this basis, and in collaboration with the bourgeois parties, the PIT organized a series of rallies and civic protests (the celebrated "pot-bangings") that changed the face of Uruguay in 1983. That new stage culminated in November, with a rally against the dictatorship that brought 500,000 people together in Montevideo (one of every five Uruguayans). This marked the total isolation of the dictatorship.

The size and militancy of that demonstration alarmed the parties of the bourgeoisie. The PIT proposed to hold on January 18 not another civic protest but rather a general strike, the first one in nearly 11 years. There the ways of the unions and of the bourgeois parties again diverged. The parties rejected the proposal, but the PIT called the strike any way. Virtually the entire population of the country took part.

The breaking up of the opposition front brought the bourgeois parties to a crossroads. Secretly, they resumed their contacts with the military. Their proposal for maintaining an "intersectoral" conference made up of the legal and illegal parties and the mass organizations (the PIT, the students' association, and the federation of cooperatives) was aimed at maintaining some ties to a mass movement that is on the rise and is beyond the control of bosses or bureaucrats. But the Blanco and Colorado leaders acknowledge in private that their main concern is not to guarantee a democratic opening but to put the brakes on the dynamic represented by the PIT.

The union leaders, for their part, face the new stage without a defined political approach to participating in the elections. Rather, they have remained faithful to their course over the past year. They have put forward a plan of struggle for the month of April that is to culminate in a massive rally on May Day. It is expected that no less than 300,000 people will re-

1. Gen. Liber Seregni resigned in protest from the Uruguayan army in 1969 when the army was ordered to suppress the Tupamaro guerrilla movement. In 1971 he was the presidential candidate of the Frente Amplio (Broad Front), an electoral bloc whose main components were the Communist, Socialist, and Christian Democratic parties. Seregni was first jailed when the military took over in 1973, held 16 months and then re-arrested in January 1976.

2. It is a peculiarity of the Uruguayan electoral system that all citizens vote in the legal political parties' internal elections.

spond to the call of the PIT and its allies. The new leadership of the unions plans to transform the rally into a "people's assembly," which will be presented with a program of social and economic demands. Whatever government emerges from the November elections will be called upon to implement this program.

The military regime, meanwhile, seeks to maintain control over the final stretch. Until a few months ago, the military rulers were obsessed with the "Argentina syndrome" — they feared exemplary punishment for the fierce repression and economic disasters they have perpetrated. But bourgeois politicians now affirm in private that having observed the course of the trials of the Argentine military, the military rulers here are calmer and acknowledge that only a constitutional government that adopts "balanced" measures can save them. The future, nonetheless, is as dark for them as for the officers in the neighboring country. Now they are vacillating over whether or not to allow the participation of Liber Seregni as the presidential candidate of the Broad Front.

The Colorado Party has been the most open collaborator of the military dictatorship. Its candidate, Julio Sanguinetti, is considered the man of the U.S. embassy in Montevideo. The Colorados are convinced that they can only defeat their Blanco opponents if the Broad Front can freely participate in the elections and channel the radicalized opposition that otherwise will find itself obliged to vote for the Blancos.

In the 1973 elections, the Broad Front received 18.5 percent of the votes. After 10 years of terrible oppression and precipitate economic decline, no one doubts that the left has gained considerably greater political space. This is shown by the events that have occurred in the past 12 months. The whole social movement now in eruption would find expression in the Broad Front. Among the circles of the Uruguayan bourgeoisie itself, there are fearful allusions to the possibility that fully democratic elections could result in the victory of the left.

In face of this situation, it is impossible to foresee what measures the military will take. They are divided among themselves over what tactic to adopt. On the other hand, it is unquestionable that the decade of blood and terror into which this small country was plunged is culminating in a clear defeat for the political plans of the big bourgeoisie and imperialism. Their economic plans have failed: the foreign debt has multiplied seven times, reaching 4.5 billion dollars; unemployment is around 16 percent; and inflation is out of control. This in turn narrows to the minimum the margins of maneuver the constitutional government will have when it takes over in 1985, whatever is elected. And this failure takes on still greater dimensions, which undoubtedly worry the Pentagon strategists a great deal, when one takes into account that an analogous situation prevails in all the other countries of the Southern Cone. □

Chile

National day of protest

Preparations under way for general strike

By Fred Murphy

Mass actions against the Pinochet dictatorship resumed March 27 as tens of thousands of Chileans took part in a Day of Protest called by the National Workers Command (CNT).

