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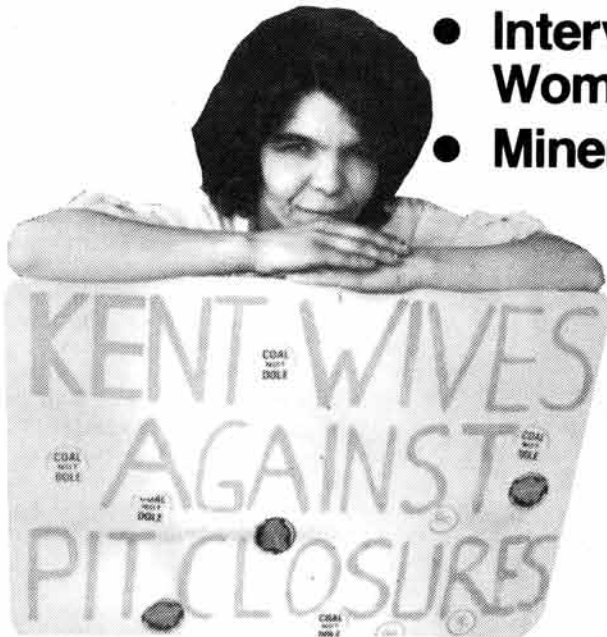
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BRITISH COAL STRIKE

- Interview With a Leader of Women's Support Group
- Miners' Confidence Grows

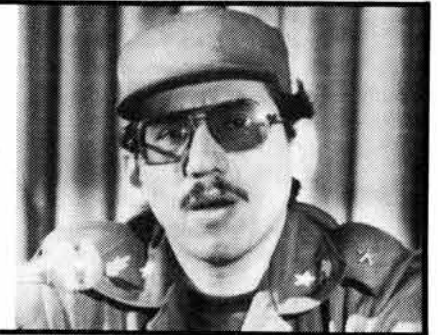


G.M. Cookson



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***Humberto Ortega on
Nicaragua's Strategy to
Defeat U.S. Aggression***



**Manifesto of Grenada's
Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement**

Democrats celebrate unity, no advance for workers

By Malik Miah

The Democratic Party is attempting to present itself as the "savior" of working people in the U.S. elections in November. To project this image, it nominated former vice-president Walter Mondale for president and Geraldine Ferraro for vice-president at its recent convention in San Francisco. Ferraro is the first woman ever to run on a major U.S. capitalist party presidential ticket.

The Democratic ticket will be running against President Ronald Reagan and Vice-president George Bush, who are expected to be nominated at the Republican convention in August.

The Democratic convention ended on an exhilarating note of unity. The delegates hailed the party's platform. They cheered the decision of Jesse Jackson and Senator Gary Hart, the defeated contenders for the nomination, to urge their supporters to campaign wholeheartedly for Mondale and Ferraro. And they hoped having a woman as vice-presidential nominee will help rally the support needed to win the election.

The platform adopted opens by saying, "A fundamental choice awaits America — a choice between two futures." This choice is presented as four more "bad" years of Ronald Reagan or four "good" years of traditional Democratic liberalism.

The actual platform, however, is not substantially different from current government policies, except for some liberal window dressing. For example, it openly advocates an austerity program that includes cutbacks in social services. In fact, it is more conservative than the platforms adopted at the last few Democratic conventions.

This rightward trend, however, does not signify, as the July 21 *Economist*, a British weekly, asserted, that "Americans are more conservative than they were." Rather it reflects the rightward drift of capitalist politics flowing from the employers' need to weaken the labor movement and drive down the living standard of working people. Generally, however, the platforms of neither the Democrats nor the Republicans mean much, as they are primarily vote-catching devices and do not have much to do with what policies candidates will carry out when elected.

Mondale, in his acceptance speech, admitted that whoever is elected in November will have to carry out the same basic austerity measures. "Whoever is inaugurated in January, the American people will have to pay Mr. Reagan's bills. The budget will be squeezed. Taxes will go up. And anyone who says they won't is not telling the truth to the American people."

The bipartisan agreement between the Democrats and Republicans on foreign policy is even clearer.

Sounding little different from President Reagan, the platform says, "A Democratic President will be prepared to apply military force when vital American interests are threatened, particularly in the event of an attack upon the United States or its immediate allies."

The platform continues, "The Western Hemisphere is in trouble. Central America is a regional war. Latin America is experiencing the most serious economic crisis in 50 years. . . . Mindful of these realities and determined to stop widening, militarizing and Americanizing the conflict, a Democratic President's immediate objective will be to stop the violence and pursue a negotiated solution in concert with our democratic allies. . . ."

The document also adds, "the Democratic Party affirms its commitment to the selective, judicious use of American military power in consonance with constitutional principles and reinforced by the War Powers Act."

With the exception of five amendments, the platform was agreed to by the entire convention.

'Historic convention'

The convention was presented by the capitalist media, the labor officialdom, and the Black, Latino, and women misleaders as a "historic" event. *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker declared, "the modern Democratic Party has become a new instrument in American politics."

The labor officialdom was especially overjoyed by the outcome of the convention. The leadership of the AFL-CIO, the country's largest trade union organization, had been campaigning for Mondale in the Democratic primaries since last October when it made an unprecedented early endorsement of a presidential candidate. As they have traditionally done, the labor officials are projecting the elections as the most important arena of political activity for the unions, and the capitalist parties as effective vehicles for advancing the interests of working people. They counterpose this electoralist approach to organizing and leading the independent struggles — strikes, demonstrations, and solidarity activities — of the workers against the employers and their political representatives.

Most of the left was also jubilant about the Democratic Party convention.

The Communist Party, which is running its own presidential ticket, hailed the convention as a big advance for working people. The July 19 *Daily World* headline read: "DEFEAT

REAGAN! Unity prevails as Dems sharpen attack on issues."

The *Guardian*, a radical weekly published in New York, ran an editorial on Ferraro's nomination entitled, "Better late than never," and welcomed it as a major achievement for the women's movement. An article in the same issue stated, "Walter Mondale will be the Democratic Party's presidential nominee, but Jesse Jackson will function as its soul and conscience."

The main reason why the left and many liberals were enthusiastic about the Democratic Party convention was Jackson's role there.

Flora Lewis, a liberal columnist for the *New York Times*, said the convention revealed "signs of a new populism." The "new" Democratic Party, she said, now "include[s] women and blacks, those internal migrants who arrived late on the political scene"

Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" was quite visible on the convention floor. There were over 700 Black delegates — the most ever — and many more Latinos and women than normally seen at past Democratic Party conventions.

But not progress

This registered the Democratic Party's success in drawing the "internal migrants" and the "left-outs," as Jackson calls them, into the mainstream of capitalist politics. This represented a victory for the employing class.

Liberal columnist Wicker pointed out that the Democratic Party's "role seems more and more to be that of providing emergent and developing interests with a place in political life, and with access not to power itself but to that new national nervous system through which attention must be gained before power can be won."

Jackson admits that this was an objective of his campaign. While declaring the number one goal for all liberals and "progressives" is to defeat Ronald Reagan in November, Jackson said this could not happen unless "the party" broadened its base of support — top to bottom.

The Democratic Party had to let more liberal capitalist politicians who are Black, Latino, or female participate in decision-making.

When the convention opened Jackson told his delegates, "We don't have to win, but we have to raise the right issues."

He added, "We shall leave this place on Friday with our minds made up. We must retire the repressive Reagan regime and with our minds made up we have the power."

"This fall we are going to work with passion because our eyes are on the prize. We are going to elect school board members and supervisors. . . ."

According to this strategy of building a base inside the Democratic Party, Blacks and other working people should focus their energies on voting in November to dump Reagan and elect more Blacks to local offices rather than fighting against the blows raining down on working people, especially Blacks and women.

Because the Jackson campaign did not break

from the framework of capitalist politics, it has served to *depoliticize* those who were attracted to it; *divert* attention from organizing fight-backs; and is an *obstacle* to developing independent working-class political action.

Those who came to the convention hoping that Jackson would refuse to endorse the ticket unless more Blacks and the "left-outs" were given greater authority in the official campaign quickly learned otherwise. Jackson was already committed to helping turn out the Black vote for Mondale and Ferraro.

"Tonight we come together," he began his sermon-pledge of loyalty, "by our faith in a mighty God, with genuine respect and love for our country, and inheriting the legacy of a great party . . . which is the best hope for redirecting our nation on a more humane, just and peaceful course."

Jackson's apology

To show his total loyalty to the Democratic Party higher-ups and "60 families" that control the country, Jackson gave a groveling apology to the racists who have attacked him during his campaign.

"If in my low moments, in word, deed or attitude, through some error of temper, taste or tone," Jackson said in a clear reference to his initial refusal to repudiate Louis Farrakhan, a Black nationalist and strong opponent of Israel, "I have caused anyone discomfort, created pain or revived someone's fears, that was not my truest self."

Jews and Blacks, he went on, "are co-partners in a long and rich religious history — the Judeo-Christian traditions. . . . We are bound by shared blood and shared sacrifices. . . ."

"We must share our burdens and our joys with each other once again. We must turn to each other and not on each other and choose higher ground."

This apology, of course, won quick praise from the more conservative sectors of the Democratic Party as well as the middle-class leaders of the major Jewish organizations.

Jackson also kept the Sandinistas, the Palestinians, and Cuba out of his speech. His only reference to Central America and Grenada was his lament over the "loss of our boys" who died in occupying Grenada last October and in El Salvador and Honduras while fighting the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan people.

The employing class recognizes that the growing ferment in the working class will increase as the attacks sharpen and deepen. This is why they no longer exclude the idea of a woman or even a Black becoming their representative in the White House.

They would prefer this not to be the case.

Our summer schedule

This is the last issue of *Intercontinental Press* before our summer break. We will skip one issue. The next one will be dated September 3.

They liked it better when they had a "whites only" and "males only" two-party system. But as a result of big social gains won by Blacks, women, and labor through struggle, the ruling class has had to make these adjustments in order to maintain their rule over society. They continually seek to undercut new struggles by absorbing their leaders.

There is only one voice in the elections that is explaining that the working class cannot ad-

vance its struggles by looking to the electoral arena, particularly to the capitalist parties. This voice is the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party. Mel Mason and Andrea González, the SWP candidates for president and vice-president, explain that the working class can only move forward by counting on its own organized strength, its own actions, and solidarity among workers who are under attack. □

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Thatcher closes mines, cuts jobs

Striking coal miners submit proposals for more jobs

By Rich Palser

SHEFFIELD — On July 18, talks between the National Coal Board (NCB) and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) collapsed without agreement, for the third time since the dispute began. The dispute was sparked off when the Coal Board announced that 20 pits would close this year, resulting in 20,000 jobs being lost. The miners union has accepted that pits should obviously close when the coal reserves are exhausted, but it is opposing closures being made by the Coal Board on the grounds that pits are "uneconomical."

In the latest negotiations, the NCB put forward a new definition of exhaustion, which according to the *Guardian* newspaper read: "the NCB and NUM agree that where a comprehensive and in-depth investigation by their respective mining engineers shows that a colliery has no further mineable reserves that are workable and can be beneficially developed, such a colliery will be deemed exhausted."

According to this definition, pits could be deemed exhausted when it was no longer "beneficial" to develop them. The Coal Board's interpretation of what is "beneficial" is simply what is "profitable."

It appears that Coal Board Chairman Ian MacGregor's main objective in any negotiations is to ensure that economic profitability be accepted as grounds for closure. Then, with a national strike over and closures negotiated once again at the local level, it would become possible to push through closures one at a time. By using this approach and keeping its overall plans for pit closures secret, the Coal Board was able to close 20 pits last year, because each pit remained isolated.

The Coal Board's idea of what is "beneficial" was confirmed yet again by a confidential statement leaked in the June 30 issue of the union's newspaper, *The Miner*. The confidential statement, by the general manager of Clayton Equipment, a Derbyshire firm that manufactures mining equipment, assesses the home market for mining equipment. "There is considerable re-organisation in the coal board," it says. "The suggestion is that 12 areas will be reduced to 6 and up to 70 pits will be closed within the next five years."

Whether Clayton Equipment has been supplied this information by the Coal Board or is simply repeating the warnings of NUM President Arthur Scargill over the Coal Board's intentions, the general manager has been taking it seriously. The figure of 70 pits is in line with a document drawn up by the Coal Board for the Monopolies and Mergers Commission and leaked to the NUM in 1982. This showed that the Coal Board planned to close up to 95 pits

over eight years. Slightly more than 20 pits have closed since then.

But 70 pits and about 70,000 jobs are not the only factors leading to the breakdown in negotiations. Peter Heathfield, General Secretary of the NUM, pointed out, "A little known fact is that there is a Cabinet committee which meets twice a week and involves itself very fully indeed in the miners' strike. Made up of Mrs. Thatcher, Energy Secretary Peter Walker, legal, industrial, and defence ministers, its views are made abundantly clear to the NCB. I have no doubt at all that between the Edinburgh and Rotherham meetings, the board received its guidelines from that committee. My guess is that the government persuaded the board to take a very high-risk gamble indeed on trying to break the strike before the autumn, and that is the reason for the Rotherham beligerence." It was after the meeting held at Rotherham that the second round of negotiations broke down.

The government knows full well that the success of its economic strategy hinges on its ability to defeat in combat a decisive section of

the British working class, such as the miners. The government policy has been to let periodic international capitalist recessions rip unchecked through British industry. The idea is to let the "natural laws" of the "free market economy" flush out the less productive sectors and companies, making the whole economy "leaner but fitter." In the manufacturing industries, output per person-hour increased by 15 percent between 1980 and the middle of 1983, compared with a 7 to 8 percent increase during the 1975 recession.

Unemployment rocketed from 6.2 percent in 1977 to 13 percent today. But despite this, living standards of workers still employed continued to keep ahead of inflation. For Thatcher's strategy to succeed, workers must not only fear the dole queue [unemployment line], they must despair of the possibility of a successful fightback against job losses and wage cuts.

The Conservative (Tory) Party government has been preparing for this confrontation with the miners since before it came into office in May 1979. In 1978 Nicholas Ridley, currently transport minister, drafted a report which recommended building up coal stocks, encouraging haulers to employ scab labor, making contingency plans for the import of coal, introducing oil firing into coal-fired power stations, and establishing a large mobile squad of police to deal with the miners' flying pickets. (This was publicly aired in the May 27, 1978, *Economist* magazine.)

With the breakdown in the third round of negotiations Peter Walker, the energy secretary, has been quick to cover over the government's political objectives in the strike by accusing Scargill of being responsible for the breakdown in talks and pursuing the strike for the political objective of introducing "state socialism." When the second round of talks broke down in early July, MacGregor launched a similar campaign to try to discredit the union leadership.

This was done through a series of full-page advertisements in the national press entitled "How the miners on strike have been misled." In the first of the series they asked: "Can the strike end the need to close uneconomic pits? No — because it can't change a basic fact. Expensive coal is coal that can't be sold. By taking out four million most expensive tonnes of production, we can get the average cost of our coal down — and thus make it easier to sell." A million tons is the amount the board has announced it is intending to cut production this year, but this is only the tip of the iceberg of MacGregor's plans.

The NUM has put forward its own plan for



Miners' leader Arthur Scargill indicates opinion of Thatcher.

the coal industry, aimed at increasing instead of cutting jobs. It proposes a massive investment in existing pits and the opening of 30-40 more in a drive to expand annual production to 200 million tons by 1985. It urges:

- Calling a halt to the nuclear power program which the government aims to expand at a rate of one power station a year for 10 years. The government plan would increase the nuclear component of the electricity supply from 12 percent to 30 percent by the end of the 1980s. This suits the Tory party financial backers, but the policy also has political goals. A cabinet minute leaked in October 1979 stated: "A nuclear programme would have the advantage of removing a substantial portion of electricity from disruption by industrial action of coal miners and transport workers."

Even with production of coal expanded to 200 million tons per year, there are enough coal reserves to last for 300 years in Britain. Oil reserves on the other hand have a life one tenth of that, and as a source of power oil is 30 to 35 percent more expensive than coal.

- Finding new ways to use coal. The NUM proposes that many new ways of using coal more efficiently could be developed. One is Combined Heat and Power. At present only 35 percent of energy produced in coal-fired power stations is efficiently transformed into electricity. The rest, which is lost as heat, could be used for communal heating systems in urban areas. Thousands of old people die every winter for lack of heating.

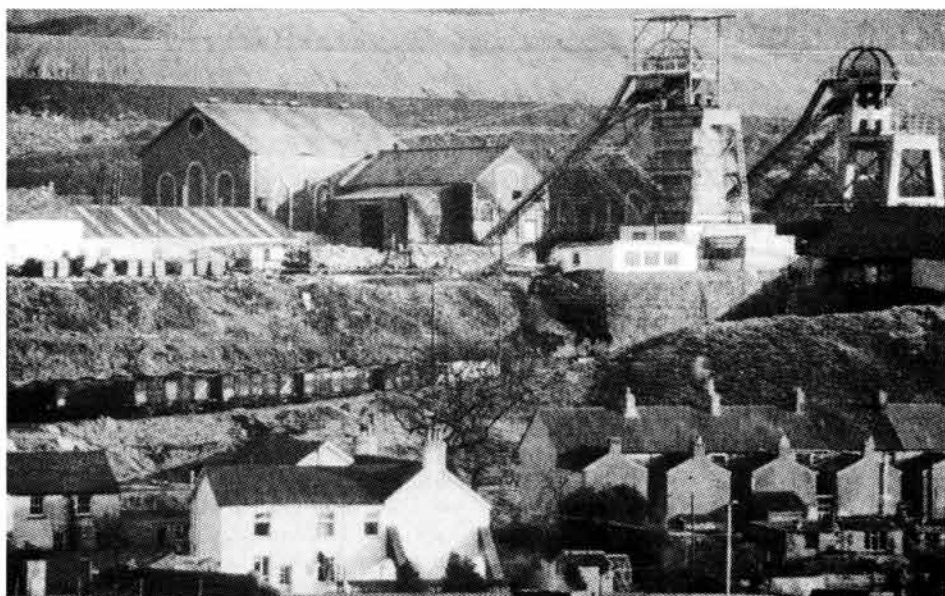
- Consolidation of bonuses, increased basic rates of pay and a 4-day week. Workers reduce the wealth and they deserve to benefit from it. New technology — which in the pits today could maintain production while cutting the work week in half — must be used to create greater leisure time, not the enforced idleness of the dole queue.

Scargill has often called for "a government as loyal to our class as Thatcher is to hers." Behind the breakdown in union negotiations over the word "beneficial" are two alternative plans for the coal industry. One meets the needs of the profiteers and speculators of the Tory Party. The other places the needs of working people above capitalist profit.

Should the Tory government prove unable to implement its plan for coal because of the resistance of the miners in this strike, a government which stands up for working people — a workers government — will be needed to ensure the NUM plan for coal is implemented.

The leadership of the Labour Party — the party built by the unions which claims to stand for working people — has yet to commit itself to implementing the NUM plan and backing the miners in their fight against closures. At the beginning of the dispute party leader Neil Kinnock remained silent. When he finally spoke out, it was to back the call for a national ballot, which scab miners were making to avoid joining the dispute.

As police violence mounted the Labour leadership condemned the "violence of either side," and when a back bench Labour MP fi-



South Wales mining town.

nally forced a debate on the issue in the House of Commons, Kinnock did not even speak. More recently the Labour leadership's chief complaint against the government has been that it should "intervene in the dispute so as to bring about an early settlement."

The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, however, has taken some important steps in support of the miners. A 50 pence a week levy of members in aid of the miners has been established, and a call was issued urging local Labour Party branches to organize support for the miners. Left-wing Labour MPs have added their voices to these calls. At the Yorkshire miners' gala on June 16, Dennis Skinner, Labour MP for Bolsover, called on Labour councils to refuse to employ road haulers whose lorries [trucks] carried scab coal during the dispute. He also called on them to refuse to pay the cost of extra policing during the strike.

The Labour leadership has been reluctant to recognize publicly that the strike has political objectives. It wishes to avoid having to take a stand on the crucial political issues raised during the strike — the strikebreaking, pro-employer role of the police, the union-busting, procapitalist role of the courts, the Coal Board's sabotage of coal production through deliberate under-investment and support of nuclear energy.

They would also have to take a stand on the class-struggle methods being used by the miners in response — mass picketing, demonstrations, solidarity boycotts, solidarity strikes, the organization of women in the mining communities, and the refusal to recognize the class justice of the police and courts. These same class-struggle methods would have to be adopted by any workers government which set out to implement the plan for coal of the NUM.

First, it would have to find new markets for coal abroad. More import controls do not increase exports. The NUM policy in support of import controls would just deepen the vicious

circle of capitalist recession. A workers government would need to set about changing Britain's trading relationship with the rest of the world — in particular the semicolonial countries — to cease its imperialist stranglehold over those economies and establish fair and equal trading relationships.

It would also get out of the European Economic Community. In a report published in 1982, the Common Market spelled out the common approach to the coal industry being taken by capitalist governments of Western Europe. The report called for imports of coal to Western Europe to increase from 23 percent of overall consumption in 1980 to 45 percent of coal consumption by the year 2000. Why?

