

# **INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS**

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## ***Mideast***

**Hussein-Arafat  
Accord Provokes  
New Debates**

## ***New Caledonia***

**Interviews With  
Independence  
Movement Leader**

## ***Peru***

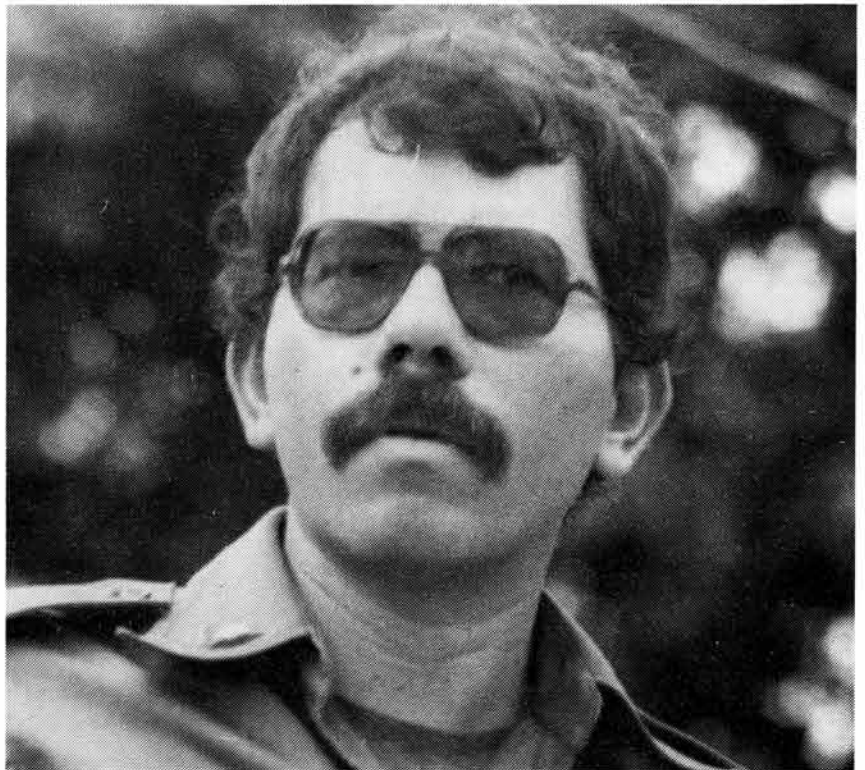
**Regime Targets  
Indian Peasants  
In Drive Against  
Sendero Luminoso**

## ***Brazil***

**Workers Party  
Reaffirms Class  
Independence**

## ***Nicaragua Offers Peace Plan***

- **Cuts Advisers, Freezes Weapons**
- **Reagan Pushes Aid for Contras**
- **Full Text of Ortega's Proposal**



Michael Baumann/IP

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega calls for reduced tensions.

**Speech by Fidel Castro  
'We Have No Interest  
in Seeing Bloodshed of  
U.S. and Cuban People'**

# Cuba bolsters defense against U.S. threats

By Doug Jenness

When the Cuban workers and peasants overthrew capitalist rule in their country more than 25 years ago, they opened the socialist revolution in the Americas. The ruling families in the United States recognized that this momentous advance for working people was a serious threat to their interests. They attempted to weaken and if possible overturn the revolution through military aggression, sabotage, provocations, intimidation, and economic boycott.

In response, Cuba established a strong military defense and organized massive mobiliza-

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Shortly before this issue went to press, the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain, which had been on strike for nearly a year, voted to return to work. We will carry a report on this important development in our next issue.

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tions demonstrating to the imperialist aggressors that they will pay a staggering price if they attempt a full-scale invasion of the island.

In 1979 imperialism suffered another big blow when working people in Grenada and Nicaragua overturned landlord-capitalist rule in their countries and established their own governments. In the words of Cuban President Fidel Castro this meant that there were now "three giants rising up to defend their right to independence, sovereignty and justice, on the very threshold of imperialism."

Washington responded to this challenge by stepping up its military buildup in the Caribbean and Central America. It invaded and occupied Grenada in October 1983 after the revolutionary government headed by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was overturned by the Stalinist faction led by Bernard Coard. Washington is currently attempting to overturn the revolutionary government in Nicaragua and prevent one from taking power in El Salvador. Moreover, it has escalated its threats against socialist Cuba.

These escalating imperialist moves since 1979 have led the Cuban people to redouble their vigilance and military preparedness. In May 1980 they organized the "March of the Fighting People," which brought 5 million — out of a total population of 10 million — into the streets of Cuba.

That same month the Cuban government announced that in addition to the armed forces and the reserves, a volunteer militia would be formed for the first time since the early years of the revolution. Since 1980 more than one million Cubans have enrolled in the Territorial Troop Militia.

The need for military defense is a theme Castro consistently emphasizes in his speeches

and interviews. Because of its importance in light of Washington's escalating military buildup in the region, we are reprinting in this issue a major part of a speech that he delivered in December 1984 to a congress of Cuban students (see page 155).

In that speech the Cuban president pointed out, "The threats against our country have served only to multiply our forces, over and over again, because not only the number of organized, armed, and trained men and women has multiplied, but so have the ideas. There is now a greater sense of awareness and knowledge of defense, taking in major experiences in the world over recent decades that have enabled us to develop our defense potential on the basis of people's participation."

## 'Not adventurist'

Castro emphasized at the student congress that Cuba's military policy is defensive, as he and other Cuban leaders have done many times before. It is not "an adventurist one; we are not warmongers." He reaffirmed that "We will always be on the alert for any sign or indication as to U.S. leaders veering toward a policy of respect or a policy of aggression toward our country."

In this context, Castro stated that the Cuban government "will do all that is in our hands to further détente in our area, in Cuba and in Central America." In fact Castro's speech came just before the successful completion of an accord with Washington on immigration.

Castro said the Cuban government would also contribute to the process of achieving an international détente. He pointed to the announcement in November of the resumption of nuclear arms talks between Moscow and Washington as a "positive sign." This development, however, "doesn't give anybody the right to harbor illusions," he noted. "The course of events must be observed and analyzed."

Castro repeated a central guideline of Cuba's international policy since the revolutionary government came to power. "Peace is not attained through weakness. Peace is attained through the strength, courage, and determination of peoples. I believe this is what has characterized our Revolution over these 25 years."

Along these lines, Castro insisted that "even should a situation of détente emerge — and that's what we would want — defense cannot be neglected!"

In making the argument that Cuba needs to maintain a strong defense even if détente is reached on the international or the regional level, he cited two examples to help illustrate

this point.

The first example was Sweden. Sweden, Fidel said, "is a neutral country; it doesn't belong to any military bloc. It's in northern Europe and, nevertheless, despite the fact that it was not involved in World War I or World War II — which is one of the factors that have contributed to its economic and social development — it doesn't neglect defense, or arms, or the training of the population, or fortifications."

Actually, the case of Sweden weakens rather than reinforces Castro's political point. While it is true that the Swedish government does not belong to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or any other imperialist military bloc, its stated "neutrality" is phony.

Sweden is ruled by a handful of capitalist families who dominate banking, industry, and commerce in that country. These ruling families are not neutral in the struggle they are waging against the workers and farmers of Sweden, nor are they neutral in the struggle against oppressed and exploited working people in other countries. Their government's military forces defend the profit interests of Swedish imperialism, not those of working people as Cuba's military does.

Donning a cloak of neutrality has conveniently enabled the Swedish military forces to play a special role in the international defense of imperialist interests. Swedish imperialism does this through its participation in what are called United Nations "peace-keeping forces." In reality these are international *police forces* used in situations where it may be more difficult for other imperialist countries to use their own troops directly. Between 1956 and 1974 alone, more than 30,000 Swedish troops served in UN police operations, particularly in Cyprus, the Republic of the Congo, and the Middle East. Some lost their lives in combat.

The myth of Swedish neutrality has been exposed a little in the past several years as the result of an increasingly strident propaganda campaign the Swedish government is waging against the alleged military threat from the Soviet Union. Every few months the government issues a new report to the Swedish press about a Soviet submarine supposedly being sighted off Sweden's shores. The purpose of this anti-Soviet campaign is to whip up support for the government's proposals to strengthen its military forces.

Castro cites a second example in his speech to the Cuban student congress. "Even if someday the United States were to have a socialist system," he said, "we couldn't neglect defense because, well Vietnam is bordered by China, the two countries are socialist, and Vietnam cannot neglect its defense!"

Here Castro was drawing attention to one of the big developments of the past decade — the 1979 invasion of Vietnam by several hundred thousand Chinese troops, and Peking's continuing military pressure against that country. Vietnam, a workers state where capitalist property relations have been overturned, has been forced to defend itself militarily from

these armed attacks by the government of another workers state. International solidarity with Vietnam against Peking's aggression is an elementary duty for all revolutionists.

But Castro's comparison of China today to a future socialist United States does not help to explain what lies behind the Chinese government's counterrevolutionary policy toward Vietnam.

The roots of the conflict in Indochina lie in the aggressive campaign that imperialism has continued to wage against Vietnam ever since the U.S.-backed regime was defeated there in 1975. Washington has sought to eliminate the threat of anticapitalist advances in Kampuchea, and to prevent the example of revolutionary victories in Indochina from serving as an impulse to worker and peasant struggles elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

A key objective in this campaign has been to force Vietnamese troops to withdraw from Kampuchea, where they have been ever since 1979 to help the people of that country throw off the murderous Pol Pot regime and defend themselves from its return to power.

Why has the government of the Chinese workers state, which provided aid to Vietnam during its war against U.S. aggression, now teamed up with Washington against Vietnam? It has done so in return for diplomatic recognition, and, above all, in the hope of major economic aid from the United States and other imperialist countries.

#### Class collaboration vs. internationalism

Peking is following a class-collaborationist policy based on growing cooperation with imperialism and capitalist regimes in Southeast Asia, *at the expense* of revolutionary struggles. It does not follow a policy such as that followed by the Cuban government, including in its diplomatic initiatives toward Washington, aimed at advancing and defending the interests of workers and peasants around the world.

Peking's aim is not to conquer Vietnam, but to wear it down and help force it to withdraw from Kampuchea. This objective, however, has been thwarted by the preparedness and determined action of Vietnam's military defense.