"Chileans stayed away from work in massive numbers," a dispatch from Santiago to the March 29 *Le Monde* reported, "and the key transportation sector, without which no demonstration in Chile can be successful, was virtually paralyzed. . . . Another surprise: shopkeepers closed their doors at midday. For fear of demonstrators, according to the authorities. 'Because the government remains deaf to our demands,' the president of the retail trade confederation, Rafael Cumsille, declared on Tuesday."

A state of emergency declared by the regime four days earlier failed to deter the protests. In poor and working-class neighborhoods of Santiago and other major cities, young people and students took to the streets to build barricades and set bonfires. In the evening, residents throughout the capital stood at their doors or windows and banged pots and pans — a now-traditional form of protest in Chile.

Pinochet deployed thousands of police and army troops in the streets the day of the protest. Five persons were reported killed as these repressive forces sought to break up anti-Pinochet demonstrations. Some 50 persons were injured, and more than 400 arrested.

The day of protest had the support not only of the major trade unions grouped in the CNT and of the two main opposition blocs, the Democratic People's Movement (MDP) and the Democratic Alliance (AD),* but also of the associations of independent truck owners, small businessmen, bus and taxi operators, and professionals such as doctors and engineers. The protests were also more widespread geographically than any of the monthly Days of Protest held between March and December of last year.

"The country was paralyzed from north to south," said Hernol Flores, head of the public employees union.

The guidelines issued by the CNT for the protest "were followed to the letter," *Le Monde* reported. "Absenteeism was near-total in the schools, and the universities went on

strike. Activity was a little more normal in industry, but union leader Rodolfo Seguel termed the holding of assemblies in the workplaces 'an unprecedented development.' Just one question was on the agenda for discussion — a general strike."

In February, the CNT held a conference of more than 300 union delegates at which the perspective of a general strike against the dictatorship was ratified. The conference called for discussions among the unions and other opposition forces on how best to carry out such an action.

Support for a general strike as the next step in the fight against the regime was also central to the discussions held at a delegated national assembly of the MDP in Santiago in early February. That gathering was the first public decision-making meeting of the Chilean left since 1973.

A further trade-union conference was scheduled by the CNT for April 14, at which time a date was to be set for a general strike.

While the military government has hesitated to launch a major crackdown aimed at choking off the revival of the mass movement, it has stepped up selective repression and terror against the leaders of the opposition.

On February 15, MDP President Manuel Almeyda was jailed on charges of violating the State Internal Security Law by speaking in favor of a general strike at the MDP's national assembly. Various activists from different factions of the Socialist Party have also been jailed in recent weeks.

A further wave of arrests of MDP figures and other oppositionists came during the weekend of April 7-8. MDP General Secretary Jaime Insunza and human-rights activist Leopoldo Ortega were seized and deported to Brazil.

The most ominous development came March 20, when AD leader and Christian Democratic ex-Senator Jorge Lavandero was attacked on a Santiago street by several men armed with clubs, chains, and blackjacks. Lavandero was nearly beaten to death and remains hospitalized with extensive head injuries. A group calling itself the "Armed Anti-communist Alliance" (AAA) later claimed credit for the assault.

Other paramilitary groups with names like the "Chilean Anticommunist Alliance" (ACHA) and the "Movement Against the Marxist Cancer" (MCCM) have also surfaced and have issued threats against oppositionists as well as against the Catholic Church. In late March a bomb was discovered at the home of Santiago's auxiliary bishop, Fr. Jorge Hourton, along with a note reading, "Communist priests, get out of Chile." □

* The MDP is made up of the Communist Party, the Almeyda faction of the Socialist Party, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), and a wide range of neighborhood and student groups, trade-union currents, and other popular organizations.

The AD includes the main bourgeois opposition parties — the Christian Democrats, Radicals, and Social Democrats — as well as several factions of the Socialist Party.

