

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

combined
with **inprecor**

Vol. 22, No. 20

October 29, 1984

USA \$1.25 UK 50p

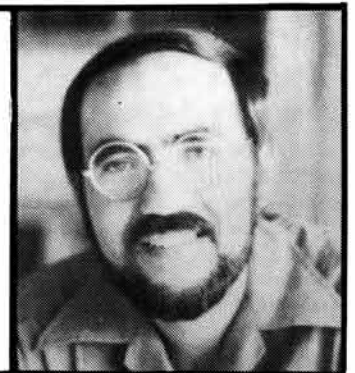
Cuba, Nicaragua Warn of U.S. Intervention Threat



FSLN's Daniel Ortega:
**'U.S. Wants to Disrupt
Nicaraguan Elections'**

*Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca
Warns of Attacks on Central America*

*Interview with Salvadoran FDR-FMLN
Leader Rubén Zamora:*
**'Realism is the Only
Revolutionary Politics'**



**South African Blacks Say 'No'
to Apartheid Constitution**

Cuba, Nicaragua warn of greater U.S. intervention

By Ernest Harsch

A new — and dangerous — escalation of U.S. imperialism's war against the Nicaraguan revolution is on the agenda.

While Washington would prefer to make its preparations for further aggression in secret, behind the smokescreen of phony "peace" proposals, the revolutionary governments of Nicaragua and Cuba have sought to expose these U.S. plans and alert working people around the world to the very real danger that confronts the Nicaraguan revolution today.

As part of this campaign, both Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega and Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, in their addresses to the United Nations General Assembly October 2 and 3, warned that all the pieces are in place for a major new U.S. offensive in the region. (See full texts of speeches, beginning on page 633.)

After reviewing Washington's steady build-up of U.S. military strength in Central America, its support for the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary mercenaries (*contras*), and its mounting aid to the Salvadoran regime, Malmierca stressed, "The scene seems to have been set for a new interventionist adventure. From a military point of view, all the conditions have been prepared, including the necessary infrastructure and logistical support, and the military command simply awaits the political decision to launch the aggression."

Ortega, in his speech, said that the Pentagon and CIA were drawing up plans to sabotage Nicaragua's November 4 presidential elections. "Among other actions," he said, "they are contemplating renewed mining of our ports, aerial and naval attacks, and the seizing of various areas." Such an escalation, he pointed out, also carried the danger of direct intervention by U.S. combat troops.

'Crying wolf'?

The response of U.S. government officials and the big-business news media has been to distort Ortega's speech and present it as an example of the Nicaraguan government "crying wolf." The State Department termed Ortega's warning "obviously absurd."

But are the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments "crying wolf"? Are they fabricating a nonexistent danger?

To claim that Washington is not preparing to move even more forcefully against the Nicaraguan revolution and the Salvadoran liberation forces is to deny what has been happening in Central America and the Caribbean in recent years. U.S. military intervention, whether direct or indirect, has been accelerating.

For the imperialists, turning back the revolutionary tide in the region is not an optional

perspective. It is a vital necessity. To maintain their domination over the hemisphere — including over the working people of the United States itself — they must try to overthrow the Nicaraguan and Cuban governments, as they did the Grenadian government led by Maurice Bishop, and prevent the workers and peasants from seizing power elsewhere. Inevitably, this will take more aggressive measures than have been employed so far, including the deployment of U.S. troops.

The question is not *if* Washington will escalate, but how fast and with what forces.

A 5-year war

Washington's actions over the past five years have clearly prepared the way for an even deeper intervention.

As soon as the Nicaraguan workers and peasants toppled the Somoza dictatorship and took political power in July 1979, the U.S. imperialists moved to isolate and strangle the young revolution. The Carter administration clamped on a de facto economic blockade in an effort to bring the Sandinistas to heel.

When that failed to work, more direct measures were undertaken. By early 1981, the remnants of Somoza's National Guard, based in neighboring Honduras, were being reorganized and built up. Honduran army incursions into Nicaragua began to mount significantly.

In October 1981, the Cuban government, joined by the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutionaries, launched an international campaign to alert working people to the danger of an imminent U.S. escalation in the region. That escalation was soon in coming.

In November, the National Security Council issued a directive to the CIA to immediately begin training an initial 500-man paramilitary force to attack Nicaragua. That same month, the first serious counterrevolutionary attacks across the Honduran-Nicaraguan border were launched.

Since then, the strength of the U.S.-backed mercenaries has grown to between 12,000 and 15,000. Since December 1981, the Reagan administration, with the support of the Democratic Party majority in the House of Representatives, has given the *contras* more than \$150 million in overt and covert aid.

Consequently, the *contra* attacks into Nicaragua have mounted in frequency and size. The mercenaries have sought to bleed the country and terrorize the population by murdering peasants and workers, burning schools and health clinics, disrupting social programs, and sabotaging vital economic installations. Over the past three years, several thousand civilians have been killed. Ortega has estimated

the economic loss over the same period at some \$237 million.

But the *contras* were unable to achieve their goal of establishing a base in the country. The Nicaraguan workers and peasants continued to make social and political advances and became better organized and armed to defend their revolution. The procapitalist political forces that still functioned openly within Nicaragua became increasingly isolated.

As a result, Washington was impelled to move in more directly. CIA agents mined Nicaragua's harbors and carried out numerous attacks from air and sea. U.S. forces stepped up their training and supply operations for the mercenaries, including air drops to *contra* forces inside Nicaragua itself.

Meanwhile, under the cover of carrying out large-scale military "maneuvers," new military bases, roads, and airstrips were built in Honduras. Between 1980 and 1984, the annual amount of U.S. military aid to the Honduran regime rose from \$4 million to \$77.5 million. U.S. military involvement in Costa Rica, on Nicaragua's southern border, increased as well.

Over the same period, Washington launched a major effort in El Salvador to prevent the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) from taking power. Whether in the guise of an outright military dictatorship or the "democratically elected" regime of Christian Democratic leader José Napoleón Duarte, the White House and Pentagon have sought to prop up their proimperialist allies governing in San Salvador.

This has involved significant U.S. military support. Since 1979, when the Carter administration authorized some \$5 million in "emergency" U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran regime and dispatched the first 20 U.S. military "advisers" to the country, the amount of U.S. assistance has skyrocketed. By fiscal 1984, it reached \$196 million in military aid; scores of U.S. military personnel are now involved in training Salvadoran troops, flying reconnaissance missions over rebel zones, and engaging in operations with artillery and other combat units. The size of the Salvadoran army has been increased to 45,000 troops, four times what it was just three years ago.

The result: tens of thousands of Salvadoran workers and peasants have been massacred, imprisoned, tortured, and "disappeared."

The lessons of Washington's brutal invasion of revolutionary Grenada should not be forgotten. When the People's Revolutionary Government of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop warned time and again of the danger of imperialist intervention against that small Caribbean island, Washington and the capitalist news media scoffed and called the charges "absurd," as they are doing today with the Nicaraguan warnings.

But the October 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada confirmed that Washington is prepared to use U.S. combat troops to halt the extension of the socialist revolution in the Americas.

In face of this mounting U.S. intervention, the response of the revolutionaries in the region has been both military and political.

In Cuba, the Territorial Troop Militia has been strengthened to 1.2 million men and women, in support of the regular armed forces. Major defensive fortifications are being built throughout the country.

In Nicaragua, the revolutionary government has introduced military conscription and has mobilized the country's population and economic resources behind the war effort.

In El Salvador, the FMLN fighters are pursuing their struggle against the U.S.-backed regime, and continue to enjoy massive support in wide areas of the countryside.

At the same time, the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments and the Salvadoran rebel forces have carried out international campaigns to stress their desire for peace and to expose Washington as the real aggressor, thus raising the political price that the imperialists must pay for their intervention.

Ortega, as part of this effort, announced in his UN speech that the Nicaraguan government has decided to sign the peace accord on Central America drafted by the Contadora Group, composed of the governments of Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela. The accord seeks agreement among the governments of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatemala for a political solution to the war in the region and an end to outside intervention.

So far, only Nicaragua has agreed to sign the pact. Washington has publicly expressed its displeasure with the accord, and has urged its allies in the region to raise various objections to it. In the wake of the Nicaraguan government's agreement to sign the accord as it was originally drafted, Washington dispatched Secretary of State George Shultz on a tour of Central America to try to get several of the sponsors of the accord, in particular the Colombian and Mexican governments, to revise its terms.

Another part of Washington's response to the Nicaraguan peace offensive came in Duarte's October 8 speech to the UN, in which he proposed a meeting, in El Salvador, with representatives of the rebel forces. The FMLN and FDR, which for the last three years have been calling for unconditional negotiations with the Salvadoran regime, agreed to meet.

The discussions, which began October 15, are a recognition of the gains achieved by the revolutionary movement and the government's failure to militarily crush it.

During his election campaign and since his inauguration, Duarte has presented himself as a champion of peace and tried to pin the blame on the revolutionaries for continuing the war. His call for discussions is really an attempt to bolster support for his regime at home from those who want peace, as well as from other governments. His call for discussions is providing useful cover, for example, to a number of European imperialist governments, which had previously cut off aid to El Salvador, to

renew their backing for the Salvadoran government.

At the same time Duarte is probing attempts to divide the FDR-FMLN and win at the conference table what he has been unable to win on the battlefield.

But the war goes on, and the government continues to massacre peasants in rebel-controlled areas, bomb civilian towns, and use napalm and phosphorous bombs against the Salvadoran people.

Duarte's maneuver, the U.S. criticisms of the Nicaraguan elections, and Washington's refusal to engage in any substantive negotiations are all part of the broader drive toward deeper U.S. military aggression in the region.

And in whatever country Washington first decides to deploy its own military forces on a massive scale, the intervention could quickly develop into a regionwide war.

While the costs of this war will be high for the working people of Central America and the

Caribbean — as they will be high for the U.S. working people themselves — Washington cannot be assured of victory. Ultimately, imperialism will be defeated.

As Malmierca pointed out in his UN speech, "Anyone who decides to send United States troops to invade Central America must be ready to face their being militarily bogged down in the region, progressively weakened in an unbridled and massive war, until final victory is won by the peoples of the region."

But the length of that war and the price that the workers and peasants must pay to win it can be significantly reduced the more working people around the globe mobilize in solidarity. Every step in Washington's escalation must be met with protests. The warning by the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments that a major new U.S. escalation is in the offing should be a signal to the labor movement and antiwar forces everywhere to begin mobilizing now. □

—IN THIS ISSUE—

Closing news date: October 15, 1984

SOUTH AFRICA	620	Blacks say "no" to apartheid — by Ernest Harsch
BURKINA FASO	622	Sankara blasts imperialism — by Ernest Harsch
BRITAIN	624	Court fines miners union — by Celia Pugh
USA	627	SWP runs strong campaign — by Will Reissner
EL SALVADOR	630	Interview with Rubén Zamora
GRENADA	632	Coard backers try to reorganize
SOLOMON ISLANDS	638	Washington imposes trade ban — by Rob Gardner
URUGUAY	641	Letter from former political prisoner
	642	30,000 demand amnesty
DOCUMENTS	633	Cuba blasts U.S. war on Nicaragua
	635	Daniel Ortega speaks at United Nations
	640	Initiative for East-West dialogue
	643	A strategy for Polish revolutionaries — Part I of statement from Polish "Inprekor"

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

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

Editor: Doug Jenness.
Contributing Editors: Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.
Managing Editor: Ernest Harsch.
Editorial Staff: Steve Craine, Fred Murphy, Will Reissner.
Business Manager: Sandi Sherman.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS (ISSN 0162-5594) is published every other Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August for \$30 per year by Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

To Subscribe: For one-year subscriptions in the U.S. or Canada send US\$30.00. Subscription correspondence should be addressed to: Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-6933.

For airmail subscriptions to Britain, Ireland, and continental Europe send US\$40.00 for one year; US\$20.00 for six months. Write for subscription rates to all other countries.

For air-speeded subscriptions to Australia: Write to New International Publications, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, N.S.W. 2040. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 8852, Auckland.

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

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

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

Black masses say 'no' to apartheid rule

Gigantic mobilizations reject 'reform' constitution

By Ernest Harsch

Barricades in the streets. Factories idled by striking workers. Government buildings in flames. Crowds of young Blacks shouting their defiance against police helicopters and armored cars.

Those were the scenes of mass protest — involving hundreds of thousands of Blacks, from one end of the country to the other — that greeted the racist white minority regime's inauguration of a new parliament and cabinet in September.

These governmental moves, which give seats to a few collaborators from the Coloured (mixed race) and Indian sectors of the Black population, involve a shift in the forms of white capitalist rule. But the authorities in Pretoria and their supporters in various imperialist capitals present the new constitution as a "liberalization" of the apartheid system. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker claimed in late September that this evidence of "progress" justified maintaining close U.S. ties with the Pretoria regime.

But the massive mobilizations against the new constitution clearly demonstrate the Black majority's rejection of this "reform."

'Liberalization' a hoax

The apartheid regime's response to the upsurge — the largest and most sustained since the huge rebellions of 1976 — shows that it has not fundamentally changed. Once again, the authorities have resorted to the most brutal repression: attacks with clubs and whips against unarmed demonstrators, murderous volleys of police gunfire that have killed some 80 Blacks, detentions of thousands of protest leaders and participants, bans on political meetings, and the deployment of army units in Soweto and other Black townships.

While some employers have conceded modest wage increases to striking workers and some officials have sought to defuse the unrest by cancelling provocative rent hikes, the regime has remained steadfast in its rejection of the key demand that is fueling the upsurge as a whole: for full political rights to the entire oppressed Black population — including a universal franchise based on the principle of one-person, one-vote. In essence, the implementation of such a demand would require the replacement of the white minority regime by a government based on the Black majority, above all the workers and peasants who produce South Africa's vast wealth. That is why the South African rulers are bitterly opposed to anything that even points in that direction.

"A system of one-man, one-vote in a unitary state will simply not work," President Pieter

Botha maintained on September 24. "It will lead to strife, animosity, the destruction of rights of minorities, economic deterioration and instability."

Strife, animosity, and instability are inherent in the apartheid system itself. What Botha is chiefly concerned about is the loss of the white ruling class's "rights" to exploit and oppress.

That concern is what underlies the recent "reform" measures. They are an attempt to buy more time for the apartheid system, to adjust its forms of rule to meet a changing situation, to foster divisions within the Black population, and to win greater collaboration from a layer of Black misleaders.

But meanwhile, the Black majority is likewise changing its methods of struggle. It has acquired a much greater degree of organization, has thrown up a political leadership that commands wide authority, and has united its ranks more than ever before. The direct leadership role of the Black working class — the bedrock of the liberation struggle — has become increasingly prominent.

1976 and today

These changes are especially evident when the current upsurge is compared with the rebellions of 1976.

Those actions were also massive, involving several hundred thousand active participants in marches, demonstrations, strikes, and other forms of protest in some 160 different cities and townships across the country. They expressed the Black population's profound hatred of the apartheid system, and the willingness of many young Blacks to risk their lives in struggle (more than 600 were, in fact, killed by police gunfire).

But heroic as they were, the 1976 rebellions were largely spontaneous and lacked any overall coordination or political direction. The Black Consciousness movement, a political current that had inspired many young activists, was itself not well organized. It put forward no concrete program of demands or proposals for action. The direct political influence of outlawed groups like the African National Congress or Pan Africanist Congress was still limited.

Ad hoc student leaderships came forward in some areas, such as Soweto, but their authority was fleeting and they never coalesced on a national level. The demands that were raised varied greatly from township to township; the most common was for the scrapping of Pretoria's racist system of "Bantu education," a particular concern of the students who led the protests.

Workers, by and large, lacked their own organizations and participated in the protests primarily in response to the students' strike calls.

Important advances were made in solidifying unity among the different sectors of the Black population: the 24 million Africans, 2.8 million Coloureds, and more than 800,000 Indians. Coloured youths in particular gained a greater awareness that their fight was part of the broader Black liberation struggle. Though some Indians took part in protest actions, the Indian community as a whole remained relatively quiescent.

Like the 1976 rebellions, the current upsurge has also been marked by student protests and spontaneous township revolts sparked by specific local grievances (such as higher rents or transportation fares).

These have taken place largely in the African townships in the heavily industrialized areas of Transvaal Province and, to a lesser extent, Natal Province and the Eastern Cape. Characteristically, crowds of young Africans have erected barricades in the streets, staged marches, carried out attacks against symbols of apartheid (including police stations, post offices, and stores), and defended themselves against police assaults.

More than in 1976, these youths' anger has also been turned against those Blacks who have most prominently collaborated with the apartheid regime by taking posts in local urban councils, which are responsible for levying rents and administering other aspects of township life. A number of these Black councillors have been killed.

As in 1976, the specific grievances of elementary and high-school students have prompted widespread boycotts of class. By early October, about 220,000 African students were on strike.

This time, however, the township revolts and the protests against the racist education system have not been the main features of the upsurge. They have taken place in the context of a broader political mobilization against implementation of the new constitution, greater worker militancy and action by predominantly Black trade unions, and the increased influence and role of the African National Congress.

United Democratic Front

The first mass protests were those called in opposition to the regime's "reform" measures, as part of a campaign to boycott the elections to the Coloured and Indian chambers of the new parliament, which were held in late August.

That boycott was spearheaded on a national scale by the United Democratic Front (UDF), a broad coalition of antiapartheid organizations. Formed just a year earlier, in August 1983, the UDF now encompasses more than 600 affiliated groups: community organizations (both urban and rural), trade unions, student associations, women's groups, and many others. The combined membership of these groups is more than 2 million. The overwhelming majority are Black, but some whites are involved as well.

Another current also favored boycotting the elections. Called the National Forum, its leadership is composed of groups and individuals who still identify with the Black Consciousness movement and who oppose any cooperation with antiapartheid whites. It is much less active and commands far less support than the UDF.

By leading the boycott campaign, the UDF provided a national focus around which opponents of apartheid throughout the country could mobilize. That focus, moreover, touched on the most fundamental political issue in South Africa today: who should govern.

The boycott campaign was an active one. Mass rallies involving thousands, and in some cases tens of thousands, took place in most major cities. Workers, students, housewives, and others campaigned door-to-door in many Coloured and Indian communities, calling on eligible voters to stay away from the polls. Candidates running in the elections were often greeted with organized counterdemonstrations.

For the Indian population in particular, this campaign marked a new resurgence of political activity on a much larger scale than in 1976, or, in fact, in several decades. Coloureds were also highly active. In addition to the numerous meetings in Cape Town, more than 600,000 Coloured students boycotted classes across the country to protest the elections.

The final results of the boycott campaign were a stunning victory: some 82 percent of the eligible Coloured and Indian voters stayed away from the polls. With a turnout of just 18 percent, Pretoria could not credibly claim that its "reform" constitution had any significant Black support. Its latest effort to sow divisions between Coloureds, Indians, and Africans had also been stymied by this united display of resistance.

In the wake of the election boycott, the UDF has pledged to continue mobilizing opposition to various aspects of the new constitutional setup, as well as to fight against Pretoria's policy of forced resettlement of rural African communities.

One of the UDF's key affiliates, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), has played a central role in the African student protests that broke out shortly after the elections. With 44 branches around the country and a following of several hundred thousand African students, COSAS has taken care to link the students' specific demands with the broader fight



Protesters in Black township south of Johannesburg.

for liberation. It declared in a statement that "the education struggle goes hand in hand with other struggles in society . . . we must mobilize women, students, workers, and so on."

Unions flex muscles

Throughout the course of the current upsurge, the Black working class and its unions have played especially prominent roles.

In 1976, the total membership of the predominantly Black independent unions was just a few tens of thousands. Today, it approaches half a million. Although this is still only a small percentage of South Africa's 8 million Black workers, it is a larger number of unionized Black workers than at any previous time in South African history.

These unions, moreover, are growing rapidly. They have established themselves in most key sectors of the economy. Despite police harassment, the unions have forced many employers to recognize and negotiate with them. The leaderships of the more militant unions have close ties with other organizations in the Black townships; some belong to the UDF.

The willingness of many of these unions to take overtly political stands was evident in their response to the regime's election farce. In mid-August, leaders of 24 unions — representing some 300,000 workers across the country — met in Cape Town and called on workers to "demonstrate their rejection of this fraud by not going near the polling booths." The signers of the declaration included the two largest Black union federations, the Federation of South African Trade Unions and the Council of Unions of South Africa.

The leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which has organized some 90,000 of the country's 500,000 Black gold miners, avoids taking political stands. But that has not stopped it from leading its members out on strike, as it did on September 17 following a breakdown in wage negotiations with the mine owners. In the midst of the township rebellions, up to 40,000 miners struck at the eight mines where the NUM is officially recognized. Some unorganized miners at these and other mines also went out.

This marked the first organized strike by Black workers in the gold mines since 1946, and the first legal Black gold miners' strike ever. But the fact that it was legal did not prevent the police from attacking it and killing nine strikers.

The NUM, after just one day on strike, won a 16.3 percent wage increase over the next year. This was less than it had demanded and still left its members' wages far behind those of white mine workers. But the fact that the NUM won this much was a testimony to its strength — and the fear by the employers and the regime that the strike's continuation would arouse even more interest among other workers. Scattered walkouts had already occurred in several unorganized mines, and on September 19 some 10,000 Black miners at the Hartebeesfontein mine struck to demand that the NUM be recognized as their union.