The key to the conflict in Indochina is the influence of U.S. imperialism. When U.S. workers and farmers overturn capitalist rule and establish their own government, which will abolish capitalism in the United States and join in the worldwide struggle for socialism, the entire world relationship of class forces will be qualitatively changed in favor of working people throughout the world. The socialist revolution in the United States — the principal economic and military bastion of world imperialism — will give a powerful impulse to the overturn of capitalism in its last holdouts. The threat of military aggression against Cuba, Vietnam, and many other countries will be eliminated.

Castro himself explains why this is true in his address to the students. "Wars, the arms race, and the arms business," the Cuban leader

stated, "are inherent to capitalist society and diametrically opposed to the nature, concept, philosophy, and needs of a socialist society. For the socialist countries, arming themselves is a bitter necessity, a costly necessity, which they do without hesitation because they have no alternative.

"It is our conclusion, therefore, that the main danger of whether or not there is war in the world and danger of nuclear war comes largely from the United States."

What Castro says about the socialist countries applies to all countries where capitalism has been abolished, including China. There is no inherent drive of the Chinese workers state to wage wars of aggression or conquest. At the present time, however, this workers state is governed by a self-serving, privileged caste that is not guided by revolutionary inter-

nationalist principles. This caste seeks deals with imperialism at the expense of working people in China and in other countries, including the betrayal of revolutions.

The advance of the world revolution for national liberation and socialism will undermine, weaken, and lead to the overturn of this caste by China's workers and peasants.

Even though Castro's two examples are not accurate, his main point comes through loud and clear. Under no circumstances — come hell or high water, international détente or not — will revolutionary Cuba abandon its efforts to build as strong a military defense as possible. As long as U.S. imperialism is intensifying its attacks on working people in Central America and the Caribbean this remains a necessary centerpiece to Cuba's revolutionary internationalist course. □

## —IN THIS ISSUE—

Closing news date: March 4, 1985

FEATURES	140	Myth and reality of Yalta conference — by John Ross
NICARAGUA	132	Peace plan falls on "deaf ears" — by Will Reissner
CANADA	135	New threat to French schools — by Joe Young
MIDDLE EAST	137	Hussein and Arafat sign accord — by Steve Craine
LEBANON	139	Israel speeds up troop withdrawal — by Steve Craine
NEW CALEDONIA	143	Interview with FLNKS leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou
	144	FLNKS congress presses struggle — by Eileen Morgan
	145	Tjibaou hails solidarity in France
SOUTH KOREA	147	Elections mark setback for regime — by Will Reissner
BRAZIL	148	Workers Party rejects "lesser evil" option — by Ernest Harsch
PERU	151	Regime wages reign of terror — by Mike Taber
DOCUMENTS	134	Nicaragua makes peace proposal
	138	Hussein-Arafat agreement
	149	Resolutions of Brazilian PT congress
	155	Fidel Castro speaks on threat of war
STATEMENTS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL	160	Declarations of world congress

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# Peace plan falls on 'deaf ears'

Washington pushes aid for counterrevolutionaries

By Will Reissner

The Reagan administration says it will settle for nothing less than the overthrow of the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua.

That point has been repeatedly driven home in recent weeks. It is shown by the steady drumbeat of threats against Nicaragua from President Reagan and high officials in his administration and by Washington's out-of-hand dismissal of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega's call for a "reduction of tensions" with the U.S. government.

Ortega's call for eased tensions was issued in Managua on February 27. He announced that to "open the road to peace" in Central America, the Nicaraguan government would unilaterally send home 100 Cuban military advisers and halt the acquisition of new military systems for its armed forces.

The Sandinista leader also invited a bipartisan delegation from the U.S. Congress to visit Nicaraguan military bases to see for themselves that the country's military facilities are organized for defensive purposes. (The full text of Ortega's proposal begins on page 134.)

In addition, Ortega publicly asked for a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz while the two were in Uruguay attending the inauguration of that country's new president.

Shultz was forced to agree to meet with Ortega on March 2. But at the end of the one-hour talk, Shultz dismissed the results. "I don't know that anything much has changed," he stated.

Ortega told a news conference that he had proposed to Shultz "a new effort for peace." But from the U.S. government "we encountered a position closed to dialogue," Ortega stated, adding that his peace proposals "fell on deaf ears."

## Continuing to sabotage peace

The Reagan administration has continually sabotaged proposals for a peaceful settlement of differences with Nicaragua. On Sept. 21, 1984, for example, the Nicaraguan government announced that it would sign "immediately and without further modifications" the draft peace treaty for Central America worked out by the Contadora group, made up of the governments of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Panama.

Until Nicaragua accepted the Contadora treaty, Washington had loudly proclaimed its full support of the Contadora process. But once Nicaragua agreed to sign, the Reagan administration immediately changed its tune and rejected the treaty draft.

Washington also walked out of talks that had been taking place with Nicaraguan government representatives in Manzanillo, Mexico.

After Washington's January 18 withdrawal from the Manzanillo talks *Washington Post* reporter Robert J. McCartney noted that "the suspension prompted critics to renew charges that Washington opposes a negotiated settlement with Nicaragua and that the United States entered the talks in June only as a ploy to portray President Reagan as a peacemaker in an election year."

On that same day, the U.S. State Department announced that Washington refused to recognize the International Court of Justice's jurisdiction in a case brought by Nicaragua against the CIA's mining of Nicaraguan ports in 1984.

Ever since the Reagan administration came into office in 1981, it has sponsored and funded counterrevolutionary groups attacking Nicaragua from bases in Honduras and Costa Rica.

## Overthrow Sandinistas

Washington originally claimed its support to the *contras* was designed to halt supposed arms shipments from Nicaragua to insurgents fighting El Salvador's rightist government.

But after five years of fighting, the *contras* — with the full backing of the CIA and the Pentagon — have yet to intercept a single arms shipment. But in the meantime they have

killed nearly 8,000 Nicaraguans.

In recent months, the Reagan administration has become increasingly open about its real aim — the overthrow of Nicaragua's workers and farmers government.

As the U.S. Congress considers a bill to release \$14 million in funding for the *contras*, administration officials have described the rightists in the most glowing terms.

Just one day before Shultz met with Ortega in Uruguay, President Reagan told the Conservative Political Action Conference that the U.S.-financed counterrevolutionaries "are our brothers, these freedom fighters, and we owe them our help."

The counterrevolutionary coalition dominated by former officers in the army of U.S.-installed dictator Anastasio Somoza, right-wing businessmen, and big landowners was described by Reagan as "the moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers and the brave men and women of the French Resistance."

Since the Sandinista National Liberation Front overthrew the Somoza dynasty on July 19, 1979, the new government of Nicaragua has carried out a sweeping literacy campaign, has encouraged the organization of urban and rural workers into unions, has implemented a far-reaching land reform giving land to the peasants, and has enacted numerous measures that benefit the workers and farmers of Nicaragua.

The popular character of the Sandinista gov-

## Poll: Majority opposes Reagan policy

Despite the Reagan administration's barrage of propaganda against the Nicaraguan government, the overwhelming majority of people in the United States oppose Washington's attempts to overthrow the Sandinista government. That opposition was highlighted in a national poll conducted in late February by the *Washington Post* and ABC News.

In response to the question "Should the United States be involved in trying to overthrow the government in Nicaragua, or not?" 70 percent opposed such involvement, 18 percent favored it, and 12 percent had no opinion.

Opposition to the Reagan administration's policy was an overwhelming majority in every region of the country and in all segments of the population questioned.

For example, even among those who de-

scribed themselves as strong backers of Reagan, a majority opposed the attempt to overthrow the Sandinistas. Republicans opposed U.S. involvement by a margin of 60 percent to 26 percent.

The poll also indicated that 59 percent of the people in the United States believe that President Reagan wants to overthrow the Sandinista government, while 27 percent answered negatively, and 14 percent had no opinion.

According to the February 28 *Washington Post*, "it appears that opposition to U.S. involvement [in Nicaragua] is at a higher level than in any of three other Post-ABC News surveys in the past year and a half." The paper adds that this cannot be conclusively shown because of a slight change in the way the question was worded.



Sandinista soldiers stand amid wreckage of CIA plane shot down in September 1984.

ernment is seen in the fact that tens of thousands of people have joined the militias to defend the revolution, as well as the fact that the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) swept the legislative and presidential elections held November 4.

But in a radio speech delivered February 16, Reagan turned reality on its head. "After the Sandinistas imposed a brutal dictatorship," he stated, "they moved quickly to suppress internal dissent, clamp down on a free press, persecute the church and labor unions and betray their pledge to hold free elections."

Operating on the assumption that if enough mud is thrown, some is bound to stick, Reagan continued: "Now they're exporting drugs to poison our youth and linking up with the terrorists of Iran, Libya, the Red Brigades and the P.L.O. The Sandinistas aren't democrats but Communists, not lovers of freedom but of power, not builders of a peaceful nation but creators of a fortress Nicaragua that intends to export Communism beyond its borders."

Three days later, George Shultz told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that Washington has "a moral duty" to fund the contras.

Further escalating the administration's rhetoric, Shultz said the Nicaraguan people have "been taken behind the Iron Curtain."

Shultz added, "we have a moral duty to help people trying to bring about the freedom of their country. . . . whether it is in Cambodia or Afghanistan or Nicaragua or whatever. I hope we can say to them that we are on their side. I certainly am."

In a San Francisco speech on February 22, Shultz argued that opponents of U.S. funding to the contras are "consigning Nicaragua to the endless darkness of communist tyranny."

Administration officials now openly acknowledge that Washington's aim is to overthrow the Sandinista government. On February 21, Reagan said his goal is to "remove" the Nicaraguan government, which he claimed is "a communist totalitarian state."

In an interview published in the March 11 *Business Week*, Reagan argued that "this is not

a government. This is a faction of the revolution that has taken over at the point of a gun. And under the United Nations charter and the charter of the Organization of American States, there is every reason for us to be helping the people that wanted the original goals of the revolution instituted."

This claim that the contras were part of the anti-Somoza revolution has become a prominent theme of administration propaganda.

In a February 21 news conference, Reagan maintained the "present government was one element of the revolution against Somoza. The freedom fighters are other elements of that revolution."

But as Edward Cody pointed out in the February 28 *Washington Post*, former officers of Somoza's National Guard predominate in the hierarchy of the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN), which has received the bulk of the \$80 million of CIA funds.

On the level "where command decisions are taken and war is actually fought," Cody wrote, "the FDN has remained a military organization largely commanded and inspired by a determined former National Guard officer."

That officer, Enrique Bermúdez, was Somoza's military attaché in Washington until the dictator was overthrown.