Spanish 'Combate' on U.S. elections

Will 'sleep more peacefully' if Gary Hart wins

By Oriol Grau

[The following article appeared under the headline, "Cheer Up! You Can Be President of the United States," in the March 15 issue of *Combate*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), section of the Fourth International in the Spanish state. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

To become president of the United States, you must have three absolutely indispensable prerequisites: 1) have no physical defects, such as black, yellow, red, or overly brown skin, feminine gender, or a marked Latino accent; 2) have no mental defects, such as being an atheist — or even a nonpracticing believer — a communist, a socialist, a homosexual, or a drug addict; and 3) last but not least, have a heap of money.

You can perfectly well be an obscurantist, an anticommunist psychopath, a warmonger, a male chauvinist, violence-prone, a (discreet) alcoholic, lack ideas, and say to the world's poor and hungry, "Let them die — it's their fault!" None of this will prevent you from becoming president, so long as you are a white man, a good American, go to church on Sunday, and have enough money to convince all kinds of pressure groups and multinational enterprises to finance your election campaign.

It's been this way now for 208 years. In perfect alternation between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, the 50-odd presidents since the Declaration of Independence have all been white men, upstanding Americans, assiduous Bible readers, and millionaires — either through family ties or through connections forged in previous political posts (usually as senator or governor of certain states).

There are and have been Black, women, Chicano, poor, and socialist candidates, but thanks to the handy system of primary elections, a filter impenetrable to such rarities, they have never gained the "nomination" (a euphemism that in plain language means: being named by the ruling class or one of its factions). The electoral contests between those "nominated" are real pitched battles — leaving in their wake tons of confetti, hats, pennants, balloons, dove droppings, and echoes of insults and bad jokes. But in the end, all the presidents, Republicans and Democrats alike, have managed to find the way to God and to show the world that the United States knows how to defend its universal vocation. Some use the dollar, others the fleet and missiles, others the CIA and conspiracy. On the domestic front, some ally with the petroleum multinationals, others with the steel and auto companies or the



GARY HART

banks, with the Midwestern farmers or the military industries of California and Florida, but in the end they all arrange things so that the poor keep getting poorer, the Blacks and Chicanos remain in their ghettos, women stay oppressed, and the businessmen increase their dividends. And all of them want to finish off Castroism in Cuba, Sandinism in Nicaragua, Qaddafi-ism in Libya, Khomeini-ism in Iran, and, in general, "communism" throughout the world.

It's not surprising then, after so many years, that a lot of people in the United States skip the elections. The television networks and the newspapers join the campaign. The ratings and the press runs may go up, since people must enjoy watching how the candidates insult each other. But despite all such efforts, it's been quite a while since even half the voters went to the polls. The Reagan-Carter battle, four years ago, was decided by a tiny number of votes; the cowboy was elected by a little more than a quarter of the U.S. electorate. Between that and the 99.8 percent achieved by Chernenko in the recent Soviet elections, the difference is merely of appearance or form.

The U.S. communications media are now rubbing their hands over the appearance in the primary race of an "outsider" — the candidate Gary Hart. This promises to lend some color to the campaign and boost the press runs and television ratings. His immediate rival in the Democratic Party, Walter Mondale, is quite a classic type, who was already vice with Jimmy Carter — a rather dusty model.

After Gary Hart got twice the votes of his rival in the New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, and Wyoming primaries, the team of journalists accompanying him jumped to 80 (it was scarcely half a dozen to start with). The *Washington Post* has devoted lengthy columns to his

biography. His career is studied with a magnifying glass. And everyone is trying to find the key to such tantalizing enigmas as why the candidate changed his original surname from Hartpence to Hart and says he was born in 1937 when his birth certificate says 1936.

An outsider? Not exactly: he's white, a man, he goes to church, he has a tailor and a wife, and, as senator from Colorado, has known how to put together abundant bank accounts. He does insist on his "new ideas": "This is not a campaign about the past" — an obvious allusion to Mondale and Reagan — "but rather about the future." An overwhelming future: the United States must preserve its world economic primacy on the basis of high technology in electronics, robotics, and communications. The industrial reconversion he proposes will quickly put an end to unemployment: "Jobs will appear almost by magic." And with the help of God, of course.

He proposes the nuclear freeze, has hesitations about the strategic MX supermissiles and the B1 superbomber, and wants to negotiate with the Soviets to ban the production of plutonium, the raw material of atomic bombs. But his pacificism does not go much beyond that. An expert in military affairs, he wants to outfit the U.S. army with the most advanced technological gear, so as to "improve the cost-efficiency ratio." Efficiency? God save us.