Because the same multinationals which in the sixties and seventies owned the world's oil reserves and so pushed for a shift away from coal, today own much of the world's new coal reserves in countries such as Colombia and Mexico, as well as existing reserves in Australia and South Africa. Construction firms such as Wimpey and Cementation, as well as mining firms such as Powell Duffryn, hope to cash in on these developments. All of them will do so at the expense both of the oppressed semicolonial countries and European miners.

Most important of all, the NUM plan for coal could only be implemented by breaking the resistance of the employing class in Britain, whose police, press, and army are ranged against the miners. For the past week the British press has been speculating that the army will be used against the dockers' strike.

When the government of President Salvador Allende carried out reforms in the interests of working people in Chile in the early 1970s, the owners organized transport strikes, factory managers hoarded goods, and finally the army carried out a coup. Most British workers have long believed that it could not happen in Britain. Yet the "counter-insurgency" methods used by the army in Belfast are now used in Nottinghamshire. □

Miners' confidence grows

Support for strike gives Thatcher headache

By Pete Clifford

MANCHESTER — "The NUM is heading for the greatest industrial victory in the post-war history of Great Britain." With this headline, the journal of the National Union of Mineworkers on July 14 expressed the confidence of the miners in their battle against pit closures. After 20 weeks on strike they were given a big boost by a national strike of dock workers. For nearly two weeks, beginning July 10, all the major freight and cargo ports were brought to a standstill.

The dockers' action was sparked by government attempts to use scab dock labor to breach the blockade of steel plants by miners and rail workers. This action had a dramatic effect on Britain's trade and economy. Its impact was strengthened by the decision of seafarers to stop all freight transport to and from Europe by the state-owned Sealink Ferry, as a protest against government plans to sell it to private owners.

Thatcher's crisis

The unity and strength behind the miners contrasts with Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's situation. The bosses' paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, summed this up as "one of the most serious constitutional crises of this century." Thatcher for the most part failed to divide miners among themselves to break the strike. She is now faced with two choices. She can up the stakes by declaring a state of emergency, which would mean using the courts and troops as strikebreakers. But this would unify the labor movement even more and escalate the confrontation. Or she can concede to the miners' demands and give the green light to other workers fighting for better pay and job security. Either way the future of her government could be threatened.

The miners' and dockers' strikes are not Thatcher's only headaches. On July 15 the High Court ruled the government was wrong in the way it outlawed unions at the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) defense facility in Cheltenham. This vindicates the general strike action taken by 3 million workers in March against this assault on the unions.

In another blow to Thatcher's strategy, the House of Lords defeated an important section of a government bill that would have deprived London electors of a vote in the Greater London Council elections next May. This has been greeted as a setback for Thatcher's efforts to disband the Labour Party-controlled metropolitan councils. The press has dubbed these setbacks as "banana skin" accidents. However, they are not chance mishaps, but reflections of growing working-class resistance to the

Thatcher government.

One result of the resistance is the government retreat in Liverpool. Since winning office 15 months ago, the Labour majority on the metropolitan council pledged to improve services without cuts and to create new jobs. This meant confronting the government over the council's budget. If the council failed to slash spending they faced bankruptcy and direct intervention from London. The council argued that their only defense was a campaign of mass action in unity with municipal workers and unions.

On March 29 a one-day general strike was organized in the city, and the council battled on despite hostility from Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock. The workers forced Thatcher's Tories to concede another £55 million to meet their budget spending on services and jobs.

Miners build new unity

The miners' strike and the drive for united, class-wide action brings the government close to its biggest defeat. To all the fainthearts in the labor movement, demoralized by Thatcher's election victory last June and the power of the right-wing Trades Union Congress (TUC) leaders, the miners show that through struggle it is possible to force change.

The miners knew that they had to turn the paper unity of the Triple Alliance of rail, coal, and steel unions into a common battle of solidarity against the government. The right-wing leaders of the steel union, a third of the alliance, have scabbed on the strike.

They are pitting steelworker against miner and steel plant against steel plant with the false idea that jobs are saved by working harder, making profits, and meeting the order books. The leaders have convinced their members that they have to scab on the miners' strike to secure coal for full steel production. Some steelworkers have fought against this, arguing that the steel bosses and the government plan to cut steel production, close plants, and increase productivity at the expense of jobs, regardless of the volume of orders and however hard the steelworkers work. The only way to stop this is to join with the miners in industrial action. But years of misleadership in the steel union make this an uphill battle.

The rail workers in the Triple Alliance have come to the miners' aid by stopping the movement of coal and iron ore into the steel plants. The miners' mass pickets and police violence have put pressure on the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) to take action against scab lorry [truck] drivers used by the British Steel Corporation to break the rail blockade. The dockers' strike further strengthened the

unity of workers against Thatcher.

The dock strike began when British Steel management tried to transport coke and iron ore from the Immingham docks to the Scunthorpe steelworks, which was blocked by the action of miners and rail workers. To do this they had to use scab labor. This was the first national dock strike in 12 years, and dockers in non-registered ports joined in the action.

'Provisional wing of the TUC'

The miners' strike is shaking the whole labor movement into action against Thatcher. On June 27, 50,000 workers marched through London in support of the miners, among them rail and print workers on strike for the day. On July 13 the North Western Region of the TUC called a similar action with 15,000 marching in Manchester and 15,000 in Liverpool. Strike action on that day hit rail services and car and engineering manufacture.

Successful days of action have already been organized by regional TUCs in Yorkshire, Scotland, South Wales, and the Midlands in defiance of the national TUC general council. TUC General Secretary Len Murray declared these actions unconstitutional and even banned the South East Region from using the London offices of the TUC.

Rail union leader Jimmy Knapp commented that those backing the miners represent "the provisional wing of the TUC." The left in the labor movement is building on solidarity with the miners to challenge the right wing in the unions in a way that electoral maneuvering can never do. A recent example is the transport union. Three months ago a right-wing victory in the election for general secretary of the union was predicted. Strengthened by the miners' strike, however, left candidate Ron Todd recently came out on top of the poll.

Miners' determination

The Coal Board and the government have tried to break the strike with a "drift back to work" movement. Advertisements have been placed daily in the press, letters sent to miners' homes, special visits made to their houses and redundancy [unemployment] payments increased. This has failed miserably.

Shirebrook colliery in North Derbyshire was a test case for the NCB. At the start of the strike miners voted 2-to-1 against striking. When the area council requested an area strike, the majority of Shirebrook men complied. But the NCB put great effort into persuading men to return to work, including specially protected transport and heavy police escorts. This has failed as 95 percent of the miners are still obeying the strike call. In the North East, the Coal Board hired 200 buses to take miners to work. Only seven miners turned up, and three of those just wanted a lift to the picket line.

No significant inroads have been made beyond the base of the scab mines in Nottingham. A recent opinion poll found that 70 percent of the miners are prepared to stay out indefinitely. Their confidence and determination is shown by the high turnout for miners' dem-

onstrations and pickets and the involvement of miners' wives and families in the resistance. This was confirmed at the special delegates conference in Sheffield on July 11. Delegates from every area of the NUM defied a High Court ruling instructing the union not to adopt new rules for national disciplinary procedures against scabs.

NUM President Arthur Scargill explained to the delegates, "Through the police, the judiciary, the full weight of the state is being brought to bear upon us in an attempt to break this strike." He tossed aside press challenges that the conference was "in contempt of court" by stating, "I am not in contempt of my members. That is the important thing." The special delegates conference voted unanimously to continue the strike and reaffirmed the strike

demand for a withdrawal of closure plans based on economic grounds.

The strength of the miners' action and the prospects for victory are having an impact on the leaders of all political parties. While for the ruling class there appears no alternative policy to that of the Thatcher government, working people are looking to the Labour leaders to challenge the Tories. Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock has done his best to avoid clear support for the miners. At the beginning of the strike he backed the right-wing demand for a ballot and refused to share platforms with strike leaders.

But more recently Kinnock has been forced to crawl out of the woodwork and speak at the Durham miners' gala — the first time he has shared a platform with Scargill during the 20

weeks of the strike. But it was left to left-wing Labour MP Denis Skinner to point out that a miners' victory will be a victory for "extra-parliamentary action." And it was Scargill who explained that miners are fighting for "a government as loyal to our class as Thatcher is to hers." The Labour Party national executive has now backed the miners' demands, they are being looked to by miners to back this up with action.

The miners look set for victory, secured by united industrial action with other unions. The dockers are an example to workers in other industries. The labor movement should now turn its sights on the TUC and the Labour Party leaders to demand they get off the fence and call a day of national solidarity strike action with the miners. □

Women give aid to striking miners

Interview with leader of Chesterfield support group

[The following interview with Betty Heathfield, a founding member of the Chesterfield Women's Action Group and a leader in establishing national coordination between miners' wives committees, took place in Chesterfield, England, on July 11. Heathfield is married to National Union of Mineworkers General-Secretary Peter Heathfield.]

[The interview was conducted by Clive Turnbull and Kathy Mickells. Mickells, a coal miner employed by U.S. Steel in Pennsylvania, is a member of the United Mine Workers of America and the Socialist Workers Party.]

* * *

Question. What kinds of things do the miners' wives groups and women's support groups do?

Answer. We take part in fund raising, picketing, organizing demonstrations and meetings, and many other sorts of things.



"Things will never be the same again."

There are miners' wives groups in each of the 14 coalfield regions. In areas where there are no coalfields, women's support groups have been set up to raise money and send food to striking miners in a particular coalfield.

There are many women's action groups in each of the coalfields. We don't know exactly how many individual groups exist, but the total number is very large.

Q. What was the effect of the National Union of Mineworkers executive committee's decision to establish the Women's Co-ordinating Centre? This is the first time a national union has done such a thing.

A. The office in Sheffield is a clearinghouse where women can telephone in to tell us what is happening in their area and find out if anyone else wants to take part, or to tell us that they are planning some activity on a particular date and find out if it conflicts with something else being planned.

The NUM has given us office space and a telephone, which is very nice. But we are a separate organization from the union and don't want to be dependent on it.

At this point we are still a clearinghouse. But we want to set up a coordinating committee that will hold regular meetings.

We are initially asking each of the 14 coalfield areas to send four delegates to a national conference on July 28-29. We don't know how they will be elected or if they will be totally representative, but we have to start somewhere.

There will be a national rally on Saturday, August 11, and the aim of the national conference is to see that this really is a national rally and gets tremendous support.

The national conference was called on very short notice and will take place over a weekend. On Saturday we'll meet socially,

and on Sunday we'll do all the talking and make all the arrangements for the rally.

Hopefully that will be the basis for calling further coordinating meetings and working out other plans that any area might raise. If all 14 coalfields sent 4 delegates each, that would make 56 representatives at the conference.

Q. What kind of structure do you see ultimately for the Women's Co-ordinating Centre?

A. There's a very fine balance between being organized to make sure that things aren't quite so chaotic, and being so damned organized that you squash all the local initiative we're seeing.

We don't want to destroy the local groups and all the things they are doing. We hope the coordination will put people in touch with one another, so that if something is called nationally, everyone will know about it and will have an equal chance to say what and where it should be.

We also want to make sure that, when and if we have won this fight, we can maintain a structure and be ready for action in the future. All the women are saying that they don't want to disband when this is over. It would be criminal to lose all that we have already achieved.

Q. So you would see this as a permanent part of the mining communities?

A. I would think so, although it is still early to say. But the women who are already in the groups are saying, "we like this coming together and we don't want to be stranded. Things will never be the same again."

The phrase you hear is that "we're not going back to what we were doing before, just being in the house and looking after the kids. We are going to do other things and learn about other things." All of them have already changed a

tremendous amount.

Working-class women in the mining areas, and the women's support groups that have come into the struggle with them, are giving themselves an education that is much better than reading something in a book or having it explained to you. They are learning from their practical experiences, and I don't think they will ever lose that.

They now have a different attitude about themselves, about the community, about society and politics.

Q. What impact do you think this example will have on the labor movement as a whole? Will the labor movement look at women in a different way?

A. I'd be really disappointed if the labor movement didn't really take off from here. A lot of women have had their eyes opened. Perhaps they didn't previously think so deeply about things. But now they will. That's the change.

They now see that if you want anything you have to unite and help each other get it. That is surely a good thing for the future.

If you had an election now you would have a lot more of these people, who may never have voted, voting for the Labour Party. And a lot who were already voting but did not really know why, now better understand what they want and what they can do about it.

Q. How do the local groups coordinate their activities?

A. Take the example of our group in Chesterfield, which coordinates with other groups for picketing.

We get telephone calls from other areas. Because of the law, we can't talk about going elsewhere to picket, so we use different codes. Women from another coalfield called us to say, "On Friday there's going to be a coffee morning at so-and-so's house. Can you come?"

About 30 of us turned up at that house and were told where to picket.

In the early days of the strike, when we went picketing in Nottinghamshire, where a number of mines are still working, we would get a phone call asking if we could come to the Mansfield Leisure Centre at 8 o'clock for aerobics. Obviously there are some places you don't normally go, so we knew it was to go picketing, but we didn't know our final destination until we arrived at the Leisure Centre.

These types of liaisons are good. You might get a group of Yorkshire lasses who decide to go picketing. They'll ring up our area and say we're all going out to such and such a place on Monday at 8 o'clock, are you coming?

They're all taking initiatives to go to each others' areas. The Welsh ladies are always visiting one place or another. They love that. We've had Welsh women here, and women from Northumberland and County Durham as well.



G.M. Cookson

Q. How did your group get organized?

A. Some of us women began to take soup to the picket lines. Through this we got in touch with a lot of other wives because we took leaflets with us and told the lads on the picket lines to make sure their wives came to the next meeting. Along with the soup they got a message.

From there we decided to go picketing as well. Some of the women go regularly. I know two Derbyshire women who picket every morning and have not missed a morning since the strike began.

A lot of Nottinghamshire wives picket with their husbands as a way of showing their support. The thing that sparked it off in Nottinghamshire was the television coverage, right at the beginning of the strike, of a Nottinghamshire wife escorting her husband to work and saying she had a toy gun she would use on Arthur Scargill, the head of the NUM.

That made the wives of the strikers sit up. They felt that if this woman is prepared to escort her husband to scab on all his mates, then surely we ought to be prepared to stand at the side of our husbands while they picket. They wanted to wipe out that media image of miners' wives.

Q. Have you had any trouble with the police while picketing?

A. We had one bad experience. We were on an ordinary picket, standing with the men who were on strike. The men would tell us the name of each scab as he came in, and we'd sing insulting songs about them and ask why they were taking everything from the union but not giving anything back.

The scabs didn't like the singing. And the police didn't like it either because we have a song about the police as well.

We create quite a happy atmosphere on the picket line when we sing. We think it takes the heat out of the situation, and they can't accuse us of being violent.

This particular morning the police decided to make a definite effort to intimidate the

women because there were quite a lot of us and we'd been at the mine fairly regularly.

Although things were very quiet that morning, they arrested a young lad who was standing in the middle of us. His mother and sister and his auntie were on that picket line, and they began protesting his arrest since he had not been doing anything.

At that point the police who had been standing in a line behind us, began turning their line into a circle and kept tightening it, with us in the middle, being jostled and pushed into each other.

When they had formed a complete, tight circle around us, they started to push us toward a fence with a sharp drop-off behind it. We began shouting, and the NUM branch secretary of one of the pits came over to protest. He said he would report it to the police inspector, but within two minutes he was under arrest too.

Q. Have any of the women begun thinking that they could be miners too?

A. I don't think it would occur to them that they could be. In this country we have a tradition of fighting to get women out of the mines.

Women were originally in the mines, and it was a period of poverty and hardship for women, when women were cheap mine labor.

You'd have a rather hard argument with them to persuade them there should be women miners. You wouldn't get an argument from me, but I doubt that you'd get many to say they would like to go down and work in a pit. Perhaps if they met you, Kathy, a few times they would change their minds!

Q. We make the point that if a job is too hard for a woman, then it's too hard for a man as well.

A. Ultimately you don't want men to do jobs that are really dangerous either. I'm all for modernization of the pits and for putting in machinery where human beings find it difficult and dangerous. But I'm not for modernization at the expense of setting back the working-class movement and creating high unemployment.

ment. Ultimately we should have a society where men and women can do any job, and where robots do the dangerous work.

Q. One male miner back in the United States told me that he was glad women had come into the mines because they tend to be "uppity" and won't stand for safety violations or anything else. Because of the women, a lot of things have gotten better for all miners.

A. I can quite imagine that! Basically I don't agree with this segregation — that only men do this work and only women do that work — just as I don't believe in segregating different age groups in society. People are people, and the mixture is what makes the richness.

Q. What is the attitude of the miners' wives to the women's movement?

A. At this stage, if you asked them, "are you a feminist?" or "do you agree with feminism?" most would deny it.

They don't relate to feminism because they see the people who use that word as quite different from themselves and from all the

women they know. They view "feminists" as middle class, perhaps a bit trendy.

I think they are now quite feminist in their attitudes, even though they wouldn't think so. They are now far more receptive to many new ideas.

Q. Has there been a change in the men's attitudes?

A. When we set up the Chesterfield Centre, we were so bogged down with preparing food for the pickets that we didn't have time to go to many meetings and couldn't put out the leaflets we wanted. Meanwhile a lot of the lads were cooling their heels and couldn't go out picketing.

We decided that if we could get them involved in the food preparation, we could do the meetings and leaflets.

This has worked reasonably well. Now the lads are in charge of the center. They make the tea, wash the pots, and get the food ready, while we make all the decisions. They call us "the generals." It's a lovely attitude and they laugh about it, but there has been a change. There has come to be a real respect for the women. □

for their union and its funds. The division in the TUC and the hardening out of the scabbing minority in the NUM makes such a response less likely.

In fact it is already clear that Len Murray [general secretary of the TUC] and company are being offered an excuse for treachery to the miners by reference to defence of jobs in steel.

The coming weeks are going to see an escalation of the stakes in this struggle and not movement by the Tories or NCB towards any kind of compromise. "Negotiations" are tactics in the war — not a plan for ending it.

It is for this reason that a *national* response by the labour movement has become more and more vital. The TUC is standing aside, and through the steel committee is now scabbing on the miners. These "new realists" must be brought to account at the TUC congress in September.

But in the meantime, initiatives to draw together the immense movement of solidarity with the miners in a national show of strength is the best possible response to the manoeuvres of the government and the continued repression by the police.

The Labour Party's decision to organise a national campaign to support the miners, although belated, is to be welcomed. But [Labour MP Tony] Benn's call for a national Labour Party demonstration was not put to the vote at the National Executive Committee. Instead the NEC called for a campaign of local rallies, demonstrations and so on.

This is not good enough. Regional TUCs have already carried through a successful series of local actions. What is needed is not a repeat of these, on a lower level, but a *national* action which can draw together and demonstrate all of the enormous solidarity which has built up behind the miners' struggle over the past four months.

This would deal a terrific blow to Thatcher's efforts to isolate the NUM and split the labour movement. It would force the TUC leadership to reveal where it stands in the struggle. It would help create the head of steam necessary to fight for this year's TUC congress to reverse Murray's scabbing. And it would be a clear cut reply to the efforts to isolate and slander Arthur Scargill.

Local activities are no substitute for this — and the Labour Party NEC knows it. The only explanation for their refusal to call such action is that Neil Kinnock [leader of the Labour Party] is terrified of having to lead a militant mass demonstration with Arthur Scargill at his side.

Labour's campaign to support the miners should be supported and used to build up the constituencies' links with the unions, to win young miners to the Young Socialists and to mobilise the women's sections around the women's support movement.

But most importantly, it must be used as a springboard to redouble the campaign through every body of the unions and party for Labour to call the first *national demonstration* of support for the miners. □

Thatcher's aim: divide unions

Labour urged to call national march for miners

By Redmond O'Neill

[The following article appeared in the July 6 issue of *Socialist Action*, a revolutionary-socialist weekly published in London.]

* * *

[National Coal Board Chairman Ian] MacGregor and [Prime Minister Margaret] Thatcher's campaign to create a "drift back to work" by the miners after the NCB-NUM [National Union of Mineworkers] negotiations broke down has failed. There is no significant increase in the number of miners working.

The break up of the negotiations with the NUM by MacGregor and Thatcher has produced a new wave of solidarity action with the miners and removed many hesitations in the labour movement. The rail unions at last have a really effective boycott operated by their members around the Ravenscraig and Llanwern [steelworks] and increasingly round the power stations.

The message has begun to sink in: this will be a long and bitter struggle which neither side can afford to lose. Only in this framework is it possible to deal with the manoeuvres and tactics of the Coal Board and government.

Their response to the new wave of solidarity from rail workers, regional TUCs [Trades Union Councils] and the Labour Party has been to start raising the flag of "negotiations" again — negotiations not to end the pit closure programme but in a new effort to confuse and demobilise solidarity.