The gold miners' strike, moreover, came in the midst of a general rise in strikes by Black workers. Government and company analysts had already noted an increase in strikes during the first six months of the year, predicting that 1984 would surpass the previous year in terms of strike action, and might even overtake 1982, when South Africa experienced the greatest number of strikes in its history.

'Go well, Umkhonto'

In seeking to explain the causes behind this mass ferment, the regime's favorite argument is that it is all the work of outside "subversives," of "agitators" sent into South Africa from abroad by the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, which is allied with the ANC. It has even hinted that the UDF is simply an ANC front organization.

These claims attempt to deny the obvious fact that it is the apartheid system that spurs Black revolt — and that the ANC is an expression of that revolt, not some outside force.

Although the ANC did not call or organize the current upsurge, it does wield considerable political influence over many of the participants in and leaders of the mass mobilizations. The ANC has in recent years emerged as the single most popular organization among Blacks, and ANC leaders like Nelson Man-

del, who has been imprisoned for more than 20 years, command wide respect. Many of the groups in the UDF support the Freedom Charter, the program advanced by the ANC. Some of the UDF's top leaders are former leaders of the ANC (when it was legal), such as Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu, the wife of imprisoned ANC leader Walter Sisulu.

The ANC's existence, its ongoing armed struggle, and the knowledge that clandestine ANC cadres are helping to build the mass organizations have done much to reinforce the morale and combativity of antiapartheid activists.

When the apartheid authorities signed a pact with the government of neighboring Mozambique in March — leading to the expulsion of hundreds of ANC members from Mozambique and a reduction in Mozambican assistance to the ANC — Pretoria asserted that the ANC's level of activity within South Africa would fall drastically. This claim flowed from the argument that the ANC was based abroad. Although the ANC admitted that the Mozambique-South Africa pact was a blow, it pointed

out that its base was among the people within South Africa and that its armed struggle would thus continue.

This has been borne out. According to the progovernment Institute for Strategic Studies in Pretoria, the number of the ANC's armed actions has not diminished since the signing of the accord.

Nor has the ANC's popular standing fallen. Throughout the course of the upsurge there have been numerous expressions of support for the ANC. At rallies of the UDF, the Federation of South African Women, and other groups, the crowds sometimes chanted the names of Mandela or ANC President Oliver Tambo. At funerals for slain protesters, participants often sang revolutionary songs, including one with the refrain, "Go well, Umkhonto we Sizwe." Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) is the ANC's armed wing.

On September 17, the same day as the gold miners' strike, tens of thousands of workers in Soweto stayed away from work in response to a general strike called to protest the regime's apartheid policies. The strike call was issued

by the Release Mandela Committee, one of the UDF's affiliated organizations.

In a commentary over the ANC's Radio Freedom, broadcast from Ethiopia on September 6, the ANC noted that it was the apartheid regime's brutal response to such peaceful protests that had led more and more youths to take up arms.

"No more shall we allow the enemy to exercise its unjust and illegal authority upon us without a response — and a fitting one at that," the ANC station declared. "The unrest in the South African townships must be seen in this context.

"Today our no is not the same as yesterday's no. The battle is on. It is in the streets of Soweto and Sharpeville today. Tomorrow it will be in the streets of Johannesburg and Pretoria. It will be in the corridors of power in Cape Town. Let the Pretoria criminals not fool themselves that we will relent. Never! It is the oppressed who are making history in our country and we shall allow nothing and nobody to stand between us and our goal of freedom and justice for all in our country." □

Burkina Faso

Sankara blasts imperialist policies

President, in U.S. visit, explains new government's views

By Ernest Harsch

NEW YORK — The need to struggle against imperialist oppression was the central message brought to the United Nations General Assembly on October 4 by Capt. Thomas Sankara, the president of the impoverished West African country of Burkina Faso (formerly known as Upper Volta).

That was also the main message that he delivered to several U.S. audiences, including at an October 2 breakfast news conference held for a dozen representatives of the Black and left-wing press (this correspondent among them) and at a rally held in the Black ghetto of Harlem the following night.

"*L'imperialisme*," Sankara chanted to the 500 cheering Blacks in Harlem. "*À bas!*" [Down with it!], they responded in French.

A former French colony that gained formal independence in 1960, the country's foreign policy had long been dictated from Paris. "Burkina used to be considered pro-French," Sankara explained at the October 2 news conference. "It was considered to be the private property of France. And in international affairs it never had its own position. To decide anything, we had to send someone to France to ask what they thought, to ask what kind of position we should take."

But a big shift occurred on Aug. 4, 1983. On the crest of a mass revolutionary upsurge against French imperialist domination, Sankara and a group of young, radical officers

seized power and established the National Council of the Revolution, with the participation of several left-wing political parties. This new government no longer takes orders from Paris. It has frequently, and forcefully, spoken out against the aggressive policies of French imperialism in Africa and the Middle East — as well as those of U.S. imperialism — and has expressed its solidarity with national liberation movements and the struggles of working people around the world.

From Palestine to Nicaragua

Opening his UN speech, Sankara stated that he not only spoke on behalf of the people of

Burkina Faso but also "to express in my own way the feelings of that mass of people who are disinherited — those who belong to that world maliciously dubbed 'the third world.' . . . We do so to affirm our awareness of belonging to a three-continent whole and to state, as one of the non-aligned countries, our deeply felt conviction that a special solidarity unites the three continents of Asia, Latin America and Africa in the same battle against the same political traffickers and economic exploiters."

Struggles of the oppressed in Africa figured prominently in his UN speech, as well as in his other talks and discussions.

At the United Nations, Sankara spoke out in support of the struggle for independence being waged by the people of Western Sahara, which is occupied by Moroccan troops. He noted that he himself had visited the regions of Western Sahara liberated by the fighters of the Polisario Front, and expressed confidence that the territory would win its liberation under Polisario's leadership.

Turning to southern Africa, Sankara sharply condemned the racist policies of the apartheid regime and its occupation of Namibia. He expressed Burkina Faso's solidarity with the struggles led by the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the Namibian liberation movement. Referring to the long-imprisoned leader of the ANC, Sankara stated, "We demand that throughout the



world the campaign to free Nelson Mandela be intensified. . . ."

Repeatedly, Sankara condemned Zionism and the policies of the Israeli government, expressing full support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In particular, he denounced Washington's role in the Middle East, noting that "Israel has for more than 20 years, with the unspeakable complicity of its powerful protector, the United States of America, continued to defy the international community."

Several times in his UN speech, Sankara referred to Washington's aggression in Central America and the Caribbean.

Just two days earlier, Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega had spoken before the General Assembly to condemn U.S. imperialism's plans to escalate its war against Nicaragua. Recalling this speech, Sankara said that he felt close "to my comrades of Nicaragua, whose ports are being mined, whose towns are being bombed, and who despite all face up with courage and lucidity to their fate. I suffer with all those in Latin America who are suffering from imperialist domination."

Sankara has frequently condemned the U.S. invasion of the tiny island of Grenada in October 1983, following the overthrow of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop's revolutionary government. At the Harlem meeting, he explained that he had met and talked with Bishop in early 1983. Pointing to the invasion of Grenada as an example of what the imperialists are prepared to do to try to maintain their domination, he told the Harlem crowd, "If we don't want any more assassinations of Maurice Bishops, we must be organized today."

The view of the Burkina Faso government, Sankara has stated, is opposition to any foreign military intervention. "Just as we condemned the foreign aggression against the island of Grenada," he said in the UN, "so we condemn all foreign intervention. Thus, we cannot remain silent about the foreign military intervention in Afghanistan."

'The same policy'

In denouncing U.S. imperialism's actions around the world, Sankara has linked Washington's foreign policy with its policies within the United States itself.

At the news conference, he declared, "The United States perceives our continent as an open field where they can do whatever they want. We are not surprised, because the U.S. government has the same policy within the United States, where a minority dominates and oppresses the vast majority. . . . It is the same power that is oppressing you here that is oppressing us on the continent."

The same sentiment was voiced at the Harlem meeting, particularly in Sankara's expressions of solidarity with the struggles of U.S. Blacks. At the UN, Sankara, clearly referring to the United States, talked about the plight of Blacks who are forced to live in ghettos, of In-



Sankara speaking at Harlem rally.

dians who have been massacred and confined to reservations, of the unemployed who are the victims of an "unjust system," of women suffering from oppression, and of the poor.

Because of the foreign policy stance of the government of Burkina Faso, it has met with hostility and provocative actions on the part of the imperialists and neighboring, pro-imperialist African regimes.

At the October 2 news conference, Sankara provided several examples of the U.S. government's hostility toward Burkina Faso.

Because of the legacy of imperialist domination and the fact that the country has very little rainfall, drought and hunger are perennial problems. As a result, the government asked Washington to provide technical assistance for artificially inducing rainfall. The U.S. authorities refused.

After Sankara arrived in New York City, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations tried to use political blackmail. "The U.S. ambassador came to my office, and said, 'If you don't vote this way on this issue, there will be no more help.'"

Later on, Sankara added: "If the American government wants a dialogue with the government of Burkina Faso, we would welcome it. . . . The condition is that, even though Burkina Faso is not in a position to impose anything on the United States, the United States also must not impose anything on Burkina Faso."

Radical changes

Sankara also sought to take advantage of his visit to explain to the UN and to his U.S. audiences some of the sweeping changes that the National Council of the Revolution has initiated over the past year.

Those changes have been launched in one of the poorest countries in the world. The legacy

of imperialist domination has left the 7 million Burkinabè (as the people are called) with a life expectancy of just 40 years, an infant mortality rate of 180 per 1,000 live births (the highest in the world), an illiteracy rate of more than 92 percent, and a per capita gross domestic product of just \$155 a year.

Because of this, Sankara told the UN, "Instead of a minor, short-lived revolt we had to have revolution."

"The revolution that we have started in Burkina Faso," he said at the news conference, "aims to give the people the chance to exercise certain rights that they have never had the chance to exercise up until now — the rights to decent housing, education, and decent health care."

In the 14 months since it has come to power, the National Council of the Revolution has adopted numerous progressive measures. It has organized public trials of corrupt army officers, officials, and businessmen; the limousines of some have been transformed into ambulances and the villas of others into health clinics.

In the countryside, steps have been taken to initiate agrarian reform and to provide assistance to the vast bulk of the Burkinabè who make their living off the land. New schools, health facilities, roads, and dams are being built. A literacy campaign has been launched.

New housing has been built for working people. The books of state-run enterprises have been opened so that workers can be drawn into discussions of economic problems and priorities. At the neighborhood and village level, Committees for the Defense of the Revolution have been set up to mobilize the population for various social programs and to organize them for military defense.

In response to a question from this correspondent at the news conference, Sankara said that the old neocolonial army had been drastically purged, that the privileges that went with a uniform were being abolished, and that troops were undergoing political education and being engaged in productive labor.

At the same time, in face of the threat from imperialism and its allies, he said, "We have given weapons to civilians. In every village in our country we have vigilance brigades, which are armed and which take care of security. The defense system in our country is composed not only of the army; it is composed of all the people. . . ."

"In the schools, in the villages, everywhere there is military training. This shows that the people trust us. In how many African countries do you see people giving arms to civilians?"

During his visit, Sankara also repeatedly emphasized his government's commitment to fighting against women's oppression. More women have been named to high positions in the government of Burkina Faso than in any other African country, he pointed out.

"Only struggle helps us to become free," Sankara said at the UN, "and we call on all our sisters of all races to rise up to regain their rights." □

High Court fines miners union

Strikers defy 'contempt-of-court' charge; seek labor support

By Celia Pugh

LONDON — National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) President Arthur Scargill has been fined £1,000 and his union £200,000 [£1 = US\$1.22] by the High Court for asserting the legitimacy of the coal miners' strike, now in its eighth month.

On September 28, the court had ruled in favor of two antistrike miners from Yorkshire who claimed that the NUM's call to action against pit closures is illegal because it violated constitutional procedures of the union.

This is disputed by NUM officials and the 80 percent of miners who are still on strike. A special executive committee meeting of the NUM on October 1 unanimously reaffirmed that the strike is official and that all members of the union are requested to respect picket lines or face union discipline.

For this statement, Scargill and the union executive committee were judged in contempt of the High Court's decision. The union has been given two weeks to pay the fine or its assets will be seized.

The High Court writ claiming contempt was served on Scargill at the Labour Party conference in Blackpool on October 1. Scargill's response was defiant as he called on Labour to turn its statements of support for the strike into deeds. (See box on this page.)

Conference supports miners

The uncompromising resistance of striking miners and their wives proved to be a breath of fresh air through the Labour Party conference. Just a year ago, the conference was dominated by the despondency of those who predicted that "the forward march of Labour is halted" following Labour's defeat in the general election.

The miners' picket lines, the community organization of miners' wives, and the solidarity action of transport and rail workers have exploded such predictions. Just as the TUC congress in September acknowledged the pressure for unity in struggle behind the miners, the Labour Party conference declared its total support for the NUM strike and demands.

At the TUC, Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock denounced the violence of the mass pickets with no mention of the harassment and brutality of the police riot squads. At the Labour Party conference, while attacking police violence, he also insisted, "I condemn the violence too of the stone-throwers and the battering ram-carriers."

The Labour Party's delegates rejected this attack on the NUM and voted to condemn the "organized violence" of the police against the miners.

Right-wing union leader Eric Hammond of the electricians was howled down by delegates for his attack on NUM pickets as "hooligans." David Basnett of the General, Municipal, Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union (GMBATU) had used his speech at the TUC to challenge Hammond.

At the Labour Party conference Basnett attempted to balance this and appeal to the miners.

"Arthur," Basnett said, "it would help those who are striving to help you if you could say to your members, 'do not let them provoke you into violence.'"

This was drowned in boos from the Labour Party conference delegates.

Condemn police violence

The crunch came for Kinnock and the Labour Party national executive committee (NEC) in the debate on the police. Against the NEC recommendation, a resolution was passed condemning police violence and declaring that the conference "fully supports the trade unions drawn into confrontations with the police through the actions of this government."

Among its demands on the next Labour government, was one to "enact legislation to make the police play no part in industrial disputes."

This resolution was moved by a striking miner from Nottinghamshire. "Those who condemn miners for violence are attacking the best class fighters. All they are appealing to are

the scabs and blacklegs," said Paul Whetton. "Don't send me back to Nottingham without a cast-iron commitment to support us."

To Neil Kinnock, Whetton replied, "if you want to know about violence, why not ask us? If you want to see it in the flesh, get your body down on our picket lines."

Many delegates were dissatisfied by the withdrawal of an emergency resolution from the transport workers union designed to place the whole conference in contempt of the court by reaffirming that the strike was official.

Delegates were angry that leaders of the GMBATU were unprepared to back this resolution. But under pressure, the chair of the standing orders committee explained that the transport union's emergency resolution was not being put before the conference because it was unnecessary to do so. He said that the conference was on record as prepared to back the miners in everything that they did and "all aspects" of the way the miners were running the strike.

The miners can now build on this support to push for the solidarity actions needed to win the battle against pit closures and attacks on the NUM.

The miners' defiance of the High Court order has thrown a challenge out to the labor movement. Do they stand by the miners or uphold the myth of the "sanctity of the Law"?

In his speech to the Labour Party conference, Kinnock made promises to introduce laws when in office to "redress grievances, to

Conference votes Ireland resolution

The newspaper of the National Union of Mineworkers has published articles about the use on miners' picket lines and in mining communities of police tactics tested and perfected in the British-occupied north of Ireland.

Tory MP Eldon Griffiths, who is political adviser to the Police Federation, has warned that plastic bullets may soon be used against the miners' strike.

Two victims of plastic bullets traveled to the Labour Party conference in Blackpool to warn the delegates, and particularly miners, about the horrors of the plastic bullets, which have killed 15 people in the north of Ireland — seven of them under 15 years of age — and maimed hundreds more.

Emma Groves, the mother of 11 children, was blinded in her house by a plastic bullet shot through a window by a British

paratrooper.

Bernadette Livingston lost her 14-year-old daughter and had to fight for two years before a second inquest with a jury declared her daughter innocent of any responsibility for her death.

As they told their stories to delegates at fringe meetings and to trade union leaders, the conference delegates voted for a resolution that opposed the juryless Diplock Courts and the use of paid perjurers ("supergrasses") in Northern Ireland, condemned the degrading strip searches of women prisoners in Armagh jail, and called for the banning of plastic bullets.

Despite the attempt of the Labour Party NEC to get the resolution referred back without a vote, it was passed on a card vote at a conference, which allows the union vote to be counted.

promote justice and opportunity."

Kinnock continued: "So we cannot sharpen legality as our main weapon for the future and simultaneously scorn legality if it doesn't suit us at the present time."

But the conference decided otherwise when it voted to defend Labour-controlled local government councils that refuse to implement the Conservative government's mandated cuts in jobs and services. The resolution read: "Conference supports any councils which are forced to break the law as a result of the Tory government policy."

One Liverpool councillor invoked the memory of George Lansbury, who was imprisoned in 1921 for refusing to pay higher property taxes in the east London borough of Poplar to subsidize richer areas of London. "Better to break the law than to break the poor," Lansbury had said before he went to prison.

The miners are today witnessing the same laws and courts that took the side of the rich and the ruling class in the 1920s. But in 50 minutes of demagoguery, Neil Kinnock failed to even mention the word "class." Indeed, his analysis of the causes of the miners' strike was very revealing. Kinnock talked of the "great turmoil" of the miners' struggle. "The turmoil is the product of Thatcherism," Kinnock proclaimed.

He went on to spell out what he meant. "Thatcherism is a personal fixation turned into a system of government." Prime Minister Thatcher has an "irrational purpose in continuing the dispute. It was a purpose of political vanity on a manic scale."

What Kinnock failed to explain in his discourse on "democratic government" is that the miners are not the victims of an individual, fixated by glory. The problem is not Thatcherism, but capitalism — a system that throws millions out of work and drives down wages and conditions of life in order to produce profits for the multinational companies and the speculators.

Resistance of working people is met with violence and brutality by the courts, police, and armies who uphold the bosses' law and order.

Kinnock's view of power

Kinnock proceeded to explain that "our greatest service to those who need protection and provision from different laws is to get power and toss out the authors of the present injustice."

This, Kinnock maintained, meant "democratic power" through elections to parliament, not insurrection or "any political charge of the Light Brigade."

This was the theme repeated from his condemnation of violence made at the Trades Union Congress a month earlier. This, Kinnock said, "fuels the fantasies of the enemies who pretend that trade unionists are trying to secure power by means other than those of parliamentary democracy."

But miners and their wives are aware of what Kinnock's "democratic power" through

Scargill: 'I stand by my class'

When National Union of Mineworkers President Arthur Scargill was served with a court order, he told a meeting at the Labour Party conference:

"I am not someone who wishes to go to Pentonville prison. I am not someone who relishes the thought of being committed in that way. But I want to make this absolutely clear. If the choice facing me — and I would hope facing any other responsible trade-union leader — is to be committed by a High Court to Pentonville or any other jail for standing by this trade union or our class, or alternatively having to live with the imprisonment of one's mind for betraying one's class, then there is no choice as far as I am concerned. I stand by my class.

"Make no mistake," Scargill continued. "This national executive of the NUM is not prepared to betray its members. Often in the past, workers and trade union members have pointed to leaders and said: 'They sold us out. They betrayed us. They said one thing before they were elected, and another thing once they got their nice job as a full-time trade union leader.'

"When I campaigned for the job of national president of my union, I made clear that if the members of the NUM wanted a president who was intent on becoming a lord, then don't vote for me. I said it was more important not to prostitute one's principles or to compromise the policies of the national conference of my union than to have a seat in the House of Lords.

"I gave a pledge that throughout my trade-union career I would do everything I could to take forward the aims and aspirations of the members of my union.

"There are two options available," the union president said. "We can either accept the imposition of the organized might of the state. Or we can stand firmly by the policies not merely of our union, but the policies of the Trades Union Congress and the policies of this party. . . .

"Now is the time to turn those words into deeds. . . . Time and time again people have said, 'we need leadership. If we had proper leadership we could win.'

"Well, you've got leadership. Leadership that is prepared to stand and fight. Whatever the consequences. Comrades, given the leadership, we too have the right to demand your support. Given that support, we are invincible."

Scargill explained to another packed conference rally that "the Coal Board and the government have encountered something they never contemplated. They thought that the miners would last three weeks or a month and then they would collapse. They believed that the miners would not have the necessary mettle to fight on. But the feeling in the coalfields today is not that we must settle this dispute and get back. It's 'under no conditions, Arthur, must you make any concessions or compromises.'"

parliamentary elections has already brought them.

In place of Thatcherism may well have been Wilsonism or Callaghanism. Thatcherism may be replaced by Kinnockism if the present Labour leader follows these predecessors in government office. But his job will be the same, to mediate with the enemy class for a quiet life and negotiate for a few more crumbs for the working class from the table.

After all, didn't Wilsonism and Callaghanism mean the closure of 335 coal mines since 1964? The manic Thatcher has only managed to close 49.

Didn't Wilsonism mean the introduction of anti-union legislation called "in place of strife"?

Didn't Callaghanism mean the introduction of a social contract with the employers to cut wages and services leading to a wave of strikes known as the winter of discontent in 1978?

Didn't Callaghanism mean the death and imprisonment of thousands of Irish people at the hands of the occupying British troops introduced by the Labour government in 1969?

If that's what Kinnock means by securing "power," it doesn't hold much hope for working people. The present Labour leader's record

of hostility and obstruction to the miners' strike gives little confidence that Kinnockism will be much different.