A member of the campaign committee that brought John F. Kennedy to power, director of the campaigns of George McGovern and Jimmy Carter, he knows everything there is to know about vote-catching. He is seeking votes both among those who are struggling in the "freeze" movement against nuclear rearmament as well as among the "liberal" capitalists who want less state interference in private enterprise. In face of Reagan's political and rhetorical somersaults, he proposes to carry out a more tranquil but no less "effective" policy.

If Hart gets elected, it will be the first time since John F. Kennedy — 24 years ago — that the United States has a president less than 50 years old. If Reagan wins — at the age of 74 — world politics, including the danger of a nuclear war, will be in the hands of two men who are at death's door. Senility has now penetrated so deeply into the institutional structures of a historical era condemned to die, that a 46- or 47-year-old candidate dares to brag of his "youth" as an electoral argument.

One of Gary Hart's preferred slogans is copied from his idolized former boss, John F. Kennedy, who upon taking office said, "Today the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans." A new generation that did not

break with old traditions: Kennedy attempted to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, began sending marines to Vietnam, and threatened to wipe out the Soviet Union with missiles.

Even so, it is possible that if Gary Hart beats Mondale and defeats Reagan as well on November 6, many of us will sleep more

peacefully that night. Not because he has won, but rather because his victory will at least reflect the fact that forces remain alive and are growing among the U.S. people that oppose Reagan's dangerous game. And on such forces the fate of many people all over the world depends. □

'Rouge' on U.S. elections

'SWP puts forward independence of working class'

By Christian Picquet

[The following article appeared in the March 23-29 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Traditionally, the American presidential elections are held between the representatives of the two big bourgeois parties, Republican and Democratic. It will be the same this year. Until June, primaries will be held in each of the states to choose among the candidates for the nomination.

Voting is open to all citizens who, when they registered on the voter rolls, indicated their party affiliation. On the basis of these local votes, delegates are selected to the national conventions that will be held during the summer.

On the Republican side, the nomination of Ronald Reagan for a second term appears assured. But the situation is quite different in the other clan. Divided, unable to present itself as a credible alternative, the Democratic Party sees its spokesmen going up against one another in an orgy of hollow promises, each

more demagogic than the next. That is the norm in an election contest across the Atlantic, where they try to draw in certain sectors of the electorate, the better to forget the programs once victory is ensured.

Walter Mondale, Carter's former vice president, who is supported by the unions and the party apparatus, is facing Gary Hart, the proponent of "new ideas," the contours of which remain singularly fuzzy.

Alongside the official scene, another campaign is developing, the campaign of independent candidates. As in each contest since 1948, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is taking part. Mel Mason, a Black activist and city councilman from the small California town of Seaside, and Andrea González, a Puerto Rican from New York who is secretary of the YSA (the youth organization of the SWP) will be its standardbearers.

Mel Mason and Andrea González are trying to utilize all the legal possibilities of the campaign to expose the warlike policies of the principal imperialist power and its threats against the Central American revolutions and to put forward the independence of the working class.

"We say," explains Mason, "that the workers who constitute the majority must break



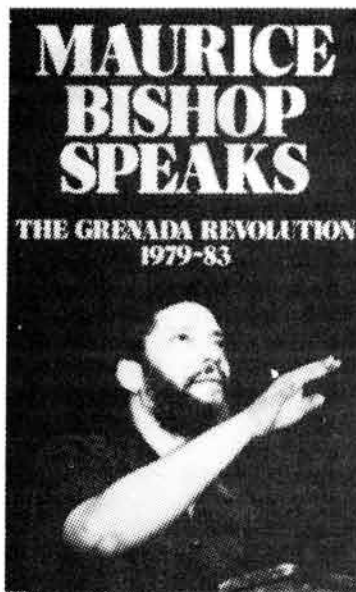
MEL MASON

Steven Fuchs/IP



ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

with the Democrats and Republicans and form their own party. A labor party, based on a democratic and fighting union movement, or an independent Black party would defend the workers — and not just during election campaigns — whether or not it is in power." □



SPECIAL OFFER TO IP SUBSCRIBERS 'Maurice Bishop Speaks'

This 400-page collection of interviews with and speeches by the slain prime minister of Grenada also includes an introduction by *IP* editor Steve Clark, explaining the events leading to the overthrow of the revolution, the assassination of Bishop, and the invasion by U.S. troops.