"The most prominent of his regional commanders," added Cody, were also officers in the National Guard.

But in an attempt to gloss over the Somozaist credentials of the counterrevolutionary leadership, Washington established a cosmetic National Directorate for the FDN.

As Cody noted, "the directorate was chosen by the CIA in late 1982 to enhance the FDN's political appeal in Congress and public opinion."

#### U.S. troops needed

While trumpeting his calls for the overthrow of the Sandinista government, Reagan claims that no U.S. troops will be needed to accomplish this goal.

"I am against sending troops to Central America," Reagan stated in his March 1 speech to the Conservative Political Action Conference. "They are simply not needed. Given a chance and the resources, the people of the area can fight their own fight. . . . All they need is our support."

Yet the administration is acutely aware that nothing short of the direct use of U.S. troops has any hope of overthrowing the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua.

The retiring commander of U.S. military forces in Central America, Gen. Paul Gorman, admitted to the Senate Armed Services Committee on February 27 that the contras cannot overthrow the Nicaraguan government in "the foreseeable future," no matter how much U.S. aid they receive.

Responding to questioning, Gorman stated: "I don't see how you could imagine that a force of 16,000 is going to overthrow a government that has under its control 10 times that number of people in their army."

Last year the contras launched a major military drive to secure and hold a segment of Nicaragua that could serve as base of operations inside the country. Moreover, by holding a piece of Nicaraguan land they hoped to inspire political support and win further international assistance.

This effort has been successfully repelled by the Sandinista defense forces, and the contras have been unable to capture and hold a single town of any significance.

Despite these setbacks and Gorman's admission that the contras cannot overturn the Sandinista regime, the Reagan administration plans to continue funding the contras. As Gorman told the Senators, they have diverted the energies of the Sandinista government and "one heck of a lot of money." □

## China hits Reagan threat to remove Sandinistas

The official press agency of the Peoples Republic of China issued a statement February 23 attacking U.S. President Ronald Reagan's threat to remove Nicaragua's revolutionary government unless it initiated "free elections" and "freedom of the press."

"The implication is clear — if the Nicaraguan Government does not kowtow to the United States, the United States will overthrow it," the China News Agency said in a commentary from Washington.

"This policy violates the basic norms of international law," the Chinese press agency stated. "No country, no matter how powerful it is, has the right to interfere in another's internal affairs, let alone 'remove' its legitimate government."

It drew a parallel, however, between U.S. imperialist aggression in Nicaragua and the use of troops by the Vietnamese government to help Kampuchean liberation fighters rid their country of the hated Pol Pot dictatorship. □

# Nicaragua makes peace proposals

*Cuts advisers, freezes weapons, invites U.S. Congress*

[The following is the text of a February 27 declaration by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, made in Managua. The English translation is based on a translation by Nicaragua's Permanent Mission to the United Nations.]

\* \* \*

The international community has learned with serious concern of the latest statements by the United States president in which he has once again openly stated the decision to continue a hostile policy toward Nicaragua by insisting on his request that the North American Congress allocate funds for the mercenary forces that commit aggression against our country. This is even more serious now that the United States president has publicly expressed his desire for the overthrow of our government, which was democratically and legitimately elected by the people of Nicaragua.

On the other hand, it is already known that the government of President Reagan unilaterally broke off the talks with Nicaragua that had been taking place in Manzanillo, Mexico. It has blocked the development of the Contadora process by not accepting the Act for Peace and Cooperation, which was proposed by Contadora in September of last year, while it has also refused to recognize the competence of the International Court of Justice in the affairs of Central America.

1. Nicaragua is not a member of any bloc, nor does it have military alliances with anyone. We are a nonaligned country, struggling

against underdevelopment, determined to reconstruct the country, and in this effort we promote relations of friendship and solidarity, of mutual respect and cooperation with all those governments and peoples of the world which because of a mutual interest and respect wish to establish and develop relations with our country.

2. It is a principle of our international policy and a profound conviction of the Nicaraguan government that revolutions such as the one that culminated the long process of struggle of the Nicaraguan people against the Somoza dictatorship and for national sovereignty, cannot and should not be exported. Every nation, every people chooses its own destiny and thus makes its own history.

3. In this sense the Central American governments should not be deceived into believing that our country represents a threat against them. Nicaragua is not, nor shall it ever be, an aggressor country. We firmly state that, based on the common interests of the Central American peoples, we seek a joint solution to the economic and political crisis in order to have stability, peace, and coexistence amongst our countries.

4. Nicaragua has never hidden its conviction and permanent interest in seeing that the changes required by the Central American peoples, according to the particular circumstances of each country, should be peaceful, the peoples thus being spared the painful consequences of violence. In this regard our

government perseveres in the quest for a political negotiated solution to the Salvadoran conflict.

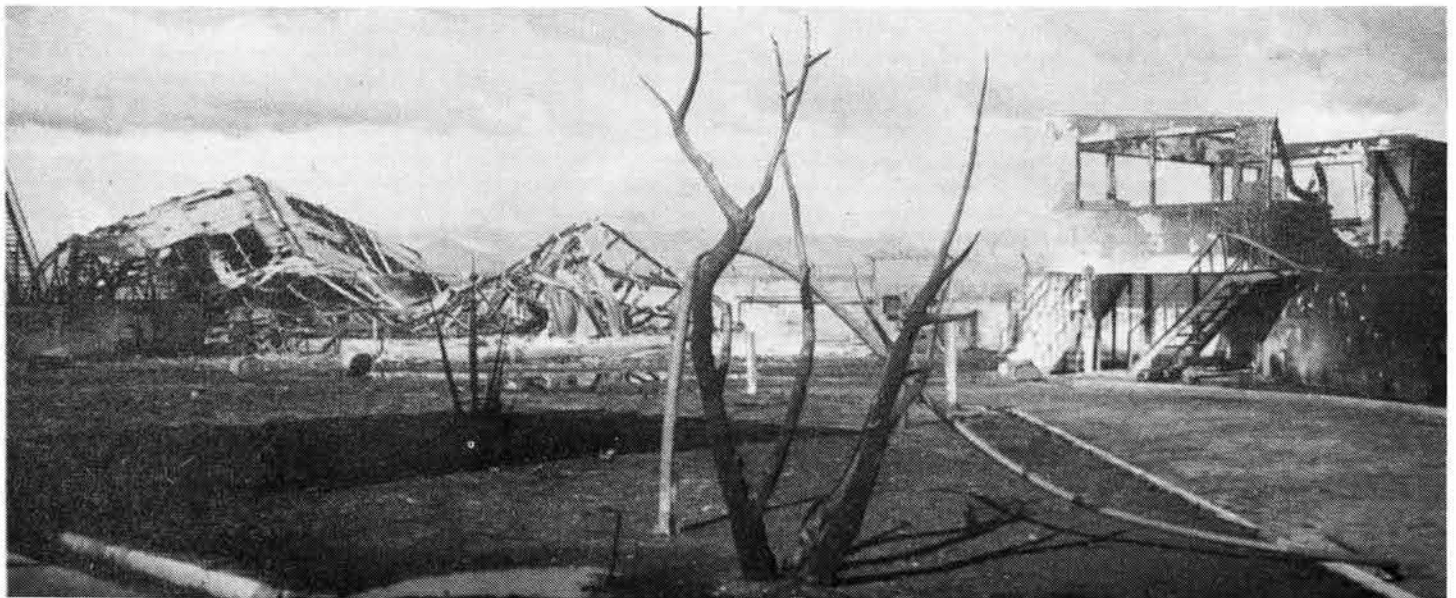
5. It is a principle and objective of our international policy that within the Central American countries and the rest of the countries of the continent there be a political pluralism that absolutely respects the modalities of political and economic self-determination of each one of the states. Only respect for diversity is consistent with respect for freedom.

6. The Nicaraguan government perseveres in and defends the Sandinista project of a mixed economy, true nonalignment, and political democracy, thus upholding the greatest values of representative democracy.

It is a principle of our policy to guarantee and further the mixed economy, the existence of a private sector and a sector comprised of state property which, combined with the different types of cooperatives, constitutes the balanced economic structures that support the reality and possibilities of the political pluralism defended by the Sandinista project.

7. Nicaragua considers that it has a right to establish and develop relations of friendship with the people of the United States and with the peoples of the world. It therefore strives for this and will not discontinue its gestures toward the present, as well as future, governments of the United States until there is a normalization of the relations between the United States and Nicaragua.

8. A fundamental purpose of Nicaragua is



Oil storage depot at Corinto, destroyed by CIA-organized commandos.

to develop its relations with Latin America. This is historically pertinent for our country and nation and shall not be abandoned. In this regard the acceptance of the Contadora Act by Nicaragua expressed, and continues to express, our full identification with the Latin American principles crystallized in the Contadora Act, which are totally compatible with the principles of the Nicaraguan state.

9. As a truly nonaligned nation, Nicaragua develops relations of friendship and cooperation with the countries of Europe, the African and Asian continents, and with the socialist countries. Nicaragua assigns a particular interest and importance to its relations with the Western European countries, and a prime objective of our international policy is the promotion and development of greater cooperation and participation by Europe in Central America for the benefit of peace, the social and economic progress of our countries, and to promote an effective diversity in the international relations of our countries.

10. The Nicaraguan government reaffirms that our relations of friendship and growing cooperation with the socialist countries and in particular with the Soviet Union and Cuba are an expression of the true nonalignment of Nicaragua. Respectful friendship with all states is consistent with our independence, sovereignty, and self-determination.

11. In the face of the pretexts and unscrupulous statements of all kinds by the United States government regarding its security, Nicaragua once again reaffirms that it is not, nor will it ever be, a military base for any foreign country or power.

12. As a third-world and nonaligned country Nicaragua fully identifies with and will always continue its political and moral solidarity with the just struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America that are struggling against backwardness and for their sovereignty, freedom, and national independence.

13. The government of Nicaragua shares the profound conviction of the political leaders and peoples of the world that, given the serious deterioration of the international situation, during this nuclear age there is nothing more important and fundamental than the defense of peace and international détente.

On a bilateral level Nicaragua has continually formulated, within negotiating processes and within international forums, positions that will lead to the peaceful solution of the problems that besiege the Central American region. It has decided to immediately take unilateral initiatives and decisions which are consistent with the decision of Nicaragua to sign the proposed Contadora Act for Peace and Cooperation and will contribute to revitalizing and strengthening of this process of negotiation and pacification.