Democracy of the picket line

The choice facing any Labour government is whether it will break with the interests of the ruling class and the employers, whether it will help working people organize to secure real power to control their lives, and whether it will stand with the workers against the brutality of the courts, police, and army, which rush to prop up the crumbling rule of the bosses.

This means supporting, not the proscab democracy of the ballot box in this strike, but the democracy of the picket line. It means, not the democracy of a legal and parliamentary system which upholds the rule of law of the capitalists, but a kind of democracy alive today in Nicaragua and Cuba, and for which Grenada's Maurice Bishop fought when he declared "let those who labor hold the reins."

It means a democracy where working people take control of their own lives through their own organizations, not leaving this to bureaucrats and professional politicians who see their job as making deals with the capitalists in par-

liamentary committees and smoke-filled negotiating rooms.

So when Kinnock argues that "socialism by insurrection was a fantasy and socialism without the ballot box would simply never secure the understanding of the British people," he writes out of history the militant actions of thousands of working women and men. Actions that disregarded unfair laws and didn't wait for the five-year parliamentary elections route — the Tolpuddle farm workers over a century ago who were transported to Australia because they organized for a union; the Chartists whose fight for the vote spilled onto the streets in the 1830s; the 1926 general strike to defend the miners; the London dockers imprisoned for union activity in 1972 and released after thousands of industrial workers downed tools in a day of general strike action; and the miners whose strike in 1974 brought down the Tory government.

Of course, what Kinnock hoped to do with his appeal for "democratic power" is to stand in the way of the young miners and the women in the mining communities whose experience in the strike has made them look at their lives and politics in a different way.

Politicizing the strike

The miners' strike in Britain today has not reached the stage or proportions of 1926. Divisions in the working class are still to be overcome and industrial solidarity actions still to be generalized.

But many in the mining communities are

Miner tours Canada to build solidarity

Solidarity efforts for the British miners' strike are under way in Canada. The executive council of the Canadian Labour Congress has voted to send \$16,000 to provide food relief for miners and their families.

Working people in Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal will have the opportunity to hear a first-hand report on this strike. Steve Shukla, a 25-year-old miner from the Armthorpe branch of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is touring these three cities October 12 to 28.

Shukla's tour is aimed at building solidarity with the strike and raising money for the strikers and their families.

A Steve Shukla Tour Committee has been established in Vancouver to organize a public meeting for Shukla and to arrange for him to address trade-union and New Democratic Party (NDP) meetings.

In Toronto Shukla will address a public meeting sponsored by the International Women's Day Committee and will speak to a number of meetings of labor bodies, including steelworkers Local 2858 at Algoods, a division of Alcan, and the executive of the United Rubberworkers Local 232. □

looking to their experiences for lessons and for a guide for the kind of leadership they must build for the future.

They will not be content with Kinnock's package for "action" outlined at the Labour Party conference — "action to articulate and publicize, action to pressure ministers and promote concessions."

This is what Kinnock fears and why at every opportunity he speaks about upholding the law, condemning violence, the sanctity of ballots, and the need for trade unions to keep to battles over conditions and not meddle in politics.

And it is not just Kinnock. Others like deputy Labour Party leader Roy Hattersley and GMBATU leader Basnett go to great lengths to get across the same message.

At the Labour Party conference, Basnett moved that the Tory government had "prepared, provoked, politicized, and prolonged" the miners' strike. "We are not serving our purpose well," he said, "by overpoliticizing this dispute. We'll deal with government through the ballot box, and through negotiations we'll settle this dispute."

At the Labour Party conference, the lead given by the miners was not restricted to the battle with the Tory government. For the first

time, the NUM openly supported the efforts of women and Blacks to organize inside the labor movement for recognition of their struggles.

Miners lead for women

The women in the mining communities are a recognized strength in this strike and have taught their brothers in the NUM a thing or two. The decision of the NUM to speak in the debate on Labour Party women's sections caused a ripple of surprise among the largely male trade union delegations.

Women in the labor movement will be heartened that they have a new vocal ally for their rights.

The NUM also took the lead to resist attempts by Neil Kinnock and the NEC to change the rules for reselecting Labour Party members of parliament. Again, Kinnock promoted abstract notions about democracy through "one person one vote" to challenge the traditional link between the trade unions and the Labour Party. Through a proposed new system, individual party members would select MPs, and the block votes of the unions would be marginalized.

NUM General Secretary Peter Heathfield led the successful defeat of these moves at the Labour Party conference. □

Mitterrand moves to extradite Basques

[The following article is taken from the October 1 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly review published under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

On September 23, the Mitterrand government, which was elected in 1981 largely on a wave of revulsion against the undemocratic practices of the right, became the first French government to order the turning over of Basque national liberation fighters to the Madrid authorities.

The Spanish authorities had demanded the extradition of seven Basque nationalists. The Mitterrand government decided to extradite three — Francisco Javier Lujambio Galdeanu, José Carlos García Ramírez, and José Manuel Martínez-Baléstegui. It, however, "left them time" to appeal to the constitutional court.

Of the three, two are accused of killing members of the Guardia Nacional, one of assassinating an industrialist. The other four Basques on Madrid's list were ordered deported to Togo. Some 25 Basques have already been deported to Latin America.

The Mitterrand government defended this decision by arguing that there is now democracy in Spain and that the three concerned are accused of violent actions.

In the September 24 issue of the Paris daily *Liberation*, an editorial excoriated the hypoc-

ry of the "left" government: "When the Swiss federal government refused to extradite the leaders of the FLN during the Algerian war, it was not because it denied that there was real democracy in France, but because the Algerian rebellion, inspired entirely by nationalism, could not be reduced to a mere matter of criminal law."

In a "Letter to the Peoples and Nations of the World," a wide spectrum of Basque cultural and human-rights groups pointed out the following about the situation of the Basque people under the rule of Mitterrand's "socialist" comrade, Felipe González.

"Some 60 percent of the Basque people voted against or abstained on the present constitution. All the Basque political parties, representing 70 percent of the Basque people, oppose the present settlement on autonomy, or at least the implementation of it. More than 700 persons from the Basque country are in prison [for political reasons]. Thousands of Basques remain in exile. . . . There is one policeman for every 125 inhabitants of the Basque country. In the first six months of 1984, 743 persons have been arrested for political causes. . . .

"Torture remains standard in the prisons. More than 3,500 cases were reported from January 1981 to July 30, 1984."

In these conditions, the meaning of these threatened extraditions is clear. A worldwide campaign of protests is essential. □

SWP candidates run strong campaign

Oppose U.S. war drive, push working-class political independence

By Will Reissner

Despite differences in tone and image, Ronald Reagan and his Democratic Party challenger, Walter Mondale, share a great deal of common ground.

This common ground has become increasingly apparent as the November 6 presidential election approaches.

Reagan promises to cut government spending. Mondale goes a step further, vowing to raise taxes and cut spending. Both would increase military expenditures.

Reagan glories in the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Mondale says he would have done the same thing had he been in office.

Reagan wages war against the Sandinista government of Nicaragua. Mondale warns that he might "quarantine" Nicaragua if elected.

Both candidates would continue U.S. military aid to the bloody regime in El Salvador. Both fall over each other getting their pictures taken with Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

Reagan points with pride to the big buildup of U.S. military power during his four years in office. Mondale notes that most of the plans for that buildup began with the Carter-Mondale administration (1977-81), and he pledges to continue to increase arms spending, but at a slightly slower rate than Reagan.

Meanwhile, the Republican and Democratic vice-presidential candidates — oil millionaire and former head of the CIA George Bush and



Bernie Senter/IP

Mel Mason talks with Arizona copper strikers.

Mel Mason

As a socialist on the city council in Seaside, California, from 1980 to 1983, Mel Mason used his office to champion the struggles of working people, especially Blacks. He fought to gain affirmative action programs, supported union members on strike, protested police brutality, fought for tenants' rights and against racial discrimination in housing, helped senior citizens fight rent increases, and worked for youth employment programs.

Mason was born in the coal-mining town of Providence, Kentucky. In 1956 his family moved from the legally segregated South to Seaside, California.

For two decades Mason has been active in the struggle for Black rights. In 1967, he helped organize a caucus of Black workers at a Western Electric plant where he worked. Before joining the SWP, he was a member of the Black Panther Party.

slum-landlord millionaire Geraldine Ferraro — each try to deflect public attention from "discrepancies" in their tax returns.

Traditionally, U.S. imperialist foreign policy has been bipartisan. "Politics stop at the water's edge" has been the golden rule of the two capitalist parties.

But the entire "debate" between the Republican and Democratic presidential tickets illustrates the degree to which bipartisanship has extended to domestic policy as well.

The Democratic and Republican parties are united in their determination to carry out the policies of the capitalist class, inflict further cuts in the living standards and social benefits of America's workers and farmers, and deal blows to their democratic right.

Obstacles to third parties

The electoral system in the United States places gigantic obstacles in the way of any challengers to the political monopoly of the two capitalist parties.

While the Democrats and Republicans receive millions of dollars from the federal treasury, working-class candidates receive nothing.

The Democratic and Republican candidates can get on the ballot with ease in all 50 states and the District of Columbia, while working-class candidates must win ballot status state-by-state by collecting thousands of signatures

of registered voters.

In some states it is virtually impossible for any candidate outside the two capitalist parties to appear on the presidential ballot. In California, for example, independent candidates must collect the signatures of more than 115,000 registered voters.

But even after collecting the required signatures, independent candidates are frequently ruled off the ballot on technicalities.

Once on the ballot, working-class candidates face great obstacles in making their positions known. This situation has been worsened because the "equal time" law, which once required television and radio stations to give equal access to all candidates for the same post, has been gutted. As a result, candidates challenging the policies of the capitalist parties are largely frozen out of the national media.

SWP campaign

Despite these tremendous obstacles, the Socialist Workers Party is energetically running a presidential campaign to provide a working-class alternative to the policies of the two capitalist parties.

Mel Mason, a 41-year-old Afro-American activist and former city council member from Seaside, California, is the SWP's presidential candidate. The party's vice-presidential candidate is Andrea González, 33, a New York-

born Puerto Rican who is national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Since their selection as candidates in December 1983, Mason and González have been constantly on the road, traveling from one end of the country to the other, explaining the need for independent working-class political action and calling for the establishment of a workers and farmers government in the United States. Their supporters have distributed tens of thousands of pieces of literature on the campaign.

The Mason-González ticket is joined by a slate of 53 local SWP candidates, running for office in 26 states. All are explaining that the problems facing working people stem from a common source, the capitalist system, and cannot be solved through elections.

Supporters of Mason and González gathered hundreds of thousands of signatures to place the SWP candidates on the ballot in 24 states and the District of Columbia. In several of these states, the SWP waged successful political and legal fights against state officials who tried to exclude the working-class candidates despite their having met the stringent legal requirements.

In their campaign literature, in visits to plant gates, union halls, picket lines, farming areas, and working-class, Black, and Latino neighborhoods, and in local press interviews, Mason and González and their supporters explain the need for working people to reject the capitalist parties and politicians and to organize a labor party based on a fighting trade-union movement. Such a party, they stress, must champion the interests of workers, farmers, Blacks, women, and all other victims of the capitalist system.

The socialist candidates also call for the formation of an independent Black political party, which would not only be an advance for Blacks, but would also inspire and hasten the formation of a labor party based on the unions.

Working people need a mass political party "to represent us in the political arena and lead political struggles in our interests 365 days a year," Mason explains.

"Our campaign is saying that we need a new kind of government, one that acts in our interests and defends us against the employers.

"We need a workers and farmers government that would begin to reorganize society on a totally different basis," the socialist presidential candidate stresses.

Mobilizing against U.S. war

The SWP candidates have focused their campaigns heavily on building opposition to the U.S. government's war against working people in Central America. American workers, they point out, have no interest in backing Washington's fight to keep the proimperialist landlords and generals in power in El Salvador or to overthrow the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua.

Both candidates have gone to Nicaragua to see for themselves the achievements of the Sandinista revolution that overthrew U.S.-



John Staggs-IP

Andrea González with Missouri farm demonstrators.

backed dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979.

Throughout their U.S. tours, the candidates explain the accomplishments of that revolution and the lessons that working people in the United States can learn from their Nicaraguan counterparts.

Mason and González urge their audiences to visit Nicaragua to see for themselves what is happening there.

The SWP candidates also point to the example of Cuba, where the workers and farmers have held political and economic power for more than 25 years. The tremendous gains Cuba has registered in the areas of health care, education, the uprooting of racism, and the quality of life are concrete examples of the benefits of a socialist society for working people.

President Reagan, backed by the Catholic hierarchy and rightist organizations, is waging a heavy attack against women's right to choose abortion. Mondale and Ferraro have an official stance of supporting abortion rights. But their feeble support is eclipsed by their loud proclamations of personal opposition to abortion, which they consider a form of murder.

The socialist candidates, however, have made unqualified defense of abortion rights an important part of their campaign.

Mason and González stress the need for affirmative action programs, including quotas, in employment and education as a key tool in fighting racist and sexist discrimination.

The socialist candidates are also campaigning for a halt to all farm foreclosures and a moratorium on payment of all debts. They call for cheap credit to exploited farmers for machinery, seed, fertilizer, and other farming necessities. They attack the price support programs of the Democrats and Republicans, which are weighted to the advantage of capitalist farmers and merchants, and call for a program that will guarantee working farmers

an income adequate to meet the costs of production and to sustain a decent living.

In addition to visiting Nicaragua, Mason and González have made extensive trips abroad to learn about international struggles firsthand and to promote international working-class solidarity against the employers and their political representatives.

Trips abroad

Mel Mason journeyed to Ireland in May to take part in protests there against Reagan's visit and to express his opposition to British rule over Ireland's six northeastern counties.

In Britain, Mason spoke with striking coal miners and participated in protests against the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles.

Andrea González visited the Dominican Republic in June, speaking out against the austerity measures imposed on the workers and farmers of that country by the imperialist International Monetary Fund.

In U.S.-ruled Puerto Rico, González expressed her strong support for the island's independence and her opposition to the Pentagon's use of the colony as a launching pad for military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

González also traveled to the French colony of Martinique, where she attended a conference of Caribbean anti-imperialist organizations.

Mason and González both traveled to English Canada to learn firsthand about problems facing working people there, and González went to Quebec as well.

Real politics

Reeling under the blows of the ruling-class offensive against working people at home and abroad, the officialdom of the major trade unions and leaders of organizations such as the National Organization for Women and the Na-

Andrea González

National chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, Andrea González is also a leader in the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. She has participated in conferences in Nicaragua, Mexico, and the United States, building organizations in solidarity with the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador.

González, a Puerto Rican born and raised in New York City, has been active in the United Steelworkers, United Auto Workers, and the Amalgamated Transit Union.

She is also active in the fight for women's rights and is a member of the National Organization for Women.

The SWP vice-presidential candidate joined the YSA in 1974 and the SWP one year later. She first came in contact with the YSA while a student at Brooklyn College.

A key focus of her campaign is to protest the harassment and jailings of Puerto Rican independence activists by the U.S. government.

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People insist that the way to fight back is by voting for Mondale and Ferraro.

Civil rights activist Jesse Jackson, who ran for president in the Democratic Party primaries, is going all out for the Mondale-Ferraro ticket.

Many activists fighting U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean have put their hopes in a Mondale victory to "buy time" for the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Most of the organizations that describe themselves as socialist or communist are also backing the Democratic candidate. The Communist Party, for example, though running its own candidates, centers its entire campaign on defeating Reagan.

The SWP candidates, in contrast, explain that the attacks against working people at home and abroad did not begin with Reagan's election and will not end with his defeat.

Cuts in social services have been backed by Democrats as well as Republicans in Congress, and both capitalist parties have voted to fund Washington's military interventions in Central America and elsewhere.

Mason and González explain that the real gains workers and the oppressed have made in the past — such as the organization of the unions and the destruction of racial segregation — have been won not through elections but through the organization of massive movements independent of the two capitalist parties.

Key to any change, the SWP candidates stress, is the transformation of the unions into fighting instruments that defend working conditions and living standards and that champion the demands of Blacks, Latinos, women, and all working people. □

Consistent record of campaigning for independent working-class political action

The Socialist Workers Party ran its first presidential campaign in 1948 and has fielded a ticket in every race since. From its founding in 1938, the SWP has run hundreds of candidates in a majority of the 50 states and in many cities and towns.

Predecessors of the SWP also ran candidates, including the Communist Opposition (it became the Communist League of America in May 1929) which ran a candidate for mayor of Minneapolis in early 1929 just a few months after the Trotskyists in the United States were expelled from the Communist Party.

A consistent theme in all of these election campaigns — from 1929 to the present — has been to educate working people on the need for independent working-class political action. This perspective has never been presented as an electoral strategy. Rather, SWP candidates explain that it is a strategy to advance the organization and mobilization of the ranks of the working class and its allies in struggle in the factories, mines, mills, and fields; in the streets; and in all the arenas of confrontation between the exploited and exploiters, between the oppressed and oppressors.

Basic social change, they point out, will not come through the electoral arena, but through action and revolutionary struggle. Helping workers to understand this is far more important than chalking up a big vote.

SWP candidates point out that in order to represent a real step forward for labor and its allies, independent political action cannot be reduced to the question of organizational separation from the Democrats and Republicans, the two principal capitalist parties.

They explain that an independent labor party can only emerge as a byproduct of advances in class combat by the unions against the employers and the policies of the employers' government.

An important feature of U.S. politics is that one sector of the working class — Blacks — are more radical-minded and combative than the working class as a whole. One reflection of this during the past two decades has been the recurrent demand raised by Black activists for an independent Black party.

The SWP supports this demand and helps to promote it. The formation of an independent Black party, it explains, will significantly advance the struggle for independent working-class political action and help pave the way for a labor party to emerge.

Today the National Black Independent Political Party represents an important nucleus that embodies the continuity of 20 years of experience in trying to create an independent Black party. It is helping to keep this perspective alive among vanguard fighters.

Over the years the SWP has supported labor, Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican candidates, in spite of disagreements with their

programs, if by doing so education for independent working-class political action could be advanced. However, support has not been given simply because the candidates were organizationally separate from the Democrats and Republicans.

In fact, the SWP has often found it necessary to explain that many "independent" election efforts are an obstacle to or at best not an aid to independent working-class political action.

For example, in 1948, former Democratic Vice-president Henry Wallace ran as the standardbearer of the Progressive Party. His main theme was maintaining the war-time alliance between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet government as opposed to continuing the Cold War. He advocated what he considered to be the most effective policy for defending U.S. imperialism.

SWP presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs explained that Wallace was a third capitalist candidate and his campaign in no way could advance the struggle of working people for independent political action.

During the years of the Vietnam war, some antiwar activists put forward candidates who ran on the single issue of the war. The SWP rejected supporting these issue-oriented candidates who were totally divorced from the working class and its organizations and ignored the broad range of questions affecting working people. They were campaigns of small petty-bourgeois circles whose direction of development and propaganda did not point to a working class break from capitalist politics.

In the 1968 presidential race several radical groups and individuals, including the Communist Party, left Social Democrats, members of the Black Panther Party, and the International Socialists, attempted to put together an all-inclusive electoral group on the general program of opposition to the war and support to the Black liberation struggle. To draw in as broad a group of supporters as possible and to win votes, the platform was kept at a low common denominator. The Peace and Freedom Party, as it was called, neither promoted nor pointed the direction toward independent working-class political action or an independent Black party. In several states this party ran Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver for president; in others where the CP was most influential Black entertainer Dick Gregory was the candidate. Altogether the tickets were on the ballot in 11 states compared to 19 for the SWP.

Some of the chapters outlined here of the SWP's long history of utilizing the electoral arena to educate around independent working-class political action are documented in a pamphlet, *Aspects of Socialist Election Policy*, available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, NY, NY. 10014, \$3.50, plus \$.75 for postage. □

'Realism is the only revolutionary politics'

Interview with FMLN-FDR leader Rubén Zamora

[The following interview is reprinted from the August–September 1984 issue of *Señal de Libertad* — *Signal of Freedom*, the English-language international publication of Radio Venceremos, the official voice of El Salvador's Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

[Rubén Zamora is a member of the Political–Diplomatic Commission of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front–Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN–FDR).]

* * *

Question. Is the FMLN–FDR, the Salvadoran revolutionary movement, after more than three years of war, ready to seek an understanding with its enemies to end the war? And with whom, other than those enemies with whom you have fought to the death and who are now in power, do you intend to negotiate and form a provisional government?

Answer. To understand the proposal, we must rise above the level of understanding that pictures Salvadoran society in black and white terms. Salvadoran society is much more complex. There are two main parties to the conflict: on the one hand, the oligarchy with the support of the army and the North Americans, and on the other hand, the forces of the people, represented by the FMLN–FDR.

But these two alone do not comprise the entire society. Around the two principal poles of the conflict revolve a number of forces which can go one way or the other.

This is the "ABC's" of a scientific conception of social reality. There is a central conflict, but in addition to this principal contradiction there is a series of secondary contradictions which favor one side or the other.

On this basis our proposal for a Government of Broad Participation hopes to influence this series of secondary contradictions in Salvadoran society.¹

Until now, a group of forces, because of the polarization of the country, has tended to lean toward, let's say, the reactionary pole of the conflict. In order to advance the struggle of our people, the triumph of our people, it is necessary to neutralize these forces, or to attract them to the revolutionary camp, to the progressive and democratic sectors of the country.

These forces won't be attracted by offering them death, by offering punishment, by offer-



RUBÉN ZAMORA

ing bullets, but rather by understanding what some of their immediate needs are, and addressing those immediate interests.