If you subscribe or extend your *IP* subscription, you can receive this book at the special price of only \$4 (a saving of \$2.95)! To get this book out to others, order 3 or more copies for only \$3.50 each!

Please begin renew extend my subscription
 North and Central America/Caribbean: 6 months/US\$12.50 One year/US\$25
 Europe/South America: 6 months/US\$17.50 One year/US\$35
 Asia/Africa: 6 months/US\$22.50 One year/US\$45

Enclosed is an additional US\$4 for a copy of "Maurice Bishop Speaks."
 Enclosed is \$ _____ for _____ copies at \$3.50 each (minimum order 3 copies).*

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Postal code _____

*Includes shipping by surface or book rate. Write for added charges for books sent by air.

Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014

Who are the warmakers?

Debate in Swedish Trotskyist weekly

[The so-called European Security Conference which opened in January in Stockholm, Sweden, is scheduled to continue for a couple of years. Its stated aim is to find ways to strengthen "mutual trust and security" among European states as a follow-up to the Helsinki agreement in 1975.

[The lack of "mutual trust" between the governments involved, however, became obvious during the opening session. On the first day U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz declared that, "The United States does not recognize the legitimacy of the artificially imposed division of Europe." As he explained, he was referring to the existence of workers states in Eastern Europe and, especially, to the division of Germany into two states.

[In its January 12 issue, *Internationalen*, a weekly published in Stockholm by the Socialist Party, Swedish section of the Fourth International, carried an editorial headlined, "The Stockholm Show." Printed below is a translation of that editorial, done in Sweden for *Intercontinental Press*.

[After condemning current military interventions of the Soviet Union and of imperialist countries, including the United States, France, and South Africa, the editorial commented that, "The more 'security' for the warmaking regimes, the more *insecure* is the future for ordinary people."

[The theme of the editorial was elaborated on in a longer article, "Little man, write your will . . ." by *Internationalen* editor Håkan Blomqvist in the January 19 issue. He drew parallels between the Stockholm conference and the Munich meeting in 1938, where the governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy signed a nonaggression treaty. At the time, representatives of these imperialist powers claimed that this pact would guarantee peace in Europe.

["History repeats itself, it is said. The first time as a tragedy, the second time as a farce," Blomqvist wrote, adding that one might find elements of both tragedy and farce in the Stockholm conference.

[In its February 2 issue *Internationalen* published a contribution by Inge Hinnemo, polemicalizing against Blomqvist's article. "The historical parallel that Håkan draws is wrong. And from that it follows that the description of the character of the war threat today is wrong too," Hinnemo wrote.

[Comparing a conference between imperialist powers before World War II with the Stockholm conference, which is generally seen as a discussion between the "East and West" could only lead the reader to conclude that "the meeting between Gromyko and Shultz is also a conference between aggressive powers who

both want war in order to expand their political and economic might," Hinnemo stated.

[Hinnemo argued that the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union should be criticized when it tries to stop revolutionary struggles, but that criticism should not "bundle it together with aggressive imperialist regimes."

[In the February 9 issue of *Internationalen*, Blomqvist replied. He agreed that "the war threat is propelled by imperialism, not by the Soviet Union," and added that this is the position of the Socialist Party as well as of its paper.

[The Stockholm conference was not "equal to the Munich agreement," he wrote. "The historical parallel was on another level: whether or not the peace movement *can put its faith* in negotiations, 'reducing tensions' and 'actions to produce mutual trust'" (Emphasis in original).

[The answer is no, the *Internationalen* editor stressed. And that was why *Internationalen* was against the conference, "against the propaganda that this conference is about peace" and "against the idea that the world today needs 'confiding cooperation' and 'security pacts' between the imperialists in Washington and the bureaucrats in the Kremlin."

[The following is the translation of the January 12 editorial.]

* * *

They arrive this Tuesday. The peace-loving representatives from those regimes in the world that are most engaged in warmaking and arms buildups.

The bar is ready. The tax-free liquor store is waiting. And the city council leader responsible for social issues assures that the authorities "are on the alert against street prostitution and are ready to step up action if there is any trouble."

While the loudmouths babble in Stockholm, reality outside the cozy conference building will continue as usual.