The Nicaraguan government is confident that our initiatives will stimulate the political will of the Central American governments to sign the Contadora proposals. In addition, this should contribute toward the return of the North American government to the Manzanillo

talks, to its dropping the request for funds from the North American Congress, and to a discontinuance of its hostile policy against Nicaragua, which violates the principles and norms of international coexistence.

Because we are motivated by the seriousness of the regional situation, which requires from the governments involved a responsible attitude of maturity and flexibility conducive to détente, we have agreed to the following:

1. As a first step toward complying with the objectives proposed by Contadora and supported by Nicaragua that foreign military advisers be totally withdrawn from the Central American region, my government will decline the cooperation of 100 Cuban military instructors. The first 50 of these instructors will return to Cuba during May 1985.

2. Within the same context of Contadora, we have decided to declare an indefinite moratorium on the acquisition of new arms systems as well as the acquisition of interception airplanes needed to complete the country's current antiaircraft system.

In addition, in order to eliminate the excuses and arguments that are based on matters irrelevant and secondary for the development of the Contadora process, and which have been used to attempt to block said initiative, Nicaragua will inform the Contadora Group of its decision to take immediate and practical steps toward overcoming the obstacle which was presented as a pretext for not holding the February 14 meeting.\*

We also wish to make public that in the spirit of contributing to a greater understanding by Congress, international public opinion, and

the United States government regarding the false arguments of the supposed militarization of Nicaragua, I have decided to address an invitation to North American Congressional leaders for a Congressional delegation to visit our country so that they may evaluate the defensive nature of the armed forces and the means of defense of our country on site.

The government of Nicaragua is firmly convinced that the path toward peace shall be paved despite intransigent positions and that the governments and peoples of the world shall have their voices heard in order that the principles of international law and the right of the Nicaraguan people to live in peace be respected.

Nicaragua proposes to present these proposals to the heads of state and government who shall gather in Uruguay for the presidential inauguration of Dr. Julio María Sanguinetti, and these will surely gain the support of the international community which favors regional peace. □

\*On Dec. 24, 1984, Nicaraguan police arrested José Manuel Urbina Lara on charges of draft evasion. The government of Costa Rica claimed that Urbina Lara had been on the grounds of its embassy in Managua, while the Nicaraguan authorities stated that he had freely left the embassy before he was arrested.

This incident was used as a pretext to cancel the Contadora group meeting.

On February 28, Nicaragua's Foreign Ministry announced that Urbina Lara would be turned over to officials of the Contadora group. — IP

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## Canada

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# Threat to French schools

## *Ontario undermines French-language education*

**By Joe Young**

[The following article is reprinted from the February 11 issue of *Socialist Voice*, a fortnightly newspaper published in Montreal, Quebec, that reflects the views of the Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

TORONTO — The network of French-language public schools that Franco-Ontarians have fought so long to win is in serious danger. A decision of the Ontario Conservative government to extend public financing to Catholic high schools threatens to eliminate many of the French schools and to seriously undermine the remaining ones.

Franco-Ontarians have fought for decades for French-language schools and control over

them. There were struggles over many years in towns like Penetanguishine, Sturgeon Falls, and Windsor to win public French high schools. It was only in 1968 that the Ontario government adopted Law 141 making the establishment of French public high schools legal. Today there are 27 of these schools across the province.

The gains are threatened by the Ontario government's recent decision to extend public funding to Catholic high schools through grades 11, 12, and 13. Presently only grades 9 and 10 are eligible for funding. This could lead to many Franco-Ontarian students transferring from existing French public high schools to Catholic schools, resulting in the closure of several of the French schools. For example, the Sudbury public school board plans to close

four of its six French-language high schools.

While there are 27 French schools in the public system, there are only two French schools in the Catholic system. Other schools are "bilingual." They, however, create strong pressure on francophone students to assimilate into English. Except in some cases, English is the dominant language in these schools, making them direct vehicles for assimilation.

The November 22, 1984, *Globe and Mail* interviewed Guy Matte, president of the *Association des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens* (the Franco-Ontarian Teachers Association), on this question. "A mixed school does not allow a francophone child to develop a positive self-image," Mr. Matte said. "The francophone student finds all student activities outside of the classroom in English and begins to question the value of his or her language, values, and background."

As well as transferring francophone students from the public to the Catholic school system, extending financing to Catholic high schools will weaken the remaining French-language public high schools because it would mean smaller schools with fewer facilities and a poorer quality of education.

For Serge Plouffe, president of the *Association Canadienne-française de l'Ontario* (AFCO — the French-Canadian Association of Ontario), "any dividing up poses a serious threat to the present system."

One place where the threat is very real is in Timmins in northern Ontario where Franco-Ontarians make up about half of its population of 45,000. It has the largest French-language public high school in the province, *Ecole secondaire Theriault*. The principal, Roger Durepos, is worried that transfers to the Catholic school system will undermine the important role played by the school. He explained: "There is not much else in this community that a francophone teenager can identify with. This school represents French culture, French life, French traditions. Many students identify themselves in relation to this school."

The French schools are key to maintaining the French language and culture in a situation where economic pressures to assimilate are extremely strong. Extending public funding of Catholic high schools is a serious blow to their existence and can set back what decades of struggle have won.

#### **Franco-Ontarian control of the schools**

An earlier legal landmark in the fight for equal educational opportunities for Franco-Ontarians came in June 1984. The Ontario francophone community had challenged the province's education laws in court. On June 26, the Ontario Court of Appeal ruled that the existing Ontario Education Act was contrary to Article 23 of the Charter of Rights of the Canadian Constitution.<sup>1</sup>

The Education Act had specified that a minimum number of francophone children had to

1. Article 23 provides that children have the right to be educated in the same language as their parents were.

attend a school before it could provide French-language instruction. With the ruling, the minimum requirement of 25 students in an elementary school and 20 in a secondary school was struck down. The ruling said, in effect, that wherever Ontario francophones demand education in French they must receive it, whatever their number.

The court also declared that parents with children in French schools should participate in running these schools, although it did not make clear how this was to be done. Franco-Ontarians have demanded autonomous school boards, elected by themselves, to control their own schools.

The move was welcomed by Franco-Ontarian leaders who urged the Ontario government to act on it.

One of the first government reactions, however, was to deny Franco-Ontarians the right to control their schools through their own school boards. Proposals advanced by the government would see francophone trustees remain a minority on existing school boards in some areas, and in other areas they would have no representation on the boards at all.

And with the moves around extending funding to the Catholic school system, the Ontario government has shown that its real intentions are very far from protecting and enhancing French-language schooling in Ontario.

The struggle for French schools flows from the fact that Franco-Ontarians are an oppressed nationality within Canada.

In general they are descendants of Québécois who moved into northern and eastern Ontario in the last century and this one, looking for work. According to the 1971 census, there were 482,040 inhabitants of Ontario, or 6.3 percent of the population, who said that their maternal language was French. Of these, 352,460, or 4.6 percent of the population, spoke mainly French in the home.

The Franco-Ontarians are heavily working class with many working in Ontario's mines and forests. Twenty-two percent of Ontario's miners are Franco-Ontarians.

Franco-Ontarians suffer discrimination on the basis of their language and culture. They live in areas of the province where unemployment is higher. The total average income of Franco-Ontarians is 92 percent of the Ontario average. They have great difficulty in getting services in their language. And even that is under attack.

For example, due to budget cuts francophone enrollment in adult education has dropped by 85 percent. This is particularly serious because 71 percent of Franco-Ontarians have 10 years of education or less. For the Ontario population as a whole, the rate is 56 percent.

All this stands in some contrast to the privileged position of the English minority in Quebec who live better and longer than the Québécois and have their own schools, hospitals, radio and TV stations, not to mention that the dominant business interests in Quebec are English Canadian.

Franco-Ontarian oppression is closely linked to that of the Québécois. In order to impose their rule over Canada, the rising English Canadian capitalist class had to impose its domination over the more numerous French-speaking inhabitants who had been conquered by England in 1760. To reduce the numbers of francophones, the English-speaking rulers resorted to enforced assimilation and exile of francophones, combined with massive immigration.

To this day the rate of assimilation of Franco-Ontarians is high. According to the 1971 census the rate of assimilation was 27 percent. That means that 27 out of every 100 people whose maternal language was French spoke mainly English in their homes.

The new rulers of Canada decided to reduce those of French origin to hewers of wood and drawers of water without the right to control their own destiny. This applied not only to the Québécois but also to the Franco-Manitobans and Métis who dared to rebel against Ottawa's rule.<sup>2</sup>

In 1913 English was decreed to be the only language of instruction in Ontario schools after the second grade. This remained the law until 1944.

#### **A major issue for Ontario labor**

Support to the Franco-Ontarian struggle for French-language schools under their control is an important issue for the Ontario labor movement. The bosses encourage prejudice towards Franco-Ontarians just as they do towards Québécois, Native people, and immigrants, in order to weaken the working class by dividing it.

If Ontario workers actively supported the struggles of Franco-Ontarians, with whom they work in many parts of the province, they would be that much closer to supporting the Québécois struggle for national liberation. This would lay a firm basis for uniting Quebec and English-Canadian workers, on a basis of equality, in defense of their common interests as working people.

The Ontario Federation of Labor, at its last convention in November 1984, went on record in support of French as an official language in Ontario. This was an important and welcome step. That support should now be actively extended to help defend French-language public high schools.

The Ontario NDP [New Democratic Party], however, has supported the government's extension of financing to Catholic high schools. This position stands in contradiction to past NDP positions in support of Franco-Ontarian demands. It must be reversed. Clear support to public French-language schools controlled by the Franco-Ontarians will strengthen the unity of the whole labor movement in Canada. □

2. The Métis, of French and Native American descent, rebelled against incorporation of Manitoba into the Canadian state in 1869 and 1885. Their leader, Louis Riel, was hanged by the federal government in 1885.



# Hussein and Arafat sign accord

*Agreement provokes new debate in Palestinian movement*

By Steve Craine

Even before its details were made public, the February 11 agreement between Jordan's King Hussein and Yassir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was being denounced (and praised) as a step toward PLO accommodation with imperialism.

The Syrian government and some factions in the PLO called the accord "treason." Egyptian foreign policy adviser Osama el-Baz endorsed it as a step toward PLO recognition of Israel. "For the first time," he said, "the PLO has unequivocally and irrevocably accepted the premise of a peaceful settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict." And an official of the Reagan administration in Washington concluded that the pact represented the first "Palestinian commitment to the peaceful resolution of the problem."