Even though it was MacGregor and Thatcher who broke up the last round of talks, a central aim of the latest calls for negotiations is to isolate [NUM President Arthur] Scargill. The *Financial Times* explained: "The government and the National Coal Board are now, almost publicly, attempting to peel Mr. Arthur Scargill away from his colleagues on the NUM executive."

We are even told that James Curran, deputy chairman of the Coal Board, admires [NUM Vice-president] Mick McGahey so much that he wanted to write his biography!

The Tories' divide and rule tactic is not limited to the NUM, it extends to the labour movement as a whole. Its most important support is the right wing of the TUC [Trades Union Congress], and [steel union General Secretary] Bill Sirs in particular.

The decision of the TUC Steel Committee to refuse any serious agreement with the NUM has created the conditions where the government can attempt to duplicate the divide between strikers and scabs in the NUM in the trade union movement as a whole, thereby fundamentally dividing the labour movement.

This is of immense significance for the Tories' tactics, because a really fundamental division in the labour movement is precisely the necessary precondition for any serious talk of using the anti-union laws against the NUM.

These laws have not been used so far because taking the NUM to court was more likely to galvanise even working miners into support

After riots: 'carnage was nightmarish'

Government offers only promises to riot victims

By Vibhuti Patel

[In May a bloody pogrom was carried out against Muslim and migrant Hindu workers in Bombay. The attacks, in which thousands were wounded or killed, were instigated by right-wing Hindu organizations. Tens of thousands were left homeless after their dwellings were burned by Hindu gangs.

[Hindus are a majority of the Indian population, while Muslims are a minority of about 11 percent.

[Bombay is the largest industrial center in India, and workers there have suffered serious blows as a result of the capitalist economic crisis. Last year 250,000 textile workers went on strike for 18 months in a challenge to the attacks of the employers. In the wake of the defeat of this strike, right-wing Hindu groups and Hindu businessmen and police have whipped up anti-Muslim hysteria, seeking to blame Muslims and migrant workers who have come to Bombay from other parts of India for the economic crisis and high unemployment in Bombay. This has brought division between workers and has helped take the heat off those truly responsible for India's economic problems — the imperialists and the Indian ruling class.

[In the following article Vibhuti Patel, a leader of the Inquilabi Communist Sangathana (Revolutionary Communist Organization), describes conditions of Muslim and migrant Hindu refugees in Bhiwandi, a suburb of Bombay where some of the worst attacks occurred. Bhiwandi is a center of the powerloom industry, and its population is majority Muslim.]

* * *

BOMBAY — After 15 days of communal (religious) carnage, the situation in Navi Basti in Bhiwandi was nightmarish. The wounded and insecure people, the burnt houses, and the deafening silence made us wonder whether we were in the same Bhiwandi that is supposed to be throbbing with the activities of the powerloom industry.

One had heard and read a lot about relief work being carried out by various government and semigovernment agencies, big industrial concerns and various political parties. Exaggerated claims were being made about the rehabilitation of riot victims — providing them with food, clothes, and medicines and reconstructing their tenements. But, except for the efforts of the Bhiwandi powerloom workers union, we hardly found any agency doing systematic and sincere work for the rehabilitation of the riot-affected areas.

Corruption in the government relief work is rampant. Much of what is given is being sold.

The people told us that "leaders of various political parties visit the areas with their cameras, shed crocodile tears, and the next day you see their pictures in the newspapers." But they do not really help; these are gimmicks for the forthcoming elections.

The victims of the riots — mostly Muslims — explained their desperate situation, being shelterless and finding no sign of the promised reconstruction of tenements, though the monsoon season is about to start. They said: "The government is telling us to collect some tin sheet and wood and build hutments on our own. As soon as we finish our work we will be attacked once again, our huts will be burnt once again, and the police will also join in the attack. If we make phone calls for the fire brigade, the police will send it back."

It is gratifying to note that members of the Navjavan Bharat Sabha, Forum Against Oppression of Women, Inquilabi Communist Sangathana, Citizens' Action Groups, and Young Women's Christian Association have gone on their own for distribution of their collections of grain, clothes, and other necessities. A medical camp run by them was visited by hundreds of victims. More and more voluntary organizations must come forward to aid the riot victims. Moreover, a vigilance committee to supervise the distribution at the relief camp is the need of the hour; otherwise middlemen will pocket or sell most of the things that are given as donations.

Women were the worst victims of the carnage. When the army of hooligans invaded their areas, women started running out of their dwellings. Fear of rape created panic among them. Two pregnant women delivered their babies on the way. The babies died. Women in Navi Basti told us, "Nearly 15 women are missing. Neither are they seen at the relief camp, nor are they here, nor have they reached their native places. We are sure they must have been raped and murdered or left in the burning huts."

After 10 days of attack, the women decided to come back to their homes, though there was nothing except broken bricks, burnt wood, and ashes. They were apprehensive that if they did not protect the small pieces of land on which their tenements had been erected, someone else might grab them. So during the day these women sit under nearby trees, do collective cooking, and at night keep awake protecting their 10 foot by 12 foot plots of land. Most of the women had injuries or burns.

After the riot, with the police raids, the men were beaten up, arrested and taken to the police station. The women and children, left alone, faced a lot of anxiety and hunger for a

couple of days. Till we met them, they had been in the same clothes worn on May 19.

Most of these women are wives of powerloom workers. Many were also working in the construction industry as casual laborers. Now they are too scared to leave the areas where they live, so there are no wages for them. Especially the Muslim women can't think of moving out of their areas, as gangs of hooligans shouting "Jai Bhavani" might attack them.*

None of the reports published so far have highlighted the plight of women victims during the riots. What we found is that many women had to face sexual violence. Most of the areas where organized violence took place with swords, pistols, bamboos, and other weapons were slums of the working class. Thus Muslims and "outsiders," that is, migrant workers, bore the brunt of the attacks.

These riots have once again created a long-lasting breach between the Hindu and Muslim powerloom workers.

Over the past decade, India has witnessed a series of serious communal riots. They are no longer sporadic, short-lived, or spontaneous. Reports of investigation committees appointed by organizations like People's Union of Democratic Rights and Committee for Protection of Democratic Rights say that riots have taken place in areas where business competition among Hindus and Muslims, and between the "local" and migrant population, is very high and where Muslims are the dominant minority and have upward economic mobility.

We find these factors working in Baroda, Aligarh, Moradabad, Lucknow, Meerut, Ahmedabad and Bhiwandi. In Bhiwandi the riots are used to throw Muslims out of their jobs and slums and grab their dwelling places. These terror tactics to intimidate and humiliate the minority community are repeatedly being used with the blessing of chauvinist religious organizations.

In this situation it is very important to understand what we mean by secularism. All "progressive" and "left" political parties accept the notion popularized by Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress party in the preindependence days that secularism means "respect for all religions." But no one is willing to admit (even after 40 years of horrifying experience of communalism) that this concept has opened the

* "Jai Bhavani!" means "Long live Bhavani!" Bhavani was the patron goddess of Sivaji, the Hindu leader of the Marathas (people who live in the Bombay area) who made war against the Moslem Mogul emperors three centuries ago.

way for permitting all types of public manifestations of religion, militant processions, rallies, etc., in the name of "respecting religion." Our "secularism" provides even for laws where property relations, marriage, sex relations, inheritance, and other vital areas of life of citizens are the domain of religion. And in

the name of "spiritual climate" and "moral values," even the state-sponsored mass media end up perpetuating the religious chauvinism of upper caste Hindus.

It is high time that we redefined secularism to mean religion should be treated as the "personal affair of an individual." □

France

SP, CP vote drops

Rightists make big gains in EEC election

By Will Reissner

Barely three years after forming a coalition government in France, the Socialist and Communist parties suffered a stunning setback in the June 17 European parliament elections.

The Socialist Party's 20.9 percent of the vote was its worst showing since 1973. Not since 1928 had the Communist Party done as poorly in an election as its 11.2 percent showing.

Between them, the two government parties took barely 32 percent of the vote. This is down from the 44 percent they scored in the 1979 European parliament elections, the 52 percent for SP presidential candidate François Mitterrand in May 1981, and the 54 percent for working-class parties in the June 1981 legislative elections.

The drop in the vote for the Communist Party was especially noteworthy. Since World War II the CP has traditionally taken between 20 and 25 percent of the vote (in the 1979 European parliament elections it won 20.5 percent). Furthermore, polls indicate that the CP got only 6 percent of the vote of younger voters, between 18 and 20.

Electorate shifts to right

The sharp drop in the vote for the Socialist and Communist parties was not matched by a rise in support for the slates of Workers Struggle (LO) and the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI), whose 3 percent of the vote was similar to that of a joint Workers Struggle-Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) slate in 1979.

Nor did the two main capitalist parties improve their showing. Running a joint slate, the Assembly for the Republic (RPR) and the Union for French Democracy (UDF) won 42.7 percent of the vote, slightly below their 1979 showing.

The biggest increase was registered by the ultraright, racist National Front, led by millionaire demagogue Jean-Marie Le Pen. The National Front took 11.1 percent of the vote, receiving 2.204 million votes compared with 2.260 million for the long-established CP, which had four cabinet ministers.

With Mitterrand's government applying an austerity policy very similar to that of his pre-

decessor Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of the UDF, a large number of professionals and middle-class voters who had cast their ballots for the SP in 1981 returned to the capitalist parties in the June 17 election. Many felt that if the government is going to apply a capitalist austerity policy, then an explicitly pro-capitalist government can do the job better.

In addition, Mitterrand's enthusiastic endorsement of Ronald Reagan's anti-Soviet rhetoric and his support for the deployment of U.S. Pershing 2 and cruise nuclear missiles in Europe have helped shift political dialogue in France to the right.

While this shift of votes from the SP to the two main bourgeois parties was taking place, polls indicate that there was also a large shift from those two parties to Le Pen's slate.

With the wind of the June 17 election results in their sails, the bourgeois forces immediately went on the offensive.

On June 24 nearly one million people marched through Paris to oppose a Socialist Party-sponsored bill that would establish more government control over state-subsidized private schools, most of which are run by the Catholic Church.

All the leading capitalist politicians participated in the demonstration, which took on the character of a general antigovernment rally as it filled the streets of the capital.

SP and CP pay price for policies

The sharp drop in the vote for the Socialist and Communist parties reflects the unpopularity of the Mitterrand government's austerity policies.

When the SP-CP government took office in 1981, French workers expected a change from the policies of previous, capitalist governments. Mitterrand had run on a program promising moves toward a 35-hour workweek, creation of 210,000 new public service jobs, and improved social services for working people.

After carrying out some initial reforms, however, the Mitterrand government made a sharp u-turn in economic policy, leading to large-scale layoffs and higher unemployment.

And more of the same is promised. In early May, Finance Minister Jacques Delors an-

nounced that next year's government budget will be "incomparably more rigorous" than this year's.

In the 1970s, attempts by the capitalist government of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to impose austerity measures were met with a storm of protest from the trade unions and the SP and CP.

In contrast, there has been little organized working-class opposition to Mitterrand's austerity policies because the two major union federations are linked respectively to the Communist and Socialist parties.

But working-class disappointment and frustration has been reflected in a growing trend toward abstention in recent local elections, which was again seen in the June 17 poll.

Moreover, with unemployment rising sharply at a time when the traditional working-class parties control the government, some workers were susceptible to Le Pen's claim that their plight is due to "foreign" workers taking "French" jobs.

Le Pen's anti-immigrant and law-and-order rhetoric produced large votes for the National Front in a number of working-class areas.

Le Pen's racist demagoguery fell on ground that had been prepared by the Communist Party's own nationalist "Buy French" campaigns and by the well-publicized anti-immigrant policies of several CP-run municipalities in recent years.

The combined impact of the higher working-class abstentionism and the appeal of Le Pen's rhetoric can be seen, for example, on the CP's vote in the heavily industrialized department of Seine-Saint-Denis in the heart of the Paris "red belt."

In the 1979 European elections the Communist and Socialist parties had won almost 57 percent of the vote in Seine-Saint-Denis (and the Workers Struggle-Revolutionary Communist League slate took an additional 3.5 percent).

In the June 17 election, Seine-Saint-Denis was the department in which the Communist Party suffered its biggest decline (from 37.7 percent in 1979 to 21.8 percent).

Part of that drop is explained by the fact that Seine-Saint-Denis was also the department that saw the biggest jump in abstentions (from 41 percent to more than 49 percent).

But while many CP voters simply stayed home, some cast their vote for the National Front, which received nearly 16 percent of the vote there.

On the day after the European parliament election, the Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), the French section of the Fourth International, issued a statement warning that "Le Pen's breakthrough and the left's defeat are heavy blows" against the workers.

It affirmed that "without delay we must fight the government's austerity policy. In struggles we must build a united and class-struggle alternative that puts forward a different policy, one that serves the workers." □

Manifesto of new Grenadian party

Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement upholds banner of Grenada revolution

[In late May, a new revolutionary party was launched in Grenada, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM).

[The party is named after the late Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, whose People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) came to power through an insurrection on that small Eastern Caribbean island on March 13, 1979. The MBPM bases itself on the policies followed by Bishop and the ruling New Jewel Movement in the four and a half years in which this workers and farmers government was in power.

[The PRG was overthrown in mid-October 1983 by a secret faction led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. On October 19, some 30,000 people — more than a quarter of the country's entire population — converged on St. George's, the capital, and freed Bishop from house arrest. The Coard clique responded by firing on the demonstrators, killing many, and by executing Bishop and other key leaders. This overthrow of the PRG opened the way for the massive U.S. invasion less than a week later.

[The MBPM is led by surviving supporters of Bishop. Its two main spokespeople, Kendrick Radix and George Louison, were both ministers in Bishop's PRG.

[The following are major excerpts from the Manifesto of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement. The 24-page document was issued in mid-June in newspaper format. Within just two weeks, half of its 5,000 copies had already been distributed by party supporters and activists, and it was estimated that a second printing would soon be necessary.

[The footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

We Stand For

1. The right to life of every Grenadian.
2. People's participation in every aspect of government.
3. The right to a job by every Grenadian.
4. The building of a mixed economy, with state, private, and co-operative sectors.
5. Freedom of religion of all the people.
6. The right of workers to form and join trade unions of their choice and have proper protection of employment.
7. The right to universal and free secondary education for every Grenadian child.
8. The right to proper housing and free basic medical care for every family.
9. All citizens being equal before the law.

10. Restoration of CPE.¹
11. The building of friendly relations with countries of different social systems.
12. Building strong and vibrant mass organisations among the different sectors of the population.
13. Completing the international airport and naming it "The Maurice Bishop International Airport."
14. Full recognition and honour of all National Heroes and Martyrs of our People, particularly the October 19 Martyrs.
15. Full independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Grenada.
16. Future constitutional development in full consultation with the people.
17. Establishment of a Commission of Inquiry into the Events of October 1983 to clarify:
 - a. The responsibility for the killings of PM Bishop and others.
 - b. Investigate thoroughly the circumstances leading up to the massacre of 19th October and the Invasion of the country on 25th October, 1983.
 - c. Properly identify and make an authentic list of those killed or injured in the October events.

Ensure that proper compensation is paid to those whose property was damaged in combat.

18. *MBPM is committed to full independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Grenada and indeed all nations. In keeping with the principle of sovereignty, MBPM will not permit any foreign military bases or stationing of foreign troops on our soil. We maintain and uphold that the Caribbean must be respected as a zone of peace.*

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Preamble

For 200 years the people of Grenada have travelled a long road searching for their independence, sovereignty, and nationhood. Throughout this history, many real and genuine leaders of the people have emerged, holding high the mantle of the struggle. Our people have known such stalwart leaders as Fedon, Butler, Marryshow,² and Bishop, and have recognised them as the true patriots for the

1. The Centre for Popular Education, an adult literacy program under the PRG, was suspended following the U.S. invasion.

2. Julien Fedon led a rebellion against British colonial rule and slavery in 1795. Tubal Uriah "Buzz" Butler, of Grenadian origin, pioneered the early trade union movement in Trinidad in the 1930s. Theophilus A. Marryshow was an early Grenadian anticolonial leader of struggles against British colonial policies in the 1930s.

building of a genuinely independent Grenada.

All that our people aimed for in those two hundred years was represented by Maurice Bishop. For thirteen (13) long years, Maurice gave everything he had for the development and advancement of Grenada. He paid the ultimate price and gave his own life for the cause of the Grenadian people.

Maurice Bishop's image of Grenada was that of a proud, self-reliant nation, standing on its own two feet, being counted among the countries of the world as free and independent. He showed real love for the poor and working people of our country. He made sure that they began to enjoy every right they were deprived of for centuries.

When Bishop and his Party took power, he made sure that Grenadians got food, work, housing, education, health facilities, and transport as never before, regardless of which party they supported in the past. Unity of the people was his watchword.

And with that unity came people's participation. The people took part in and discussed the running of the country as never before, through Parish Councils, Zonal Councils, Workers Councils, and Mass Organisations of women, youth, and farmers.

People's democracy flourished under Bishop's rule. The entire Grenadian people became more educated, more conscious, and more organised. Grenada became well respected by the vast majority of nations in the world, because their leader, Maurice Bishop, constantly called for bread, peace, and justice for all the oppressed peoples of the world.

The events of October 1983 cut down this genuine people's leader in his prime. A Judas rose up in the bowels of the Party and betrayed Bro. Bishop, the Party, and the people. This group of power hungry ultralefts seized the Party, massacred Maurice Bishop, many of his most loyal colleagues, and the masses. The action of that clique led to the collapse of the Revolution and the invasion of Grenada.

We totally deplore and condemn the murder of Prime Minister Bishop, the Cabinet Ministers, Trade Union Leaders, workers, students, and all the patriotic Grenadians who were massacred on 19th October, 1983. Our Party undertakes to bring to justice, without fear or favour, all those against whom there is clear evidence of this treasonable act which killed the People's Revolution.

Today, the many programmes Bishop and his Party developed for workers, farmers, youth, women, students, and all sections of the Grenadian people have either been crushed, made dormant, or scaled down. Now poverty, unemployment, and suffering have returned to

the life of the ordinary Grenadian, like in the old days.

The ideas, policies, and programmes that Bishop put forward still hold the key to real development and progress in Grenada. More than ever before, the people are crying out for a Party that can bring jobs, food, a decent standard of living, and build a genuinely independent and democratic society, based firmly on the will of the Grenadian people.

"Never be defeated."

We believe that these words of Maurice Bishop carry the message our people now need. Even in the most difficult and painful times, we have to pick up the pieces and seek to rebuild.

Economy

The years of the PRG's rule were years of continuing economic growth. The living standard of the vast majority of the people rose rapidly, while the rate of inflation dropped from 22% in 1978 to 6.5% in 1983. Workers wages rose by some 54% cumulatively in the years 1981-83, while inflation rose by only 24% cumulatively in those years.

It was the first time in the history of the country that there was a period in which wages rose faster than prices.

There was an overall real growth of 13.4% between 1979 and 1983. This stimulated more work for our people. Unemployment had dropped from close to 50% in 1979 to just 14.1% at the end of 1982.

The PRG had launched a wide range of state enterprises to build and develop a national economy for Grenada. These state enterprises made an overall profit of some \$500,000³ in 1982 and were well on the way to making bigger profits. At the same time, several incentives were granted to the private sector enterprises for investment in the country. The National Co-operative Development Agency was established to speed up development in the co-operative sector and funded several co-operatives. It is out of this history of performance that MBPM comes.

MBPM pledges to build a mixed economy with state, private, and co-operative sectors.

Our basic objectives for the economic development of the country are:

1. To find ways of raising more money for the government in order to develop Grenada without laying heavier taxes on the people.

2. To develop a massive programme to dramatically reduce unemployment and eventually provide full employment.

3. To restore the key economic programmes launched by the PRG, particularly in agriculture, tourism, and infrastructure. This is vital to our nation's development.

Our economic programmes will be based on the following key sectors and areas: agriculture; agro-industry; tourism; manufacturing;



MAURICE BISHOP

foreign investment; infrastructure; planning and financial management; foreign trade; co-operative sector; fisheries; banking; and cost-of-living.

Agriculture and agro-industries

MBPM sees agriculture as the motor of the Grenadian economy.

Agriculture must provide food for the people, jobs, raw materials for Agro-industries, and be a major earner of foreign exchange. Agriculture must also provide the economic base for rural development and the general improvement of life in the villages.

MBPM will undertake a full expansion programme in agriculture to put every square inch of agricultural land under cultivation.

Grenada is a small country with fertile land as its most important resource. Of the 83,000 acres of total land, only some 34,000 acres are now available for good cultivation. At present, less than 40% of this is fully cultivated.

Job creation is another major aspect of this programme. Some 3,000 new jobs can be created in the agricultural sector over 3-5 years. This would average one job for every new three acres cultivated of the some 9,000 acres of land which are now completely idle or badly underutilized. In 1982 and early 1983, the Youth Employment Programme (YEP) already showed the potential for job creation in agriculture.

This major new agricultural programme will be put into operation through two avenues:

- (1) The reorganisation and strengthening of Grenada Farms Co-operation (GFC).