At the heart of the problem is the question of reformism. The fundamental question, in my opinion, is this: with the proposal for a Government of Broad Participation, do we become reformists and thereby give up our revolutionary character? Yes or no?

If we answer this question solely on the basis of analyzing the proposals and the concrete measures outlined in the document, the conclusion is yes, our front has become reformist.

But this would be a completely idealistic analysis of Salvadoran reality, a formal analysis which forgets that the determining factor in whatever social situation, in whatever process of social struggle, is the social forces which move relative to the different proposals. I believe this is where the analysis should begin.

If the organized strength of our people, the majority of our people, was in the hands of the petite bourgeoisie and its reformist position, then the proposal of the front would become, essentially, a reformist policy.

But if the fundamental strength of our people, that is, the organized workers and peasants, is directed by the revolutionary forces, the FMLN–FDR, then the proposal for

a Government of Broad Participation contributes by attracting intermediate forces, but the fundamental direction of the process is assured by the camp in which the most important forces are found.

Therefore, it is not the same to make the same proposal in a European country as it is in El Salvador. In the European countries, important sectors like the organized working class are in the hands of parties like the Social Democrats or the Christian Democrats, so the significance of the proposal is determined by the control the Social Democrats or the Christian Democrats exert on those forces.

In contrast, in El Salvador the fundamental forces, the organized peasants and working class, are not with the Christian Democrats or with the army; they are with the FMLN–FDR and, therefore, they give fundamental direction to the process.

Q. Your answer leads into the next question. Why is the proposal of the Government of Broad Participation so similar to the [Junta's] Proclamation of October 15?² I believe you may have already explained the difference: The Proclamation of October 15 was made by forces that did not have popular support, that did not have the backing of the revolutionary movement and the majority of the people.

A. Exactly. I think that sometimes the confusion seen in some sectors in Europe and Latin America is produced precisely because they only look at the form and the verbal expression of the proposals and don't undertake a real analysis, a scientific analysis of the social forces. The example of October 15 is very important.

What happened October 15? Reformist proposals were made by the junta. What was the actual result? The proposals could not be carried out because none of the real forces were behind them. The organized working class, the organized peasants, the organized slum-dwellers were not with the junta; rather, they were with the popular organizations.

Our historical experience is, unlike Europe, that reformist talk in El Salvador actually results in repression, in reactionary policies, while in many European countries, because of the make-up of their social forces, reformist talk ends up in reformist policies as well.

2. On Oct. 15, 1979, the military dictatorship of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero was overthrown in a military coup. The new junta created a cabinet made up mostly of moderate Social Democrats and Christian Democrats. — IP

1. For the text of the "Proposal for the creation of a Provisional Government of Broad Participation," see the March 5, 1984, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. — IP

Q. I believe that the first aspect you mentioned, the social and political structure of El Salvador, presents the revolutionary movement with the need for self-criticism. The movement for many years counted on complete polarization: all the people against the oligarchy. Perhaps some aspects of this discussion being carried out now make it seem that this position was something of a propaganda ploy that did not reflect reality . . .

A. If we are to analyze this political attitude we must do so in its concrete context. When the Salvadoran revolutionary movement began to develop on a massive scale in the 1970s, it was correct to express this polarization.

The social reality of that time included reformist centrist forces with a social base. If from the start we had toned down our platform there was the danger that the centrist forces would have absorbed the revolutionary movement, because the revolutionary movement did not yet have a personality of its own. Therefore, it was necessary at that time to clearly delineate the different camps.

But, once the revolutionary movement had acquired and developed its own social base, it became necessary to develop a policy of realism, which is the only revolutionary policy possible.

It becomes necessary, then, to seek alliances, to look for a convergence with other forces, because alliances are based on strength and not on general principles.

Q. Well, can we conclude then, in this sense, that the proposal of the FMLN-FDR for the formation of a provisional government is, more than a diplomatic proposal, a political proposal directed toward the Salvadoran people? And is the diplomatic aspect directed at the governments of El Salvador and the United States with a political purpose?

A. Certainly. I don't think our proposal for a political solution should be interpreted merely as an international diplomatic maneuver to gain support from outside the country. This would never work; it would soon fall apart.

Our proposal is based on the reality of El Salvador: it is based on an analysis of the development of our organizations, of our relationship with the masses, and of our military strength. These have developed to the point that now it is possible, politically, to propose alliances with other sectors that will guarantee and further the fundamental interests of our people.

In this sense, we are not extremists. But neither is our proposal for a political solution a betrayal of the revolution, as some sectors with an unrealistic viewpoint and faulty analysis claim.

The proposal for a political solution truly is a revolutionary proposal, given the Salvadoran situation. The degree to which we have developed will allow us, through a political solution, to guarantee the fundamental interests of our people and, at the same time, to avoid di-

rect North American intervention and prevent the prolonging of the destruction. This is what every revolutionary should try to prevent in the best interests of our people.

Q. There is criticism and some doubt about the democratic revolutionary movement in El Salvador. It is said that while it has been very successful militarily, it has abandoned working with the masses and its purpose of incorporating broad sectors of the population, workers and peasants, into the revolutionary work. What is your response to this criticism?

A. This is a false notion of what is happening in El Salvador that originates mostly from the reporting of the international press.

The situation of the mass movement, naturally, is not the same as in 1977, '78, and '79. The objective conditions under which the mass movement can develop have changed. What is the situation at this moment?

In the areas under the control of the FMLN, and in the disputed areas, there develops an entire process of mass organization where the popular organizations clearly and openly demonstrate their predominance. The development of "people's power" is proof of this. And not only in the firmly controlled areas, but in nearby areas as well. I'll give you some concrete examples.

In the eastern part of the country, in the city of San Miguel, which is controlled by the enemy, but located in an area which the FMLN has penetrated and developed, there have been meetings of parents concerning the schools in San Miguel. They were not organized by the FMLN; they were organized by the people themselves.

Let's not be mistaken: it is not the role of the FMLN to organize these things. The military and political presence of the FMLN is a factor which allows the people to organize themselves.

In other cases, the involvement of the FMLN is more direct, like the negotiation of wages during the harvest. These negotiations took place between the FMLN and the administrators of the plantations of the oligarchy. It was the FMLN that forced them to provide higher wages and better conditions to the peasants in the area of San Miguel Volcano, which is not controlled by the FMLN but is an area where the FMLN is present and has direct contact with the masses.

And the same can be said with respect to the departments of San Vicente, Usulután, Chalatenango, and the Guazapa region, north of San Salvador. In all those places the mass movement is developing and growing.

Let's look at the other half of the picture: the enemy strongholds and especially the urban centers. Having not seen, since 1980, the thousands of people in the streets organized by the revolutionary organizations during the 1970s, they say the FMLN has stopped working among the masses.

This is totally false: working with the masses has not been abandoned. I admit, self-criti-

cally, that in 1981 and 1982 there was a tendency to militarize the mass organizations. But, beginning in the middle of 1982, this tendency was corrected.

Now we see the results. What happened during the elections? To carry out the elections, the regime had to loosen some of its political control, and immediately you have more than 30,000 workers on strike in San Salvador.

Who mobilized these workers? Naturally, there is an element of spontaneity because of the difficult conditions under which the workers live, but this isn't the whole explanation. It is also explained by the patient and clandestine work which continued the struggle throughout 1982 and 1983 and which now, in 1984, at its first opportunity, we see emerging.

This doesn't mean that these strikes and other mass actions are organized by the FMLN-FDR. On the contrary, this isn't necessary. What we do, and this is our historic task, is to create the conditions, create the correlation of forces which give space for the masses to reorganize themselves.

What is it that prevents the regime from resorting to massive repression against the labor movement, like before? Undoubtedly, it is its weakness in the face of the general advance of the FMLN.

Q. Can we then, in exactly this context, analyze the position and the criticism of the MOR³ toward the FMLN and the FDR, as it claims it is carrying on the work among the masses?

A. First of all, I must totally dispute the thesis that the MOR represents the work of the masses in El Salvador. This is false. The proof is that the strikes, when they have any relationship, are with the organizations of the FMLN, and not with the MOR. Organizing the masses is done by other organizations, and the MOR has no right to talk outside the country about organizing the masses when they aren't doing it inside the country. This is the first element.

But let's talk about continuity. I think that, in a way, the positions of the MOR do have

3. Because of the assassination of Mélida Anaya Montes (Comandante Ana María), which was ordered by Salvador Cayetano Carpio (Marcial) in April of 1983, the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), one of the organizations making up the FMLN, has suffered an internal split because some of its members continue to support the sectarian positions of Marcial. This small group, which has continued in its blind fanaticism toward the figure of Marcial, has taken the name Revolutionary Workers Movement (MOR) and has proclaimed itself to be the Clara Elizabeth Ramírez Metropolitan Front.

"The assassination of Ana María, committed under Marcial's orders, and Marcial's subsequent cowardly suicide were desperate acts which reflected his isolation and his political and moral defeat. The last lines he wrote before taking his life were an effort to poison the ranks of the revolution, sowing among them mistrust and confusion, as well as an effort to cover up his grievous crime." — From the Communiqué of the General Command of the FMLN, Dec. 16, 1983.

continuity, but a mistaken continuity. The positions of the MOR are the positions of the revolutionary movement of the 1970s and they are incapable of modifying these positions; they are incapable of recognizing the strength the revolutionary movement has developed and of recognizing the changing conditions in the country produced by four years of war.

Then, the problem of the MOR is not a question of whether they are or are not revolutionaries; I don't think we even need to discuss this. The fundamental problem is that as revolutionaries they are totally mistaken; they are living in the 1970s and not in 1984. The extremist positions they express, which were justified in 1975, are out of date with reality in 1984.

Because of the situation that has developed in the country we don't think the MOR represents, nor will ever represent, an important force. There is a problem of being locked in the past and not recognizing reality.

Q. Could you elaborate on the proposal for a Government of Broad Participation, perhaps on two or three of the more controversial aspects? What causes many questions is the point about restructuring the armed forces. Is it realistic, and on what is it based? Is it possible to clean up and restructure the armed forces and combine them with the FMLN forces? On what do you base your claim that this will guarantee the best interest of the people?

A. Our confidence is based on two elements, one primary, and one secondary. The principal element is the development of the military strength of the people. Our position is clear: until the integration of the two armed forces is achieved, each side will retain its weapons. In other words, at no time will the FMLN lay down its arms. The military strength our people have attained is the fundamental guarantee that the integration of the two armies will be favorable to the interests of the people.

But there is a second element to take into account as well — the internal composition of the Salvadoran armed forces. The political development of the Salvadoran army over the past 50 years clearly shows the existence of two political tendencies: one, which we can call "gorilla," has been the repressive tendency linked to the oligarchy and servile to the United States. Historically, this tendency has predominated.

But within the armed forces there has always been an alternative tendency. It is a tendency with a clear vision of social change, with something of a democratic character, with a vision of professionalizing the armed forces.

This constitutionalist tendency has been able to predominate within the armed forces for short periods during moments of acute political, social, and economic crisis.

What has been the problem, historically, for the constitutionalist tendency within the army?

Whenever it has become dominant, which it has done through coups d'état, it has been without important links to the democratic, progressive, and revolutionary forces of the people. This was the case in 1944, 1948, 1960, and 1979, when its progressive aims were defeated and it rapidly lost control of the armed forces.

On what is our proposal based? On the concrete possibility that the constitutionalist tendency within the armed forces might have a real link with the progressive and revolutionary forces of our people.

Q. To conclude let's talk a little about the Platform of a Democratic Revolutionary Government, which calls for changes in the economic structure which are more radical and more fundamental than what you are now proposing.⁴ Let's compare the main functions of the two proposals, for a Democratic Revolutionary Government and for a Government of Broad Participation. How are they related?

A. The Platform for the Revolutionary Government and the proposal for a Government of Broad Participation are not the same for a simple reason. They are proposals for different

4. For the text of the "Platform of the Revolutionary Democratic Government," see the April 7, 1980, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. — IP

characteristics.

The Platform of the Democratic Revolutionary Government is the basis of the FMLN-FDR alliance and is a longer-term proposal. The Proposal for a Provisional Government of Broad Participation is, as its name implies, a proposal for negotiations and for a provisional government. That is, a short-term proposal.

This implies, then, that we must remedy the immediate problems of the country.

So if we compare the two, the Proposal for a Provisional Government emphasizes political aspects, civil liberties, human rights, and not the structural aspects of profound socio-economic change. The latter proposal is a longer-term question. In this sense, the FMLN-FDR is not retreating from its position. Rather, they are proposals of two different natures.

The proposal for a Democratic Revolutionary Government is not a betrayal of the revolution. Although the final and overall objectives of the revolution can only be accomplished by a socialist society, the FMLN-FDR's proposal for a Democratic Revolutionary Government is not a proposal for socialism, but rather a means to move along the road to socialism. In the same way we are making a short-term proposal, a proposal for a provisional government. This in no way changes our goals or compromises our struggle for these goals. □

Grenada

Coard backers try to reorganize MBPM rejects their claim to mantle of NJM

ST. GEORGE'S — Leading colleagues of the late Grenadian prime minister, Maurice Bishop, who survived last October's coup have publicly denied that the New Jewel Movement (NJM) still exists as a legal political organization in the country.

The NJM, cofounded by Bishop and Unison Whiteman, was the revolutionary party that led the struggles of the Grenadian workers and farmers to victory against the U.S.-backed Eric Gairy dictatorship on March 13, 1979.

The denial was in response to a recent statement signed by Ian St. Bernard, a former member of the short-lived Revolutionary Military Council (RMC), which was set up following the coup master-minded by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. In the statement, St. Bernard claimed that the NJM is functioning legally like any other political party in Grenada.

"Everyone in Grenada knows there is no NJM. Ian St. Bernard could only speak for the Coardite-RMC clique," said a press release issued by the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM). The MBPM is led by George Louison and Kendrick Radix, two former

ministers in Bishop's People's Revolutionary Government (PRG).

The MBPM statement said: "The real and true NJM, the party of the Grenadian people, which was started and built on the sweat and blood of patriots like Maurice Bishop and Unison Whiteman, was killed last year October by counterrevolution led by this same clique."

St. Bernard's statement, dated September 15, acknowledged that the "NJM had made errors during last October's crisis and accepts full responsibility for the events that took place."

St. Bernard, a former commissioner of police, is now on bail on charges of plotting to overthrow the PRG by force of arms. He was the only one among 20 to escape facing the high court on murder charges in early October. Coard, his wife Phyllis, Gen. Hudson Austin, and 16 others were remanded to stand trial on murder charges when the preliminary inquiry into the killings of Bishop and the others ended last month.

The MBPM noted that "it is now one year since this same clique raised the lunatic idea of joint leadership as a smokescreen for seizing

control of the party and obtaining state power without popular support.

"They went on to commit the worst crimes imaginable against the Grenadian people and opened the doors for the Yankee invaders," the statement pointed out.

According to the MBPM, supporters of the RMC were claiming over the past year that they were right in their actions of last October. "Now, all of a sudden, they wish to pass off their crimes with a simple statement like this: 'The NJM admits that it made errors in the past in the handling of the internal party crisis. We are now prepared to face any criticism against us. . . .'"

The MBPM listed what it said were five crimes "the Coardites-RMC elements" have to answer. These are the murder of Maurice

Bishop and others, framing up the deaths as a cross-fire incident, mutilating the bodies, promoting those directly involved in the murders, and "opening the doors wide for the Yankee invasion."

"The Grenadian people and the world," the MBPM declared, "will not permit crimes of this magnitude to be passed off as errors."

St. Bernard's statement comes at a time when certain supporters of Bernard Coard's position have been approaching MBPM figures in a reconciliatory manner. Some of them have even been talking about "a unity of the progressive forces in the country." St. Bernard's statement, which predictably blasted the U.S. invasion and occupation of the country, as the MBPM does, said that the NJM is willing to meet with any organization in the coun-

try that shares its views and ideology.

However, the MBPM further stated that "the Coardites are making statements because stark reality has hit them." It pointed out that the Grenadian people, progressive parties in the socialist world, the Nonaligned Movement, the national liberation movements, and the Western world have condemned their actions.

The MBPM statement concluded: "The genuine patriots who gave the NJM its oneness with the people over the years are now rallying under the banner of the MBPM.

"Those who wish to serve and advance the struggle of the poor and working people of Grenada must hold high the banner of Maurice Bishop in order to recover our national independence, sovereignty as a nation, economic development, and peace." □

DOCUMENTS

Cuba blasts U.S. war on Nicaragua

Foreign minister warns of new imperialist attacks in Central America

[The following speech was delivered by Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli on October 3 to the United Nations General Assembly. The translation is from the UN provisional verbatim record. The subheads are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The world situation could not be more alarming and dangerous than it is today, precisely one year after the inauguration of the 38th session when so many voices were raised in favor of détente in international relations.

The imperialists, far from forsaking the path of the arms race and shows of force, have increased their aggressiveness and today threaten peace and security the world over. The policy of the Reagan administration aimed at achieving political, economic, and military supremacy has created new hotbeds of tension and exacerbated those already existing in various regions, turning the use and the threat of force into a state policy and relegating the principle of the peaceful solution of disputes to the status of a subject of verbal gymnastics.

Cuba attaches particular importance to the situation in Central America, where the danger of a generalization of the conflict is increasing. Notwithstanding the sincere and reiterated readiness of the Salvadoran revolutionaries to enter into a dialogue without preconditions in the search for a negotiated political settlement to the problem of El Salvador and notwithstanding the readiness of the Sandinist Front of Nicaragua to discuss and work for a negotiated solution to the conflict, the situation deteriorates daily.

Nicaragua's decision to accept the revised

act presented by the Contadora Group immediately and without amendment is irrefutable evidence of its readiness to seek through negotiation a solution to the conflict besetting the Central American peoples.

The Contadora Act of September 7 contains various recommendations designed to open the way to peace. Outstanding among these are those aimed at halting or reducing the dangerous increase in military action in states of the region, such as: prior notification of national or joint military maneuvers; the prohibition of international military maneuvers on their respective territories; the ending of the arms race in all its forms; the cessation of arms purchases; refusal to authorize the installation on their respective territories of foreign military bases or training establishments; the elimination of existing foreign military bases or training establishments; the establishment of a timetable for the gradual withdrawal and eventual removal of foreign military advisers; the elimination within and outside the region of traffic in arms with persons, organizations, and irregular forces or armed bands trying to destabilize the governments of the states parties; prevention of the granting of political, military, financial, or any other kind of aid to individuals, groupings, irregular forces, or armed bands attempting to overthrow or destabilize other governments and of the use of their territory for such purposes; refusal to organize, order, or participate in acts of terrorism, subversion, or sabotage in another state.

Nicaragua has asserted that an agreement between the five Central American states to guarantee peace and security in the region can

be meaningful only if the government of the United States formally commits itself to abide fully by such an agreement. Nicaragua deems it indispensable for the United States to subscribe to and ratify the additional protocol to the act and consequently end forthwith its military aggression and all aggressive acts against Nicaragua.

Cuba, as President Fidel Castro pointed out over a year ago, desires an honorable solution, one based on mutual commitments, to the Central American conflict. That is the only real solution. Cuba reaffirms that it will support the negotiations entered into and the agreements reached by Nicaragua.

Cuba reaffirms its support for the position of the Salvadoran revolutionaries, who have reaffirmed their readiness to negotiate a political settlement in El Salvador. It is quite clear that the United States must participate in such negotiations, since the real problem both in Nicaragua and in El Salvador results from United States interference and since no real, lasting solution of the situation in Central America will be possible without the establishment of mutual commitments, with the participation of the United States.

History of imperialist blockade

The history of the imperialist blockade and the constant acts of aggression against Nicaragua is well known. The country's harbors have been mined and its territory surrounded by military bases from which air, land, and sea operations are launched daily. Swept up in the feelings of triumph triggered by the shameful invasion of little Grenada, which was condemned by the overwhelming majority of member

states at the 38th session of the General Assembly, the United States government is now planning new blows against the free peoples of America and their national liberation movements.

The Honduran Army has received airplanes, helicopters, and sophisticated weaponry from the United States administration in order to harass Nicaragua. Thousands of United States officers and soldiers are stationed in Honduran territory, where they have built military airports and roads, modernized harbors, set up arsenals and barracks, and developed a powerful infrastructure for war.

Meanwhile, the government of El Salvador is maintained through the substantial aid which the United States is providing to cover the military expenses of that regime, with which it is attempting to overcome the armed insurrection of the people. A steady succession of joint military maneuvers by the United States and the armies of the region are being conducted, thus creating a permanent state of war against Nicaragua and the Salvadoran revolutionaries. The scene seems to have been set for a new interventionist adventure. From a military point of view, all the conditions have been prepared, including the necessary infrastructure and logistical support, and the military command simply awaits the political decision to launch the aggression. But history, like reality, follows an inexorable course and laws, and no force is capable of changing that course or those laws.

Setbacks may and do occur in the spiraling development of society. Peoples which have made long strides in the process towards final emancipation have been subjected again to the yoke of oppression and neocolonial exploitation because of exceptional circumstances and the "opportune" action of imperialism. But such exceptional conditions as were present in, for example, Grenada are not to be found in connection with the Salvadoran revolutionary movement, in Nicaragua, or in Cuba.

Anyone who decides to send United States troops to invade Central America must be ready to face their being militarily bogged down in the region, progressively weakened in an unbridled and massive war, until final victory is won by the peoples of the region. Equally, anyone who would send troops against Cuba must be ready to face an all-out war — everywhere, all the time; a multi-faceted war of the people which would turn every inch of land under the invader's foot into a veritable inferno, a war in which there would be no surrender or truce but a fight until final victory, regardless of the time and the sacrifices required.