But when the text of the agreement was released by the Jordanian government on February 23 it was clear that the condemnation of the Syrian government as well as the hopes of imperialism were unfounded. (See complete text below.)

The Hussein-Arafat agreement introduces two major proposals. First it suggests that the eventual form for Palestinian self-determination be as a confederation of two states, Jordan and Palestine. Secondly it calls for an international conference to negotiate a comprehensive settlement for the Middle East. At that conference the Palestinian view would be represented by the PLO functioning within a joint delegation with the Jordanian government. This proposed international conference would include "all the parties to the conflict" and the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council — the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain, and France.

The February 11 agreement reiterated several longstanding positions of the PLO. Unlike United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, which the PLO has never accepted, the Hussein-Arafat accord stands on the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people. Resolution 242 refers to the Palestinians' rights only in the context of a "refugee problem."

Furthermore, the Security Council resolution, which was adopted in November 1967, defends the "sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area," including the state of Israel, established on Palestinian land. Resolution 242 has been interpreted to allow Israel to retain some of the territory it seized in 1967.

Arafat and Hussein agreed that within the proposed joint PLO-Jordanian negotiating del-

egation the PLO would remain the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

## Approved by PLO Executive Committee

The PLO Executive Committee met in Tunis, Tunisia, February 17-18 and approved Arafat's signing of the accord with King Hussein. It also moved to clarify and expand on important points that were not completely spelled out in the document. The Executive Committee endorsement emphasized that joint action with Jordan must be based on recognition of the resolutions of the Palestine National Council and the Arab summit meetings at Rabat in 1974, which designated the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and Fez in 1982.

It stipulated that joint action would be based on:

- "1. Ending the Zionist occupation of the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem;
- "2. Achieving the Palestinian people's inalienable rights, including their right to self-determination, repatriation, and to establishing an independent state on their national soil;
- "3. Rejecting capitulatory plans and unilateral deals such as the autonomy plan, the Camp David accords, the Reagan plan, and UN Security Council Resolution 242, which is not considered a good basis for any just solution that would guarantee the Palestinian people's national rights;
- "4. Rejecting authorization of any party to represent the Palestinians, or having it share in the right."



YASSIR ARAFAT

The Executive Committee concluded: "In accordance with these bases from which the Palestinian-Jordanian joint action proceeds, the PLO Executive Committee has decided to approve this plan, stressing that this action must include the parties concerned in a joint Arab delegation, and that all this should gain full Arab support."

## Hussein's interpretation of accord

King Hussein's view of the agreement he signed differed from the interpretation of the PLO Executive Committee. Asked by the U.S. television network ABC if the pact recognized Resolution 242, he answered that he believed that resolution had been "the common denominator of all the initiatives." In the same interview he said, "I think we have a very small window at this stage" to move ahead with negotiations with Israel. But he warned of "extremists" waiting in the wings if his approach fails.

Hussein continues to try to supplant the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. Other pro-imperialist regimes including Cairo and Damascus have also tried to use the Palestinians as a bargaining chip in their relations with Israel.

The Jordanian monarchy has attempted to speak for the Palestinians for decades. Since 1982 it has sought a way to fit into the framework of the "peace plan" presented by Ronald Reagan in September of that year. The Reagan plan, which is still the basis of U.S. Middle East policy, specifically rejects the possibility of an independent Palestinian state. Instead it proposes that the solution to the Palestinian problem should be made in association with Jordan, and designates Hussein's government as the representative of the Palestinians in any negotiations. Reagan's proposal also specifies that Jerusalem should remain completely under Israeli control.

The Syrian regime and the several PLO factions under its wing have opposed any cooperation between the PLO and Hussein's government in Amman. Syrian president Hafez al-Assad is primarily concerned that he may be excluded from any negotiations. This could leave the Syrian demand for return of the Golan Heights out of the picture.

The response of *Teshrin* to the early reports of the Hussein-Arafat agreement reflects the view of the Syrian government. "The agreement," the Syrian daily wrote, "is a planned plot to split the Arab world, to subdue it to imperialist control, to displace our Arab people, rob it of its wealth and control its resources."

Since the Hussein-Arafat agreement, it has been Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak who

has gone the furthest in praising the agreement and interpreting it to imply total rejection of the PLO's role in determining Palestine's future.

In Mubarak's opinion, there is no reason that the proposed joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation needs to include members of the PLO. "The PLO has lots of people who are pro-PLO on the West Bank," he said. Therefore, Mubarak suggested, the PLO should "coordinate with King Hussein to select moderate figures" to represent them.

Mubarak insisted that the February 11 accords amounted to PLO acceptance of Resolution 242, and he urged the U.S. government to disregard any conflicting statements from PLO leaders.

In Washington, President Reagan responded that "it seems as if some progress has been made," and added, "We're being optimistic about it."

But at least one high-ranking State Department official, according to the *New York Times*, believed the document "fell far short of what would be needed to persuade Israel to hold talks, and was also unsatisfactory as a whole to the United States." Specifically, he pointed to the fact that Hussein and Arafat did not accept Resolution 242. He also indicated his government would reject the agreement because of its call for a "comprehensive peace" and self-determination for the Palestinians.

The State Department official said Washington viewed the idea of a joint delegation as a step in the right direction "provided that senior PLO members are not in that delegation," according to the *Times*. He suggested that "there is a good chance the PLO will back out."

#### PLO still 'taboo' in Tel Aviv

Israeli government leaders did not view the Amman agreement as a big step in their direction or as a weakening of the Arab stance against Israel. Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir expressed his government's view, saying, "We do not see this agreement as being any opening to peace in the region. It is our belief that there is no lack of peace programs, but rather a lack of readiness and desire for peace on the Arab nation's part."

Shamir went on to point out that Israeli refusal to negotiate with the PLO applies equally to meeting with a joint Jordanian-PLO delegation. "The PLO is taboo," he stated. "We will agree to a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation but not a Jordanian-PLO one."

Just which side is blocking negotiations was made even clearer in an earlier statement by Shamir. "If the king of Jordan wants peace with Israel," he said on February 12, "he has to cut all ties with the PLO. We will never negotiate with Arafat or with the PLO."

Abba Eban, regarded as a moderate in the Israeli parliament, also dismissed the Hussein-Arafat agreement as meaningless because it does not accept the Israeli position. "We need explicit recognition of the state of Israel, and they offer implicit recognition of 242," he said. "Let's say that Prime Minister Peres

wants to be adventurous, can he bring this to Israeli public opinion?"

Tel Aviv has always opposed the formation of an independent Palestinian state, including on any part of the territory taken in the 1967 war. Furthermore, it intends to maintain its de facto annexation of at least a portion of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. Occasionally the government has floated proposals for "autonomy" for Palestinians, but only in limited areas. Unlike southern Lebanon, where Israeli occupation is now being dismantled, the West Bank is considered an area for incorporation into the Israeli state.

A new population study released in mid-February indicates that the Israeli settler population of the West Bank has doubled in the past two years. At the end of 1984 there were 42,600 Jewish settlers living in 114 communities in the West Bank compared with the 1982 population of 20,600 in 71 settlements. The rate of growth, too, has increased from 34 percent in 1983 to 54 percent in 1984.

#### West Bank opinion divided

Among Palestinian residents of the West Bank, reaction to the new diplomatic move was mixed. Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij and Gaza mayor Rashad Shawwa, who has been

deposed by the Israeli authorities, endorsed Arafat's action immediately, according to the English-language weekly *Al Fajr*, published under Israeli occupation in East Jerusalem. On the other hand, the deposed mayors of Nablus and Anapta, Bassam Shaka'a and Walid Hamdallah, were among those opposed to it.

Palestinian newspapers expressed a range of views, from the generally pro-Jordanian *Al Quds*, which supported Arafat's actions, to the view of *Al Talia* that "regardless of Arafat's good intentions, the agreement will weaken the Palestinians and Arabs and will encourage the Americans to ask for more concessions."

A brief editorial in the February 15 issue of *Al Fajr* commented that the accord is a "step on the long road of Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue" and that "Israel and the US have always counted on the absence of such an accord and the lack of Palestinian-Jordanian cooperation." The editorial pointed to Arafat's assurances that the agreement was based on PNC decisions and did not accept UN Security Council Resolution 242. It concluded that the agreement with Hussein "falls within the Palestinian political and diplomatic efforts to invest in the Arab potential while adhering to PNC resolutions. Let us wait and see if this Palestinian move is going to further Palestinian national aims." □

## DOCUMENTS

# Hussein-Arafat agreement

## Jordanian-PLO proposal for joint negotiating position

[The following is the text of the agreement reached on February 11 between King Hussein of Jordan and Yassir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization. This translation was made public on February 23 in Amman, Jordan, by Jordan's acting information minister, Taher Hikmat. The text is taken from the February 24 *New York Times*.]

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*Emanating* from the spirit of the Fez summit resolutions,\* approved by Arab states, and from United Nations resolutions relating to the Palestine question,

*In accordance* with international legitimacy, and

*Deriving* from a common understanding on the establishment of a special relationship between the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples,

The Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization have agreed to move together toward the achievement of a peaceful and just settle-

ment of the Middle East crisis and the termination of Israeli occupation of the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, on the basis of the following principles:

1. Total withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967 for comprehensive peace as established in United Nations and Security Council resolutions.

2. Right of self-determination for the Palestinian people: Palestinians will exercise their inalienable right of self-determination when Jordanians and Palestinians will be able to do so within the context of the formation of the proposed confederated Arab states of Jordan and Palestine.

3. Resolution of the problem of Palestinian refugees in accordance with United Nations resolutions.

4. Resolution of the Palestine question in all its aspects.

5. And on this basis, peace negotiations will be conducted under the auspices of an international conference in which the five permanent members of the Security Council and all the parties to the conflict will participate, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestine people, within a joint delegation (joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation). □

\*The summit meeting of the Arab League held at Fez, Morocco, in September 1982 called for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. — IP

# Israel speeds up troop withdrawal

*Imperialist plans set back by growing resistance*

By Steve Craine

The Israeli army is finding its partial pullout from southern Lebanon is leaving it in an increasingly untenable position. Although Tel Aviv has not yet committed itself to completing the second and third phases of the withdrawal plan it announced on January 14, the stakes involved in this decision are rising as Israeli troops have faced growing resistance.