- The badly camouflaged U.S. war against the peoples of Central America will roll on.

- The American and French 'peace units' will continue to tear Lebanon to pieces — together with the Israeli occupation force.

- The French "left-wing regime" will deepen its colonial war in Chad.

- Most Western regimes will secretly support South Africa's terrorist war against Angola and the liberation movement in Namibia.

- And the bureaucrats in the Kremlin will continue to keep their Polish military dictator on his feet; they will continue to back up the war against the Eritrean people and spill yet more blood to reach a military solution against

the will of the people in Afghanistan.

All this will happen with an ever-present accompaniment of nuclear armaments and the growing threat of new, large-scale wars.

The wars and war preparations of these regimes cannot be gotten rid of by just a talk over a drink at the conference table or in the corridors ("much will happen in the corridors," we are assured by *Dagens Nyheter* [a Swedish liberal daily]). That should be clear to anyone who cares to cast a glance on the experiences of two devastating world wars.

Because of this, it is, to say the least, depressing when representatives of several Swedish peace organizations (Christian Peace Movement, Peace and Freedom, Swedish Association for Peace and Arbitration, and Women for Peace) in the media (January 8 *Dagens Nyheter*) reject any attempt to make a "dramatic gesture" in relation to the security conference. They also reject an attitude which they describe as "all-or-nothing."

What these representatives really reject is putting popular mass pressure on the conference.

Instead, the peace organizations choose to arrange hearings about "reducing tensions from below" and about "concepts of the enemy." This is aimed to produce a "good climate" for the conference. In that way they believe they will be able to contribute to the "admittedly limited, but important, steps in the direction of growing trust and security that could be won at this conference."

This is not only nauseating nonsense. It is also a devastating, defeatist line for the peace cause.

The loudmouths in Stockholm do not arm themselves, or make war, because of their ignorance. They are ruled by *interests*. They want to secure or expand a political or economic position of power.

The only thing that can make them waver or retreat is the storm from hundreds of thousands — yes, millions — of people who say: "That's enough!" And who threaten to deprive them of their power positions.

If security conferences like the Stockholm show succeed in disarming these mass protests — with the help of the ingratiating politeness shown by the peace organizations — then there is really reason for alarm.

The greater the "trust" between the myrmidons in the old parliament house [the location of the conference], the more *distrust* the peace movement should show.

The more "security" for the warmaking regimes, the more *insecure* is the future for ordinary people.

This is a lesson paid for with the lives of millions of human beings — again and again.

Let the presence of the "peace lovers" become a signal — not to flatter but to strengthen the struggle against the current imperialist wars and armaments — including the Swedish armaments craze — and to give support to the liberation struggles of the peoples. From El Salvador to Poland! □

Reunification of Germany

On what basis can it be achieved?

By Ernest Mandel

[The following article appeared in the February 24 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The winners of the Second World War — U.S. imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy — planted a time bomb in the heart of Europe: the division of Germany. For a long time this bomb lay forgotten. Recently we have begun to hear it tick again, although still only faintly.

With all due respect to the song and dance artists, there is only one single German nation, even though two German states exist. In earlier times even the existence of a dozen states could not prevent this nation from existing and from becoming conscious of itself.

The formula "two German nations" is as absurd as Stalin's famous discovery of "two world markets." When several states tear up a single nation, the resulting contradiction is fraught with the danger that a conflagration will sooner or later erupt.

The division of Germany into two states froze the relationship of forces that existed in Europe at the end of the Second World War, and more specifically at the beginning of the cold war. It tidied things up for all the powers.

The Soviet bureaucracy got the protection of a valuable military and industrial area in the German Democratic Republic. U.S. imperialism was able to integrate West Germany's potential economic power into its economy and its international military alliances. The other European imperialisms — especially French imperialism — saw a traditional and formidable adversary weakened and turned into a durable ally.

As regards the German bourgeoisie, which was crushed by its defeat and trembling in fear of the Soviet Union, it could tell itself that at least the basic thing — private property — had been saved. Pursuing its industrial expansion, but this time basically through peaceful commercial and financial means, the bourgeoisie could further believe that in contrast to 1914 and 1939, this time it would be in the camp of the "potential winners."

Fundamentally, it was the German working class and the European workers movement that paid the price of this division of Germany. For the immense majority of the workers, the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic are mutual foils, condemning the working class to forsake major political initiatives.