- (2) Implementation of the \$21 million World Bank Agricultural Programme.

Grenada Farms Co-operation

MBPM will build Grenada Farms Co-operation into a profit making state enterprise. GFC had reduced its loss from \$4 million in 1978 to

less than \$500,000 in 1983.

The Co-operation is the largest single employer in the country, with over 900 workers. It is, therefore, a vital source of employment, which has every potential to make profits.

Farmers

An important section of the new expansion programme in agriculture will be a special programme for private farmers. MBPM will complete and implement the World Bank Project in agriculture first proposed by the PRG. This programme is a \$21 million investment in agriculture to assist only private farmers. It covers credit for farmers at low interest rates; repairing 80 miles of farm roads; planting 2,800 acres of new crop; strengthening the extension division; providing new depots and transport for MNIB [Marketing and National Importing Board]; and upgrading the propagation facilities at Mirabeau. Under this scheme, 1,500 additional acres of banana would be financed over three years. In addition, 750 acres of nontraditional crops of avocado, paw paw, tamarind, and other nontraditional crops as well as 800 acres of root crops and vegetables will be financed for the agro-industrial factory and export to Britain and Trinidad.

Through this programme, MBPM would continue and expand the crop diversification programme. The MBPM will also establish marketing offices in countries like Britain and Canada. This programme will cover crop diversification plans for the country.

MBPM is committed to assisting the small and medium farmers in building their mass organisation, the Productive Farmers Union (PFU). It would give every possible assistance from the state to ensure that the farmers have a strong organisation which can represent them properly.

Land reform

The Party is aware of the large amounts of lands lying idle and underutilised in the country. MBPM will make sure that all idle lands that are not cultivated by the owner would be put into production.

Genuine farmers who require more lands for expansion of production would receive assistance.

The party is opposed to the splitting up of present large farms into small individual holdings. We believe that land fragmentation will only hold back production and create the basis for future fragmentation in later years and therefore result in serious economic, social, and legal problems.

Food

Food production will be a priority area of MBPM's agricultural policy. Food will be produced both for the local and external market. As such, it would be part of the export strategy of MBPM. Several millions of dollars worth of food can be exported to Trinidad and Britain. On the domestic market, the struggle to produce food and make sure that the country re-

3. Unless otherwise indicated, all monetary figures are in East Caribbean dollars. One EC dollar is equivalent to US\$0.37.

duces its food import bill will be fundamental.

Agro-industries

Agro-industries was a sector never attempted before the development of the Grenada Agro-industries Ltd. and Spice Isle Products hit the market.

The development of Agro-industries is the key link between agriculture and industry. The policy of MBPM will be to place emphasis on utilising our local raw materials to build an agro-industrial base.

MBPM will:

- Revive the State Sector in agro-industries and reorganize the agro-industry factory to produce nectars, jams, jellies, and hot sauces as well as other products.

Tourism

Tourism is the one sector that has the potential to gain much needed foreign exchange for the country in a relatively short period. It also has the potential for assisting with the unemployment problem.

In 1978, some [figure illegible] was budgeted for tourism by the Gairy dictatorship. By contrast, in 1983, the allocated funds stood at \$2 million. Between 1980-83, an international airport was constructed at a cost of US\$71 million. This is the key to tourism development in Grenada.

The closed Holiday Inn was purchased and reopened by the PRG under the new name of the Grenada Beach Hotel.

MBPM will:

- Continue to provide infrastructure to lay the foundation for investment in tourism. Emphasis will be in telephones, electricity, water, roads, and sewage disposal.

- Seek to expand the hotel sector to service the new airport.

- Encourage cruise ship visits.

- Continue discussions with various international airlines in an effort to have our new international airport serviced by as many airlines as possible.

- Promote the concept of feeding the tourists on locally grown and produced foods, as far as possible, thus creating a link between agriculture and tourism.

- Aim to have not more than 100,000 stay-over visitors per year, so as not to create a situation where Grenadians become second class citizens, or be outnumbered by visitors.

- Enforce regulations to prevent drug peddling entering our country.

Manufacturing

Manufacturing is a virtually untapped sector in Grenada which has potential for easing the unemployment problems and earning foreign exchange.

MBPM will encourage the local private sector and foreign investors by granting incentives to them as outlined in the Investment Code of 1983.

MBPM will:

- Endeavor to raise loans, from foreign governments, regional and international lending

agencies, and banks for the construction of factory shells for lease to investors, with priority going to the local private sector. The lease payments will be used to service the loan.

- In granting concessions to investors, be guided by the use of local raw materials, number of locals employed, and foreign exchange to be earned by the investors.

- Strengthen GDB [Grenada Development Bank] to assist local businessmen investing in manufacturing.

Joint ventures between the foreign private sector and local private sector will be encouraged. The state will also undertake joint ventures. Such joint ventures will be pursued with the emphasis on good management and economic viability of all projects.

Infrastructure

MBPM recognises that the development of proper infrastructure is essential for expansion of the national economy. Our Party will follow the lead set by the PRG in airport, port expansion, construction, electricity, telephone, water, and other vital aspects of the infrastructural programmes. MBPM will reestablish the international respect for Grenada and, therefore, would be able to unlock finances for projects which were already approved and are now not being financed.

Airport

MBPM will ensure completion of the International airport in keeping with design and construction plans of the PRG. The new airport will be named the *Maurice Bishop International Airport*.

Construction

MBPM will return the dynamism to the construction sector it saw between 1979-83. In those years, construction moved from 2.2% in 1979 to 7.0% of GDP [gross domestic product] by the end of 1982. MBPM will expect that with a revitalised state sector programme, this area will make great improvement.

Foreign investment

MBPM recognises that foreign investment is the key component to developing the industrial and tourism sectors in Grenada. Such investment will be encouraged by granting concessions to these investors as outlined by the Investment Code of 1983.

MBPM will welcome foreign investment that will genuinely develop the country. Such foreign investment should:

1. Open up new areas of manufacturing and bring new skills to the country.
2. Provide added employment.
3. Mobilise external capital finances and not use capital from the local banks.

Foreign investors will be encouraged to invest in the construction of hotels which are vital for the development of the tourism industry.

Planning and financial management

No country can successfully develop with-

out national planning. The years of the PRG have taught our people how to plan, how to discuss together their national economy, and how to make sure that it develops in the interest of all. As a small, poor country with no mineral resources, we have to plan properly in order to put the small resources we have to full use. We must know what goals we are going to follow as a nation. This would also give us the chance for better financial management.

The economic performance of the PRG led to current savings in the economy. In 1982 there was a surplus of \$6.7 million. Grenada was the only country to do this in the Eastern Caribbean between 1979 and 1983. The sound fiscal policy of the PRG gave the country a good credit rating and permitted Grenada to raise loans on the International markets as confirmed by the World Bank and IMF documents.

MBPM will:

- Institute strict financial management.

- Give the people every opportunity to participate in the economic discussions and debate in the country.

Cost of living

High cost of living is still a key problem to our people. Providing cheaper and better services to the people will be a priority of MBPM.

Our Party will:

- Establish an honest and well-staffed price control unit to service the entire country.

- Seek sources of cheaper food, fertiliser, cement, and other basic necessities and sell them to the people at reasonable prices.

- Closely monitor inflation trends and always ensure that Grenada buys from the cheapest and best sources.

- Keep an effective system ensuring that no one profiteers on the backs of the ordinary people.

Trade

MBPM is committed to conduct trading relations with all countries except South Africa.

Foreign trade provides one of the most important links in our economic activities. It is the means by which we obtain from abroad all the things that we need to have but which we cannot produce locally. At the same time it is the means by which we are able to sell our local products abroad.

Grenada, like other third world countries, suffers from unfavourable terms of trade, where the prices of the items we import keep increasing while the prices of the products we produce and sell to other countries are either stagnant or deteriorating. MBPM pledges to raise this matter at international forums like the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), with a view to have a reform in international trade. We will support the continued cry for a new International Economic Order.

Apart from the export of our traditional agricultural crops of cocoa, nutmeg, and banana, MBPM will expand agricultural diversification so that we can export fresh fruit, vegetables,

and ground provisions on a regular basis.

To this end the MNIB⁴ is of critical importance.

The MBPM pledges to resume the purchasing of produce from farmers on a guaranteed market and price basis. As a matter of urgency, MNIB will be reorganised to ensure that external markets are found for these products. Collection of farmers' produce will be done in villages to save transport.

MBPM will reinstate MNIB as the sole importer of basic commodities like sugar, rice, fertilizer, milk, and cement. This would allow MNIB to continue to use its profits, as it did between 1979-83, to purchase farmers' products and so give the farmers guaranteed market.

Co-operatives

MBPM will develop the co-operative sector with emphasis on agricultural co-operatives. This sector is key to the solution of the country's unemployment problem. Agricultural co-operatives will be established on unutilised land among the unemployed youth. The agricultural co-operative will be encouraged to get involved in cash crops and other nontraditional crops which have an export market. Other co-operatives in the areas of fishing, handicraft, agro-industry, and other areas will be encouraged.

To develop this sector, capital and technical assistance is required. To this end, the National Co-operative Development Agency will be reorganised to obtain funds from financial institutions and nongovernment organisations to make available to co-operatives.

Co-operatives among farmers will also be encouraged. Support will be given to credit unions and other forms of service co-operatives.

Fisheries

The fisheries industry holds vast potential for Grenada. Fish is the cheapest source of protein, and we can therefore improve the diet of our people by providing more fish. Export of fish is also a source of further economic development for the country.

Already, the Artisanal Fisheries programme has mobilised over US\$4 million to assist fishermen in the nation.

MBPM will:

- Reorganise the National Fisheries Company along new lines in order to provide more fresh fish for our people throughout Grenada and for export.

- Continue the Artisanal Fisheries Programme of the Grenadian Fishing Industry.

Banking

Banking has been one of the most successful

4. The Marketing and National Importing Board, which held a monopoly on the importation of certain basic items under the PRG, has been considerably weakened since the U.S. invasion. It can no longer directly import goods and has been reduced to a distribution outlet. Big businessmen are again able to import all basic consumer goods.

sectors of the economic programmes of the PRG. Two new state banks, the National Commercial Bank (NCB) and the Grenada Bank of Commerce (GBC) were started, and today are the two most popular and well-run banks in Grenada.

Traditionally, there were sections of the Grenadian people who were made to believe that Grenadians could not run any bank and make profits.

The PRG was able to destroy this taboo. In its three years of operation, the NCB made over \$3 million profit, and the GBC in its first year made over half a million dollars profit. Today, NCB has the most branches of any bank in the country, and is used by the vast majority of the people.

GDB [Grenada Development Bank] is another success story. This bank was transformed from losing massive sums of money, with over 70% of all accounts in arrears, to a profit-making institution. Over \$1 million in loans have been made to individual farmers and to the private sector businessmen for industrial development.

MBPM pledges to continue the state ownership of NCB and GBC and further expansion of the GDB. The party will seek to mobilize long term funds from European and Arab banks of friendly countries, to increase the loan portfolio of these banks.

Unemployment

The right to work is a fundamental human right to every person. Unemployment retards the development of poor underdeveloped countries like Grenada. During the years 1979-83, solving unemployment was a major task of the PRG. In those years, unemployment was reduced from 49% to 14.1%; 4,000 to 5,000 new jobs were created. The PRG projected to eliminate unemployment by 1986.

MBPM is committed to:

- Setting up of a scheme under a state agency similar to the Youth Employment Programme which would be permanently charged with the responsibility of finding jobs for the unemployed.

Women and Youths

Women

Before the Revolution, women of Grenada knew a society in which they were treated as second-class citizens. Last to be hired, first to be fired; carry the burden of bringing up the children with little support from many fathers and no rights for illegitimate children; being victims of exploitation and generally regarded as less intelligent and important than men.

The Revolution changed all of this. Immediately after the Revolution triumphed, a liberation process of women began. The PRG established a Women's Desk in 1979, which was developed to become the first Ministry of Women's Affairs in the English-speaking Caribbean. The full participation of Grenadian women was coordinated to ensure that new found rights like three months maternity leave

(two months with pay) and the equal pay for equal work declaration become part of every day living.

The collapse of the Revolution has been a setback to the women of the country. Many of our women have had once more to sacrifice their dignity to foreign troops. Many have lost jobs they suffered so long before in getting.

MBPM will work to bring back the confidence and power to the women of Grenada.

We will:

- Launch a new organisation called the March 13th Women's Organisation. March 13th is the historical event which loosened the chains of the Grenadian women. This organisation will be a mass organisation and all women who support the ideals of March 13th can join.

- Continue the building of day care centres for the young children, to allow more and more women to work.

- Develop programmes to encourage women to enter nontraditional jobs.

- Ensure a strong ministry of Women's Affairs to fight for Women's cause at the state level.

- Encourage women to participate in the CPE and other skills training programmes to improve their knowledge.

- Pass new laws to make all children equal.

- Ensure development of natal and prenatal health care.

Youth

MBPM recognises that the youth is the future of the country. We see proper investment in our youth as really essential to a safe and stable future. Education, training, sports, and culture as outlined under the respective headings would form the core of our youth programme.

MBPM will ensure that the youth have the possibility to participate in decision making in the country.

- MBPM will launch a youth arm called the Bishop Youth Movement. This movement will move to rally the youth for progressive programmes under the banner of the ideals that Bishop stood for. The youth organisation would be a mass organisation and would welcome any youth who supports Maurice Bishop in its ranks. Special recognition will be given to students and youths massacred on 19th October, 1983.

- Establish a guidance and counselling department to help youths in career selection and with social problems they may face.

- Help to develop students' participation in the work of the country and in observing key events of interest to them, like International Students Day.

- Give youth access to the media.

People's Participation

The participation of the people in Government and the overall development of the country is one of the main pillars of the MBPM. MBPM holds that the people must be given the

fullest opportunity to examine, criticise, and propose ideas and suggestions for the building of the country. When our people listen to the budget, look at the roads, examine their communities' needs — be it footpaths, toilets, or school repairs — they must see that there is a real opportunity for them to take part.

People's participation can only take place if the organs and structures are open for it.

This statement was seen in full operation in the years of the PRG. People's participation flourished in those years and brought out tremendous talent. Mass organisations of workers, farmers, women, and youth received support and attention from the Revolution. These mass organisations rose to become real champions of the people, defending and advancing the interests of their members. The massive number of programmes they undertook in such a short period of time, showed what can be gained when power is placed in the hands of the people.

MBPM will ensure that the organs of popular democracy continue to work in the interest of the people.

MBPM will:

- Ensure that Parish and Zonal Councils continue to function.
- Re-establish community work through community Work Brigades.

Workers movement

MBPM sees the workers movement as an essential pillar in our society. The party will give every support to the trade unions to help them in their programme of democratisation of the workplace. The education and training of the workers will also be a key aspect of the party's work.

MBPM will:

- Strengthen the Ministry of Labour to provide for easier resolution of worker-management problems.
- Enact a Protection of Employment Act to

give workers basic guarantees of their jobs.

- Ensure that all pro-worker laws passed by the PRG are maintained, e.g. Trade Union Recognition Act and maternity leave.
- Provide academic education through CPE programme.
- Maintain profit sharing in the State Sector.
- Ensure workers participation in all state enterprises through worker-management councils.
- Provide the chance for workers to have access to the mass media.

Housing

Decent housing for the people of Grenada is a long and burning issue. The vast majority of the people who wish to get houses have to either wait a very long time, pay expensive amounts, or live without it.

In the years between 1979-83, a major campaign was launched to assist the poor with housing. Middle income housing schemes went up in three areas of the country, while a Sandino Plant was established for pre-fab housing. The PRG gave special attention to the lowest income earners with a Housing Repair Scheme. Close to 20,000 Grenadians benefited from this scheme.

MBPM will give housing development high prominence in the years ahead by ensuring:

- Continuation of the housing repair scheme to aid agricultural workers, road workers, and the poorest of families.
- Development of more housing schemes around the country.
- Bringing the Sandino Plant into full operation to produce 500 houses a year for the people.
- Continuing to provide loans for civil servants' housing.
- Maintain the Rent Restriction Act to protect tenants.

- Examine the setting aside of housing loans for Grenadians returning home and wishing to build their homes.

Public Utilities

Improvement in the quality of life of the people in every village would be a cornerstone of our Party's programme. MBPM will undertake a general and continuous expansion of the public utilities to make sure public transport, electricity, water, telephone, radio, and television are available to the people with a reliable service at all times.

In the four and a half years of government, the PRG had spent more than \$100 million on public utilities in a steady programme of improving all areas of services to the people. These programmes were both popular with the masses and vital for development of the human resources of the nation.

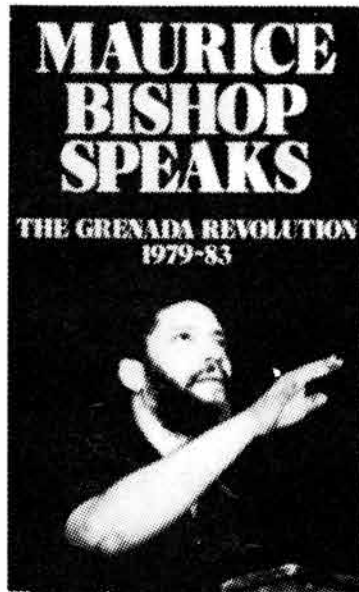
1. Public transport

MBPM will develop a full public transport system.

2. Electricity

Our Party's goals will be:

- Electricity for every village.
- Proper installation of new generators bought by the PRG.
- Build a new power station with a minimum capacity of 10 megawatts.
- Complete the studies of the promising start made in assessing our hydro-electric potential. Studies show that Grenada can get up to 4 megawatts of hydro-electricity from its rivers, and this would be fully developed over the next 10 years.
- Research the potential of generating power from other sources like wind, solar, and geothermal.



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3. Water

MBPM will move speedily to implement the plans for water development which have already been fully drawn up.

4. Telephones

MBPM will continue to install new equipment to gradually introduce the modern digital system to Grenada.

5. Radio

Proper radio service to the people is vital for the development of their consciousness.

MBPM will:

- Develop a radio station which can strengthen the patriotic views of the Grenadian people.
- Open the radio to workers, farmers, youth, women, and other organised groups in the society for the expression of their patriotic programmes.
- Use the station as a means of education and pleasure for the people.
- Install an FM station.
- Improve the short wave facilities that now exist.

6. Television

MBPM will seek to obtain a line of credit from a foreign government for the purchase of a new and modern television transmitter, with facilities to cover the entire Grenada, Carriacou, and Petit Martinique. This station will carry news items, educational programmes, and feature the works and performances of our local cultural groups to give them exposure. The work and activities of trade unions and other mass organisations will be featured.

Health

Health is a vital aspect of the development of the nation's human resources. The PRG concentrated on making sure that health reached all the people, to keep the people healthy, not only curing them.

The PRG provided free medical services, primary health care, new expanded hospital services with specialised services never seen in Grenada before, a new maternity unit, dental clinics in each parish, new eye clinics with high quality facilities, new health centres in Carriacou, Petit Martinique, Sauteurs and St. David's, [which] were all part of the tremendous benefits in health.

MBPM's health programme will be based on giving the people free and proper health care throughout the country. The base is well set for this. At present, there are 30 Grenadian doctors being trained in Cuba with the first group graduating in 1986. There are also 10 dentists in training who can service a national system.

MBPM will:

- Establish the Primary Health Programme fully in all parishes. Restore the specialised services for eye, bones, and other areas vitally needed in Grenada.

- Develop a programme of continued improvement of hospital services.

- Provide better working conditions for nurses and doctors.

- Implement the agreement signed between Sweden and the PRG to refurbish most of the nation's clinics.

- Strengthen the Grenada Food and Nutrition Council. Expand the Food and Nutrition Programme to give greater assistance to the people on this vital area of preventative health.

- Reintroduce the distribution of free milk to the children, pregnant mothers, and aged of our country.

- Provide a dental clinic in each parish. Expand on the services of doctors and dentists when the 40 or more Grenadians now training in those fields return.

International Relations

The events of October which led to the collapse of the Revolution and the invasion of Grenada have removed the independence and sovereignty of Grenada and have seriously damaged the international standing of our nation.

Today the vast majority of countries in the United Nations do not recognise the regime running the country. National independence and sovereignty of the Grenadian people is a pillar of MBPM.

This position of decay of Grenada's international status is completely the opposite of what the country enjoyed under Bishop's leadership. Grenada was well respected in the international community. Our country played its role as an active member of the Non-Aligned Movement, being elected to its highest body, the Coordinating Bureau. In every major international forum, the Bishop Government made a big impact with new ideas and a sincere and hardworking approach.

This laid the basis for friendly economic cooperation with all countries. Over the years, over \$300 million was obtained for the development of our nation.

MBPM will seek to re-establish the international prestige that Grenada enjoyed in 1979-83 years.

Our party will:

- Operate a policy of good neighbourliness and play an active part in the movement for Caribbean integration which would benefit the people.

- Take an active part in the Non-Aligned Movement.

- Establish diplomatic relations and build contacts with countries of all social systems.