The Israeli government predicted that withdrawing its army would lead to a bloodbath between Lebanese communities adhering to different religions. (And in fact the Israeli rulers had maneuvered the various Lebanese factions in an effort to increase the likelihood of this outcome. Fostering divisions between Christian, Muslim, and Druse communities has been a key strategy for imperialist domination of Lebanon since the days of French colonial rule between the first and second world wars.)

But in the area evacuated on February 16, mainly around the port city of Sidon, the Israeli predictions have not materialized. Instead of a bloodbath, there has been almost universal rejoicing at the end of the hated occupation, along with the settling of scores with a number of overt collaborators of the Israelis.

An indication of the increasing strength of the resistance in the Sidon area was the Israeli decision to pull out of the city two days earlier than originally planned. Officials explained that they were afraid that massive "send-off" attacks on their troops may have been planned for February 18, the original evacuation date. This hasty retreat gives the lie to Tel Aviv's attempt to portray the withdrawal as coolly calculated "redeployment."

In the area still held by the Israeli army, increased unity in opposition and confidence that the occupiers can be driven out have led to a sharp rise in attacks against Israeli troops. The response has been a brutal crackdown against the Lebanese population as a whole.

The Lebanese National Resistance Front announced that it had carried out a record 110 military actions against Israeli forces in January, and in the first 10 days of February alone, 51 attacks were reported. The big majority of these took place behind the newly established Israeli lines. Military sources in Israel admitted in mid-February that since withdrawal plans were announced, they have suffered 15 Israeli soldiers killed and 104 wounded.

On February 21, following the killing of Col. Avraham Hido and two others in three separate attacks east of Tyre, Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin initiated what he called an "iron fist policy." Colonel Hido was among the four highest-ranking Israeli officers to die in Lebanon since the June 1982 invasion.

He had been serving as senior liaison officer with the Israeli-financed South Lebanon Army.

## Israeli 'iron fist policy'

Already in its first few days, Israel's "iron fist" resulted in dusk-to-dawn curfews, army raids on dozens of villages, the taking of scores of prisoners, and the bulldozing or dynamiting of houses, stores, and automobiles. Nine people were killed in Israeli raids on February 23, including eight in the village of Seer alone. At least 400 residents of southern villages have arrived in Beirut after being "deported" from the south by the occupation authorities.

*Christian Science Monitor* reporter Jim Muir reported the typical pattern of the recent army raids. "The Israelis move in, usually just after dawn, with several hundred troops and 20 or more armored vehicles and tanks. Anyone seen trying to run away is shot. All houses are searched while the male population is interrogated. Any house where arms or suspects are found is bulldozed."

The village schoolmaster in Bazuriyah told Muir about the Israelis' use of local informers in these roundups. "We were all herded into the courtyard [of the school] and fenced off with barbed wire," the schoolmaster related. "The informers stood in the classrooms behind closed doors, looking out through the slats and pointing out suspects from among the people in the courtyard. The suspects were taken into other rooms for interrogation. Some of them were beaten and many were taken away."

In the village of Tura, a Lebanese family showed Muir a bundle of bank notes — the family's savings — that had been torn to pieces by the soldiers. The Israeli raid on Tura also left at least one Lebanese man dead with a bullet in his back.

On February 26 Israeli aircraft dropped Arabic-language leaflets threatening reprisals against curfew violators. The leaflets also decreed that no motorcycles would be permitted on the roads night or day and that cars with only a driver were likewise forbidden in Israeli-controlled areas. The leaflets warned that automobiles left parked on roadsides without occupants would routinely be blown up.

An Israeli military official explained that these prohibitions were designed to prevent hit-and-run attacks and car bombs.

To keep such brutal repression under wraps, the occupation authorities moved on February 26 to ban foreign journalists based in Beirut from entering Israeli-controlled areas. Only reporters who make prior arrangements with the army and travel with an Israeli "security escort force" will be allowed in the occupied south.

As the *New York Times* put it, this edict "rules out any chance that [journalists] could have any independent contact with the local Lebanese population."

## More Israelis favor withdrawal

Israeli casualties and the army's blatant repression have strengthened arguments in Israel for speeding up the withdrawal. Two government ministers and several members of parliament from both major parties have called for moving up the still indefinite date for completion of the phased withdrawal.

Israel's largest daily paper, *Yediot Aharonot*, which had been a strong backer of the invasion and occupation, has changed its tune dramatically. A front-page editorial in the paper complained of the inability of Israeli troops to stop the "hooliganism" and "gangs . . . waiting for them behind every corner." But it concluded, "We must get out of there, not in stages, long-term or short-term, but immediately — today — and not stay there even a minute too long."

A senior official in Tel Aviv's war ministry reacted to the editorial: "If they are calling for our withdrawal, then there is no one left to ask us to stay. They would have supported our invasion of Turkey before."

Defense Minister Rabin, however, cautioned against an immediate pullout. "The redeployment requires time," he said, "so that we can build an infrastructure on the international border in order to ensure peace for Galilee." "Peace for Galilee" (the northern part of Israel) was the code name for the 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

The Israeli retreat from Sidon, Lebanon's third-largest city, was met with huge celebrations on February 16. More than two and a half years of occupation had meant suffering for virtually all segments of the population.

"There was not a single person in the area who was not affected by the Israeli abuses," said Nazih Bizri, Sidon's member of the Lebanese parliament. "Not a ship docked in our port without being taxed [by the Israeli government], and money was extorted by blackmail. They blocked the roads to travelers and goods. Our agricultural income dropped to 40 percent of normal."

In the June 1982 invasion, Israel sought primarily to destroy the operations base of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). This was largely successful, and the PLO's loss of its Lebanese base continues to undermine its effectiveness militarily and politically. But the invasion was also part of a broader strategy of the Israeli imperialists to beat back the revolu-

tionary aspirations of the oppressed Arab peoples in Lebanon and other neighboring countries.

Israeli and U.S. strategists had hoped the crushing of the PLO and a long-term occupation would stabilize a proimperialist regime in Beirut and isolate leftist currents in Lebanese politics. The response in Sidon demonstrated that they were not successful in this task.

#### Gemayel tries to take credit

Lebanese president Amin Gemayel, representing the fascist-like Phalange Party, which supported the Israeli invasion in 1982, tried to identify with the anti-Israel sentiment of the masses and take credit for their success in ousting the Israelis. Gemayel flew to Sidon, 20 miles south of Beirut, the day after the last Israeli tank left the city and arranged to be photographed drinking a champagne toast next to his helicopter. In the city the president gave tribute to the "honest Lebanese resistance which has irrigated the land with the generosity of its blood."

But throngs of demonstrators celebrating the same liberation had a different view of Gemayel's role in it. Banners and posters asked, "Where was the [Lebanese] Army when the Israelis were here?" and declared, "Lebanon will not be governed by a Maronite." Gemayel is a member of the Maronite Christian minority, as have been all Lebanese pres-

idents since World War II under an agreement designed to maintain Christian, capitalist domination over Lebanese politics.

Shi'ite Muslims, calling for an Islamic republic of Lebanon, demonstrated against Gemayel, and Walid Jumblatt, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party, demanded Gemayel's overthrow, calling him the "shah of Lebanon."

Underground resistance leaders have promised continued attacks on the Israeli troops, as has the main Shi'ite militia, Amal. Nabih Berri, head of Amal and Lebanese minister for the south, said he would rename his ministry the "Ministry of Resistance" and would use his position to facilitate the supply of arms and explosives to the guerrillas.

The departure of the Israeli army also opened the opportunity to deal with local residents who had collaborated with or spied for the occupiers. Dozens of collaborators have been assassinated, some in public. The Israeli government has agreed to allow those collaborators who can escape to resettle in Israel.

The South Lebanon Army began suffering massive desertions even before the withdrawal from Sidon was completed. At least one-third of its soldiers apparently decided they do not want to be caught on the losing side. This is an additional blow to Tel Aviv's strategy, which counted on the SLA to function as a surrogate for the Israeli army in a 6- to 12-mile "buffer

zone" along the Israeli border.

The Gemayel government's response to the advances made by the resistance came on February 20 with an army order to tighten control over the Beirut-Sidon coastal highway to prevent the infiltration of armed groups into the south.

#### Rabin reiterates threats

The blow that Tel Aviv has suffered in being forced to begin withdrawing from Lebanon has made it uneasy about the possibility of losing influence in the country altogether through the disintegration of the South Lebanon Army and the weakening of the Gemayel regime. Ultimately it must reserve the option of a new direct intervention with its army. To remind all Lebanese of this possibility, the Israeli air force dropped leaflets on Sidon. The leaflets said in part: "South Lebanon will have security, stability and peace as long as northern Israel does. If Israeli forces come under attack, they will respond with double the force and deal lethal blows to the area from which the attacks come, showing no mercy or any other consideration."

Israeli Defense Minister Rabin spelled out this threat in a February 19 speech. If the Lebanese resistance carries its fight to the border, he said, the Israeli military will act "even if it will require entering back into Lebanon temporarily, bombing the area, shelling it." □

## FEATURES

# Myth and reality of Yalta conference

*'Division of Europe product of an enormous clash of class forces'*

By John Ross

[The following article is reprinted from the Feb. 15, 1985, issue of *Socialist Action*, a weekly newspaper published in London.]

\* \* \*

*I wrote out on a half sheet of paper:  
Rumania: Russia 90 per cent — the other  
10 per cent.*

*Greece: Great Britain 90 per cent (in accord with USA) — Russia 10 per cent.*

*Yugoslavia: 50 per cent — 50 per cent.*

*Hungary: 50 per cent — 50 per cent.*

*Bulgaria: Russia 75 per cent — the  
others 25 per cent.*

*I pushed this across to Stalin, who had  
by then heard the translation. There was a  
slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil  
and made a large tick upon it, and passed it  
back to us. It was all done in no more time  
than it takes to set down.*

This was how Winston Churchill described his meeting with Stalin in Moscow in October 1944 which prepared the way for the great conference of Yalta\* in February 1945. The "percentages" referred to the degrees of political influence to be exercised after the second

world war in the countries of Eastern Europe by the United States, Britain, and their allies on the one side, and the USSR on the other.

Even Churchill appears to have been shocked at the ease of the whole operation and added to his Soviet host: "Might it not be thought rather cynical if it seemed we had disposed of these issues, so fateful to millions of people, in such an off-hand manner? Let us burn the paper. 'No, you keep it,' said Stalin."