The East German working class hates the bureaucratic dictatorship. But it instinctively

distrusts the regime of the Adenauers, the Kiesingers, the Helmut Kohls, which are synonymous with social inequality and the threat of unemployment and speedup.

The West German working class is increasingly turning away from this same regime. But it has no desire to trade it for the regime of Stalin, Ulbricht, or Honecker.

Under these conditions, the German workers remain basically outside the political arena. This weakens the likelihood of the socialist revolution in Europe and the likelihood of seeing the emergence of the Socialist United States of Europe since the German proletariat remains as much as ever the principal segment of this continent's working class.

Dangers of collective suicide

Today, however, the capitalist crisis, and especially the missiles crisis, seems to be slowly thawing the German national question, which has lain dormant for 35 years. Broad masses of people in West Germany are feeling a muffled nervousness. They are conscious of the fact that a world nuclear war threatens to destroy their country — and them — in the first hours of the conflict. The instinct for self-preservation pushes them to reexamine West Germany's place in the international imperialist alliance, an arrangement that the great majority had accepted for a long time.

In no way has their repugnance toward the bureaucratic East German dictatorship diminished. But they are asking themselves whether the advantages of capitalist property, advantages that are slowly being undermined by the crisis, are worth "defending" even at the obvious risk of collective suicide.

The German working masses are not yet ready to fight right now for a reunified socialist Germany. But they are increasingly taking a path that leads to a Germany that is separated from the imperialist alliance, that is neutralist and disarms unilaterally.

Since they are fully conscious of the international context in which this shift in opinion is taking place, they sympathize with an analogous, deep-seated movement taking shape among the youth in East Germany. Out of this flows the renewal of hope for a reunified Germany with neutralization as its price. This is a proposal that the Soviet bureaucracy put forward on several occasions since Stalin's death.

'French' bombs versus 'European' bombs

The initial signs of this reawakening worry the international bourgeoisie, and especially the French bourgeoisie. Not only would the international imperialist alliance be significantly weakened by such a realignment, but the specter of the socialist revolution and the socialist

reunification of all of Europe would take on new relevance.

[Jacques] Chirac and Company are ready to play with fire to counter this risk. Dramatically overturning one of the classical tenets of Gaullism, they are ready to offer the West German bourgeoisie the alternative solution of a European nuclear army, whose first priority would be the "defense" of "German territory." This would entail substituting a "European" (above all a Franco-German) bomb for the "French bomb."

In this way the German bourgeoisie could turn the renewal of the German national consciousness to its own profit (and to the profit of its own war preparations, which would be quite as deadly as those of U.S. imperialism).

For its part, the international workers movement must be conscious of the historic perils embodied in this adventure. Its interests lie totally in the opposite direction. When there is a revival of German national sentiment, which is inevitable in the long run, it is imperative that through a return to the pre-1848 situation this sentiment should be favorable to the revolution, that this time it should be integrated into the struggle for socialism.

This means: understanding and explaining that the only way German unification can be achieved without a suicidal war is if it takes place on the combined basis of a victorious socialist revolution in West Germany and a victorious political revolution in East Germany.

But it also means: understanding that the revival of national consciousness among the German working masses, as well as their pacifism, can be transformed into a powerful motor force of anticapitalist and antibureaucratic movements. But that can happen only if these views are not removed from the context of the workers movement and the profoundly democratic social movements that are their allies. It can happen only if they are in no way taken over by bourgeois political forces.

That is why the initiative of the Landau soldiers calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of occupation troops from Germany is highly positive.* It contributes to the objective of bringing the powerful potential of the German proletariat into play in the common struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe. Only in these Socialist United States of Europe can the German nation regain its definitive socialist reunification through peaceful means. □

*In October 1983, three draftees in the French army stationed in West Germany were indicted for "inciting troops to commit acts contrary to discipline and duty and violation of orders" for having signed a petition calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from West and East Germany. In all, some 500 French soldiers in West Germany had signed the petition, but only the three, all members of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), were brought up on charges.

A trial of two of the three took place February 23 at a French military tribunal in Landau, West Germany. They received one-year suspended sentences.