But Cuba longs for peace in the region and in the world at large, a peace with equal dignity for all, everywhere, guaranteeing that climate of security, stability, respect, and cooperation so urgently needed by our peoples to build their future. Thus we reiterate today our deep appreciation and recognition of and respect for the endeavors of the Contadora Group, which deserve the continued support of

the international community.

The use of force and the threats and pressures exerted by United States imperialism in southern Africa maintain a climate of tension in that region, where the racist Pretoria regime, its strategic ally, continues to carry out a policy of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other independent states and persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia. It is precisely the overt support of the United States for the apartheid regime which has thwarted a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia and which is the main reason for the climate of tension and aggression prevailing in the southern part of the African continent.

In his statement of July 26 this year, in Cienfuegos, President Fidel Castro asserted that "any effort which may alleviate tension in our area, as well as international tensions, deserves our most serious consideration; any effort which tends to diminish the dangers of the folly of war. We are ready even to cooperate in the search for a political solution to the problem of the independence of Namibia — a problem which is important for southern Africa — on the basis of Resolution 435 (1978) of the United Nations Security Council. We are conscious of our responsibilities to our people and to all mankind; that is our duty as socialists and as revolutionaries."

As far as Cuba and its expressed readiness to cooperate in the political solution of these problems are concerned, there are three essential aspects to that solution: the application of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978); the cessation of all outside assistance to the armed organizations fighting the recognized government of Angola; and the cessation of all acts of aggression or threats of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, including the withdrawal of the South African troops that even today remain on that country's territory. Those three basic requirements were affirmed in the Joint Declaration of the Governments of Angola and Cuba on March 19, 1984.

As is well known, the presence of Cuban troops in Angola came about and is determined by the request of the Angolan government and the decision, based on solidarity, of the people and government of Cuba to defend the sovereignty and security of Angola from the foreign aggression of which they were, and still are, the victims. There is no other reason, and there never has been any other reason, for the presence of our troops in Angola.

The strict implementation of Resolution 435 (1978), which presupposes the withdrawal of South African troops and the exercise by the Namibian people of its full sovereignty over all its territory, the cessation of foreign assistance to the counterrevolutionary organizations operating in Angola, and the establishment of international guarantees for the respect of its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and security will make possible the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

In their attempts to delay, boycott, and impede the independence of Namibia, the im-

perialists and their ally, the racist Pretoria regime, resort to lies, diversionary tactics, coercion, pressure, and blackmail. Whom do they expect to deceive? All of us know who is who and who does what for peace, social justice, and the independence of peoples. We all know, furthermore, who does what for the true independence of Namibia, and we shall not be fooled by false expressions of concern.

For example, in September 1978, precisely six years ago, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 435 (1978), which should have opened the way for the independence of Namibia. Among its sponsors were the United States and other Western powers. Nevertheless, it is very significant that the United States has never voted in favor of any of the resolutions on Namibia adopted by the General Assembly since that time.

During the current session several other resolutions on Namibia will be examined in the plenary assembly. We invite the representatives of the countries represented here to note the results of the voting. I can assure them that there will be no surprises: the enemies of Namibian independence have names known to all of us.

Furthermore, the exploitation, the scorn, and the discrimination to which the Black people of South Africa are subjected have no parallel in history, and cannot but arouse the world's solidarity with their struggle and their longing for equality and for their rights and their aspiration to create a just society based on majority rule to be respected; as well as active and militant solidarity with the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the legitimate representative and symbol of the South African people's struggle against the opprobrious apartheid regime.

The racists' response to the demands and aspirations of South African Blacks has been to repress, terrorize, incarcerate, torture, and execute their best children and patriots.

Imperialist blackmail is blatant

But it is not only in Central America and southern Africa that we see the imperialists arrogantly trying to maintain their interests under neocolonial domination. Other focal points of tension exist in various parts of the world which must also be diffused in time if we are to avoid the progressive deterioration of the international situation and the risk of war. Effective action must be undertaken towards this end. The duty of the United Nations to preserve peace cannot be delegated; nor can the duty to demand that all states respect the principles enshrined in the charter of our organization be ignored, especially when the state in violation is a permanent member of the Security Council.

Never before has the policy of blackmail and exerting pressure in international relations been so blatant, brutal, or wide-ranging. It is now also used to place conditions on the financing of international organizations, especially those in which the United States has an overwhelming say. Pressures are exerted on the drafting of the budgets of international or-

ganizations in an attempt to stem the progress of multilateralism and international cooperation; to block the flow of resources for the development of economic and technical cooperation among developing countries; and to encourage a marked preference for bilateralism, which enables all sorts of political strings to be attached to the granting of assistance resources.

There can be no doubt that such policies are aimed at reversing the democratization process which has been taking place in international organizations since the end of the Second World War and which is rooted in the changes that have occurred in the world following the accession to independence of many peoples previously under colonial domination.

The results of the imperialist policy of aggression, blackmail, and pressure are evident in the way in which the United States of America is isolated in international organizations — a situation which in turn feeds its irrational hatred of the United Nations system and its arrogant stand against the practice of multilateralism.

During the past session of the General Assembly the United States government voted against 90 of the 150 resolutions adopted by the assembly — a fact which reveals the anti-people, reactionary, and hegemonistic character of the current administration and its break with the prevailing world trends shared even by some of its principal allies.

Hence the 39th session is beginning in an atmosphere rife with tension and grim expecta-

tions. The long list of important and sensitive issues before us requires an objective and sincere approach. Long hours of work await us if we are to improve the rarefied atmosphere prevailing in international relations and if we are to struggle once again to attain peace, development, and a more just world order.

We are pleased that, in the present delicate circumstances, Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia is presiding over this important session of our organization. His contribution to the defense of underdeveloped countries, his indefatigable efforts as president of the United Nations Council for Namibia, his well-known organizational skills and personal capability assure him the respect, admiration, and trust of the international community in the discharge of his serious responsibilities. Cuba pays tribute to Ambassador Lusaka's unanimous election as president of the 39th session of the General Assembly and offers him the full support of its delegation as a modest contribution to his noble efforts for the success of this session of the assembly.

We could not fail to express as well our sincere appreciation to Mr. Jorge Illueca, president of the 38th session of the General Assembly, who, with characteristic intelligence and tenacity, led the assembly brilliantly through a period equally fraught with dangers and tension.

In its irrational quest for world strategic supremacy, the United States did not hesitate, only a year ago, to impose the deployment of 572 medium-range nuclear missiles, weapons

with first-strike capability, in Western Europe in order to provoke an imbalance of forces in that region which could not but elicit the adoption of countermeasures by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, thus increasing the danger of nuclear confrontation and turning several European states into virtual hostages for targets of a nuclear counterattack.

The United States is frantically attempting to develop new weapons systems to be used in outer space and to militarize that environment, while dreaming of possible "star wars." The earth has become too small for the imperialists, who now wish to take the arms race into outer space.

In contrast to such an adventurist and warlike policy is the serious, responsible, and constructive attitude of the Soviet Union, whose initiatives in the field of disarmament, including the freezing of nuclear weapons' production and deployment and the prevention of the militarization of outer space, constitute a most valuable contribution to international peace and security, which Cuba hails and supports fully.

Cuba also supports the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union to include in the agenda as an important and urgent matter an item aimed at preventing certain states committed to military superiority from pursuing their policy of state terrorism in international affairs and more frequently attempting to undermine the socio-political regime of other states by force of arms. □

U.S. to step up attacks on Nicaragua

Ortega charges U.S. with plans to disrupt Nov. 4 election

[The following speech was delivered by Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua, on October 2 to the United Nations General Assembly. The translation is from the UN provisional verbatim record. The subheads are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On behalf of the Nicaragua delegation, sir [addressing Paul Lusaka of Zambia], I should like to express our satisfaction at your election as president of the 39th session of the General Assembly.

We also extend a brotherly welcome to the people and government of Brunei Darussalam on the occasion of its entry into the community of independent nations.

The United Nations came into being as a result of the cry of the peoples of the world, who, tired of wars, exploitation, and extermination, sought an organization that would help them to combat and fend off the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. No one can ignore the United Nations' efforts in defense of peace,

justice, freedom, and the independence of peoples.

But, most unfortunately for mankind, there are policies, backed up by nuclear weapons, which blackmail, threaten, and attack the principles of the United Nations Charter. There are those that have characterized themselves by their defiance, mockery, and undermining of resolutions of this organization. There are those that have defended actions that are shocking in their irrationality and threaten the future of all mankind.

In Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and Central America such policies are characterized by the use of force and disregard the nature of the historical problems affecting the peoples of those regions. They are aimed at solving social and economic problems by killing the hungry and ensuring the maintenance of the status quo for privileged minorities. These policies ignore the economic crisis affecting the peoples and are based on a theory of natural selection that clearly favors the most powerful and accelerates the arms race. This explains why there are those who continue to oppose the demands for immediate collective action in search of solutions to eco-

nomic problems, thus really fighting for peace and development.

Nicaragua has been a victim of such a policy since the last century and throughout this century, with its legacy of backwardness, brutal exploitation, and the absence of justice and freedom — in short, the absence of democracy. Such was the Somoza dictatorship, the last monstrous offspring of this policy.

Nicaragua free for first time

Today Nicaragua is free and for the first time in its history is building an authentic democracy, becoming an example of patriotism, nationalism, independence, and nonalignment. This is not to the liking of the United States.

When Nicaragua condemns the South African regime for its racist policies and for subjugating those who should be the rightful rulers of that land, it is not to the liking of the United States.

When Nicaragua voices its solidarity with Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Seychelles, Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland, as well as with the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organisation

(SWAPO), the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States.

When Nicaragua demands Israel's unconditional withdrawal from the occupied territories and the right of the Palestinian people to exist as a people and nation, recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization as their only representative, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States government.

When Nicaragua reaffirms its solidarity with the people and the government of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, when we condemn the policy of provocation against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and when we express our support for the just cause of the people of East Timor, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States government.

When Nicaragua condemns the policy of aggression against Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, when we support the reunification of Korea and the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, and when we support an end to military maneuvers and shows of force, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States government.

Nor is it to the liking of the United States government that Nicaragua defends Puerto Rico's right to self-determination and independence, the return of Guantánamo to its legitimate owners, an end to threats to Cuba's integrity, the sovereignty of the Argentine people and nation over the Malvinas and the complete implementation of the Panama treaties, and an end to attacks launched from United States bases there against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

When Nicaragua condemns the brutal coup against democracy in Chile and at the same time supports the right of the Chilean people to reestablish their basic freedoms, it is not to the liking of the United States government.

Condemns occupation of Grenada

When Nicaragua condemns the heinous crime committed in the name of freedom against the people of Grenada and demands the withdrawal of foreign occupation troops so that the Grenadian people can exercise their right to free self-determination, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States government.

When Nicaragua supports a negotiated, peaceful settlement to the conflict in El Salvador which the Salvadoran people themselves must settle, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States government.

When Nicaragua supports democratic change in Latin America as a first step in solving the problems faced by our peoples, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States government.

Nicaragua rejects the dismemberment of the state of Cyprus and the proclamation of the so-called Republic of Northern Cyprus and defends the unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of this fellow nonaligned nation.

Nicaragua reaffirms its support for Bolivia's efforts to regain direct access to the Pacific Ocean.



"The Nicaraguan people are going to fight to the end, until we achieve peace."

Nicaragua is also saddened by the confrontation between two nonaligned nations — Iran and Iraq — and demands an end to the use of chemical weapons; we support attempts to reach a just and honorable solution to this conflict.

Because Nicaragua wants peace, justice, freedom, and democracy for the world, we shall continue to be nonaligned, even though this may not be to the liking of the United States authorities and even though this is not to the liking of the United States authorities.

Because Nicaragua wants peace, justice, freedom, and democracy for the peoples of the world, we shall continue to condemn colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism, apartheid, and racism and we shall continue to support just causes around the world, even though this may not be to the liking of the United States authorities and even though it means more sacrifice, suffering, threats, and extermination for the heroic people of Sandino.

Forty years ago, all humanity celebrated the end of a nightmare. Five years were enough to witness all the horrors of fascism which far surpassed Dante's inferno.

But today, our country, Nicaragua, a small nation of only 3 million people, is the victim of a policy of extermination manifested over the past three years and eight months in the form of an open war of aggression which the aggressor calls covert.

That policy is manifested when the United States administration provides millions of dollars to go on murdering the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador; when it debates the irresponsibility of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in not having informed the Senate Intelligence Committee in advance about the mining of Nicaraguan ports rather than debate the terrorist act of laying the mines; when United States Army helicopters and United States citizens — also casualties of this interventionist policy — have fallen in our country; when children, young people, women, teachers, and doctors are murdered and the people's produc-

tion, schools, and food stocks are destroyed; when the decision of the International Court of Justice at The Hague and United Nations resolutions are rejected, with the United States deeming itself judge and executioner of the nations of the earth.

This entails a violation of the United States' own internal legislation and of international law.

Nicaragua wishes to reaffirm before this assembly its belief in the validity of the [UN] charter and its willingness to resolve peacefully international situations and conflicts through the means established in the charter and under international law, prominent among which is the right to petition the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

That is why we have been making countless efforts on behalf of peace for the people of Nicaragua and the peoples of Central America. That is why Nicaragua turned to the International Court of Justice, whose decision of May 10, 1984, could not have been clearer in ordering the United States government to halt immediately military and paramilitary actions against Nicaragua, because these constitute clear and serious violations of international law and of Nicaragua's right to determine freely its own future. Its disdain and contempt of the court's ruling were condemned by the international community.

In fact everything indicates that these efforts and Nicaragua's unwavering willingness to achieve peace are not respected by the United States government, which has been escalating its military and economic aggression against Nicaragua. To each peace initiative by Nicaragua and the Contadora Group, the United States government has responded with terrorist attacks, the installation of military bases, and a whole infrastructure for unleashing direct, massive military action against Nicaragua.

For almost two years the member countries of the Contadora Group have been making a noble and serious effort to promote peace in Central America. This effort has enjoyed

broad support from the whole world, including the Security Council and this General Assembly. As a result of that work, on September 7 the Contadora Group presented to the countries of Central America the Act of Peace and Cooperation in Central America.

Now it is for the Central American governments and the United States government — whose involvement in the conflict cannot be denied by anyone — to state clearly and definitively their positions. Nicaragua has already done so. On September 21 we officially communicated to the governments of the Contadora countries our decision to sign the Act of September 7 immediately, without amendments or changes of any kind, exactly as it was written by the Contadora Group.

Today before this assembly, before the conscience of the world, we solemnly reaffirm Nicaragua's decision and we call on the leaders of the countries of Central America to join us in supporting the act, in the interest of the peace and tranquility of our peoples. At the same time, we applaud the support given to the act by the governments of the European Economic Community and Spain and Portugal at the recent conference held in San José [Costa Rica].

The United States authorities have said they support Contadora. Their diplomats have tirelessly traveled around our region and the world claiming they defend those negotiations and peace. The international community has the right to expect the United States government to support the Contadora Act unconditionally by immediately voicing its willingness to sign the additional protocol.

The winds now blowing over Central America presage a holocaust for our peoples. Today as we appeal for peace in this body, which itself emerged from the ruins of war in order to fight for peace, Nicaragua continues to be subjected to the genocide of the terrorist policies of the United States authorities.

Amidst all this horror, we are making truly exceptional efforts to institutionalize — by means of elections — our democratic, nationalist, nonaligned, pluralist revolution, which defends a mixed economic system.

However, despite these efforts to reconstruct our country and to institutionalize democracy, the number of victims grows. To date more than 7,000 Nicaraguans have been casualties — including children, mothers, youth, and the elderly — which in relative terms is equivalent to more than three times the number of American casualties in the Vietnam war.

Moreover, there is the daily damage done to the economy by the direct impact of foreign aggression. Cooperatives, health centers, schools, machinery, construction equipment, day-care centers, food stocks, and houses are being destroyed by this daily policy of terror. Our losses during the period 1981 to 1984 total \$237 million. This would represent for the United States and the European Economic Community, on a percentage basis, \$102 billion and \$284 billion respectively of their ex-

port earnings during the same period. To these figures should be added the credits, loans, grants, and so on that Nicaragua no longer receives as a result of United States pressure on governments and multilateral agencies.

Nicaragua is today a country besieged, attacked, and subjected to an unjust and illegal war, which is in danger of spreading. The United States has installed an impressive military infrastructure in Honduran territory bordering on Nicaragua. Its military presence has also been imposed on Costa Rican territory bordering on Nicaragua. United States warships are deployed menacingly off our coasts, and United States spy aircraft and military aircraft violate our airspace.

Dozens of mercenaries, among them United States citizens working for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), pilot the planes and helicopters that launch attacks against economic, civilian, and military targets and keep the aggressor forces supplied. Thousands of mercenaries function like a full-fledged army from their bases in Honduras and Costa Rica in operations coordinated and directed from military bases in Panama still occupied by the United States.

U.S. to disrupt elections

New plans are being worked out in the Pentagon and the CIA, this time to prevent the elections of November 4 in Nicaragua. Among other actions, they are contemplating renewed mining of our ports, aerial and naval attacks, and the seizing of various areas.

The military offensive is ready to begin on October 15 of this year. The mercenary forces of the CIA and the Pentagon are already concentrated in the areas bordering Nicaragua in Honduras and Costa Rica.

Also ready are the United States forces that would be used for bombings, troop landings, and direct incursions into Nicaragua.

The Central American governments are also prepared. They will go through the formality of requesting "aid" from the United States to eradicate the "Sandinista threat" from the area. And also ready is the "Paul Scoon," the puppet who would be intended to serve as the future president of the United States of Nicaragua. They have the actors in their assigned places with their roles memorized. Also prepared are the estimates of United States casualties during such an intervention. This amounts to an attempt to repeat the destructive and shameful actions against Grenada, but this time against Nicaragua.

From August 12, 1981, until September 26, 1984, Nicaragua made countless efforts on behalf of peace in bilateral talks with the United States, meeting with representatives of the United States government on 16 occasions.

Despite the concrete proposals presented by Nicaragua, the United States has always responded evasively or with proposals which can only be described as lacking in seriousness.

In Manzanillo, Mexico, Nicaragua has been very clear, consistent, and flexible in responding to the concerns of the United States, which

claims to feel its security in the region threatened by the Nicaraguan revolution.

We have been firm and reasonable in proposing specific measures which would create a framework for mutual security for the United States and Nicaragua.

The Nicaragua people, who yearn for peace, are willing to continue defending their independence, freedom, self-determination, and democracy.

We know that the United States leaders are victims of their own history of intervention and aggression. There is not a corner of the world that has not suffered in one way or another the effects of these policies. All mankind must call upon the United States leaders to be level-headed and prudent.

At this session of the General Assembly, in this month of October 1984, the people of Nicaragua want to go on record as voicing their desire for peace, while defending freedom, justice, and democracy.

If peace does not come and the war continues, and with it the likelihood of United States military intervention, we want the world to know that the Nicaraguan people — barefoot, ragged, and with empty stomachs — are going to fight to the end, until we achieve peace, by either defeating the invaders or immolating ourselves if imperialist aggression leaves us no other choice.

Such is our morale. It is the same morale that made it possible for the peoples of Europe to wage their struggle of resistance against the fascist war machine 40 years ago. We are certain that our sacrifice would not be in vain and we know that all 3 million Nicaraguans could be annihilated, but our example would triumph and be multiplied among the peoples of the world — and among the people of the United States as well. This is our contribution to peace.

We wish to appeal to the leaders of the United States, in the interests of the peace and happiness of our peoples. We urge them to reflect on the enormous responsibility weighing on them at the present moment, and thus leave the road to war and join us in the search for peace. In this way, we could begin a new era in the relations between our countries, in the interest of our peoples, including the real interest of the people of the United States.

The world has a right to know if the United States is willing to live in peace with the Central American peoples or if it insists on imposing war on us.

The world has the right to demand of the current leaders of the United States a clear, definitive answer to a very concrete question: Are they for or against the Act for Peace and Cooperation in Central America presented by the Contadora Group on September 7 to all the Central American governments? Are they for, or against, peace?

Many philosophers and men of politics have been quoted from this important rostrum. I would like to quote Jesus Christ, the humble man of Nazareth, who said: "Blessed are the peacemakers" (Matthew 5:3). □

Washington imposes trade ban

'Fishing war' breaks out over islands' territorial rights

By Rob Gardner

[The following article appeared in the September 21 issue of *Socialist Action*, a fortnightly newspaper published in Auckland, New Zealand, that reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

A "fishing war" has broken out between the United States and a small South Pacific country, the Solomon Islands, which won its independence from Britain in 1978.

At the heart of this rather unequal conflict is the continued domination and exploitation of the Pacific by imperialist big business and the struggle of the peoples of the Pacific to develop their countries for themselves.

At the end of June an American-owned tuna fishing boat, the *Jeanette Diana*, was caught fishing illegally in the Solomon Islands' 200-mile economic zone. The boat was subsequently confiscated, along with its helicopter and 500-tonne catch, by the Solomon Islands Supreme Court, and the government has put it up for sale with a reserve price of \$3.9 million.

The U.S. government, which refuses to recognise the 200-mile economic zone in relation to migratory fish like tuna, has retaliated by imposing a ban on all tuna imports from the Solomon Islands.