Churchill never had any reason to be disappointed in Stalin not keeping to the agreement which he made. In December 1944 British troops in Greece, under General Scobie, began their attack on the positions of the Greek Communist Party — a country in which the USSR was supposed to have only a 10 per cent interest. Churchill recorded: "Stalin adhered strictly and faithfully to our agreement of October and in all the long weeks of fighting the communists in the streets of Athens not one word of reproach came from Pravda and Izvestia."

Further west, where Churchill had taken it

for granted British, American, and French interests would prevail, the story was the same.

In Italy an enormous working class insurrection liberated the northern part of the country in April 1945. Luigi Longo, one of the central leaders of the Italian Communist Party, described the situation in terms which have never been challenged:

"At the beginning of April more than 300,000 partisans began fighting in northern Italy and liberated one after the other the towns of Bologna, Modena, Parma, Piacenza, Genoa, Turin, Milan, Verona, Padua and the whole region of Venice before the allied troops arrived. The partisans saved the industrial installations and lines of communication which the Germans were preparing to destroy, took tens of thousands of prisoners, and succeeded in capturing considerable quantities of arms.

"Everywhere the partisans set up national liberation committees as the authority and executed the main leaders of Italian fascism. . . . For 10 days, until the arrival of the allied troops and authorities, the national liberation committees directed the whole political, social, and economic life of northern Italy."

Longo also described what happened as the

\*Yalta is a port city on the Black Sea in the Crimean region of the Soviet Union — *IP*.

American and British armies began to arrive in northern Italy: "When the allied authorities reached the north with their troops, they began to remove from important posts the men of the resistance appointed by the national liberation committees, and replaced them with officials from the old (fascist) administrative apparatus. And the Rome government, as soon as the allies handed over to it control of the whole country, speedily replaced all the people appointed to responsible positions by the national liberation committees with alleged 'specialists,' i.e. officials of the old administrative apparatus."

The partisan detachments were disarmed by the allied armies and finally the National Liberation Committee for Northern Italy was itself dissolved. Throughout this entire process the Soviet representative on the allied consultative commission for Italy made not one single protest at what was taking place.

In France the pattern was similar. Large areas of the country in 1944 were liberated or dominated by the resistance. As de Gaulle admitted in his *Memoirs*: "The leadership of the fighting elements was in the hands of the Communists."

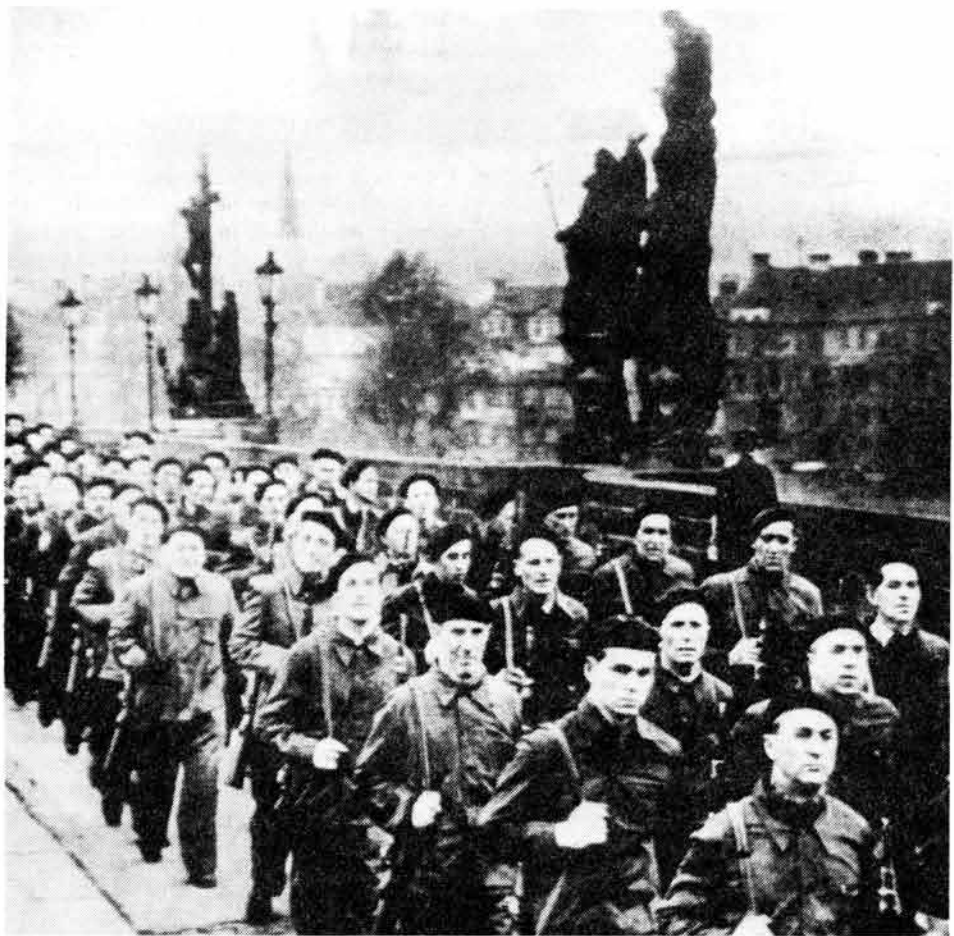
De Gaulle therefore acted swiftly to re-establish bourgeois order and as head of the French government on 27 October 1944 signed a decree dissolving the resistance militias. He followed this on 6 November by signing a decree permitting the return to France of the French Communist Party leader Maurice Thorez. On his return to France on 27 November Thorez issued the slogan "One state, one police force, one army."

The Communist Party began issuing instructions for the militias to disband. On 2 December de Gaulle went to Moscow, met Stalin, and signed a Franco-Soviet treaty.

The meeting of Churchill and Stalin in October 1944, and the Yalta conference of February 1945, in short at first glance, cemented in place the modern division of Europe. The eastern part of Europe was formally accepted by the British and Americans in 1944 and early 1945 as being in the Soviet sphere of influence — although, as we will see, the actual destruction of the capitalist economies in Eastern Europe was not carried out until 1947. Stalin in turn guaranteed by the most practical means the survival of capitalism in Greece and Western Europe.

### Survival

In Asia a similar, although far more limited, pattern was agreed. A key part of the Yalta conference was the pledge by the USSR to enter the war against Japan. America and Britain however took it for granted that they would maintain their predominance in China — and the French their colonies in Indochina. Stalin explicitly supported the continuation of capitalist rule in China under Chiang Kai Shek. It is this tremendous "division of the world" that has been looked at in the press articles which have appeared celebrating the fortieth anniversary of Yalta.



Armed workers in Prague demonstrate in support of ouster of capitalist ministers from Czech government in 1948. Capitalism was overturned in Czechoslovakia and other East European countries following World War II as a result of massive struggle by workers and peasants.

Yet despite all the press rhetoric — much of which is accepted by the left — the most fundamental point of this "division of the world" is ignored. Yalta is presented as though it reflected the possibility of permanent "coexistence" between the major imperialist states on the one side and the Soviet bureaucracy on the other. The exact reverse is the truth.

The accords of Yalta were *imposed* on the imperialist powers by the relation of forces that existed at the time. The United States and Britain had no intention whatever of keeping to them in the intermediate or long run. The Soviet bureaucracy under Stalin, in turn, was *incapable* of maintaining the accords it had reached at Yalta. No sooner had the "accords of Yalta" been arrived at than they began to break up — although the speed of the breakup differed very greatly in the different parts of the world. If Yalta set the seal on the end of World War II then the history of the post-war world may precisely be seen, from a certain angle, as the "breakup of Yalta."

In order to see what is involved in this process, consider what actually would have been the shape of the post-war world if the agreements made in October 1944 and at Yalta had

been adhered to. First the only countries to which Churchill acceded a majority Soviet interest were Bulgaria and Rumania. Yet by October 1944 and February 1945 it was already clear that the war would end with Soviet troops not only in possession of Bulgaria and Rumania but also of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, and a large part of Germany.

### Influence

In short the first demand of Churchill was that the Soviet Union actually *give up* its influence, and hand over to the United States and Britain a large part of what it had taken in the war. In return for this the U.S. and Britain offered precisely nothing — and indeed insisted that Stalin aid them by stabilising capitalism in Greece, Italy, France, and Western Europe.

Furthermore the British and Americans made it quite clear that they accepted Soviet influence in Eastern Europe as a purely temporary development. When on 11 May 1945 all U.S. lend-lease supplies to the USSR were abruptly cut off this was explicitly explained by United States Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs Will Clayton as being due to the fact

that: "the lend-lease programme for the USSR should be so flexible that it could be cut off at any time." The U.S. War department noted the decision as, "a political weapon in connection with difficulties in Central Europe."

U.S. President Truman, preparing the Potsdam summit conference of July 1945, explained his policy towards the USSR succinctly when he said: "Unless they [the USSR] did something to remedy that situation [in Eastern Europe] promptly they faced extensive starvation." Truman argued that he had "the cards in American hands" and that he proposed, "to play them as American cards." He concluded that, "We didn't have to go to the Russians for anything and the Russians very definitely had to come to us for many things." The use of the atomic bomb against Japan in August 1945 was intended by the Americans as a further pressure on the USSR.

The first successful test of the atom bomb, on 16 July in New Mexico, itself already hardened significantly the American position at the Potsdam conference. Churchill noted of Truman after he had received the news of the test that "He was a changed man. He told the Russians just where they got on and off and generally bossed this entire meeting."

By January 1946 the American attempt to secure its positions in Eastern Europe was well underway. Despite the agreements of Stalin and Churchill the U.S. government refused the recognition of the Bulgarian and Rumanian governments "unless they comply with our requirements." On 5 January Truman outlined that Russia must be faced "with an iron fist."

#### Rhetoric

Despite U.S. rhetoric the situation it found itself confronted with in Western and Eastern Europe in 1945-46 was very far from being directly to its advantage. Although by mid-1945 the Communist Parties' policies in Western Europe had allowed the rebuilding of some political stability, and broken any immediate post-war revolutionary breakthrough, nevertheless complete economic dislocation and social instability continued to exist in most of Europe.

Agricultural production in 1945 in the European continent was only half its pre-war level. Even in 1946, 100 million people in Europe were receiving less than biologically minimum rations. More than three-quarters of the major bridges in Western Germany had been destroyed. Industrial production in France in 1945 was only one-third of its pre-war level and only thirty five per cent of its railway locomotives had survived the war. As the pro-American Walter Laquer accurately put it in his *Europe since Hitler*, "The European economy in 1945 had ceased to be viable. Recovery in 1946 was followed by a new crisis in 1947."