- Have no relations with apartheid and fascist countries.

- MBPM holds firm to the principle of respect for territorial integrity, national independence, and non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

- Our Party is firmly opposed to racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, and Zionism.

- We support the national liberation move-

ments fighting for freedom around the world and call for the independence of Namibia and a homeland for the Palestinians.

MBPM places on record its sincere appreciation for the generous assistance given to our country by the numerous countries and international organisations in the years of Maurice Bishop's leadership: Canada, Algeria, Syria, Cuba, Sweden, Venezuela, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, North Korea, U.K., Iraq, Libya, Mexico, France, among others; as well as the following organisations: EEC, CDB, IFAT, FAO, IMF, WHO, PAHO, UNESCO,⁵ among others.

Social Security

The PRG introduced a National Insurance Scheme [NIS] in 1983 to provide social security to the workers of the country. Previous to this, workers found themselves without any insurance coverage for accidents, sickness, and pension. The only attempt at a scheme for old age pensioners in the areas NIS covers was the Provident Fund. The money saved in this scheme was, however, never found after the years of the Gairy dictatorship.

The MBPM will:

- Continue NIS and, after three years of operation, will review the benefits under the scheme with a view to improving them.

- Seek assistance from countries known for their strong support for social programmes to assist with upgrading facilities for the aged. Special emphasis would be placed on special education for the disadvantaged.

- Conduct a constant review of Public Service pensioners to ensure that they get decent pensions.

- Maintain the Homes for the Handicapped.

Education

There is no sector of the Grenadian people's development which made more dramatic progress than education. Free secondary education, training for all primary school teachers through NISTEP,⁶ CPE, for education for all, a revived pre-primary system, and a massive expansion in university education.

We know that the youth of our country hold the future, and education will make sure that they grow with confidence to face that future.

MBPM will continue to give the greatest attention to the development of our human re-

5. European Economic Community, Caribbean Development Bank, International Fund for Agricultural Development, Food and Agriculture Organization, International Monetary Fund, World Health Organization, Pan American Health Organization, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

6. National In-Service Teacher Education Programme provided training to improve the abilities of teachers at the same time that they continued teaching. Since the U.S. invasion, the NISTEP has been downgraded, and the Ministry of Education has announced plans to eliminate it entirely.

sources through education. The development of people can only come through their greater consciousness, and as Maurice Bishop has so clearly stated, "Only an educated people can be truly free."

Education at all levels will give our workers the chance to prepare themselves for better participation in the building of the national economy.

MBPM will undertake an education programme which ensures the following:

- Universal and free secondary education for all. While secondary education is free, not all children of secondary age receive it. MBPM will, therefore, create the necessary school places to permit all children who are of the age to go to secondary school, making secondary education universal.

Reopen the CPE and ensure all who want it can receive it. MBPM will immediately ensure that CPE centres start to function around the country within months of a new Government.

- Repair and expand primary schools with the help of the community. Many primary schools are in need of urgent repairs.

- Continuous training for all teachers.
- MBPM will continue the NISTEP programme to train all teachers of primary schools. NISTEP will be extended to secondary schools to ensure training of all teachers at that level. Refresher courses would be held regularly for qualified teachers.

- Ensure that the content of the school curriculum is suited to our national development.

- Bring the school closer to the community.
- Expand technical and vocational education to build new community-based centres in our parishes so that basic skills could be taught there.

- Support the formation of students councils in all schools and the right of students to organise.

- Make work-study part of the schools' curriculum.

- Provide university education free for the vast majority who can go, through scholarships from friendly countries.

- Ensure that there is pre-primary education for all. This education is now not available to all the nation's pre-school children.

- Ensure special education for all children who need it.

- MBPM will work for a smooth relationship with the Grenada Union of Teachers. Our policy will be one of regular consultation. We will support all worthwhile moves to assist teachers to improve their professional levels.

Recognition of People's Heroes

The very name of our Party is taken from one who gave his life for our people.

MBPM, therefore, has a deep respect for the life, works, struggles, and memory of our national heroes and martyrs. We will do everything to have our heroes properly commemorated.

MBPM will:

- Ensure that proper monuments are erected in honour of our heroes and martyrs.

- Give full support to any organisations which work in the name of the Grenadian heroes.

- Establish national awards for outstanding contributions to the nation in honour of our heroes.

- Organise a national campaign to find the bodies of our national heroes murdered on 19th October, 1983, in order to give them a proper interment.

- Declare a special annual holiday as Heroes Day.

- Restore March 13 as the National Day.

Our Heroes Will Never Die

Maurice Bishop, our beloved late Prime Minister, was indeed a man of the masses. His last words spoken to the Grenadian people, before he was brutally murdered were "the masses."

He worked tirelessly and selflessly for the masses, struggled for their cause, and died to save them from tyranny. His whole life was one big fearless struggle for independence, freedom, development, and peace for the Grenadian people.

Maurice Bishop became leader of the Grenadian people because the masses called on him to lead. He emerged head and shoulders above anyone else as leader of the progressive movement which was built in the early seventies. The people recognised him as the boldest fighter for their rights and freedom.

The qualities of selflessness and courage were shown in Bishop from his school days.

Grenada

'Withdraw foreign forces'

Interview with MBPM leader George Louison

[The following is an interview with George Louison, one of the leaders of the new Grenadian revolutionary party, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), which was launched in late May. Prior to the overthrow of Bishop's People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), Louison was minister of agriculture and a leader of the then-ruling New Jewel Movement (NJM). One of the few supporters of Bishop within the Grenadian leadership to have survived the coup and the subsequent U.S. invasion, Louison is also on the Board of Trustees of the Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19, 1983, Foundation. For an earlier interview with Louison on the events of October 1983, see the April 16 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

As a student of Presentation Brothers College, he launched the Grenada Assembly of Youth After Truth. This organisation became a major force in fighting youth causes in Grenada.

Throughout his student years in Britain, Bishop worked in organisations which organised blacks to struggle for better conditions.

On his return to Grenada, he immediately joined the people's struggle. From then on, the best thirteen years of his life were given to the Grenadian people. There was no corner of Grenada that Bishop did not go. There was no problem of the people that Bishop did not tackle.

For more than a decade Bishop represented new hope, dignity, and a better future for Grenadians. On the morning of 13th March, 1979, his booming voice announced a new dawn for the country. "This revolution is for bread, for peace, for work for all," he told the people.

Under his leadership, Grenadians enjoyed a different quality of life. They got more food, more jobs, better housing, free education, and saw the country become one of the most respected countries in the Caribbean.

There is no doubt that Bishop was the most outstanding leader that the Grenadian people have ever seen. He was the one who could inspire them to action, make them rise and walk through the world on their feet and never on their knees.

Bishop leaves behind a legacy of political thought which holds as its main theme that Grenada can only be built by its own people, through their own work and struggles, controlling their own resources, and with the involvement of the entire people.

Long live the spirit of Maurice Bishop!

[This interview was obtained for *IP* by Ernest Harsch and Mac Warren on July 2 in St. George's, Grenada.]

* * *

Question. The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM) has recently been launched. What is its basic program?

Answer. In the first place, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement carries as its program the question of national sovereignty and independence. That is one of the most critical platforms around which the party is organized. We carry it in bold capitals in the entire work of the party.

At the moment, we recognize that Grenada

is not a sovereign and independent country. It is a country that has lost its independence and territorial integrity.

So by national sovereignty and independence, we mean the withdrawal of all foreign forces. We mean no foreign military bases in our country. We mean recognition of the Caribbean as a zone of peace. We mean a total end to the occupation of Grenada.

A second critical element is to carry on the life and work of Maurice Bishop and ensure that the main core of the program for people's participation, for building people's democracy, for ensuring an improvement in the quality of life of the people of Grenada is continued. As a result, we have expressed very strong positions on having a mixed economy. We stand for the people's participation and the building of mass organizations, something which also collapsed with the revolution.

We have also made it clear that we are for building the kind of society which will be able to give the people of Grenada a chance to develop the country in their own image and likeness.

Q. What is the relationship between the MBPM and the former New Jewel Movement, which existed here until the events of October 1983?

A. Obviously, there is a shared historical fact. Those of us in the leadership of the MBPM, and certainly people who are involved in its broad work and action, were either members or supporters of the New Jewel Movement.

Secondly, of course, we are directly linked through the people who laid the foundations of the New Jewel Movement itself — Maurice Bishop, one of the founders of the NJM, and Unison Whiteman. These were two of the first leaders of the NJM, and in 1973 were named joint coordinators and secretaries of the NJM. So there is an intrinsic link through Maurice, Unison, Jacqueline Creft, Vincent Noel, and all the others, as well as through the survivors: Kendrick Radix, myself, and others.¹

Thirdly, there is a link in terms of our programmatic platform. A lot of the ideas that we espouse as a party come out of the program of the PRG, which was derived from the manifesto of the New Jewel Movement in 1973.

But, as you realize, the party split into two in October [1983]. Therefore, there is a section of the former New Jewel Movement who are not involved in any way in the MBPM. Because of the ideological and political line they followed in October, they cannot lift the banner of Maurice Bishop. They cannot lift the banner because they now do not stand for the same things that we stand for. They represent an ultraleft clique who destroyed the revolution. For as long as elements of that section of

1. Unison Whiteman, Jacqueline Creft, and Vincent Noel were among those who were executed along with Bishop on October 19, 1983. Kendrick Radix, another founder of the NJM, is currently the chairperson of the MBPM's Steering Committee.

the former NJM continue to hold the positions they held in October — and some of them continue to hold those positions — it will be impossible for them to lift the banner of the MBPM. Because very closely linked within the MBPM is not only the program, but also a clear position on the events of October.

Q. What indications of support for, or interest in, the MBPM have you had in the month since the party was formed?

A. We have met with a good response. We have been able to meet with many people around the country. Our work has taken on three aspects in the past month.

First of all, we have been doing a lot of visiting of people around the country, people who were supporters of the PRG and the NJM in the past.

Secondly, we have issued our manifesto [see page 476], which came out two weeks ago. It has also met with a really good and growing response.

And thirdly, we have been continuing to produce our newspaper, *Indies Times*.

Those three areas have been able to give us a pretty good gauge of what our level of support and response is. A lot of people have said, "Now, for the first time, a party that can represent the interests of the broad masses is being forged."

Because before we came out, none of the parties made a clear statement on the sovereignty and independence of Grenada, which is our main platform. None of them have made any clear statements or have given any real positive commitment to carrying on the work of Maurice Bishop or to do anything around the legacy of Maurice Bishop. And none of them have been able to come up with any kind of proper explanation and work to continue the democratic and progressive programs that the PRG pursued.

So on those grounds, for the first time, people are beginning to see a new positive party, and that is a source of hope.

Without a shadow of a doubt, we can say in Grenada that a majority of the people have strong sentiments and support for the programs of the PRG and want to see those programs continued.

Even the most right-wing parties in Grenada, whenever they go out among the people, have not been able to attack Maurice Bishop, or even some of the people who were around the PRG, because those programs are so close to the people. The people have forced them to say that the PRG programs were good, for the benefit of the poor people, and for the advancement of the country.

Q. You mentioned the general support for the programs of the PRG. Do you see any problems in getting people to identify those programs with the MBPM?

A. There is no confusion whatsoever in people's minds about the fact that the people in the MBPM are the people who have been as-

sociated over the years with the struggle and fight for the poor people of this country and also played a role in introducing the benefits that came under the PRG. There is absolutely no confusion on that.

Where there remains some confusion is on the general political situation in the country, on how to get out of it, the overwhelming presence of the occupiers still in the country, and the question of the degree of understanding as a whole on what is the political line that must be pursued and what is the way forward. There is still some confusion on that.

We have not yet been able to hold the level and extent of meetings and discussions that would give us a chance to bring these questions forward.

So far, we have concentrated on establishing our credentials on the ground. We first have to do that, then we can move out to big mass events.

Q. What do you mean by establishing your credentials?

A. We have had to ground with the people again.² We have had to explain the events of October. We have had to point out very clearly who was responsible for those events, how did they take place. There is still confusion in some people's minds as to exactly what went wrong. I think, even for the most sophisticated minds, there are still problems with really grappling with the theoretical, ideological, and practical dimensions of the events of October.

Until this can be clarified in a very straightforward and simple way for the people, much of this confusion will still remain.

So we have had to do that. We have also had to reestablish ourselves by meeting the people in a more open and thorough way. Since October, we had not done any political work. We are just beginning to do political work again. We had concentrated mainly on the [Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19, 1983] Foundation, getting it off the ground, making sure that the names of Maurice Bishop and the other martyrs did not go down the drain.

We have had to organize ourselves to ensure that we could bring the people back into organizational contact with us. While most of the people remained, the organization had broken apart and become scattered after the October events. Now, it is a question of rallying it back and putting it back into operation, to have a team functioning again. And we already function all over the country.

Also, our relationship with the unions, by and large, is relatively good. We still have mutual understanding on many issues.

Q. How have the authorities responded to the formation of the MBPM?

A. We have had some incidents in recent weeks. There was an attempt to throw an explosive device into Kendrick Radix's house

2. A Caribbean expression meaning to have grassroots discussions.

just a few days after the party was launched. There was the harassment of Radix's wife at the airport, where she was deported. These incidents characterize the attitude of the authorities toward the Patriotic Movement.

Earlier they tried to stop publication of our newspaper, *Indies Times*, though not in recent weeks. They tried to block the newspaper from coming out, to crush it.³

They have not succeeded, though I must admit that we have been struggling to get the paper properly organized. Our level of distribution has dropped. Not because people do not want the paper, but because of some objective difficulties in getting it printed that we did not

3. In early May, the Grenadian government ordered the government-owned West Indian Publishing Co. to cease printing *Indies Times*. The newspaper thus had to find other publishing facilities.

have when we printed it at the West Indian.

Given a little more time, we will overcome these difficulties and get back to the level we were at before. We had already reached the point of being the largest circulation newspaper in Grenada, during the first four issues. We were circulating more than 2,500 copies per week.

The [U.S.-backed] *Grenadian Voice* doesn't get close to that. In November, when they first started out, they were printing 7,000 copies and selling just a little more than 1,000 copies. Now they are down to printing 2,700 copies, and I think their circulation has dropped below the 1,000 mark. And each week it's getting worse and worse.

Q. What is the party's thinking about possible participation in the elections that are being

organized for this year?

A. Our participation in the elections depends on several things (in no particular order of priority):

First of all, the existence of a proper election machinery that we feel would give a chance for some kind of positive participation.

Secondly, our building of a full team.

Thirdly, the level of support we have been able to muster among the people.

And fourthly, the question of being able to put forward a program that sufficiently covers all of the aspects that can represent the true interests of the Grenadian people.

I think in most of these areas we have made good progress, except, of course, we have no control over the election machinery.

Therefore, at this time, we think that if things go on stream, it is very likely that we will participate in the elections. □

DOCUMENTS

Havana meeting hits U.S. intervention

Denounces threats to Cuba, occupation of Grenada

[The following is the declaration of the First Consultative Meeting of Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America, which was held in Havana June 11-13. It was signed by delegations from 28 organizations in 21 countries of the region. The text is taken from the July 1 issue of the English-language *Granma Weekly Review* published in Havana.]

* * *

The First Consultative Meeting of Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America was held in Havana June 11-13, 1984, providing a framework for an exchange of opinions on the seriousness of the present historic moment for the region due to the Reagan Administration's warmongering policy in the region as part of the anticommunist crusade that the United States is promoting throughout the world, threatening world peace, the peoples' political and social achievements, and the very future of mankind. In conclusion, the First Consultative Meeting issued the following declaration:

Central America and the Caribbean have been linked since before the discovery of the New World. With the conquest, however, they were chained to different metropolises. Thus, we have long been separated by colonialism, and this separation was reinforced by U.S. imperialism in the last few decades; by the permanent plundering of each people in the re-

gion; and by the lack of communication, the political repression, and the disinformation imposed throughout the Caribbean and Central America, which only the peoples' struggle has managed to overcome, little by little — the struggle in which we recognize one another and affirm our nationalities, in the defense of our wealth and in the search for a political regime that guarantees our countries' freedom and socioeconomic development.

Above all, we recognize that we are brothers because we are confronting the same enemy, which oppresses and exploits us.

Now, faced with U.S. imperialism's aggressive policy, the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America need close unity, diverse means of rapid communication, mutual support, encouragement, and shared criticism in order to survive, struggle, and win.

We need ongoing exchanges in order to effectively coordinate our own resistance — coordination based on all that unites us and which enables us, as brothers and comrades, to tackle the differences and matters that separate us.

The U.S. policy toward the region

In drawing up its strategic plans for the region, the Reagan Administration is aware of the indissoluble relationship between Central America and the Caribbean and guarantees its imperialist interests through a political, economic, and military plan aimed at crushing the anticolonialist and anti-imperialist people's movement, wiping out socialism in Cuba by

means of military aggression, overthrowing the Sandinista people's Revolution, and choking the Salvadoran and Guatemalan rebellions.

The Caribbean Basin Initiative is a policy of neocolonization and annexation that functions like a Trojan horse to guarantee its penetration and rule in the Caribbean, increasing the military forces of the puppet dictatorships at its service and, through the International Monetary Fund, controlling the impoverished economies in the region.

The Consultative Meeting observed with great concern the unfavorable effects of the authoritarian pressures that the U.S. imperialists in particular have brought to bear on all our peoples, and it especially denounced the Armed Forces of the United States' continual holding of military maneuvers in the Central American and Caribbean area, as they constitute a great threat to peace and to the independence and security of the peoples in the region.

Collectively, all have been adversely affected by the disastrous consequences of the prolonged general crisis of capitalism, which is now aggravated by the imperialist policy of economic and financial restrictions — especially by the high interest rates and the onerous, unjust conditions which are imposed concerning the foreign debt.

Some of these states — Cuba, Nicaragua, and Suriname, in particular — are being subjected to uninterrupted attacks aimed at destabilizing their economies, governments, and

societies. In the case of Guyana, pressures are being exerted on the Government to reverse the processes aimed at achieving real economic independence.

Other governments, such as those of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica, which collaborate with the U.S. policy in the region, impose even worse levels of poverty and dispossession on their exploited peoples, causing legitimate anger among them — as was expressed recently in Santo Domingo and Haiti.

The socioeconomic privations of broad sectors of the working class have become chronic in such societies. Recent events have shown clearly and unquestionably that the poor and oppressed neither want to remain silent nor can do so while their oppressors come to terms with imperialism and continue to fatten off them.

International Solidarity

The meeting confirmed the interdependence that exists between our peoples' struggles and the international situation, which we should examine, viewing our battle against imperialism in this larger framework and thus uniting the broad world movement for guaranteeing peace and defeating the Reagan Administration's aggressive policy.

In this regard, the participants in the meeting denounce the active participation of some of U.S. imperialism's European allies in its plans, opposing the peoples' right to self-determination by keeping some peoples in the region subjected to their direct colonial domination, and also intervening in the internal affairs of sovereign states in the area, from their colonial bases there.

The Consultative Meeting affirmed that the complete liberation of the territories that are still colonized was an indispensable condition for achieving equilibrium and peace in the Caribbean and Central America.

The meeting likewise examined the present situation in Grenada, denouncing the continued, illegal occupation of that island by U.S. and Caribbean military forces after the unjustified and oppressive invasion of that country, and it urged that the resolution approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Conference of Heads of Government of the British Commonwealth which was held in India in November 1983, calling for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal, be complied with.

The meeting recognized and reaffirmed the need to defend the human rights of all the Grenadian people, including the right to work, to freedom of expression and to freedom of association, and the right of all persons who are accused of crimes to select their legal representative and to have a free and just trial — all of which have been violated by the illegal, servile puppet regime and its U.S. masters.

Stating that the defeat of the Grenadian Revolution constituted a serious setback for the Caribbean and international revolutions, the participants in the meeting denounced the execution of Maurice Bishop and other revolu-

tionaries and expressed their conviction that, sooner rather than later, the people of Grenada would once more take up the torch of national and social freedom given them by their beloved leader and martyr, Maurice Bishop.

The First Consultative Meeting of Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America denounced U.S. imperialism's criminal policy throughout the region and especially the prolonged blockade against the heroic people of Cuba and the growing threats of military attack on the Revolution. The participants also expressed their gratitude to the Communist Party of Cuba for having sponsored this meeting and for having provided the excellent working conditions that contributed to its success.

The Consultative Meeting denounced the United States' multiple acts of military intervention in Central America; its attacks on the heroic Sandinista people's Revolution in Nicaragua; its occupation of Honduras; and the military, political, and economic aid it has given to the genocidal dictatorship of El Salvador, which is vainly trying to defeat the revolutionary people's war that the Salvadoran people are waging successfully.

The First Consultative Meeting expressed its support for the heroic Guatemalan people in their struggle to install a political regime that respects human rights and guarantees the socioeconomic development of their nation.

The meeting also called for independence for Puerto Rico and denounced imperialism's use of that island's territory for mounting military attacks on the other peoples in the area.