This embargo could have very serious consequences for the Solomons, as it affects about a quarter of the country's total exports. Fish make up about 40 percent of the Solomons' exports, and in the first six months of this year 58 percent of the fish exports went to the U.S.

Fishing industry

The South Pacific Forum's Fisheries Agency is currently trying to negotiate a multi-lateral agreement with the U.S. government on fishing within the island countries' 200-mile economic zones, and the Solomons' stand has won widespread sympathy and support in the region.

The August 29 *Evening Post* reported that at the South Pacific Forum meeting held in Tuvalu at the end of August, the Solomons put forward a position that would have led to "the banning of all U.S. ships, including nuclear-powered and armed ships, from the region in retaliation for the U.S. refusal to bar its tuna boats from the Solomons' economic zone." New Zealand's prime minister, David Lange, and Australia's Bob Hawke joined to help block this proposal.

Prior to the Forum meeting, the Solomons had joined Vanuatu in imposing its own ban on

nuclear-armed warships from entering its waters or visiting its ports.

The confiscation of the *Jeanette Diana* reflects the growing anger in the Solomons about illegal fishing by the U.S. boats. The Solomon Islands government believes that at least 10 other U.S. boats were fishing in Solomon waters at the time the *Jeanette Diana* was arrested. It is also worried that the high technology boats will rapidly deplete stocks of tuna at a time when the Solomons is trying to develop its own fishing industry.

The Solomons has refused to allow foreign ships using the purse seine method of fishing in its waters. These capital-intensive ships can net up to 100 tonnes in one go, while the Solomons' fleet primarily uses the labour-intensive "pole and line" method, with 100 tonnes a month being considered a good catch.

There are now reported to be 58 U.S. tuna boats operating in the western and central Pacific. This is about half the U.S. tuna fleet, and represents a dramatic increase on the 22 U.S. boats fishing there in 1982. This reflects the fact that the western Pacific has been found to have the richest tuna grounds in the world today.

Economic slump

Recent years, however, have seen a dramatic slump in tuna prices as the U.S. market has become saturated. As well as threatening the viability of the small, newly-developing, Pacific Island fishing fleets, this slump has also led to the U.S. boats increasing the size of their catches, to make up for the lower prices, regardless of the effect on fish stocks.

The U.S. boats operate mainly out of American Samoa, where the U.S. companies Star-kist (a part-owner of the *Jeanette Diana*) and Van Camp have big canneries. Many of them have licenses to fish in Micronesia and around Papua New Guinea, and pass through Solomon Island waters — where they fish illegally — in transit.

The Solomons' fleet caught a record 34,000 tonnes last year, making it the largest and most successful of the Pacific Island countries' fisheries. The fleet of 20 locally built pole-and-line boats, two long-liners, and one purse seiner is operated by the National Fisheries Development Company, which is 75 percent owned by the government and 25 percent by Solomon Taiyo. The latter is a government/Japanese joint venture that owns two coolstores and one cannery, and is planning to build another cannery.

Fishing is at the centre of the Solomons' economic development plans. The August

1983 *Islands Business* reported that "investment proposals worth \$30 million had been approved [by the Solomon Islands government] since mid-1982, including \$9.1 million for forestry, \$4 million for agriculture, and \$2.6 million for fishing."

Although these developments may seem small by international standards, they are crucial to a country that in 1980 had a Gross National Product of only \$US110 million.

Fish, timber, copra and palm oil earned 93 percent of the Solomons' export income of about \$60 million in 1980.

The stand by the Solomons government against U.S. tuna boats poaching and in support of a nuclear-free Pacific partly reflects the influence of the National Union of Workers (NUW), which has strongly championed these issues. Formed in 1975, the NUW now has 10,000 members out of a paid workforce of about 16,000.

Trade union

The union's views were outlined in an interview with its general secretary, Josés Tuhanuku, in the March 1984 *South Pacific Forum*, published by the University of the South Pacific Sociological Society. Responding to a question on what he saw as some of the most important issues facing the region, Tuhanuku explained:

"The National Union of Workers is a committed supporter of the concept of a nuclear-free Pacific and of the struggle for self-determination by peoples under colonial rule in the South Pacific. We believe that things like nuclear testing in the region and colonialism are crimes against humanity and that it is our duty to support those who are fighting against these things.

"I don't think that members of our union would say that we have nothing to do with these things. A nuclear-free Pacific is important to everyone in the region. I think that our union has a responsibility not only to the people of the Solomon Islands, but to the international community as well. If anything affects the rights of people, if it is affecting the rights of human beings, the Solomon Islands trade union movement has an obligation to fight against it.

"So we have been fighting for a nuclear-free Pacific and for the independence of New Caledonia, Tahiti, East Timor, and Irian Jaya [West Papua]. We have been trying to make people aware of what has been going on in other parts of the world. The attitude of the union is that we have to get involved in issues

like these. We cannot sit back and just watch."

The NUW is the only union in the South Pacific Islands with an open alliance with a political party. It formed the Nationalist Party (now the National Democratic Party — NDP) and contested the 1976 elections before independence.

The NDP is now a junior partner in the pres-

ent Solomon Islands government, with four seats in the 38-member parliament. Prime Minister Solomon Mamaloni's Peoples Alliance Party, which has 11 seats, became the government in August 1981 when a number of the 11 independents shifted their allegiance from the previous United Party government. New elections are scheduled for November 7.

Legacy of colonialism

Imperialist corporations dominate Solomons' economy

[The following article appeared in the September 21 issue of *Socialist Action*, a fortnightly newspaper published in Auckland, New Zealand, that reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The Solomon Islands first became involved in the international capitalist economy in the late 19th century with the practice of "blackbirding." As many as 30,000 Solomon Islanders were forced to work on sugar plantations in Queensland and Fiji as virtual slave labour.

The British established a "protectorate" over the Solomons in 1893 in response to the growing French influence in northern Vanuatu. The northern Solomons were obtained later from Germany, in exchange for British withdrawal from Western Samoa.

British rule was interrupted briefly during World War II when much of the Solomons was occupied by the Japanese, and it became the scene of some of the fiercest battles of the war. One of the main islands, Guadalcanal, became a huge U.S. supply depot and training centre during the war.

Independence

In the late 1940s the Maasina Rule movement agitated for self-determination — the British colonial authorities jailed its main leaders for three years. Internal self-government finally came in 1976 and independence was granted in 1978.

The British-based monopoly, Unilever, dominated the colonial economy in the Solomons from the early years of this century and still exerts a major influence.

By 1907 Unilever had 999-year leases on 300,000 acres of Solomon Island land. It developed major coconut plantations, but most of the leased land covered rain forests, which remained largely undeveloped until the 1960s. At that time, wrote Australian environmentalist John Seed in the November 1983 *Islands Business*, Unilever decided to begin logging the forests "before the customary owners demanded the return of their land."

Unilever, Seed explains, "prevailed upon the colonial government to waive regulations

that required logging companies to process 20 percent of their cut locally and to replant after logging. To this day Unilever exports only whole logs, creating minimum local employment and overseas aid agencies have had to fund reforestation programmes.

Unilever

"Very sound corporate strategy — socialise the unprofitable section of the industry — reforestation — but keep the profitable section in private ownership. This waiver is particularly damaging when it is realised that Unilever has over half the annual logging quota for the whole Solomon Islands — a massive 225,000 cubic metres per annum."

Two Unilever subsidiaries operate in the Solomons — Lever Pacific Timbers, which handles the logging, and Lever Solomons Ltd., which runs the coconut plantations. Previously known as Lever Pacific Plantations, Lever Solomons is now owned 40 percent by the Solomons government. Unilever continues to control marketing internationally. Before in-

dependence, Lever Pacific Plantations was the largest employer on the islands, with some 2,000 workers.

Union rights were largely absent throughout colonial rule, and Lever's workers only won union recognition in 1979, following a five-week strike led by the National Union of Workers.

The Solomons has been hit hard by the international capitalist economic crisis. It has been squeezed between high prices for its imports of oil and manufactured goods and low prices for its primary produce exports. Tuna prices have halved between 1981 and 1984 (from \$1200 per tonne to between \$500 and \$700), and the world price for copra in 1983 was only one-third of the 1977 level.

New Zealand trade

Most Solomons trade is with Australia, Japan, Britain, the U.S., and New Zealand. The trade balance with New Zealand, however, runs significantly to New Zealand's advantage. In the year to June 1982, New Zealand's exports to the Solomons were worth \$6.1 million, while imports from the Solomons came to only \$1.5 million. In the same year New Zealand aid to the Solomons was worth only \$656,699.

About 95 percent of the Solomon Islands population of 250,000 are still involved in traditional subsistence agriculture, although a majority have some cash income, especially from copra production.

One indication of the condition facing the people of the Solomons is the dramatic resurgence of malaria since 1977. The April 28 *New Zealand Herald* reported that "official estimates for 1983 show 85,000 cases of malaria in the Solomons, affecting nearly one-third of the population." □

WE BRING YOU THE NEWS FROM AROUND THE WORLD!

In recent issues, INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS has carried on-the-spot reports from the Philippines, Grenada, Greece, the Dominican Republic, Australia, Britain, Ireland, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Puerto Rico, Argentina, Canada, New Zealand, India, and many other countries.

IP also features regular coverage from our Managua bureau, enabling our readers to follow the development of the Sandinista Revolution from close up.

If you subscribe to IP, you won't miss a single issue!

Yes, I want to subscribe. Enclosed is \$30 for one year; \$15 for six months; \$7.50 for a special three-month introductory subscription.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Postal Code _____

(See inside front cover for prices outside the United States and Canada.)

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

Initiative for East-West dialogue

'Central task of peace policy is dissolving the two blocs'

[The following declaration, drawn up by the "Initiative for East-West Dialogue" in West Berlin, was originally published in *Tageszeitung*, a radical West Berlin daily newspaper. It is reprinted from *Arbeiterkampf* ("Workers Struggle"). The translation from German is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

We live in the most perilous period of human history. A third world war is not only possible but is becoming ever more likely. Deepgoing economic and social crises in the industrially developed countries; the confrontation between the superpowers, which is once again growing more acute; the explosive conflict between North and South; the wars in the Third World — all this creates the basis for political tensions and foments an insane armaments race.

For more than 25 years the military powers of NATO and the Warsaw Pact have possessed sufficient weaponry to annihilate each other and at the same time to destroy the basis of civilized life. Yet year after year the arms race continues to increase the number of these weapons. In Europe, the main geographical focus of the East-West confrontation, new weapons systems are now being deployed whose aim is to make it possible to wage and win a nuclear war.

In view of this situation the peoples of Europe are called on to surmount the barriers of social systems and power blocs and to become aware of their responsibility for peace and for the future of this continent. The increase in active popular commitment to the peace movements graphically expresses this responsibility. In the different countries of Western and Eastern Europe, under the conditions specific to each country and with the corresponding variations in emphasis, a common struggle is under way against the menacing dynamic of the arms race and of confrontation.

As Europeans in East and West and as members of parties, trade unions, churches, and independent initiatives and movements, we declare our desire for common work for a genuine peace on this continent, based on its self-determination. In this we regard the following principles and goals as indivisibly interlocked.

1. End the arms race and enforce steps to disarmament

An essential precondition for putting an end to the arms race is overcoming the system of deterrence and the theory of a military balance of power. Where terror is concerned no balance can be achieved, but only a spiralling escalation of terror. Nuclear deterrence threatens to destroy what it claims to defend. We reject

the justifications given by both military blocs for adding, supplementing, and adding yet again to their respective arsenals. With all peaceful means at our disposal, we will continue to resist the deployment of new rockets in Eastern or Western Europe. In addition, we stand for effective steps toward disarmament in nuclear, chemical, bacteriological, and conventional fields, for nuclear-free zones, and for a belt of reduced armaments along the border between the two blocs. Our goal is a nuclear-free Europe from the Urals to Portugal.

2. Peace is indivisible

Our stand for peace must be directed first of all toward the concrete situation in the country where we live. At the same time, however, our political action for peace must reach across borders and divisions between blocs — within Europe and beyond Europe. Therefore, we stand for an end to every form of military intervention by the superpowers and the European states in the Third World, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from every country, and for the right of all peoples to national self-determination. Our active solidarity for peace encompasses all parts of the world ruled by military force or where peoples are threatened by military force; this applies to international relations and, equally, to conditions within each society. A society's capacity for peace is also shown by its capacity for internal peace.

3. Full respect for human rights

For us, peace means more than the absence of war. We do not limit our commitment to peace, therefore, to the question of disarmament. For us, peace also embraces the capacity for free expression, unlimited freedom of organization and of travel, and the comprehensive realization of democratic rights in political and trade union domains. Every injury to human rights, wherever it occurs, threatens peace, even when the weapons remain silent.

4. Redefine the politics of détente

We stand for a détente policy that embraces not only the political, economic, and cultural fields but, above all, the military field as well. A détente policy that is no longer only or primarily a diplomatic deal between governments, but above all the business of the peoples themselves and, in particular, of the movements in East and West for social emancipation. A détente policy that is based on many-sided contacts between individuals and between social or occupational groups; on dismantling hostile images; on an intensive exchange of opinions and experiences on all questions that relate to peace and to the future of Europe; and on living partnership for peace

in all social realms. We require dialogue and reconciliation at every level and, above all, a dynamic of détente from below.

5. Overcoming the division of Europe

There will be no real security and no stable peace in Europe so long as this continent is divided and subjected to the hegemony of the two superpowers. The division of Europe into blocs not only feeds confrontation and the arms race, but also limits the freedom of action and sovereignty of the societies of East and West. The autonomous interests of peoples in both parts of the continent are coming ever more strongly into contradiction with the superpowers' interest in achieving power and hegemony. A central theme and task of a peace policy is, therefore, dissolving the two blocs through a step-by-step process.

In the spirit of the principles and goals outlined here, and as steps that can build confidence in moving toward their realization, we propose the following measures:

- No one should suffer discrimination or persecution on account of their stand for peace, even when their views are not those of the government, the ruling parties, or the official peace organizations of their country.

- Free exchange of information and opinion between East and West on all questions affecting peace and the future of Europe.

- Regular meetings and conferences in Eastern and Western Europe, in which all persons and groups engaged in the struggle for peace may take part.

- Publication in East and West of all discussion papers and documents of such peace conferences.

- Freedom of travel for everyone everywhere in Europe.

- Initiatives in East and West against every form of militarism within society, especially against military training in the schools and universities, against paramilitary training, for comprehensive education for peace, and for independent peace research.

- Personal peace treaties; peace partnerships between groups, institutions, and cities in East and West; and initiatives that transcend the blocs for creation of nuclear-free zones.

- Regular public reports on the military expenditures of the countries of Eastern and Western Europe and of their contributions to their respective military alliances.

These steps toward building confidence are posed within the framework of the accords of the Helsinki Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Realizing them in practice is not merely a question of fidelity to treaties, but above all of putting political wis-

dom at the service of détente and cooperation for peace.

This declaration was drawn up by the "Initiative for East-West Dialogue" in Berlin.

Initial signers of the declaration:

Belgium: Prof. Ernest Mandel (economist).

Federal Republic of Germany: Prof. Ulrich Albrecht (peace researcher), Prof. Elmar Altwater (economist), Gert Bastian (Bundestag member), Wolf Biermann (songwriter), Hans-Christoph Buch (writer), Dieter Esche (Green Party, alternate member of the European Parliament), Joschka Fischer (Green Party, Bundestag member), Jürgen Fuchs (writer), Milan Horacek (Green Party, Bundestag member), Petra Kelly (Green Party, Bundestag member), Dr. Alfred Mechttersheimer (peace researcher), Jakob Moneta (trade unionist), Prof. Wolf-Dieter Narr (political scientist), Prof. Oskar Negt (sociologist), Prof. Horst-Eberhard Richter (psychoanalyst), Klaus Vack (secretary of the Committee for Basic Rights and Democracy).

France: CODENE (Coordinating Committee for the Denuclearization of Europe), Françoise Galland (Federation for an Alternative Left), Victor Leduc (editor-in-chief, *Critique Socialiste*), Maurice Najman (journalist), Ginette Skandrani (Green Party).

Greece: Michel Triadafilides (AKE — Independent Peace Movement of Greece).

Great Britain: Jan Kavan (director, Palach Press).

Italy: Alexander Langer (Alternative List for a Changed South Tyrol), Rossana Rossanda (journalist), Enrico Testa (president, Environment League).

Austria: Matthias Reichl (Independent Initiative for Peace of Austria).

Switzerland: Swiss Peace Council.

Czechoslovakia: Ladislav Hejdanek, Jaroslav Sabata, Petr Uhl, Anna Marvanova (all members of Charter 77).

Hungary: György Dalos (writer), Janos Kis (philosopher), György Konrad (writer), Mihaly Vajda (sociologist).

From the Listy Group (Czechoslovak socialist opposition): Dr. Zdenek Heizlar (political scientist), Prof. Zdenek Mlyner (political scientist), Jiri Pelikan (member, European Parliament).

Peace activists from the *German Democratic Republic* living in the German Federal Republic: Roland Jahn, Andrea Kreibich.

Poland: Wlodek Goldkom (KOS — Committee for Social Self Defense/Poland), Lew Kopelew (writer), Raissa Orlowa-Kopelewa (writer), Zbigniew Kowalewski (former chairman of Solidarity in Lodz). □

Intercontinental Press

Subscribe now!
410 West Street
New York, N.Y. 10014

Uruguay

General amnesty now!

Letter from a former political prisoner

[The following letter, dated August 30, was recently published in Montevideo, Uruguay, by *Unidad Socialista* (Socialist Unity), the publication of the Socialist Workers Party (PST), Uruguayan sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Dear Compañeros:

I am writing you in order to make known the current situation inside the Punta de Rieles [women's] prison. As someone recently released from there, I know that the situation we were in must be publicized so that popular demands can open the gates for all the political prisoners.

I cannot take up just one partial aspect — even a recent or serious one — without thereby distorting the scope of the reality. I will try to present the overall situation, however lengthy the result.

I. *Who are those of us who are prisoners?* We are social fighters who have been wrenched out of our natural places — organizations, trade unions, workplaces, neighborhoods, families.

Our greatest efforts have always been directed toward feeling closer to those places as we seek to find out about and understand what is happening in the streets and to take part in some way in the struggle of our people.

The main thrust of the authorities' attack has been against our existence as political people. All the measures they have carried out have aimed directly or indirectly at destroying our political capacity to think and act, personally or collectively. They have tried to demoralize us, isolate us, divide us.

This has been done in thousands of ways during past years. I am going to refer to the methods applied at the present time.

II. *The jails are not separate from the process the country is going through*, in which political and social events have more and more taken on a dizzying pace in quantitative and qualitative terms.

How does one feel in the prison? The more events unfold and become clarified in the streets, the more we feel ourselves prisoners and the more our desire to join in rebounds off the walls. The more freedom is won in the streets, the more we become prisoners.

III. *Access to information* is fundamental in order for us to feel close to the things that are most important to us.

The current ways of getting news are family visits, newspapers, and the broadcasts allowed by the authorities. What are these like?

- *Visits* are subject to the threat of cancellation through sudden and arbitrary sanctions. Even when we are allowed visits, they do not fully meet our needs.

- We have been receiving *newspapers* since March of this year. They do not come every day, nor are they complete when they do. Information is dribbled out according to quantity and content. In recent weeks, the irregularity of delivery became still more irregular — once or twice a week, at no fixed times.

- *Radio broadcasts*, in tape-recorded form, do not serve as a means of information, even a partial one. They are played quite slowly and usually consist of headlines or announcements of news items that then are not transmitted. They only serve to create unfulfilled expectations.

On the whole, what is provided is disinformation. This leads to political confusion and heightens the anxiety and instability that we are naturally living through in this period.

IV. *The political situation calls into question the existence of the jails*. How do we experience this?

First of all, we are groups of people in the most varied situations, with regard to both the past and the future: there are compañeras serving 45-year terms, others serving two or three years. One has been in prison 12 years, another for one year. One is sick, another is well. One has a family, another none, and so on. This entails living both one's own life and that of all the others — great sorrows and great joys, uncertain waiting and freedom, all at the same time.

From the moment when the prospect of early release was made known, our situation became more uncertain, unstable, and tense. First, because such a prospect does not imply certainty that it will come to pass. Proof of this is shown in the cases where half the sentence has been served and further action has been postponed. Second, because we have received incorrect information concerning the releases granted or denied. The difference between being released and remaining in jail is so brutal that it can entail very high costs, particularly for the compañeras who are ill. It undoubtedly means for everyone a more delicate state of health, a more precarious emotional-psychological situation and a greater drain on one's energies.

V. Now I am going to refer to *other aspects* of the current prison regimen that contribute to heightening tension and even to the danger of not being able to go on resisting.

Attention! The solving of any particular one

of these problems will not mean an overall solution.

A. Regarding *medical attention*, besides the usual uncertainty regarding diagnoses, for several months specific medications have been unavailable. Among many others, there have been no medications for nervous disorders, high blood pressure, or circulatory ailments. Therefore, treatments are either not administered at all, or the patient suffers a relapse.

B. As for *food*, there has been a serious deterioration since early August — worse food and less of it. The majority of us have been assigned special diets owing to health problems. These call for a piece of meat, greens, rice, and occasionally eggs. The meat is served dry, tough, cold, greasy, and at times rotten. The rest of the food is scant — there were times when I counted four potatoes and two plates of rice for 20 persons. The eggs served over the past month were in a bad state, with something like fungus on them.

Food that comes in packages from families, such as fruit and cheese, serves only as a complement and does not replace the meals.