Steelworkers march on Paris

50,000 protest government's job-cutting plan

By Will Reissner

Tens of thousands of French steelworkers from the eastern province of Lorraine descended on Paris April 13 to protest the French government's plans to cut 27,000 jobs from the steel industry.

Union leaders estimated that as many as 50,000 workers took part in the march, which wound eight miles through Paris and snarled traffic throughout the city.

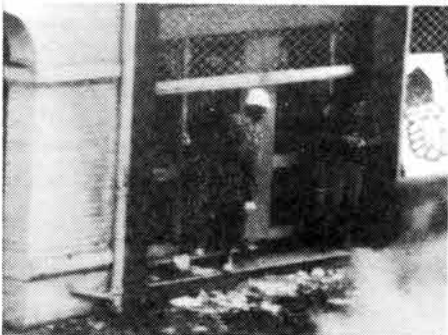
The march, which had the support of all the main trade union federations, was led by an immense red Cross of Lorraine, the symbol of that steel and iron center, bearing the initials of the participating unions.

The marchers turned central Paris into a sea of red banners and hard hats.

The protesting steelworkers were particularly angered by the fact that the present government, a coalition of the Socialist and Communist parties, is carrying out the cuts in steel production. In 1979, when the right-wing government then ruling France announced major cuts in steel production, touching off waves of protest throughout Lorraine, the Socialist and Communist parties backed the steelworkers' protests.

Following his election as president in 1981, François Mitterrand of the Socialist Party went to the steel town of Longwy, a center of the 1979 protests, and declared that the city would become a "symbol" of the new France to be built by the left. Mitterrand congratulated the workers for their struggle against injustice and layoffs and promised they would be in the "front ranks of the reconstruction of our economy."

Michel Olmi, a leader of the 1979 protests, recalled the scene in Longwy the night Mitterrand was elected president in 1981. "People were delirious with excitement. They were singing and dancing until 3 in the morning,"



Rouge

Angry workers wrecked SP headquarters in Longwy.



Rouge

Metz demonstration, March 28: "The left government must not continue the policies of the right."

Olmi told Michael Dobbs of the *Washington Post*.

Olmi contrasted the 1979 protests with the April 13 march, noting, "Everything has become much more complicated. In those days, we knew what we were against: the bosses, capitalism, the right. But now, if I shout 'Mitterrand out,' I am in effect saying 'let the Right back in,' which is not what I mean at all."

Although the Communist Party has four ministers in the Mitterrand government, it supported the march on Paris. The head of the CP, Georges Marchais, took part in the demonstration, saying, "The steelworkers are right to be angry over measures that will gravely affect their jobs, their lives, their regions, and a national industry."

The week before, however, Marchais had stated that the Communist Party ministers will remain in the government despite their objec-

tions to the government's plan to cut steel production and steelworkers' jobs.

In Lorraine, a number of Socialist Party elected officials have resigned from the SP in protest over the steel plan. Three parliamentary deputies and one federal senator from the department of Moselle withdrew from the SP parliamentary group, which automatically led to their expulsion from the party.

In other departments of Lorraine, however, SP elected officials tried to put the best face on the government plan. Jean-Paul Durieux, SP representative from Longwy, claimed that "for the Longwy basin, the core has been saved." Comments like that — in the face of the fact that steel employment in Longwy has dropped from 12,000 in 1979 to 5,900 today and will decline to 3,000 by 1987 if the government plan goes through — led angry workers to sack the SP headquarters in that city.

For two weeks before the march on Paris, the steel-making areas of eastern France were the scene of repeated protests. In many places workers blocked roads by piling steel on them. In the Longwy area the railroad lines were blocked or cut.

On April 4 most of Lorraine was shut down by a general strike. The demonstrations were the largest since 1979.

The April 6-12 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) of France, reports that in the city of Nancy about 10,000 workers took to the streets, in Metz some 50,000 marched, and in Longwy there were 20,000 demonstrators.

In several cities during the two weeks of demonstrations, workers fought pitched battles with national riot police sent to the scene. □

Steelworkers march for 35-hour workweek

On March 30, some 5,000 steelworkers from Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Britain, Spain, and France staged a joint demonstration in Paris calling for a 35-hour workweek with no cut in pay for steelworkers throughout Western Europe.

Leaders of the European Metalworkers Federation support the call for the 35-hour week as a way to maintain jobs in the face of the restructuring of the European steel industry.