The meeting denounced the plans for the establishment of a military force in the eastern Caribbean under U.S. control, which would constitute a tool of intervention and a threat to the independence and sovereignty of those countries.

The participants expressed solidarity with all the peoples of the world struggling for peace, democracy, social justice, and national liberation and against colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism.

The Caribbean as a zone of peace

The meeting expressed its conviction that the struggle for peace was inseparable from the struggle for our peoples' independence, economic development, and social progress.

In this regard, the participants in the meeting declared that the following objectives should be achieved in order to make the Caribbean a zone of peace:

- the dismantling of all the foreign military bases that exist in the region, a ban on setting up new ones, and the elimination of nuclear weapons;
- the stopping of all acts of economic, political and military aggression against the countries in the region through economic blockades or the manipulation of international credit agencies and the halting of both direct and indirect actions aimed at destabilizing governments;
- a ban on the use of mercenaries in acts of

aggression and the prohibition of recruiting and training mercenaries in this territory;

- an end to the colonial and foreign domination to which some territories in the region are subjected;

- noninterference and nonintervention in the internal affairs of the states in the region, and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity;

- the stopping of military maneuvers in the region that are against the peoples' interests; and

- an end to bilateral and multilateral military treaties between countries in the area and other countries.

The First Consultative Meeting of Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America concluded by calling on all the peoples in the region to be firmly united and to redouble the struggle without quarter for true independence, freedom, peace, and social progress.

Organizations and parties that approve this document

- Workers Party of Jamaica (Jamaica)
- Sandinista National Liberation Front (Nicaragua)
- Puerto Rican Socialist Party (Puerto Rico)
- Movement for National Unity (St. Vincent)
- United People's Movement (St. Vincent)
- Progressive Labour Party (St. Lucia)
- Communist Party of Martinique (Martinique)
- Martinique Progressive Party (Martinique)
- United Delegation of the Left of the Dominican Republic: (Socialist Bloc, Dominican Communist Party, Dominican Workers' Party, Anti-Imperialist Patriotic Union)
- Workers Revolutionary Movement (St. Lucia)
- February 18th Movement (Trinidad and Tobago)
- United Dominica Labour Party (Dominica)
- Dominica Liberation Movement (Dominica)
- Curaçao Socialist Movement (Curaçao)
- Guianese Socialist Party (Cayenne)
- Movement for National Liberation (Barbados)
- Vanguard Nationalist and Socialist Party of the Bahamas (Bahamas)
- Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement (Antigua)
- Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (El Salvador)
- Revolutionary Democratic Front (El Salvador)
- People's Popular Movement (Trinidad and Tobago)
- United Party of Haitian Communists (Haiti)
- People's National Congress (Guyana)
- Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (Guatemala)
- Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (Grenada)
- People's Progressive Party (Guyana)
- Communist Party of Guadeloupe (Guadeloupe)
- Communist Party of Cuba (Cuba)

Strategy to defeat U.S. aggression

FSLN commander outlines Nicaragua's mobilization plans

[The following statement to the Nicaraguan and foreign press was made in Managua on June 5 by Commander of the Revolution Humberto Ortega, in the name of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the Government Junta of Nicaragua.]

[The text is taken from the June 6 issue of the FSLN daily *Barricada*, published in Managua. Footnotes and the translation from Spanish are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

1. Since the last century, the United States of America has aimed at imperial domination of the Central American region and the Caribbean. Faced with this policy, our people have engaged in heroic periods of struggle against the Yankee invader. The acts of Yankee barbarism against our country claimed about 100,000 victims during the first 34 years of this century.¹

The last Yankee marine — Anastasio Somoza Debayle — and his genocidal beasts were defeated and driven from Nicaragua by the people in arms, during the great national insurrection that took power July 19, 1979, under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

In those heroic days, the downtrodden people of Sandino lost 50,000 lives in driving out the Yankee-Somozaist dictatorship and its allies, the bourgeois forces who would sell their country.

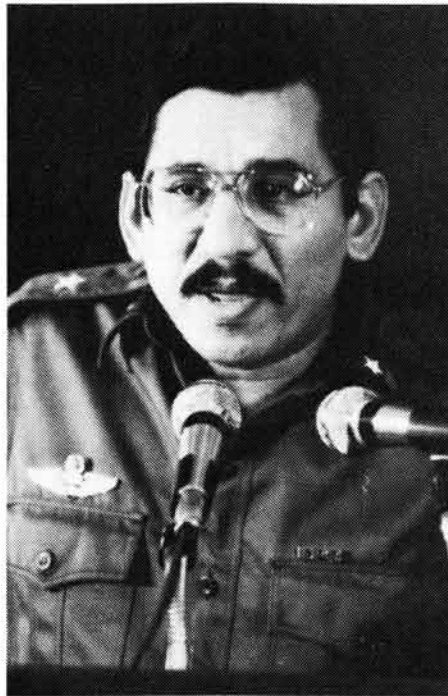
2. When Ronald Reagan assumed office at the head of the U.S. government, it meant the beginning of open war — fought in the military, diplomatic, and financial arenas — to reassert imperialist domination over Nicaragua.

3. The aim of the open war our country suffers at the hands of the prowar sectors of the Pentagon and State Department is to destroy the popular and anti-imperialist character of our Revolution, to destroy the power of the working people, and to attempt to place in power the pro-Yankee bourgeois classes, which abroad and within our country operate under the CIA's direction.

4. The prowar sectors of the U.S. government are also trying to maximize the strength of the genocidal elements of the Somozaist

1. U.S. Marines entered Nicaragua in 1912 and remained there until 1933. While in the country, they disbanded the national army and established a National Guard headed by Anastasio Somoza García. Many Nicaraguan patriots, including Gen. Augusto César Sandino, fought the U.S. occupation.

In February 1934 Sandino was murdered by members of Somoza's National Guard.



Jose G. Perez/IP

Commander Humberto Ortega at June 5 news conference in Managua.

[National] Guard who managed to escape the people's fury in 1979. They are helping these forces, together with those of the traitor Pastora,² to become the military apparatus guaranteeing U.S. imperialist interests and the interests of the reactionaries who would sell their country and the puppets involved in the disinformation campaigns. These puppets reveal through their hatred their opposition to the truly popular character of the new Nicaragua that is being rebuilt and is fighting.

5. The field of battle is made up on one side by the downtrodden people — workers, peasants, artisans, students, professionals, intellectuals, patriotic producers in the countryside and the city, young people, children, old people, Indians, Blacks, Mestizos, and whites — who, led by our historic vanguard, the FSLN, consistently defend people's power and their Revolutionary Government.

Against the people are the Yankee warmakers, their genocidal military agents and the traitor, as well as their political and ideological

2. Edén Pastora Gómez, who had been vice-minister of defense, publicly broke with the Sandinista revolution at an April 15, 1982, press conference in Costa Rica. Since then he has led armed counterrevolutionary groups from bases in Costa Rica.

intermediaries among those who would sell their country.

6. Our Revolution is confronting the declared war against our people in the political and the diplomatic arenas. In connection with the recent visit to our country of the U.S. administration's envoy [Secretary of State] George Shultz, our Revolutionary Government has reiterated its firm and responsible willingness to reach various agreements with the United States that would ensure a true framework of security in order to work out political solutions that would first of all end the war our people suffer, and also lead to normalization of relations between the United States and Nicaragua.

7. The trend of the U.S. administration's declared war is toward becoming even larger in the remainder of 1984. First of all, they are doing everything they can to strengthen the counterrevolutionary forces. These forces, supported from their bases in Honduras and Costa Rica, have been organized into military units perfectly meshed into the military machinery of the Yankee forces in Honduras and of that country's army. They intend to impose and expand this condition in Costa Rica, whose neutrality policy is already affected by the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency and other forces of the Pentagon and their mercenary forces.

The war of aggression

8. The U.S. administration's strategy of open war consists of continually wearing down our country through the counterrevolutionary activity in the extensive territories of Las Segovias, Matagalpa, Jinotega, the Atlantic Coast, part of Chontales and Río San Juan. The aim is to disrupt the country's economy and affect the economic programs and social works that the Government of National Reconstruction is carrying out.

At the same time, using the political and ideological obfuscation of the domestic right wing, the CIA launches campaigns to sow confusion among the people, attempting to blame the Revolutionary Government for the grave economic problems we are going through. In fact those problems are specifically due to yesterday's exploitation, the declared war we are suffering today, and the world economic crisis that hits hardest at the small and poor countries like ours.

9. In the military arena, the interventionist strategy seeks to spread the Sandinista People's Army thin in order to wear it down and affect the basic structure of the military defense of the entire country.

The enemy contemplates seizing Nicara-

gua's Pacific region, including Managua, through massive attacks by the Yankee army. This is part of an overall plan of intervention in which the mission of the counterrevolutionaries is to distract and spread out our forces, in order to make it easier for the interventionist troops to concentrate their actions against strategic objectives in the country.

10. In the arena of sabotage and terrorism, the Yankee strategy this year is to try to step up attacks against the revolutionary leadership and acts of sabotage against various economic structures — in agriculture, factories, energy, ports, communications — and against resources such as trucks, buses, and machines that the people need for work and mobilization.

11. In the international arena, the strategy of war against our country aims among other things to isolate Nicaragua as much as possible from the various popular and governmental forces of the world, to sabotage the peace efforts put into motion through international forums or groups like Contadora,³ and to try to use threats against those who aid us to make them back off. All of this is to facilitate the present escalation of aggression and justify the massive intervention of Yankee troops in the grave Central American crisis, and against Nicaragua in particular.

12. In order to ensure the permanent presence of Yankee troops in the Central American region, the U.S. administration has decided to develop combined joint exercises, like "Granadero I" presently being carried out with the Honduran and Salvadoran armies.

The warmakers are speeding up various military projects on Honduran territory in order to have use of a secure launching pad for the rapid deployment of their air, naval, and ground forces against any country in the Central American region they decide to intervene in, such as Nicaragua and El Salvador.

There is information that once these exer-

Our Revolutionary Government has reiterated its willingness to reach various agreements with the United States . . .

cises are concluded, the U.S. administration plans to carry out "Big Pine III" maneuvers with Honduran troops in the month of September.

13. It has become clear that the objective of the Yankee military maneuvers in Honduras is to turn that country into their main base of aggression for the Central American region and at the same time to improve the combat readiness and firepower of the Honduran and Sal-

3. The Contadora Group, named after the Panamanian island where it first met, is made up of the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela. Its stated aim is to negotiate a solution to the Central American crisis.

vadoran armies, and improve coordination for carrying out joint military operations.

Such military maneuvers are also useful to materially and logistically strengthen the Somozaist mercenary forces and those of the traitor and to provide them with better strategic and operational information. These forces are the stepping stone or the spearhead of the Reagan administration's war against our people.

14. The mercenary forces run by the CIA have been restructured so that they are more in line with the needs of the Yankee commanders, able to function as real military units of a modern army. The mercenary forces that have been infiltrated into our country are being resupplied by air and land from more than 20 military bases on Honduran and Costa Rican territory bordering Nicaragua.

In these bases they have established military schools, field hospitals, communications centers, and their propaganda apparatus.

More than 10,000 genocidal troops launch constant criminal attacks against the working people throughout the regions bordering on Honduras and Costa Rica. And the ports have not escaped this terrorist activity, having been mined by the CIA. Air attacks have cost countless losses in human lives and material damage.

15. An end to the war basically depends on the will of the present U.S. administration. Nicaragua contributes to ending the war to the extent that it totally defeats the mercenary forces presently acting against our country from the border territories.

Nicaragua contributes to making sure the war does not spread to the whole country to the extent that it strengthens its combat readiness throughout the national territory, thereby raising the cost of the Yankee interventionist adventure if one should take place.

People's strategy

16. The Sandinista People's Revolution confronts the war strategy directed against us with the revolutionary strategy of people's war.

Our workers and our battle-tested youth carry tens of thousands of rifles in varied military and security tasks related to the national defense of our homeland and Revolution.

Our glorious Sandinista People's Militias, Reserve Infantry Battalions, and youth doing their Patriotic Military Service, structured into the Sandinista People's Army, ensure the strength of the ground, armored, and artillery troops, the Sandinista Air Force, the Antiaircraft Defense, the border guards, and the sailors, and carry out the basic missions of military defense of our sacred home soil.

The combatants of the Ministry of the Interior, the State Security and State Intelligence, the Sandinista Police, and the self-sacrificing volunteer police fight the CIA's plans to form a terrorist urban front. They secure the information needed to militarily strike at the enemy, fighting shoulder to shoulder with their

brothers of the Sandinista People's Army in the front lines.

The people, organized in the Sandinista Defense Committees carry out vital Revolutionary Vigilance in defense of the people's interests and gains.

The mass organizations like the Luisa Amanda Espinoza Nicaraguan Women's Association, the Luis Alfonso Velásquez Association of Sandinista Children,⁴ and the Sandinista Defense Committees, together with the government institutions, ensure the basic functioning of the diverse civil defense measures.

Through their self-sacrificing work, our laboring people — especially the workers and peasants — maintain the country's production in order to be able to feed our children and pro-

The CIA attempts to blame the Revolutionary Government for the grave economic problems we are going through . . .

vide what is needed for the people mobilized in the war fronts.

The firm and enthusiastic young people of the July 19 Sandinista Youth orient the people to more passionately and fervently counteract the right wing's campaigns of obfuscation and keep the streets and every corner of the country from being manipulated by the reactionaries.

17. The people, massively involved in the homeland's defense — the mothers and their children, the husband and his wife, the child and the old person — want peace, tranquility, normalcy in the country. That is why the people, massively involved in defense, are going to defeat and even annihilate the mercenary forces.

And in this way in the near future they will achieve the tranquility, the normalcy, the peace that our people, today at war, deserve. With the indestructible strength of the workers and peasants, the children of Zeledón, Sandino, Rigoberto, and Carlos Fonseca⁵ will crush the mercenaries in order to win peace.

18. The whole country must be turned into the great rear guard of the war fronts. And to achieve that, we will ensure that the whole nation can participate in this patriotic activity, with the people's forces involved in the war fronts and the tasks of production.

In this way the worker will not only ensure

4. Luisa Amanda Espinoza was a combatant of the FSLN killed in April 1970; Luis Alfonso Velásquez was a child revolutionary killed by the National Guard in May 1979.

5. Gen. Benjamín Zeledón led the resistance to the 1912 invasion by U.S. Marines.

Rigoberto López Pérez assassinated Anastasio Somoza García in September 1956.

Carlos Fonseca Amador was a founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and its central leader until his death in action in November 1976.



Young Nicaraguans in Patriotic Military Service learn to use an AK-47 rifle.

the material needs of the war front but will also carry a rifle against the Yankee aggression.

Lines of revolutionary action

19. The general line, in the immediate period, is:

a. Break up to the maximum degree possible the mercenary forces operating in the border and mountain regions through the massive and on-going mobilization of Sandino's heroic people to go to the war fronts.

b. Neutralize the rightists in our cities and towns who conspire in campaigns of confusion that are an important complement to the military aggression.

c. Strengthen the country's rear guard in order to:

- Secure the war fronts;
- Ensure basic production;
- Improve and strengthen combat readiness and mobilization readiness. This will ensure that the people are massively involved in the present battle and will fine-tune the country's general defense and its readiness to confront and defeat a possible Yankee intervention.

20. The massive incorporation of the people into defense of the homeland has given rise to a series of problems that have not been properly attended to by the appropriate institutions. The main problems are the following:

a. The imperialist war has made it necessary to extend the period of mobilization of the reserve and militia units far beyond what was planned.

b. Payment of the mobilized compañeros has not been carried out in the time stipulated.

c. Compensation for losses resulting from the mobilization of the peasants is not being made as it should be.

d. In some cases there has not been com-

pliance with the Revolutionary Government's laws regarding the work rights of the mobilized compañeros. We know of cases of compañeros who do not get their job back when they are demobilized.

e. There has been insufficient and very irregular attention paid to families of compañeros who have fallen or been war casualties and to their pensions.

f. The opportunities for the people to permanently honor the heroes and martyrs who have fallen in defense of the homeland have not been strengthened.

g. We have found that the means through which the young people doing Patriotic Military Service can communicate with their families, such as correspondence and visits, have been irregular and weak in their functioning.

h. We have verified that in some cases the methods of recruitment contradicted the norms and procedures designed to treat our people with the respect they deserve.

i. There must be greater creativity and more flexible mechanisms for the basic training of the Sandinista People's Militias.

j. The institutions of the ministries do not adequately ensure that the lines of the Revolutionary Government are carried out to give priority attention to the needs of the mobilized compañeros and to other lines of support for the defense tasks.

Commission of Support for the Combatants

21. Due to this situation, despite the difficulties imposed on us by the mercenary attack, the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Government have taken some immediate measures to gradually overcome the previously

noted problems:

a. The National Commission of Support for the Combatants has been established. Its coordinator is Compañero Reynaldo Antonio Téfel, minister of the INSSBI [Social Security and Welfare Institute]. Yesterday, Monday [June 4], it held its first meeting.

This National Commission is a government body responsible for supervising the implementation of all the special programs that the Central Government is assigning to the various ministries to give the necessary attention to the basic needs of the combatants.

b. Through the National Commission of Support for the Combatants, the Government Junta will oversee implementation of the following measures:

- Solving the human and social problems of the combatants and close family members, especially problems related to pensions, funerals, and disability of the combatants and the most pressing and urgent needs of their mothers, companions, and children.

- Giving priority attention to health care for the combatants.

- Strengthening the special Agrarian Reform programs to turn land over to the families of heroes and martyrs and combatants. The same for lots and basic construction materials so they have a simple but suitable roof over their heads.

- Speeding up the study on readjusting the status of all those receiving pensions, so that in accordance with the present economic possibilities we can begin carrying out the readjustments in the second half of this year; with an immediate review of the cases of the families of compañeros who have fallen in combat or been wounded in action so that they get prompt relief.

- Immediately working out a new law of Social Security Benefits for the combatant and his family members. This will include those in the Reserve units and Sandinista People's Mi-

The whole country must be turned into the great rearguard of the war fronts . . .

lity units that have been mobilized, as well as the professional members of the Armed Forces and those fulfilling Patriotic Military Service.

This new law will unify all the prior decrees of the Government Junta and will adjust them to present conditions.

Militias, Reserves, and PMS

c. Through increased mass participation we will ensure that Reserve Infantry Battalions and Sandinista People's Militia units will be mobilized for training and field campaigns for a period of no less than four months nor more than six.

This will make it possible for larger numbers of organized patriots to have the opportunity to participate directly in the search and de-

stroy campaigns being carried out this year in particular, to neutralize to the maximum possible degree the mercenary forces of Yankee imperialism.

d. It will be guaranteed that adequate financial attention will be paid to the Reserve Infantry Battalions and Sandinista People's Militia units mobilized for the designated period in the field. In particular, various measures are now being taken by the army and government to see

We are on a war footing to defend this Revolution of the working people . . .

that payments are not delayed, to compensate the peasants for losses in their harvests due to their being mobilized, and to increase the financial aid given to patriots without full-time jobs who are serving in the reserves and militias,⁶ among other measures.

In addition, mechanisms will be strengthened to permit the implementation of the law guaranteeing the mobilized patriot's right to keep his job in state and private companies. The National Commission of Support for the Combatants will be one of the bodies to aid in these tasks.

e. Mechanisms are being strengthened in the Sandinista People's Army to guarantee better communication between the families and soldiers doing Patriotic Military Service.

Due to the increase in the mercenary aggression and the many tasks of defense, during the present year the system of passes for personnel doing their Patriotic Military Service will not be implemented as would be the case under normal conditions.

As we neutralize the present mercenary activity, it will be possible not only to normalize passes for the patriot on Patriotic Military Service, but also the system of vacations and leaves for all those making up the Armed Forces.

f. The Sandinista People's Militia has created various special training centers for the patriotic reservists and militia members mobilized in the field. These training centers have infantry, field engineering, and firing ranges, as well as classrooms for tactical, topographical, artillery, and anti-aircraft instruction, among other subjects.

For the instruction of the militias in general, the basic conditions are now being created to add new weapons and knowledge to the instruction already received.

The territorial structure of the Sandinista People's Militia will continue to be strengthened throughout the country, while reiterating that in some cases and situations the militia members must carry out missions outside their assigned territory.

g. Coordination between the Armed Forces, governmental, political, and mass institutions

6. While mobilized for active duty, people with regular jobs receive their pay from their employer.

will be increased to ensure the highest respect is paid the combatants who have fallen in the war that Yankee imperialism forces on us. The National Commission of Support for the Combatants will be an important pillar for accomplishing this honorable duty.

Permanent mobilization

We are on a war footing to defend this Revolution of the downtrodden and working people to the last drop of our blood.

We are on a war footing to defeat the war that the present U.S. administration has forced on us.

The National Directorate of the FSLN and the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction are laying out the necessary measures to strengthen the people's organization in order to confront the present aggression of the U.S. military power.

The heroic people of Sandino, imbued with the spirit of the Army in Defense of National Sovereignty⁷ and the spirit of the self-sacrificing guerrillas of the Sandinista National Liberation Front who fought the Somozaist tyranny, are fighting the mercenaries, the forward detachment of the Yankee intervention.