C. *Recreation* is irregular. This is the only time when we can breathe pure air, walk, go out where it is warm, stretch ourselves. Seldom are all five weekly recreation periods held. Sometimes there is one, other times none, and this is not determined by weather conditions.

D. The *calabozos* [solitary-confinement cells], after having been empty for two months, were put back into use August 17 when Ana María Díaz was confined. Today there are eight *compañeras* confined there — Ana Díaz, Ivone Klingler, Miria Rodríguez, Adhela Vaz, Beatriz Martínez, Ivone Trías, Cecilia Duffau, and Julia Armand Ugon.

Physical and psychological aggression is at its height — scant and icy food, cold, dampness, lack of hygiene, difficulty in gaining access to the bathroom, and rest disturbed by loud noises, lights, and ongoing harassment by the guards, who insult, push, and throw water on prisoners and their bedclothes.

E. *Emptying of cells and baths*. Beginning in April they have emptied the cells and baths that open onto the north and west wings of the building. They send us out shortly after we get up, lock the cells with chains, and only allow us to go back in after nightfall. This happens on Saturdays, Sundays, and Wednesdays. It can also happen suddenly any other day, at any hour, and for any length of time.

This means having access to only two-thirds or one-half of the cell living space (according to the sectors) and to only one bathroom for 20 persons.

The area that remains available is on the wings where no sun reaches — darker and colder areas. This is an important disruptive factor that serves to heighten tension.

F. *Closing of windows and transoms*. More than four years ago, screens were placed on the outside of the windows in order to block vision; this reduced ventilation and light.

Until August 6 we were able to open the

transoms and windows from inside. On August 15 the corridor window to the east was closed for good. On the 18th, the windows were shut in cells whose transoms had already been closed. Despite having their transoms shut, the baths remained closed, thereby preventing their use. They also persist in closing the cells.

The resulting clamor by the *compañeras* has by now cost them periods of solitary confinement and the loss of many visits.

This would be more or less the overall panorama.

It only remains for me to say that we are wit-

30,000 demand amnesty

Campaign to free 500 political prisoners

Thirty thousand persons marched in Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, on September 27 to demand a full and immediate amnesty for the country's more than 500 political prisoners. The demonstration was the latest in a series of such actions since early August that have involved up to 100,000 protesters.

As part of a pact leading up to elections on November 25 that the ruling military junta has signed with three civilian political parties, political prisoners who had served up to half their sentences were to be released. This would have affected some 420 prisoners, but only 192 were actually released. More than 250 others were not even considered under this plan.

Those set free were immediately presented with bills for "maintenance" — the cost of food and shelter during their jail terms — by the prison authorities. The regime places a lien on all bank accounts and property of the former prisoners to make sure these bills are paid.

Among the political prisoners still held are Raúl Sendic and eight other leaders of the National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros), which waged a guerrilla campaign against the Uruguayan government in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Since 1973 Sendic and his comrades have been held hostage by the military, which has threatened to kill them if the Tupamaros should resume armed struggle.

In April of this year, the Tupamaro hostages were transferred from the military bases where they had been held for more than 10 years and placed in Libertad Prison near Montevideo. One of the nine, Adolfo Wassen, is dying of cancer and was transferred to the Military Hospital in late June.

The Tupamaro leaders had been held without trial until quite recently. But in a move evidently aimed at blocking their release by a new civilian regime, the junta has begun trying the Tupamaros before secret military courts. On September 17, Raúl Sendic was sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment and 15 years' house arrest — the maximum allowed under Uruguayan law.

In face of this intransigence on the part of the regime, the leftist parties grouped in the

nessing with deep happiness all the victories our people have been winning in the struggle for freedom, and that we are fully confident the mobilizations will end by opening the gates for everyone. But this is not enough for us to feel all right.

Every day in jail costs us more than the previous one and carries greater risk. We have paid in recent days with the deaths both of various *compañeras* and of family members, with breakdowns, and with aggravated illnesses. That is why we shout, "General amnesty now!" □

Broad Front and the trade unions organized in the Inter-Union Workers Assembly (PIT) have been campaigning for a full and immediate amnesty. At a PIT rally of more than 30,000 in late August, placards bearing the likenesses of Raúl Sendic and the other Tupamaro hostages were much in evidence. □

Swedish Social Democrats wage anti-Soviet campaign

The Social Democratic Party (SDP), Sweden's governing party, has rebuffed moves to reduce the country's military forces. The SDP's 29th national convention in mid-September rejected all resolutions calling for a commitment to cut military spending. The delegates voted down a resolution calling for "unilateral Swedish disarmament."

For the past few years, the Swedish imperialists and their supporters, including the SPD, have been conducting a hysterical campaign against Soviet submarines penetrating Swedish waters. In spite of numerous reports of such incidents, however, only one has ever been verified. This was a Soviet sub that accidentally ran aground in Sweden in October 1981. Since then the Swedish navy has stepped up its patrols of coastal waters.

The anti-Soviet campaign has been engineered to convince Swedish working people that increased military expenditures are necessary. The Swedish Ministry of Defense has requested a 7 percent increase in military spending for fiscal 1985-86.

Sweden, which does not belong to NATO, attempts to present itself as a "neutral" country. But this facade is hard to maintain in the face of the government's sustained anti-Soviet campaign.

The hoopla about Soviet submarines has spread to neighboring Norway. At the same time that the SPD convention was taking place, a Norwegian fishing boat netted what was widely announced in the press to be a "foreign submarine." Later it was revealed to have been the metal fragments of an old plane, probably one that crashed during World War II. □

A strategy for Polish revolutionaries

Proposals of Polish 'Inprekor' for left regroupment — Part I

[The following is the first of two parts of an article taken from the December 1983–January 1984 issue (No. 13) of the Polish-language *Inprekor*, published in Paris. Entitled, "For an Agreement of the Revolutionary Left," it was signed by the magazine's editorial board. *Inprekor*, which is circulated within Poland as well as among Poles living abroad, describes itself as a journal that "presents the point of view of the Fourth International."

[The subheads and footnotes (except where indicated otherwise) are from the original. The translation from the Polish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

*The worker is seizing the rudder of power
to change the face of this world.*

— From "Song of the Free Trade Unions,"
Gdansk, August 1980.

When Hitler's German army and the USSR carried out the fourth partition of Poland in September 1939, Leon Trotsky foresaw the development of the situation in the areas under the control of the totalitarian Soviet bureaucracy in the following manner:

... the Moscow government will carry through the expropriation of the large land-owners and statification of the means of production. This variant is most probable not because the bureaucracy remains true to the socialist program but because it is neither desirous nor capable of sharing the power, and the privileges the latter entails, with the old ruling classes in the occupied territories. Here an analogy literally offers itself. The first Bonaparte halted the revolution by means of a military dictatorship. However, when the French troops invaded Poland, Napoleon signed a decree: "Serfdom is abolished." This measure was dictated not by Napoleon's sympathies for the peasants, nor by democratic principles, but rather by the fact that the Bonapartist dictatorship based itself not on feudal, but on bourgeois property relations. Inasmuch as Stalin's Bonapartist dictatorship bases itself not on private but on state property, the invasion of Poland by the Red Army should, in the nature of the case, result in the abolition of private capitalist property, so as thus to bring the regime of the occupied territories into accord with the regime of the USSR.

This measure, revolutionary in character — "the expropriation of the expropriators" — is in this case achieved in a military-bureaucratic fashion. The appeal to independent activity on the part of the masses in the new territories — and without such an appeal, even if worded with extreme caution, it is impossible to constitute a new regime — will on the morrow undoubtedly be suppressed by ruthless police measures in order to assure the preponderance of the bureaucracy over the awakened revolutionary masses.¹

1. Leon Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism* (New York: Pathfinder, 1973), pp. 18–19.

And that is what happened in the mid-1940s.

'A revolution from above'

When the Soviet army crossed the Bug River on July 21, 1944, there was a pre-revolutionary situation in Poland. The struggle for national liberation, which was embracing ever broader layers of the masses, could have grown over into a social revolution. The danger existed that the Kremlin would gain control over and subordinate this struggle.

The authorities of the Polish underground were aware of this danger, as shown by the contents of a cable sent to London on July 22 by Gen. Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski.² In it, he stated that the principal tasks in this situation should be the following:

"Depriving the Soviets of the initiative for social reform in Poland and immediately undertaking such legal measures as will inspire full confidence in the Polish leadership among the broad masses of the countryside and the city. The Polish leadership must be so strongly committed to this course that the masses will take its side, even in open conflict with the Soviets. Because building up this confidence requires time — and the Soviets are already marching in — the appropriate measures must therefore be immediately undertaken."

Concretely, the chief commander of the Home Army requested:

"The immediate issuing by the national authorities of decrees on: a) the reconstruction of the current system in Poland through confiscation without compensation of the large landed estates, in order to carry out a land reform; b) the socialization of the main branches of industrial production and the establishment of workers councils; c) the universalization of education and social welfare; d) the principles of new electoral ordinances for legislative and self-management bodies."³

Acting within the framework of the structures of the underground state, the Polish left, though it was traditionally not revolutionary, nevertheless retained such close ties with the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia

2. General Bor-Komorowski was a commander of the Home Army, the largest anti-Nazi resistance force in Poland, which was loyal to the Polish government-in-exile based in London. The parties comprising the London government were the Polish Socialist Party–Freedom, Equality, Independence (PPS-WRN), the rightist National Party, the Labor Party (a small Christian Democratic grouping), and the Peasant Party. — *IP*

3. *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach, 1939–1945* [Documents of the Home Army, 1939–1945] (London: 1977), Vol. 4, pp. 4–5.

that it was subjected to the influences of the revolutionary hopes and aspirations for radical social and economic reform that were ripening in the society. During the Warsaw Uprising, radical laws were pushed through the Polish underground parliament, mainly at the initiative of the socialists. They reflected the social face of the Warsaw Uprising and paved the way for the social movement's anticapitalist dynamic.

The following year, this parliament — the Council of National Unity — held its last session. Taking place in secrecy on July 1, 1945, in the capital, surrounded by the forces of the NKVD, it issued its final decree, the "Testament of Underground Poland."⁴ Among other things, this testament outlined the following aspects of the system that should have arisen in Poland:

Creation of complete regional, socioeconomic, cultural, and educational self-management.

Socialization of the large capitalist properties and the organization of a just division of the social income.

Assurance to the working class of comanagement and control over the entire national economy, as well as of material conditions that would guarantee family existence and the cultural development of the individual.

Freedom of the working class to struggle for its rights within the framework of an unfettered union movement.

The just enactment of agrarian reform.⁵

The existence of this testament was hidden from society for 40 years because it exposes the authorities' lies, according to which the Stalinist Communist party — the Polish Workers Party (PPR) — was at that time the only one with a program for structural social and economic transformation. The authorities further claimed that program could only be realized through a "wind from the east," since all the parties and institutions of the underground state aimed for nothing else but capitalist reconstruction.

The course of history was determined by the entry of the Soviet army and the incorporation of Poland into the Kremlin's sphere of influence on the basis of the Yalta agreement. Capitalism was overturned, not through a rev-

4. The Council of National Unity was set up in January 1944 by representatives of the parties making up the London-based government. The NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) was a Soviet paramilitary security force operating alongside the Soviet army in Poland during and after the war. — *IP*

5. T. Bielecki, *Podziemna walka o Polskę niepodległą* [The underground struggle for Poland's independence] (Philadelphia), p. 485.

olution from below, but through a "structural assimilation" with the prevailing system in the USSR. Stalin, who was particular about dressing up his policies with "theoretical" concepts, later formulated the idea of a so-called revolution from above, that is, one carried out "at the initiative of the authorities." However, this social revolution "from above" — and it is valuable to complete this Stalinist definition — was at the same time a preventive political counterrevolution: not only was it carried out without the participation of the masses, but, what is more, it was directed against them. It blocked, or simply strangled, the independent social movements and the revolution from below.

That was precisely why the Soviet army held back from conducting offensive actions during the Warsaw Uprising — even though it had previously appealed to Polish society to rise up with arms — and did not give the uprising any help. This enabled Hitler's army to put down the uprising, which simultaneously accomplished two of the Kremlin's aims: the destruction of the central structures of the underground state and the crushing of the mass social movements.

Following the expulsion of the German army from Polish territory, the movement for workers self-management was suppressed, a movement that had developed spontaneously in many industrial locations, establishing in the enterprises the power of trade or employee councils and factory committees.⁶

The revolution from below was in this way crushed in the egg. The masses were thus not allowed to make the overthrow of capitalism into their own conquest. Instead of a genuine self-managed power of the workers, there arose the power of the totalitarian bureaucracy.

The capitulation of the left

In the fall of 1939, Trotsky wrote:

We do not entrust the Kremlin with any historic mission. We were and remain against seizures of new territories by the Kremlin. We are for the independence of Soviet Ukraine, and if the Byelo Russians themselves wish — of Soviet Byelo Russia. At the same time in the sections of Poland occupied by the Red Army, partisans of the Fourth International must play the most decisive part in expropriating the landlords and capitalists, in dividing the land among the peasants, in creating soviets and workers' committees, etc. While so doing, they must preserve their political independence, they must fight during elections to the soviets and factory committees for the complete independence of the latter from the bureaucracy, and they must conduct revolutionary propaganda in the spirit of distrust toward the Kremlin and its local agencies.⁷

Unfortunately, the stance of the Polish left during the mid-1940s was totally different. Thus a considerable share of the historical responsibility for the introduction into Poland of

the system of totalitarian power in the last analysis rests on the left.

Jacek Kuron, who identifies with the traditions of the socialist left, has written in this regard:

There is no doubt that it was above all the Polish left that supported the system brought in by the tanks of the victorious Red Army. What is more, on the side of the victors were found the majority of the entire left camp (of those living in the country, nearly all the members of the prewar Communist Party of Poland and its appendages, a big majority of the members of the prewar Polish Socialist Party, and many members of the prewar Peasants Party). This state of affairs is not changed by the fact that, outside of a few exceptions, everyone wanted to support structural reforms according to the demands long put forward in the program of the left, not according to the Soviet system, which they did not know. Nevertheless, we would emphasize that there were socialists who tried to actively oppose Stalinism.⁸

Among them: Kazimierz Puzak, the general secretary of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) during the occupation and one of the key leaders of the Polish underground, who died in prison under the Polish People's Republic.

But why did the Polish left, including the socialists, collaborate with Stalinism? We cannot agree with Kuron's view that they did so because they were unfamiliar with the Stalinist dictatorship, since that is not true. However, the fact is that they cherished illusions that they could coexist with it and force it to accept some kind of "historic compromise" (as we would today call it).

It was not without reason that those on the left stressed the need to guarantee political democracy and self-management, which in this realm differentiated them from Stalinist communists. They wanted a parliamentary democracy to ensure political pluralism and the existence of a multiparty system. But at the same time they favored this multiparty system having a monopoly on all political activity, so that such activity would be carried out by the parties "in the name of" social forces, not by those social forces themselves.

In regard to the institutions of self-management, for example, there was considerable concern that workers should be able to elect the factory councils in a democratic fashion, by allowing numerous electoral lists on the ballots and ensuring proportional representation for the different tendencies (in practice controlled by political parties) that existed among the workers. But they were unconcerned about something that was no less important: the genuine power of these councils to exercise their authority and their self-management and independence from the state power, which in the meantime had been seized by the Stalinists.

That was why, for example, the February 1945 decree on factory councils could with impunity reduce the authority of the councils to a minimum — thus in reality abrogating the acquisition of the self-management councils — at the same time that the electoral mechanisms

8. Jacek Kuron, *Zasady ideowe* [Ideological principles] (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1978), p. 54.

laid out in the decree were extremely democratic. Throughout 1945, the Ministry of Industry, under the direction of Hilary Minc, energetically built up a bureaucratic system of centralized management and effectively stripped the factory councils of all their powers, without meeting resistance from the socialist left; those union activists among the socialists who supported the self-management movement were left to their fate.

The history of the prewar Polish Socialist Party — the most powerful workers party — had been deeply marked by the policies of its bureaucratic apparatus, which was joined by numerous threads to the apparatus of the bourgeois state power and often did not recoil from collaborating with that power against the workers. Now again, the interests of the party apparatus took the upper hand: the defense of democracy, political pluralism, and the multiparty system that it undertook was inconsistent. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the PPS retained its status as a legal party to a great extent through a "concession" by the PPR and the Kremlin. This led the party to defend the interests of its own apparatus, not the democracy of the masses or their independent actions, which the PPS apparatus continued to fear as much as it did before the war. This meant guaranteeing its own privileges by occupying appropriate positions in the apparatus of power, which it built up in league with the Stalinists.

The PPS did not see that the Stalinists were from the very beginning heading toward the introduction of a regime of political terror and a de facto state of emergency — by everywhere eliminating the independent action and embryonic self-managed power of the masses, behind the scenes of a parliamentary democracy and with the consent, and even participation, of the PPS.⁹ Thanks to this the Stalinists were able to rapidly impose their own party's monopoly of power. We know the price the PPS had to pay for this. In the end, it too was consumed by the Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus, as confirmed by the so-called organizational unification of the PPR and PPS in 1948.¹⁰

Thus if the majority of the Polish left, which was not Stalinist, eventually capitulated to Stalinism, it was because this left was not revolutionary. It was not able to oppose the "revolution from above" with its own strategy of revolution from below, based on the independent action of the masses.

* * *

In the very nature of revolution, it is not possible to prevent it indefinitely: sooner or later it must happen. In the mid-1940s, the Polish rev-

9. See L. Socha, "Skazani na smierc i ich sedziowie 1944–1946" [Those condemned to death and their judges, 1944–1946], in *Krytyka* (Warsaw), No. 13–14, 1983.

10. The unification of the PPR and PPS in 1948 resulted in the formation of the Polish United Workers Party, which still governs today. — IP

olution did not genuinely take place, that is, from below. It remains to be accomplished.

But this revolution no longer has the same character: it is not directed against capitalism, but against a power that arose after capitalism was overthrown from above. Then it was a social revolution; today its character is fundamentally political. That means a radical change from the current system of political

power to another one — one that will allow citizens and workers to wield power in a self-managed way; that will safeguard their rights, dignity, and material and moral interests; and that will permit a genuine socialization of the basic means of production and democratic planning of society's development. That means, also, that the conditions will thus arise for the building of a Self-managed Republic.

The beginnings of the new left

The first antibureaucratic (antitotalitarian) revolution in Poland erupted in October 1956. The main current in it was the movement of self-managed workers councils in the factories, which gave a revolutionary character to the struggle for democratization of the system of political power. A temporary revival of the anti-Stalinist left followed.

This left adopted a strategy of revolution from below. But it did so only to a limited degree, since it was unable to cut the umbilical cord that tied it to the so-called liberal wing of the totalitarian power — the same wing that managed to win the confidence of the social movement through various concessions, in order to regain control over it, keep it within safe limits, and eventually disarm it.

Some years later, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski wrote about this so-called October left, to which they themselves traced their lineage:

The left differed from the liberal current above all in its stance toward the workers councils, in which it saw the basis for new relations of production and the framework of a new political power. But the left was very heterogeneous. It did not break with the technocratic current in the workers councils movement (the demand that the factories be managed by the councils did not, after all, go beyond the program of the technocracy); nor did it politically break with the liberal bureaucracy on a national scale. It did not differentiate itself from the general anti-Stalinist front as a specifically proletarian movement. In this situation, it was obviously incapable of formulating its own political program, propagating it in an organized way among the masses, or creating a party. Without all this, it could not become an independent political force, and thus could only be transformed into a leftist appendage of the ruling liberal bureaucracy.¹¹

By the mid-1960s, the peaceful "normalization" of the system of totalitarian power carried out after 1956 had long since been completed. But at the same time the conditions for a socioeconomic and political crisis were growing, a crisis that would break out just a few years later.

In this period, in 1964, an initiative was undertaken to create a movement of the revolutionary left. It is worthwhile recalling that this was the first historical attempt of this kind in

the countries of "actually existing socialism" since the Stalinist dictatorship crushed the Left Opposition in the USSR in the early 1930s. We have in mind the initiative linked with the names of Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski and expressed in their then-famous (and today unfortunately almost totally forgotten) "Open Letter to Members of the University of Warsaw Branches of the Polish United Workers Party and the Union of Young Socialists." This letter was a reflection of the continuing programmatic radicalization of the political milieu that emerged from the so-called October left.

The letter, in addition to an analysis of the system of bureaucratic power, included the thesis that: "Today, in the period of a general crisis of the system, the interests of the working class lie in revolution: the overthrow of the bureaucracy and the current relations of production, taking control over their own labor and the products of their labor, and controlling the aims of production — that is, introducing an economic, social, and political system based on workers democracy."¹²

What is more, the letter presented the first outline of a program for building a new system of power based on workers councils — in essence, what we would today call a Self-managed Republic. In our opinion, this program retains enormous value today and is worthwhile recalling.

The authors of the open letter wrote of their initiative: "The axis of this activity must aim at formulating the working class's interests in a programmatic form and disseminating among the workers greater consciousness of their political goals, through programmatic discussions and involving them in struggles for their immediate interests, such as strike actions. Over the long term, this will lead to the organization of the working class into its own parties and trade unions."¹³

In reality, however, this activity did not go beyond the youthful academic dissident milieu. But to a considerable extent it prepared the conditions for the struggle for socialist democracy that arose during the March 1968 student revolt. That protest remained totally isolated from the workers, which led to its crushing defeat.