7. The Army in Defense of National Sovereignty was organized by Sandino.

And today, the old rifles of the barefoot peasants who fought with Sandino and of the guerrillas of Carlos Fonseca, Silvio Mayorga, Oscar Turcios, Germán Pomares, and Selim Shible⁸ have become new and modern rifles, rocket launchers, artillery, cannons, and modest air and naval resources, which are used with fervor, sacrifice, and fearlessness by the sons of Sandino.

It is true that the brutal war the United States has forced on us has taken thousands of victims, has murdered families, has orphaned children, has destroyed homes. But it is also true that this heroic people, who want and desire peace, have the necessary vigor to turn themselves into the best fighters and to defeat and expel the Yankee aggression.

With the permanent and massive mobilization of the people of Sandino: Everyone against the foreign aggression!

Free Homeland or Death!

8. Silvio Mayorga, one of the three founders of the FSLN, was killed in the guerrilla struggle at Pancaán in August 1967.

Oscar Turcios was killed in a confrontation with the National Guard in Nandaime in September 1973.

Germán Pomares Ordóñez was killed in action on May 24, 1979.

Selim Shible was killed in August 1967 during an FSLN urban operation.

Indochina caught in triple squeeze, threatened from north and west

By Will Reissner

The six-member, proimperialist Association of Southeast Asian Nations has recently shown increased hostility toward the three Indochinese countries — Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam.

In the final communiqué of the July 9-10 ASEAN foreign ministers meeting, the representatives of Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei, and Malaysia rebuffed a July 2 call by the Indochinese countries for talks between the two groups to ease tensions.

ASEAN's harder line against the Indochinese countries has not been limited to the diplomatic field. Thai troops have occupied three Laotian villages since June.

Rightist guerrillas operating against Kampuchea from bases in Thailand are getting new arms shipments from ASEAN members. The government of Singapore recently supplied 3,000 AK-47 rifles to the Kampuchean rightists, in addition to SAR-80 assault rifles supplied earlier.

ASEAN's actions are only part of a three-sided campaign of hostility against the Indochinese countries by Washington, Peking, and ASEAN, aimed at preventing Indochina's recovery from the ravages of the U.S. war.

Washington recently indicated it will in-

crease its \$10 million annual aid to Kampuchean rightist guerrillas.

The Egyptian government, which has been a CIA conduit for arms to Afghan rebels, has been recruited to play the same role in Southeast Asia. Egyptian officials have indicated they will supply weapons to the Kampuchean rightists from Egyptian army stockpiles.

U.S. and Thai forces also began five weeks of air, sea, and land maneuvers in Thailand on July 2. Some 10,000 troops will take part.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said on July 10 in Singapore that Washington will not improve relations with Vietnam or Kampuchea while Vietnam helps Kampuchea fight the rightist guerrillas.

Shultz also stressed Washington's "good working relationship with China." Since April, when President Reagan visited China, Chinese troops have been shelling Vietnam, and they now occupy three points in Ha Tuyen province. Chinese troops have also massed along other points on the borders with Vietnam and Laos.

With Chinese troops menacing the borders of Laos and Vietnam from the north and Thai troops from the west occupying three villages in Laos and menacing Kampuchea, all the outside borders of the three Indochinese countries are now threatened. □

Election amid economic crisis

Results show polarization, loss of faith in rulers

By Fred Murphy

The inconclusive results of Israel's July 23 national elections point up the dilemma facing the Zionist rulers. While they are united on the need to impose harsh economic austerity measures on the Israeli population and to maintain Israeli domination of occupied southern Lebanon, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip, the country's working people are becoming less and less willing to bear the burdens in declining living standards and continued loss of lives such policies entail.

Above all, the election returns registered the ongoing erosion of mass confidence in the two main political formations of the Israeli ruling class. The Labor Alignment, whose parties governed the Zionist state from its establishment through war in 1948 to Labor's first electoral defeat in 1977, will likely gain 45 or 46 seats in the 120-member Knesset (parliament) when all the votes are counted. This is down from the 47 Labor had won in 1981.

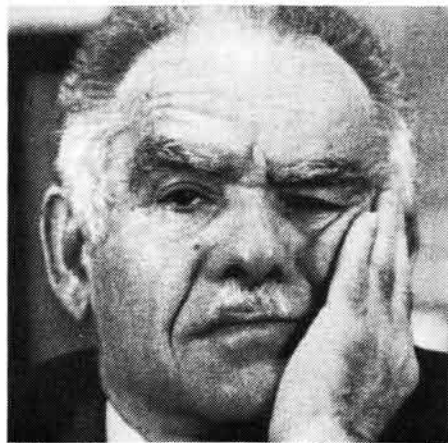
But the Likud Bloc, which has ruled since 1977 and is responsible for the unending war in Lebanon, the massacres of Palestinian refugees there, and an initial round of austerity measures, lost still more seats. From the narrow plurality of 48 it held in the previous Knesset, the Likud's total seats are projected to drop to 41 or 42.

The upshot is that neither coalition will be able to put together a viable parliamentary majority. "Whichever party will form the next government will be very weak," an Israeli professor told the *New York Times* after the voting. "If a national unity Cabinet is formed, then the question is whether it will be under [Labor leader Shimon] Peres or [Likud Prime Minister Yitzhak] Shamir. Even a national unity Cabinet could probably not last long. In the long-term, Israel's democracy may be paralyzed."

Economic crisis

Shamir's regime was forced to call early elections when in mid-March it failed to maintain majority support in the Knesset for its moves to slash social spending, devalue the shekel, reduce subsidies on a range of consumer goods, and drive up interest rates. The necessity of such measures for Israeli capitalism had been evident since at least October 1983, when a stock-market crash was narrowly averted. Fearing currency devaluations brought on by an acute balance-of-payments deficit, Israelis had begun to cash in their stock shares in massive quantities in order to buy U.S. dollars and other foreign currencies.

Underlying the financial crisis was Israel's



Neither Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir nor his Labor rivals managed to inspire voters.

\$21.5 billion foreign debt — the largest per capita debt of any country in the world (\$5,350, as against, for example, Argentina's per capita debt of \$1,540).

Much of this debt is owed to the U.S. government, which is not about to place any unsustainable financial demands on its crucial imperialist ally in the Middle East. But the debt's absolute size is such that harsh attacks on the living standards of Israeli working people can no longer be postponed. The alternative of slashing military spending and putting an end to the occupation of Lebanon, the West Bank, and Gaza is one that no ruling-class political faction can seriously entertain, sharp tactical differences notwithstanding.

But the majority of the Israeli population has come to oppose intervention in Lebanon and expanding Jewish settlement of the occupied Palestinian territories. Moreover, Israelis are drawing the connections between such policies and the moves toward austerity. One recent opinion poll found 58 percent favoring the immediate withdrawal of Israel's 10,000 troops from Lebanon. Another showed 72 percent calling for cutting the budget for West Bank settlement before cutting workers' wages.

"This is the most dangerous internal crisis we have ever faced," a Hebrew University professor told the *Wall Street Journal* in February. "We have run out of money to keep the social contracts going . . . and people have lost confidence in their leaders."

Leaders of both major ruling-class blocs favor stepped-up austerity; therefore, neither made this an issue in the election campaign. Dealing with the economic crisis will require "blood, sweat, toil and tears," a top Labor official told the *New York Times*, "and nobody ever got elected on that slogan."

Likewise, both coalitions are determined to keep control of southern Lebanon and the occupied Palestinian territories, though they have tactical differences over how best to do this. While the Likud has vowed not to give up one inch of "Judea and Samaria" (the Zionist terms for the West Bank), Labor has called for negotiations with Jordan's King Hussein aimed at turning the most densely populated Palestinian areas there back over to Jordanian sovereignty. But the essence of Labor's position was stated in a June 22 advertisement in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*:

"LABOUR SAYS NO: No to a return to the 1967 borders.

"No to the uprooting of settlements.

"No to negotiations with the PLO.

"No to a Palestinian state."

As for Lebanon, where Israeli forces face mounting armed resistance from the predominantly Shi'ite Muslim population of the south and have suffered 74 killed and 377 wounded since last September, both Labor and Likud promised to withdraw as soon as "security arrangements" could be attained — a formula for indefinite occupation.

In fact, the Israeli capitalists must retain the territories their army has occupied — they cannot solve their economic crisis within the country's existing borders. As imperialists, they need to expand, to conquer new markets, new sources of raw materials, new reservoirs of cheap labor. This is what drove them to seize the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights, and the Sinai in 1967, and what led them to occupy wide areas of southern Lebanon in 1982. This drive toward war is built into the foundations of the Israeli state, and is exacerbated by the state's racist, settler-colonial character.

Polarization

As Israelis turned away from both the Likud and Labor coalitions in record numbers, their votes reflected the deepening polarization under way in the country's political life. Small parties on both the left and right of the spectrum gained in electoral support and parliamentary representation.

On the right, the ultra-Zionist Kach movement led by Rabbi Meir Kahane apparently won a seat in the Knesset for the first time. This fascistlike outfit calls openly for the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel and the occupied territories. Extreme-rightist, religious-Zionist factions that have backed previous Likud governments were expected to win seven seats, as against the four they held earlier.

Growing sympathy for the Palestinian struggle among a layer of Israeli Jews was reflected

in the formation of the Progressive List for Peace (PLP), a slate composed half of Palestinians with Israeli citizenship and half of Jews. Among the latter were the prominent left-Zionists Gen. Matti Peled and Uri Avneri. Arab leaders of the PLP included supporters of the Camp David agreements and veterans of an earlier Arab nationalist movement within Israel, *al-Ard* (The Land), banned by the regime in 1964.

The PLP's platform called for equal rights and an end to racist discrimination against

Arabs in Israel, the establishment of a Palestinian state in the occupied territories, "mutual recognition of the right of the two peoples . . . to national self-determination," and "negotiations between the Israeli government and the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, which is the Palestine Liberation Organization." Early returns showed the PLP receiving enough votes to elect one member of the Knesset.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, whose dominant component is the Israeli

Communist Party, evidently retained the four seats it had held in the previous Knesset.

Coming months will see a sharpening of the class struggle inside Israel. Already there have been widespread strikes against the Likud's initial austerity measures. As the capitalists' attacks bear down on Jewish and Arab workers alike, vanguard layers of the former will begin to grasp that their real interests lie not in collaboration with the racist, Zionist ruling class but in a fighting alliance with their Palestinian brothers and sisters. □

Poland

Broad amnesty announced

Solidarity, KOR leaders to gain release

By Fred Murphy

The Polish parliament approved an extensive amnesty for political prisoners on July 21.

Under the measure, virtually all persons now serving sentences or facing charges for their role in organizing the banned trade-union federation Solidarity are to be released within 30 days. According to the Polish authorities, the amnesty will apply to 51 persons already tried and sentenced and to 601 others detained and awaiting trial on political charges. A further 35,000 common prisoners are also to be released.

The measure also provides that persons who have gone into exile or have been functioning clandestinely may turn themselves in to the authorities and be absolved of any pending or potential charges.

Polish Prime Minister Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski issued a warning in conjunction with the amnesty, however. "There will be no forbearance for those who try to provoke, who break the laws of the socialist state," he said. "It should be clearly said that Polish law . . . punishes repeat offenders in a much harsher way."

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa welcomed the amnesty but voiced concern at the regime's warnings. "If everyone comes out" of jail, Walesa said, "it will be a great step toward national understanding, provided it is followed with a step toward more pluralism in social organizations." But if people are not "able to conduct activities within reasonable limits," he added, "then in one month's time we will have a similar situation, with perhaps more in prison than we have now."

Walesa pointed in particular to the case of Solidarity organizer Bogdan Lis, who was arrested along with activist Piotr Mierzejewski in Gdansk on June 10. Lis had functioned clandestinely ever since the December 1981 declaration of martial law and banning of Solidarity. Preliminary charges of treason have been filed

against Lis and Mierzejewski — a crime not covered by the amnesty law. When questioned by reporters about this on July 21, the Polish deputy general prosecutor suggested that the treason charge might be dropped from the indictments against the two activists.

Kuron, Gwiazda to be freed

Eleven central leaders of Solidarity and the Polish workers movement are among those to be released under the amnesty. These include seven members of Solidarity's National Committee — Andrzej Gwiazda, Seweryn Jaworski, Marian Jurczyk, Karol Modzelewski, Grzegorz Palka, Andrzej Rozplochowski, and Jan Rulewski — and four leading figures in the former Committee For the Defense of the Workers (KOR).

The KOR defendants — Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuron, Zbigniew Romaszewski, and Henryk Wujec — were placed on trial only eight days before the amnesty was announced. They had been charged in September 1982 with conspiring "to overthrow the political system by force."

Aware that there was no evidence to back up this false accusation, the regime had sought for months to avoid holding a trial of the KOR figures. With the collaboration of United Nations officials and the Catholic Church hierarchy, the government tried to get both the Solidarity National Committee members and the KOR defendants to accept exile or conditional pardons instead of trial. All refused such offers. "I want a trial where I can prove my innocence," Adam Michnik declared in a letter from prison. "My friends responded in the same way."

In early June Jacek Kuron began a hunger strike to demand that the four either be tried promptly or released unconditionally. The regime set a date for their trial the very next day.

When the KOR trial opened July 13, the government barred foreign journalists and

most supporters of the defendants from attending. The trial went virtually unreported in the Polish news media, a sign of the government's embarrassment at its flimsy case. Only two sessions of the trial were ever held, and these dealt only with procedural matters.

Removes pretext for U.S. sanctions

The abrupt ending of the KOR trial, and the release of the defendants and all the other Solidarity activists held prisoner, are important victories for working people in Poland and around the world. Besides freeing those unjustly detained for demanding trade-union and political rights, the amnesty measure also removes a pretext that had been seized upon by U.S. imperialism and its allies to maintain economic sanctions against Poland.

The U.S. State Department responded to the amnesty announcement by terming it "a positive move," but gave no indication that the most damaging trade and financial sanctions against Poland would be lifted. These include bans on U.S. commodity, Export-Import Bank, and other credits and the denial to Poland of "most favored nation" status for tariffs on its exports to the United States.

According to the July 22 *New York Times*, "Administration officials said new consultations with Polish-American groups and with A.F.L.-C.I.O. leaders were needed on whether to remove any of the significant economic sanctions in response to the amnesty." In the past, Reagan's moves against Poland have had the full support of the anticommunist bureaucrats atop the AFL-CIO labor federation, and the administration has been able to point to this as an excuse for maintaining the sanctions.

According to Prime Minister Jaruzelski, the U.S. sanctions have cost the Polish economy "over \$13 billion" since they were first imposed in December 1981. □

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Speech by Schafik Jorge Handal

FMLN leader's presentation to Marx centenary conference

[The following is a speech by Schafik Jorge Handal, a member of the General Command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and general secretary of the Salvadoran Communist Party. It was presented at the International Scientific Conference held in East Berlin April 11–16, 1983, to mark the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. We have taken the text from the March–April 1984 issue of the magazine *Ko'eyü Latinoamericano*, published in Caracas, Venezuela. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Dear Comrades and Friends:

The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Communist Party of El Salvador, which forms part of the FMLN, wish to thank the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Comrade Erich Honecker in particular for inviting us to participate in this worldwide homage to Karl Marx.

We want to express our appreciation to all the organizations and peoples represented here for the solidarity they are providing to the struggle of the Salvadoran people, who are advancing toward victory with the broadest international support.

Everything we have heard here — as if further arguments were necessary — refutes the claim that the thought of Marx the genius and his continuator Lenin, no less a genius, is dead or has been reduced in influence.

If in certain countries the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have lost ground in workers movements that have become reformist, this is above all the responsibility of the workers party, which at a certain point failed to comply with the day-to-day task of bringing scientific socialism to the labor movement and the entire working people, thus losing the ideological battle to the bourgeoisie, at least temporarily.

The fact is that this elementary task of the party of socialism can only be carried out — under capitalist conditions — by promoting the revolutionary struggle of the workers, aimed at the fundamental and unrenounceable objective of the conquest of power. Without this, socialism is impossible.

The conquest of power by the proletariat in order to put an end to capitalism cannot be brought about by voting or by electoral maneuvers. Without deprecating, of course, the useful contributions participating in elections can make to the cause of revolution, it is necessary to go back to Marx in order to underscore the fact that the main role in the development of the revolutionary process and its victorious culmination is played by revolutionary violence — the “midwife of history,” as Marx called it.

We speak of revolutionary violence in its broadest and deepest sense, without reducing the notion to armed struggle, which is one of its forms. The “rare and precious possibility” of the peaceful road can only take shape within the framework of a conjuncture set up through the development and spread of revolutionary violence at the national and/or international levels. This truth of Marx on the indispensable role of revolutionary violence has been confirmed a thousand times over, as we know, through action as well as through omission.

Marx discovered that revolution is an objective law of social progress. Taking advantage of this law in order to advance toward socialism calls for clarity and revolutionary qualities. Lenin brought to its full development Marx's idea regarding the role of the subjective factor in the revolutionary process — that is, the decisive role of the party of the revolution, of the correctness of its line and tactics, and of its ability to apply these and take revolutionary initiatives.

Marxism-Leninism has nothing in common with mechanical and fatalistic determinism, according to which the objective conditions are the all-powerful master while the party of the revolution and its leaders are merely the submissive slaves. The conduct of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in 1917 is a lasting model of clarity and revolutionary initiative.

Daring, audacity, continual initiatives, the spirit of an ongoing offensive, flexibility, and tactical creativity based on a revolutionary policy — that is the style that Marx and Lenin taught. That is the outstanding style of all true revolutions, even those that took place before Marx's time.

The thoroughgoing defeat of the 1932 insurrection in El Salvador, which had been headed by our young Communist Party, plunged the party into a realm of timidity and later into reformism. The most clear-sighted leaders of those times, headed by Farabundo Martí, did not survive the defeat in order to educate our nearly exterminated party about Marx's notion that “A well-contested defeat is a fact of as much revolutionary importance as an easily-won victory.”* Instead, the judgment that “they should never have taken up arms,” — condemned by Marx in his defense of the communards of Paris — remained in force in the thinking of the Salvadoran communists for a long time, up until they began to be affected, if only partially and momentarily, by the vigorous shock waves of the Cuban revolution.

*Frederick Engels, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany*, in Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Volume 11, page 68 (New York: International Publishers, 1979).

The victory of the Sandinista People's Revolution, anticipating the revolutionary process in our own country, plus our own self-critical efforts, led us to make a thoroughgoing turn without splitting our party. (This was 20 years after the Cuban revolution: that's how stubborn economism and reformism are.) Even today, the traces of that old style slow down our steps and reduce their practical boldness. The ideological struggle against those traces, in the framework of our revolutionary struggle, is promoting the development of our party and magnifying its contributions.

Explicitly or tacitly renouncing revolutionary violence, the struggle for power, and the dictatorship of the proletariat (I am not referring here to any of its particular forms) — in a word, renouncing revolution — gives rise to eclecticism, defensism, and even conformism. These are all attributes of the kind of reformism that results from degeneration and amounts to consummating the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism. It is no accident that the most consistent partisans of such an approach sooner or later end by officially giving up the honorable title of Marxist-Leninists.

Placing responsibility on “both blocs” for the growing tensions and the threat of extermination of civilization and life on our planet is, in our opinion, an example of defensism and eclecticism. This approach upholds a sterile evenhandedness that only serves to reduce the power and effectiveness of the struggle against the real warmakers and the instigators of the nuclear arms race.

To choose peace and détente obliges one to take a position against imperialism, especially against the most aggressive sectors of Yankee imperialism and its allies, represented today by the demented and cynical government of Ronald Reagan. To evade or water down this approach neutralizes a class outlook and negates the principled obligation to struggle without quarter for the hearts and minds of the peoples, above all of their toiling majorities, whose hands hold the future.

The struggle against the threat of a nuclear holocaust strikes at the heart of imperialism's policies. It thereby takes on such a concrete character that even the pacifists and environmentalists who proclaim their apolitical nature have found it necessary to set up political parties and contend in the political arena.

None of this runs counter to the great breadth of the antinuclear and peace movement; rather, it entails such breadth, which clearly goes beyond the limits of classes, of ideologies, and of state interests.

The defense of peace is the main task of our time, not only because of the immeasurable destruction that must be prevented but also be-

cause imperialism uses nuclear blackmail in order to try to slow down and defeat the world revolutionary process, placing every revolutionary and progressive struggle — including the broad antinuclear movement — in the framework of the East-West confrontation, charging that these struggles are tools manipulated by the Soviet Union.

That is what Reagan says about the FMLN and the struggle of the Salvadoran people. He alleges that we have been created and are artificially sustained by Nicaragua, Cuba, and the Soviet Union. His defense secretary Caspar Weinberger warned insolently not long ago that those three countries should "refrain from aiding the Salvadoran guerrillas, because the United States has decided to protect the Central American democracies. . . ." By shamelessly granting that title to the bloody dictatorships of El Salvador and Guatemala and to the government of Honduras — which has been pushed by the CIA and the State Department onto a course of brutal and bloody repression against the Honduran people's movement — Weinberger disregards world opinion and exemplifies the twisted thinking and criminal policy of aggression that the Reagan administration is applying in Central America.

At the same time, such warnings confirm U.S. plans to regionalize the war throughout the Central American isthmus and the Caribbean. Reagan's thundering and hysterical speeches in March [1983] repeated his threats against Cuba and extended them to the tiny and valiant revolutionary island of Grenada. He made clear as well his aggressive designs on all other independent processes in the region, among which it is fitting to mention the positive process of decolonization in Suriname and of course the defense of Panama's national sovereignty: the conquests registered there through the Torrijos-Carter treaties are continually violated by the current Yankee administration.

Reagan's aggressive onslaught in Central America and the Caribbean is an integral part of his overall policy of confrontation and aggression. He not only seeks to restore domina-

tion over Nicaragua and smash the revolutionary movements of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, to liquidate Costa Rican democracy, and to sweep away the Grenada revolution, but also to confront Cuba and thereby blackmail the entire world, directly and imminently, with the nuclear threat.

So, then, the flames that Yankee imperialism is already spreading in Central America are a real and immediate threat to world peace and not simply a violation of it.

Our revolutionary struggle has its roots in a half-century-long process of struggles for democracy and social justice. The Salvadoran people sought to advance toward their aims by peaceful means, including elections, until such possibilities were exhausted. The rich and recalcitrant oligarchy of the big capitalists and landlords and their instrument of domination, the reactionary military dictatorship, smothered those efforts and hopes in the torture chambers, in the jails, in exile, in the abundant blood shed by their butchery, and in the more and more open and widespread electoral frauds. As a result there arose in time the armed struggle.

Yankee imperialism always backed that dictatorship and every one of its atrocities; it still does so today, with still greater determination. Its current siren songs about "clean elections" in the future, in which we are invited to participate after turning over our weapons, should not confuse anyone. This is a hypocritical move to bar the way to unconditional negotiations. It forms part of the military plans for escalating intervention in El Salvador during 1983. Washington forced the elections originally scheduled for 1984 to be moved up to December of this year. It wants to use the apparent legitimacy of a government headed by the Christian Democratic Party — which has become its unconditional puppet — and a reformist constitution that is worth no more than the paper it is written on, to cover the heavy military blows being planned for well before the U.S. presidential elections.

Nothing is more legitimate and just in El Salvador than our armed struggle and our pro-

posal for a direct dialogue with the enemy army and government, without prior conditions. The power of our struggle is rooted in the unlimited heroism and unshakeable will to win of the great masses of our people who have risen up in arms. Our people place confidence in the capacities of a revolutionary leadership that guides the closest and most solid unity among all the forces of the left without exception, that combines in a more and more skillful way the armed struggle, the political struggle, and the diplomatic struggle.

This leadership has thereby established links and cooperation among the revolutionary and democratic forces, putting together very broad alliances and ensuring agreement against the main enemies among the most varied political and religious forces not only inside but also outside the country — in the United States itself and throughout the world, as shown by the repeated resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, and in the individual or joint statements of numerous governments.

Reagan has proclaimed his determination to ensure our military defeat and at the same time has rejected the possibility of a negotiated solution. Simultaneously, his administration has launched the invasion against Nicaragua that it had been openly preparing in Honduras. It has adopted new methods of providing military aid and political support to the Guatemalan regime, which is engaged in the extermination of the Indian population in widespread zones of the country and in a campaign of executions against patriots.

To achieve his own re-election, Reagan has placed his hopes on a defeat of the revolution in Central America and the slight improvement in the U.S. economy. This is a dangerous decision, but an essentially defensive one. By escalating intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, Reagan is running big risks, because it is right there that the weakest link in his domination of our continent is to be found — one of the weakest links in his worldwide chain of domination.

In Central America a triumphant revolution



FMLN slogan opposing U.S.-sponsored elections in El Salvador: "Your vote does not count."

has been established in power in Nicaragua. There are dedicated, growing, and tested revolutionary forces whose advanced process of struggle enjoys very deep and broad international support. We can therefore inflict a blow on Reagan and his demented policies that it will be difficult to recover from before the U.S. elections.

It is necessary and possible to stay Reagan's aggressive hand and prevent him from setting fire to the world on the basis of his incendiary moves in Central America and the Caribbean. It is necessary and possible to stop him from turning back the wheel of Latin American history, and in this way to contribute to the electoral defeat of this Hitler-like group that rules the United States today.

In this lies the main international significance of the Central American and Caribbean revolutionary process.

We Central American revolutionists will not fail the world. The world forces of peace can count unfailingly on our unshakeable willpower, as well as on all the fighting skill that we have acquired at the price of our blood. They can count on the heroism of our peoples and on our political flexibility, determination, and consistency in the search for a negotiated political solution.

Therefore, in order to achieve this, we call for a prompt and decisive increase in international support for our struggle, which is one of the front lines in the worldwide struggle for peace, freedom, and social progress.

The work of Marx, Engels, and Lenin is crystallized in the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union, the main bulwark of peace; in our intrepid, unshakeable, and internationalist Cuba; in the states of socialist orientation; in the victorious movements for national liberation; in the burning revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America; and in the broad struggles for peace and democracy in Europe, North America, and Japan.

To this powerful family of peace and progress we ourselves belong; with its power we are winning and will win.

United to fight until the final victory!

Revolution or Death — We will win!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

DOCUMENTS

'Beyond framework of Democrats'

Mexican Trotskyist's view of Jackson border rally

By Manuel Aguilar Mora

[The following article was published in two parts in the July 4 and 5 issues of the Mexico City daily *Uno más Uno*. The author, Manuel Aguilar Mora, is a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

"Jesus marched to Jerusalem when he sought peace and justice in his time. Gandhi marched to the sea, and Martin Luther King marched on Washington. We shall march to the border," said Jesse Jackson, candidate for the Democratic nomination for president of the United States, at the rally that began the March of Friendship from San Ysidro, California, to Tijuana, Baja California [Mexico]. The march was sponsored by the Rainbow Coalition, the movement that supports his candidacy and goes beyond the framework of the Democratic Party.

"We will go on marching and marching, carrying forward our moral offensive, until we achieve peace in our continent and justice for all without distinction as to race, sex, or nation," he said at the rally held in Tijuana, some 100 yards from the border. Jackson, a Protestant minister, Black, 42 years old, had crossed the border at the head of a march of more than 2,000 persons — whites, Blacks, Chicanos, Latinos. Marching in the front row to the right of Jackson was Rosario Ibarra, former presidential candidate of the PRT. To his left was Rosalinda Palacios, leader of the U.S. Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA). Just behind them was José Dolores López, a peasant leader and deputy [in the Mexican parliament] from the PSUM [United Socialist Party of Mexico].

At the San Ysidro rally on the U.S. side, Rosario Ibarra and José Dolores López also spoke, criticizing the Simpson-Mazzoli bill,* the treatment of undocumented workers, and U.S. intervention in Central America. Also speaking at the Tijuana rally were a local leader of the PMT [Mexican Workers Party], Pedro Uranga of the SUTIN [nuclear workers union] and of the international relations commission of the Congress of Labor, and Reverend Gene Boutilier, leader of the California Council of Churches. Banners could be seen at the rally from the PSUM, the PRT, the PMT, the Socialist Current, the MRP [Revolutionary People's Movement], and other organizations.

"A crisis has arisen in the automobile, steel, electronics, rubber, and textile industries. This is not the fault of the undocumented workers, but of the policy of the big corporations," Jackson said in Tijuana. Later he added that the Simpson-Mazzoli bill "constitutes the most serious threat in decades against Hispanics [Latin Americans or those of Latin American origin]. This racist, unjust, and oppressive legislation threatens any person of Hispanic descent in this country. To look Latino, to speak with a foreign accent, to work at the 'wrong' job, to live on the 'wrong' side of town, has now become the pretext for arrest and deportation."

Jackson proposed the renegotiation of the foreign debts of Latin American countries, the

only way to allow them to recover from the crisis. He also spoke extensively on the urgent necessity of negotiations among all sides involved in order to achieve peace in Central America. He defended his visit to Cuba and his meeting with Fidel Castro against Reagan's attacks, saying, "Ten years ago President Richard Nixon took a risk by promoting dialogue with China, the biggest Communist nation in the world. We have talks and trade with the Soviet Union. Why can't we have them with Cuba?" He also reported that he had been the bearer of a proposal for dialogue and negotiations on the part of the FMLN [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front] to President Duarte of El Salvador, and that the latter had allowed him to visit Héctor Recinos and other trade-union leaders held prisoner in San Salvador.

* * *

Jackson has some 400 votes going into the Democratic Party convention that will be held in San Francisco in mid-July. He has no possibility of being nominated. But the forces he has brought together in the Rainbow Coalition, inside and outside the Democrats, will undoubtedly play a role beyond the convention and have opportunities to grow in U.S. politics. Jackson is becoming a spokesperson for the democratic and egalitarian aspirations of many left-out and oppressed sectors of U.S. society, a sum of minorities that, according to Jackson himself, could come to be a majority in the United States: "This country is changing and the majority is changing too" is one of his themes. His recent initiatives — visits to Nicaragua and El Salvador, meetings with the FMLN and with Duarte, a meeting with Fidel Castro, liberation of the Cuban prisoners, a demonstration crossing the border between the

*The Simpson-Mazzoli bill is a proposed law currently before the U.S. Congress that would make it illegal for employers to hire undocumented immigrant workers. The bill includes a series of other anti-immigrant provisions. Two different versions of it have already been adopted by the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, and a joint committee of the two chambers is currently meeting to work out a uniform final draft. — IP

United States and Mexico — go far beyond the limits of the traditional bipartisan policies of the Republicans and Democrats.

As the conclusion to the border march, Jackson held a meeting last Sunday night [July 1]. Present at that gathering, held at the Holiday Inn hotel in San Diego [California], were members of the Jackson campaign, representatives of the churches and peace movements of the United States, and five Mexicans: Antonio Tenorio Adame, a leader of the CNC [National Peasant Confederation] and ex-deputy from the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party, Mexico's ruling party]; Adolfo Gilly, a writer; Gerardo Unzueta, a leader of the PSUM; José Dolores López, federal deputy from the PSUM; and this writer, Manuel Aguilar Mora, a leader of the PRT. The following day, at a news conference before a large group of journalists from the U.S. communications media, Jackson made the following statement:

"I want to express my thanks to all those who worked so intensively so that our March for Peace yesterday could be a success. There is a growing movement for peace in our hemisphere, as was well represented on the border yesterday. Last night we had a meeting with various Mexican, Latino, and religious leaders who agreed on the necessity of pursuing our moral offensive on the front of hemispheric policy. Our discussions led to agreement on a plan of action for the coming months.

"We were in agreement on the need to call a Conference for Peace and Justice in the Hemisphere for next autumn. We will bring together government leaders, legitimate political forces, and religious leaders from the entire Western Hemisphere who support the peaceful solution of conflicts through dialogue and negotiations. We will prepare another meeting soon to form a broadly based committee that will work to unite diverse segments of our societies. We will also organize a series of activities that will lead up to the Conference for Peace, and we will participate in the activities of other groups seeking to convert the Western Hemisphere into a zone free of wars.

"Until a formal organization is set up, Mr. Blase Bonpane, director of the Office of the Americas in Santa Monica, California, will be the information center in the United States. On the Mexican side, Mr. Antonio Tenorio Adame, ex-deputy from the PRI and leader of the Mexican Movement for Peace, will be the person who will ensure contacts.

"Now is the time for a commitment to Peace. We cannot wait until the hemisphere is covered with war. We believe that peace is possible, and we are resolved to make it a reality."

This personal call by Reverend Jackson to mobilize all possible forces for peace and justice in the United States, Canada, Mexico, and all the Latin American countries was the culmination of his intense international activity during the past week and of the Mexican-U.S. rally on the Mexican side of the border. □

'A blow to Reagan's strategy'

'Direct Action' on Jackson's Central America trip

By Geoff Streeton

[The following article is reprinted from the July 4 issue of *Direct Action*, a socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia, that reflects the views of the Socialist Workers Party, Australian section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

United States President Ronald Reagan's Central America strategy suffered an important blow in late June when Jesse Jackson, the Black contender for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, toured Central America and the Caribbean.

At almost every stop of his six-day journey, Jackson expressed views fundamentally opposed to those of the Reagan administration. The effect was to highlight the overwhelming unpopularity among US voters of Reagan's drive to war in the region.

One of Jackson's first stops was in El Salvador, where he delivered messages from left-wing insurgents to the Salvadoran president, Jose Napoleon Duarte. The rebels offered discussions to bring about a ceasefire in the country's civil war. In line with the urgings of the US State Department, Duarte rejected the offer.

On June 25 Jackson arrived in Cuba to warm greeting from hundreds of Cubans, including President Fidel Castro. Addressing reporters, Castro said he had invited Jackson to Cuba "out of friendship for the United States.

"He honors us with his visit," the Cuban leader continued, going on to express the hope that Jackson's visit might help improve Cuba's relations with the US.

Jackson agreed that it was time for the US and Cuba to end their differences. "We are in danger of a raging war in the western hemisphere," he said. "People of our nations, the US and Cuba, must renew our friendship and ties. We must talk with each other and not at each other.

"Together, our nations have the capacity to bring peace in the hemisphere."

During two days in Cuba, Jackson held extensive discussions with Castro, and later stated that he would like to meet President Reagan and US Secretary of State George Shultz in order to discuss the talks. The White House reaction was a predictable "we don't see any urgency for such a meeting."

Among topics Jackson discussed with Castro was the possible release of US citizens imprisoned in Cuba, and of Cubans described in the Western press as "political prisoners." The Cuban authorities later released 22 US citizens, mainly drug offenders, and 26 Cubans convicted of counter-revolutionary crimes. Those freed were flown to the US.

Jackson then went on to Nicaragua, where

he met with junta member Sergio Ramirez [and] with Defence Minister Humberto Ortega. Again Jackson pursued a course diametrically opposed to the Reagan administration's strategies, calling on the US-backed "contra" insurgents to lay down their arms and accept an amnesty offered by Nicaragua's revolutionary government.

Washington has tried to force the Nicaraguan government to negotiate with the contras, thus recognising them as something more legitimate than CIA mercenaries.

At the same time, Jackson praised Nicaragua's Sandinista leaders for putting the country "back on the road to democracy, peace and reconciliation." Despite the savage aggression launched against them by the US, the Sandinistas have pressed forward with plans to hold national elections next November. The Reagan administration is trying to discredit these elections.

As might have been expected, the Reagan administration's reaction to Jackson's trip was bitterly hostile. Noted liberals also condemned the Black leader's actions: columnist James Reston accused Jackson of "interfering with the constitutional rights of the president and Congress to conduct foreign policy."

The reaction among ordinary US citizens is likely to be more favorable. In poll after poll over the past three years, US citizens have rejected the general thrust of Reagan's policies in Central America by a margin of around two to one. On specific questions such as US aid to the contras, the margin has been more than four to one.

Neither Reagan nor the probable Democratic nominee, Walter Mondale, will be going into the November presidential elections with popular Central America policies.

By going to Cuba and Central America and voicing sentiments closer to the real opinions of the majority of North Americans, Jackson has brought to public attention the undemocratic nature of two-party politics in the US. This is no doubt why he has attracted such savage attacks from both wings of the capitalist political establishment. □

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National Party government voted out

Discontent with employers' attacks led to Labour victory

By Andy Jarvis
and Dave Armstrong

AUCKLAND—A popular swing against the National Party government saw the Labour Party elected to office in a snap election in New Zealand on July 14. Labour won a 17-seat majority in the 95-seat parliament, gaining 43 percent of the vote. National received 36 percent of the vote, the lowest showing in its 50-year history.

The snap election was called in a surprise announcement by Prime Minister Robert Muldoon on June 14, four months before the usual three-year term expired.

A number of immediate factors precipitated the snap election. Muldoon's government had just defeated a militant union struggle by 3,000 construction workers at the Marsden Point oil refinery expansion site, forcing them back to work with the tacit support of the Labour MPs and top union officials.

Muldoon also hoped to take advantage of a slight upturn in the economy, using it as evidence that his policies were working.

In addition, there have been growing differences over New Zealand's imperialist military alliance with the United States, focused on opposition to visits to New Zealand ports by U.S. nuclear-armed warships. It was the decision of two National MPs to cross the floor of parliament and vote for a Labour-sponsored "nuclear-free New Zealand" bill that was seized on by Muldoon as the immediate reason for calling the snap election.

The National Party has governed New Zealand for all but six of the past 35 years. It is the political machine of New Zealand's ruling capitalist families. The Muldoon government has been in office for the past eight and a half years, presiding over an on-going offensive against the trade unions and the rights and living standards of working people.

Two other capitalist parties stood in the elections, the New Zealand Party and the Social Credit Party, gaining 12 percent and 8 percent of the vote respectively. Social Credit won two seats.

The New Zealand Party was formed only nine months prior to the election, following major defections from National. It is led by multi-millionaire real estate speculator Bob Jones and reflects opposition in some sections of the ruling class to Muldoon's strongly interventionist economic policies.

The Labour Party is a mass parliamentary party based on the trade union movement and traditionally supported by workers, the oppressed nationalities, and sections of working farmers. The leadership of the party, however, like the bulk of effective branch membership,

is made up of petty bourgeois layers and includes a number of minor capitalists.

Labour's election campaign was one of the most openly procapitalist in the party's history, reflecting the approach of the new leadership of the party, headed by Prime Minister-elect David Lange. The Lange leadership offered few policies beyond the vague promise to improve living standards and restore social services cut under Muldoon. Instead, in an appeal to the ruling class and petty bourgeois layers, he campaigned on the issue of the "style" of government, promising to replace the politics of "confrontation" with those of "reconciliation."

A key plank of the Labour leaders was the promise to bring about a social accord between big business and the union bureaucracy, modeled on that of the Robert Hawke Labor government in Australia. Any social and economic reforms that favor working people will be contingent on the restoration of growth in the capitalist economy, they emphasized.

The Maori Nationalist Party, Mana Motuhake, gained a small but significant vote in the four Maori seats, traditionally dominated by Labour. Mana Motuhake was formed four and a half years ago when many Maoris split from Labour over its refusal to support Maori demands. Maoris, the indigenous

people of New Zealand, can register to vote either in the four separate Maori electorates, or in the general electorates.

About 90 percent of those eligible to vote took part in the election, reflecting New Zealand's tradition of high participation in parliamentary electoral politics.

The New Zealand affiliates of the Fourth International, the Socialist Action League and the Young Socialists, called for a vote for Labour in the elections as the party organizationally based on the trade unions. In the four Maori seats they supported the campaign of Mana Motuhake.

The socialists threw their resources into an intense propaganda campaign focused on selling their biweekly newspaper, *Socialist Action*, which came out weekly during the campaign. They sold at factories, in working-class communities, and at Labour Party election meetings in both urban and rural areas. Around 9,500 copies of the paper were distributed during the three-week effort.

The most enthusiastic support for Labour came from those who have been the hardest hit by the effects of Muldoon and the bosses — Pacific islanders, Maoris, women, and the low-paid. It was among these layers of the working population that the socialist campaign also found its most positive response. □

NZ socialists promote 'Bishop Speaks'

Pilot Books is planning an ambitious campaign to promote its "Book of the Year," *Maurice Bishop Speaks: the Grenada Revolution 1979-83*, throughout New Zealand.

The official start of the promotion campaign will probably be later in the year to coincide with the anniversary of the overthrow of the Bishop government. But large numbers of the book have already been sold, including to activists in anti-imperialist struggles in New Caledonia, the Philippines, and Fiji. At a June 15-18 conference entitled "Beyond ANZUS [the Australia, New Zealand, U.S. military alliance]" in Wellington, all 17 copies available were quickly snapped up.

The book was also a big hit at the national hui (conference) of the Young Socialists, New Zealand's revolutionary youth group. The Young Socialists voted to mobilize their members to participate in the book promotion. The organization has experience in supporting the Grenada revolution, having raised more than NZ\$1,000 [NZ\$1 = US\$0.65] for the revolution's National Youth Organisation and par-

ticipating in protests against the U.S. invasion last October.

A key aspect of the promotion plans in New Zealand will be a nationwide tour featuring the film "The Future Coming Towards Us," which was made in Grenada shortly before the revolution's overthrow. Also available through Pilot Books is a videotape, "Truth Crushed to Earth Will Rise Again," which consists of an in-depth interview with Don Rojas, formerly Maurice Bishop's press secretary.

A spokesperson for Pilot Books explained that two factors have gone into the high sales of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. First, the decision of Pilot Books to focus major promotional efforts on it as part of an international campaign to get out the truth on the accomplishments and ideas of the Grenada revolution. And secondly because the recently defeated National Party government of Robert Muldoon endorsed the U.S. invasion in October 1983 and had threatened to do the same to counter the growing independence movement in the South Pacific. □