But whatever we might say about the limitations of Kuron's and Modzelewski's political initiative in those days, the fact remains that it marked a radical break on the programmatic

level with the traditions of the Polish left. It outlined the perspective of a revolution carried out by the masses themselves, all the way to its completion: the overthrow of the totalitarian power and its replacement by a new power, one coming out of the struggles and organization of the masses themselves — a power based on workers councils.

Soon after this break, however, nothing remained of it. Around 1970 Kuron and other dissident activists rejected the program of revolution, maintaining that a self-managed system in Poland not only could, but must, be attained without a revolution.

The most important expression of the democratic opposition prior to August 1980, the activity of the Social Defense Committee—Committee for the Defense of the Workers (KSS-KOR), had a completely different character. It was not guided by the program contained in the 1964 open letter. But in contrast to the earlier initiative of Kuron and his colleagues, it laid the basis for the development of a gigantic social movement — the motor of history, before which a program's worth is secondary.

The KSS-KOR was not a political grouping but, as it defined itself, a social institution that aimed to defend those persecuted for their convictions and to support social initiatives independent of the totalitarian power. Its essential role consisted above all of gathering within and around it a group of dissident democratic intellectuals, at first to defend the workers of Radom and Ursus who fell victim to brutal repression in June 1976, and later to contribute to the birth of an independent workers movement.

Let us recall what Kuron wrote about the Committee for the Defense of the Workers less than two months after its establishment, words that already carried the seeds of August 1980:

This is undoubtedly the first step toward collaboration between the workers and the intelligentsia. But for there to be further steps, it is necessary to create small workers coordinating groups in the work brigades and departments. It is vital to communicate and put forward demands. But — and we emphasize this — the most important demand is for solidarity. If the government makes concessions and is then able to fire some activists, it will quickly take back what it conceded and new actions [by the workers] will be very difficult. If it does not make concessions but the workers' organization survives, then sooner or later they will force it to grant the workers' demands.¹⁴

The newspaper *Robotnik* [The Worker] and its network of distributors developed in the industrial neighborhoods. Around them there began to form groups of workers, free trade union committees, and, based on the latter, workers factory committees. These were the first links of a movement that was also able to utilize the possibilities for independent action within the framework of the regime's trade unions.

This turn by the democratic opposition toward the working class, in particular toward the factory workers, and the support that it

11. Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, *List otwarty do partii* [Open letter to the party] (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1966), p. 59. [The letter is also available in English in *Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972). — IP]

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 65–66.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

14. Kuron, *Zasady ideowe*, pp. 30–31.

gave to the first signs of independent action and self-management by the most combative and conscious groups of workers, meant basing its activity on a powerful social foundation — the same one from which the revolution would soon explode.

This also favored the development of a socialist current within the democratic opposition. "We feel ourselves to be naturally linked with the left, quite simply because we are active among the workers," declared the editors of *Robotnik*; the newspaper's line "was rather left, even if we did not consciously define it in that way."¹⁵

The Charter of Workers' Rights, which comprised basic demands ranging from cost-of-living allowances to free trade unions, was the first program of the independent workers movement, even though it was a minimum program that did not formulate more advanced

Self-limiting revolution

The social movement that developed between August 1980 and December 1981 and that today continues to resist the totalitarian power's efforts to "normalize" its system of rule over society, had and has a revolutionary character. It is a movement of revolution from below, since, through the independent action of the masses, it aims to construct self-managed organizations and social institutions independent of the totalitarian power. The building of the structures of today's "underground society" flows from this same goal.

The overall orientation of this movement is socialist. It is all the more socialist in that a majority of the active forces in the social movement realize, both in program and practical action, the principle that the precondition for the independence of civil society is the independence of the working class and that it is only the working class itself that can achieve its own independence. These forces also consciously express the aspiration of this class — often in only a partially conscious way, sometimes just instinctively, but from deep within — for a self-managed society, which is, precisely, socialism.

"The majority of people here, mainly the working class, are socialist, even if they are not conscious of that fact," Lech Walesa has correctly stated.¹⁷

This strategic goal of the movement has been consciously expressed, at least in broad outline, in the program adopted by the First National Congress of Solidarity. It has been supported in full in the main programmatic declarations of Solidarity's Provisional Coordinating Committee (TKK) after the union was forced underground. That aim is for the construction of a Self-managed Republic, that is, a system combining broad political democracy

15. Interview with members of the *Robotnik* editorial board, in *Tygodnik Solidarnosc* (Warsaw), No. 2, April 10, 1981, p. 14.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Interview with Lech Walesa for *Newsweek*, in *Obserwator Wielkopolski*, No. 71, April 1983.

transitional demands.

Henryk Wujec later said, "In this new program, we committed certain errors: we lacked a broad outlook . . . we did not foresee the outbreak of the great Solidarity movement."¹⁶

However, the error did not at all lie in the fact that the democratic opposition, which contributed to planting the seeds of the independent workers movement, did not foresee that the seeds would be sown so quickly or massively; the error was not that it did not expect the outbreak of a powerful revolution. If that were the case, then the error would have been quickly corrected.

The error was that the strategy put forward by this current, resulting from the total break with the program of 1964, missed the dynamic of the revolution. Concretely, it missed the fact that the question of power was being posed.

with social ownership of the basic means of production.

But throughout the course of its entire tumultuous history, up to the present day, this movement has been plunged into a crisis of strategy, for which it paid a heavy price on Dec. 13, 1981. Why is this so? Because strategy involves not just the strategic goal that the struggle hopes to attain; it also requires outlining the strategic means through which that goal can be reached.

In Solidarity's strategy, there is a wide gap between goals and means. This is not simply because the working out of means has not kept up with the working out of goals; that has been a frequent occurrence in the history of social movements, and even — if one may venture to state — a law of development of their strategies. It is due to something much greater: Within Solidarity there is a strong current with the hardened theoretical view that strategic means must be employed with such limitations that the strategic goals cannot be attained. In other words, there is a contradiction between goals and means; they are separated by a consciously erected barrier.

Herein lies the source of the phenomenon that we call Solidarity's crisis of strategy.

A boundary guarded by tanks

This hardened theoretical view was above all the work of the political current that emerged from the main democratic opposition group, the KSS-KOR, a current that is linked to the traditions of Polish socialism.

Its main leader, Jacek Kuron, recognized that a revolution was taking place in 1980–81. He observed, "We can refer back to any of the revolutions of the past, which led to a seizure of power. That means that after the overthrow of the old order, the revolutionary leadership became the state power."

In Kuron's opinion, the Polish revolution should have departed from this rule, that is, it should have limited itself: "If we do anything that the leaders of the USSR consider an immediate threat, they will invade. I am certain

of that. So I think that this revolution has to consciously limit itself in order to avoid this danger. Discussion about whether they will really invade or not is just speculative. There is only one way to be sure. And that is a risk that should not be taken."¹⁸

The boundaries of the Polish revolution, Kuron stated, are determined on the one hand by the extent of independent social action, and on the other by the Kremlin's readiness to intervene militarily: "These boundaries are not fixed. They widen with the deterioration of the USSR's international situation, the growth of centrifugal forces within that country and its sphere of influence, the economic dependence of the Soviet bloc on the West, etc."

On the other hand, he declared that "we have to be conscious that every social movement has its own dynamic and that it cannot be directed this way and that either from within the movement (by its leaders) or much less from without (by its advisers)."

But contradicting this very fundamental statement, Kuron immediately added, "Is it possible to place limits on the movement's dynamic? It is possible and necessary. But the only way to do that is with a program that allows the movement to develop and at the same time become conscious of its own limits."¹⁹

As it turned out, it was not possible to do so — something that was, after all, predictable.

Shortly after Solidarity's establishment, Kuron wrote: "Thus we have on the one hand this great social movement, this independence, this self-management in broad spheres of life, while on the other, the need to preserve the so-called leading role of the party, that is, its domination over the central administration, police, and army. We must reconcile these two things. We have to. We have to create a totally new model, based on compromise."

He explained that because "we cannot cross the boundary of overthrowing the central communist power," it is therefore necessary "to become organized and to achieve indispensable reforms without violating the boundaries guarded by Soviet tanks."²⁰

However, before the social movement was able to achieve any reforms, it happened that its very existence had already crossed the boundary guarded by tanks — not simply Soviet ones, but Polish as well. That is, the boundary ran elsewhere than it would have appeared.

Kornel Morawiecki, the leader of Fighting Solidarity, has written, "One of the main political leaders of the opposition and Solidarity, Karol Modzelewski, on his return from the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk on Aug. 30, 1980,

18. Jacek Kuron, "Głos w dyskusji o sytuacji w kraju i związku" [A voice in the discussion on the situation in the country and the union], in *Tygodnik Solidarnosc*, No. 19, Aug. 7, 1981, supplement pp. 2-3.

19. Jacek Kuron, "Co dalej?" [What now?], in *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, No. 6/40, August-September 1980, pp. 69, 67, 68.

20. Jacek Kuron, "Czy grozi nam interwencja?" [Are we threatened with intervention?], in *Robotnik*, No. 68-69, Sept. 23, 1980.

declared in Depot No. 7 (the headquarters of the Wroclaw Interfactory Strike Committee), 'And what do they want? Free trade unions. The communists will never accept that.' After December 13, it turned out that he was right."²¹

That was because the introduction of the state of war proved finally and irrefutably that the authorities cannot coexist with any form of workers democracy, either independent trade unions or workers self-management bodies, even those limited to control over production within the workplaces. They cannot allow it, for if they are forced to make concessions, and institutions of workers democracy emerge, they will lose some of their own power and a new power will in fact be born — a situation of dual power arises, or at least of dual power in embryo, which would develop quickly under the pressure of the social movement's dynamic. Contrary to Kuron's view, the experience of the Polish revolution has proven once again that there is no way that limits can be imposed on this dynamic once the workers begin to take their fate into their own hands.

"There were those — usually young workers from large factories — who forced radical actions on the leadership of Solidarity. These became harder and harder to contain, even though both Walesa and Kuron tried," wrote Adam Michnik, who himself supported such efforts.²²

Shortly after its founding, Solidarity's very existence signified a situation of dual power. The struggle for workers self-management marked, in turn, the emergence of new organs of economic power and, in the long run, political power (since full authority over the economy, which is precisely what the self-management movement aimed for, inevitably becomes political power).

A situation of dual power

It could not be otherwise. A division of power does not exist in social life. It is not possible, on the basis of some "social agreement," for forces representing opposed interests to arrive at a lasting understanding and to coexist through a division of power. A "social agreement" — in the sense of a cease-fire — can obviously be signed. But that does not mean a division of power; it confirms the existence of a situation of dual power. And such a situation cannot last indefinitely, or even for long: each of the two supposed "coexisting" powers aims, consciously or not, to achieve complete power for itself.

Kuron himself admitted this. In September 1980 he wrote: "Please imagine a situation in the Polish State Railways, where all traffic is subordinated to a single schedule set from above, when suddenly a certain number of trains follow a schedule set democratically by

the railway workers or the passengers. The independent trade unions are precisely such trains, in a system where all social life is directed by a party-state center. Obviously a social system, even a totalitarian one, is never as perfectly run as a train schedule, but it nevertheless cannot function according to two entirely counterposed principles."²³

As we have seen, Kuron drew completely different conclusions from this than those that suggested themselves.

The totalitarian power signed the social agreement in August 1980, but it had no doubt about what it signified: a truce that would allow it to assemble the forces it needed to recover its own complete domination. Unfortunately, the social movement did not have the same consciousness and deluded itself into thinking that the agreement would somehow be a lasting one that the opposing side would respect. If future circumstances lead to the signing of another such social agreement, there can be no such illusions.

The totalitarian power immediately seizes on every self-limitation of the social move-

ment in order to "self-rule." It captures any ground relinquished or not conquered by the social movement in order to use it to invade ground taken by the movement — even that which it had supposedly conceded in the social agreement. So if the social movement confines itself to acting on the ground ceded to it with the authorities' "cooperation," instead of using it to strike out for new ground, it places itself in a doomed position. If it limits itself to defending its conquests instead of widening them at every available opportunity, it will sooner or later succumb to an attack that its lines of defense cannot withstand.

If the movement does not want to lose, it must go for a complete victory. It must advance as far as the authorities' resistance will allow. It must not gauge that resistance theoretically, but test its solidity in struggle. If that resistance proves insurmountable, the movement must both gather new forces and actively stimulate a process of decomposition on the authorities' side, so that the relationship of forces changes in the social movement's favor and the authorities must retreat even more.

We are not at all maintaining that the first victorious general strike will lead to the fall of

23. Kuron, "Co dalej?" p. 66.

U.S. POSTAL SERVICE STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685).

- 1A. Title of publication: Intercontinental Press.
- 1B. Publication no.: 363930.
2. Date of filing: September 27, 1984.
3. Frequency of issue: Biweekly except 1st week in January, 3rd and 4th in August. A. No. of issues published annually: 24. B. Annual subscription price: \$30.00.
4. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.
5. Complete mailing address of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.
6. Full names and complete mailing addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor. Publisher: 408 Printing and Publishing Corp., 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Editor: Douglas Jenness, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Managing Editor: Ernest Harsch, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.
7. Owner (if owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.): 408 Printing & Publishing Corp., 408 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Mary-Alice Waters, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Barry Sheppard, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013. Steve Clark, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Malik Miah, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. James Mac Warren, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Cynthia Jaquith, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Elizabeth Stone, 2546 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90006. Joel Britton, 2546 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90006. Jack Barnes, 79 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Caroline Lund, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013. Barbara McBride, 4806 Alameda, Houston, Texas 77004. 406 West St. Realty

Corp., 406 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Douglas Jenness, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Nora Danielson, 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Susan Berman, 15105 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44110. G. Craig Gannon, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Priscilla Ring, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Joan Campana, C.P. 280, Succ. Post. de Lorimier, Montreal, Quebec H2H 2N7.

8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amounts of bonds, mortgages or other securities (if there are none, so state): None.

9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates (Section 411.3 DMM only): Does not apply.

10. Extent and nature of circulation. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months. A. Total no. copies printed (net press run): 3,716. B. Paid circulation (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 1,322. (2) Mail subscriptions: 1,581. C. Total paid circulation (sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 2,903. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies: 36. E. Total distribution (sum of C and D): 2,939. F. Copies not distributed (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 737. (2) Returns from news agents: 40. G. Total (sum of E, F1 and 2 — should equal net press run shown in A): 3,716.

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date. A. Total no. copies printed (net press run): 3,500. B. Paid circulation (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 1,252. (2) Mail subscriptions: 1,518. C. Total paid circulation (sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 2,770. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies: 10. E. Total distribution (sum of C and D): 2,780. F. Copies not distributed (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 720. (2) Returns from news agents: -. G. Total (sum of E, F1 and 2 — should equal net press run shown in A): 3,500.

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(signed)
Sandra M. Sherman
Business Manager

21. "Ktoready pojsc?" [Which way to go?], an interview with Kornel Morawiecki in *Solidarnosc Walczaca*, No. 21/51, May 29, 1983.

22. Adam Michnik, *Penser la Pologne: Morale politique de la résistance* [The thought of Poland: Political morality of the resistance] (Paris: 1983), p. 95.

the totalitarian power; to the contrary, we think that will probably not happen. From this perspective, we agree fully with what Kuron wrote in July 1980, regarding a victory of the strike movement that was then beginning:

"For some time, we may have to coexist with the party-state totalitarian apparatus. That apparatus will try to wreck the democratic institutions: hamper their activities, sabotage their decisions, compromise and corrupt their activists, threaten and blackmail society. We will have to defend ourselves and at the same time, step by step, curtail the areas of social life that are under the subordination of the party-state apparatus. In other words, with every passing week, the self-managing bodies will have to raise new demands."²⁴

What differentiates us is that we see this as a situation of dual power and then draw the necessary conclusions: namely, that the self-managing institutions, by raising more and more demands, are by that fact taking over more and more power and that they must eventually take over all of it, which requires breaking the neck of the apparatus of totalitarian power.

Among the trains following different — and thus contradictory — schedules, there must sooner or later be a head-on collision. As this collision approaches, the train of the social movement must not jump the rails and roll off the track while the train of the totalitarian power, though greatly weakened, stays on the track. That has already happened, and it should not be repeated.

A revolution to the end

Creating the conditions for building a Self-managed Republic requires carrying through a political revolution to the end. No concession, however large, by the current authorities, no social control over them, even if that were possible, would mark the emergence of a Self-managed Republic. The basis of the present system of power is complete (that is, totalitarian) domination by its bureaucratic apparatus over society: oppression and exploitation of the working class above all, but also the subordination of all other social groups to itself. For this power, society can only be an object, never a subject.

No lasting compromise is possible with this power. The interests of the working class and other oppressed social groups can be expressed and realized only by a power that emerges from their independent will and conscious choice, responsible to them and subject to removal, with organs consisting of elected and removable representatives. Without this, one cannot even dream of a Self-managed Republic. That requires removing the current power and replacing it with a completely different one. That requires, precisely, a political revolution.

But what of the totalitarian power's central apparatus? It is in this isolated and degenerate

apparatus that the rule of the parasitic bureaucratic caste over society appears in its most concentrated form. As we have already said, it is not possible to coexist with it. Nor is it possible to subordinate it. One can only submit to it — surrender to totalitarian power — or remove it in a revolutionary manner. This concerns, above all, the repressive military and police apparatus. The disintegration and overthrow of the civilian bureaucratic apparatus, while in principle much easier, is not enough.

Let us recall the illusions that Solidarity professed in 1981. "The system of wielding power has broken down," Kuron said at the time. "That is why calling what has happened a revolution seems to me to be quite accurate. This is a revolution in which the existing order has been overthrown."²⁵

But meanwhile the fate of the authorities and of the entire political regime is decided by the fate of those in the apparatus who hold the material means of coercion. As long as they do so, they are in a position to restore their endangered power and rebuild that power's other institutions and branches. The success or failure of the Polish revolution depends on the extent to which the social movement can draw to its side the greatest number of soldiers and police in the course of the revolutionary struggle, thus isolating, disarming, and disorganizing the totalitarian power's military-police apparatus.

The fear that the Polish revolution will be crushed by Soviet military might if it threatens the survival of totalitarian power is a fully justified fear. It demands an especially high level of political responsibility from every Solidarity activist. But this danger is in general perceived in a one-sided fashion, becoming a "geopolitical fatalism" that paralyzes the development of the social movement's strategy.

It is therefore necessary to understand the nature of the totalitarian power ruling in the USSR, which has the same character as the one in Poland. Its nature is exclusively parasitic: It originates from a political counterrevolution that took place in the 1920s. It does not base itself on the relations of production and ownership that were established by the revolution of 1917. To the contrary, it remains in sharp contradiction with them, and that is a structural weakness.

The American revolutionary socialist James P. Cannon has written:

The Stalinist regime in the USSR, isolated from the masses and ruling by terror alone, is weakest at the moment when it appears to be most secure. The strongest assaults of the Nazi military machine proved unable to bring about the downfall of the regime in the USSR from within. And that is convincing evidence, we think, that the Russian masses don't want liberation from accursed and hated Stalinism in the shape of capitalist restoration and the colonial dismemberment of the country. But one strong revolutionary demonstration from outside can

bring the whole regime, with all its apparatus of repression and terror, crashing down in ruins.²⁶

The Kremlin is conscious of this danger, and that is the main force propelling it toward possible military intervention in Poland. But it is also important that the social movement, in working out its strategy, becomes conscious of the fact that the degree of military danger that the Soviet totalitarian regime poses to the Polish revolution is proportional to the danger that the Polish revolution poses to that regime. Its readiness to intervene in Poland derives from fear of a collapse of the bureaucratic dictatorship within the USSR, from fear that the Polish revolution will cause the outbreak of a political revolution — combined with a struggle for independence by the many subjugated nations — within the Soviet state itself.

The danger is thus two-sided, and not, as it may often appear, a game with just one goalpost. This alters in a fundamental way the strategic course that defines the Polish revolution's perspectives.

Lech Walesa, stating that one cannot "permit in the future the kind of errors we fell into before the state of war," now explains, "It was an error that we did not disseminate our ideas to the most diverse social groups in the socialist countries . . . and we certainly no longer have opportunities to explain our aims to ordinary people in the countries of our bloc. This is worthwhile remembering, for without that we can do nothing."²⁷

26. James P. Cannon, *The Struggle for Socialism in the "American Century"* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1977), p. 350.

27. An interview with Lech Walesa, *CDN — Głos Wolnego Robotnika*, No. 47, Sept. 8, 1983.

[To be continued.]

Guatemalan rebels cite gains

The guerrilla fighters of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) announced in an August communiqué that their forces inflicted at least 535 casualties on the regime's troops in 84 engagements between March 21 and August 15 of this year.

The statement, reported in the September 14 issue of the Mexico City news bulletin *Enfoprensa*, also said that the insurgents had captured 56 rifles, a mortar, ammunition, and military equipment, as well as destroying seven military vehicles and damaging three aircraft.

The URNG stated that recent government offensives had failed owing to the "better quality" of the guerrillas' fighting techniques.

In a related development, Col. Mario Ramírez of Guatemala's National Police acknowledged that the police lost 511 agents in "violent incidents" during 1983. Ramírez did not specify the nature of these incidents, but, according to *Enfoprensa*, "it is believed that the majority of the casualties occurred in insurgent actions." □

24. Jacek Kuron, "Ostry Zakret" [Sharp turn], in *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, No. 5/39, April 1980, p. 10.

25. Kuron, "Głos w dyskusji," p. 2.