In Eastern Europe the destruction was even greater than the west. Poland had lost one in five of its population. Yugoslavia had lost 10 per cent of its people. Soviet losses are estimated at 20 million dead. Germany had lost five million people.

Furthermore, in addition to the threat of political upheaval due to the continuing economic crisis in Europe, the United States was threatened by a mass movement in its own army. American troops in Europe demonstrated for an immediate return to the U.S. United States forces in the Pacific reached the point of near mutiny to secure the same demands.

In this political situation the chief weapon adopted by the United States to attempt to secure its goals in Eastern Europe was economic blackmail — coupled with a relaunching of remilitarisation as soon as the political situation permitted.

Already in January 1945 the United States had refused a Soviet request for a \$6 billion loan. Later in 1945 the Americans "lost" a similar request for a \$1 billion loan. The U.S. government made it known that it would only agree to these loans if the USSR agreed to "work cooperatively with us on international problems in accordance with our standards."

When in June 1947 the conference to commence Marshall Aid to Europe was held, the Soviet Union participated in the conference and proposed that each country draw up a recovery plan to discuss with the United States. The U.S. refused point blank and insisted that the plan must be adopted only on a Europe-wide basis, i.e. that Eastern Europe be considered with Western Europe and that the United States would be able to determine policy in both.

As the American ambassador to Moscow, General Smith, put it, the Soviets were "confronted with two unpalatable alternatives . . . . To refrain from participation in the Paris conference would be tantamount to forcing the formation of such a (western) bloc." If on the other hand they attended the Paris conference and accepted Marshall Aid "they would create the possibility of a certain amount of economic penetration . . . among the (Soviet) satellite states."

In short while Stalin kept faithfully to his part of the agreements at Yalta the United States and Britain had no intention whatever of keeping to theirs. The destruction of the capitalist economies by the Soviet Union after 1947 was a direct response to the attempt of the United States to economically undermine them through political threats and economic pressure.

The one major move by Stalin which clearly went beyond anything established at Yalta, the coup d'état carried through by the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, similarly came only after the United States, Britain and their allies made it quite clear by the Marshall Plan that they intended to overthrow everything agreed at the end of World War II. The Soviet leadership, quite rightly, had not the slightest intention of allowing a rerun of World War II — only this time with a nuclear armed United States on its Western border instead of the German army.

In short, it is *false* to see Yalta as somehow a stable agreed "division of the world" between the imperialist states and the Soviet

leadership. It was the exact opposite — an unstable temporary agreement which was imposed by the relation of forces of the time and which imperialism would have attempted to overthrow if it had the chance. Stalin intended to stick to his part of the agreement — and did so extremely faithfully until 1947.

The U.S. and Britain had no intention whatever of sticking to their side. Indeed *until this day* they have never abandoned the perspective of the restoration of capitalism in Eastern Europe — as Ronald Reagan and Caspar Weinberger have graciously reminded us recently.

Yalta was a temporary equilibrium created by the clash of two completely contradictory and opposed class forces. On the one side was the non-capitalist workers' state of the USSR with its allies in the working class of Eastern and Western Europe. On the other side were the great imperialist powers of the United States, Britain, and France. The division of Europe was not the product of a negotiated "agreement" between imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy but the result of an enormous clash of class forces — a clash that continues to the present day in Europe.

Behind Yalta lay not Churchill and Stalin but the greatest class struggle of the entire twentieth century. The Second World War. □

## U.S. grants extradition of Yugoslav war criminal

A U.S. magistrate has granted the request of the Yugoslav government to extradite Croatian fascist Andrija Artukovic, but stipulated that he could be tried for only one murder.

Artukovic, who was minister of the interior and justice in the pro-Nazi "Independent State of Croatia" during World War II, is accused of organizing the murder of hundreds of thousands of Jews, Serbs, gypsies, and Orthodox Christians.

Magistrate Volney Brown, of Los Angeles, also granted an immediate stay of his extradition order, commenting that he expected Secretary of State George Shultz, who could overrule the extradition, would consider "whether it is fair to surrender him some 42 to 45 years after the events."

Brown admitted that there was plenty of evidence that Artukovic had been responsible for war crimes. However he based his extradition order only on the 1941 murder of Jesa Vidic, a former figure in the fascist wartime government in Croatia.

Artukovic, now 85, was a leader of the pro-fascist Ustasha movement in Croatia, which collaborated with the Nazi regime in setting up a puppet government after German troops entered Yugoslavia in 1941. The Ustasha regime was overthrown by a massive revolution of Yugoslav workers and peasants in 1945.

After fleeing the revolution, Artukovic entered the United States in 1948. He has avoided several previous attempts by the Yugoslav government to have him returned to stand trial. □

# 'Our people are determined to win freedom'

Interview with FLNKS leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou

[The following interview with Jean-Marie Tjibaou — leader of New Caledonia's Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) and president of the Provisional Government of Kanaky — was conducted in France by Anne-Marie Contant and was published in the February 11 issue of *Afrique-Asie*, a fortnightly magazine published in Paris.

[The translation from French and the footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

*Question.* Why, in spite of the death of Eloi Machoro<sup>1</sup> and the buildup of French troops on the island, have you chosen to continue to negotiate?

*Answer.* Because in 1985 discussion is what the FLNKS has to do. Since November 18<sup>2</sup> we have carried out actions that led the government to agree to move forward the date of this discussion, which was originally projected for 1989.

Starting from there, we have a bit of a moral obligation to proceed with these negotiations we fought for. But in another connection, it is true, we are quite boxed in by Pisani's proposal.<sup>3</sup> Admittedly the plan is relatively open on independence, but the conditions for gaining it lead us to say that there is too much of France in it.

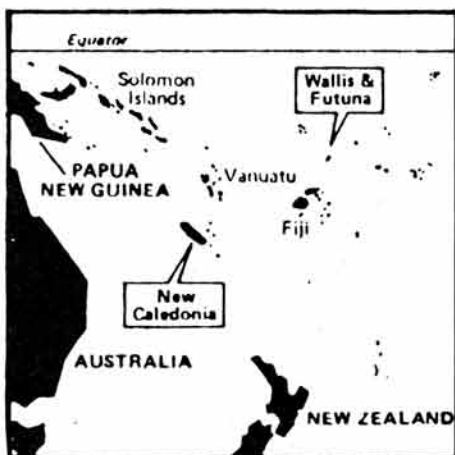
Concerning the referendum, it also presents a problem because as now projected, the electoral relationship of forces is not favorable to us. Self-determination at the end of January would be suicide. On the other hand, our activity over the next six months could reverse the balance.

At any rate, we are walking on a real tight-rope. Our margin for maneuvering is very narrow. In a position of weakness for negotiating with Pisani, we cannot bring the pressure in the field to bear on the negotiations. To act in that manner would condemn in advance the objec-

1. Eloi Machoro, 38, was shot to death by French police in New Caledonia on January 12. Leader of the Caledonian Union (UC), one of the groups making up the FLNKS, Machoro was also minister of internal security in the Provisional Government of Kanaky set up by proindependence forces on Dec. 1, 1984.

2. The FLNKS organized a highly successful boycott by Kanaks of voting in the Nov. 18, 1984, elections for New Caledonia's Territorial Assembly.

3. Edgard Pisani is French President Mitterrand's special envoy to New Caledonia. Under Pisani's proposal, France would give up formal sovereignty over New Caledonia, but would retain control over the country's internal and external security.



tive that has been set; that is, that the majority of voters come out in favor of independence in the projected referendum.

*Q.* However, from the field itself there are reports of violent actions by Kanaks, who apparently would not share your opinion.

*A.* The two attitudes are part of the perspectives discussed by the Kanaks. The current that favors breaking off the negotiations exists because anger is high everywhere, although it is usually controlled anger.

*Q.* Spontaneously controlled by each person?

*A.* No, usually group discipline functions. But the recent events also reflect our difficulties in coordination. Among us, information does not get around. The local media do not favor us, and you cannot even demand that they be objective. Furthermore, in our command posts the telephone is constantly monitored.

That is why we have given autonomy to our local committees, while sending them this watchword: we hold to the course of negotiations with Pisani; it is a stage that we won through our struggle. We must hold to this until the text comes out of the National Assembly. Only then will we see what new strategy to adopt.

*Q.* Does Pisani seem to you to be a sincere, trustworthy negotiator? Some FLNKS leaders say he is a hostage to the right.

*A.* We are also hostages [laughter]. Sincere, I don't know, trustworthy yes, and effective certainly. Moreover, this is a man who has complete authority and who, I am sure, has the

scope of a statesman.

He knows what he wants, and he will make the decisions that are needed. Therefore, we have an interest in going as far as possible in the discussions with him so he will understand our demands. Having said that, our relationship remains a relationship of force in the sense that his mission is to ensure France's presence in the Pacific, and ours is to obtain sovereignty.

*Q.* In the event of a failure of the negotiations, could you move to a phase three, the stage of guerrilla war?

*A.* At present we do not have the weapons, so the hypothesis of a phase three is therefore foolhardy. The adversary's military strength in terms of firepower, logistics, and training is clearly superior.

But for us, we have our cause, for which there have already been deaths, and perhaps there will be more of them. Our people are determined to win their freedom. To use an image, we are in the situation of someone in prison; it's always up to the prisoner to imagine possible ways out. It is up to him to become more intelligent than the adversary to win.

*Q.* How are you organized in the field?

*A.* Our organization into local committees has no objective other than the security of the villages. In the territory today, for every 25 people there is one member of the [French] security forces, meaning one armed man, and it is hard to know who these weapons are aimed against.

The committees have also begun to reorganize joint labor in the fields. The economic situation is hard: we must eat and enliven the community. What is beginning is the green mobilization. It is the fabric of the development plan we are beginning to work out. But, for the present, its sole objective is to ensure our survival.

All this is very unpleasant for our members because the leader discusses, discusses, discusses — but the members themselves are still in prison. The dead have been buried and no action has been authorized, not even a demonstration to allow the bitterness to be expressed. It is a weight that the people bear in their hearts.

*Q.* Are the majority of the Front's members new to politics?

*A.* There are two groups — the old timers and those who are younger. But our tradition

of resistance to the colonial reality is such that most of our troops are made up of old-time members. People who did not become aware of the situation until November 18 form only the fringe of the movement. Of course, as everywhere, there are sheep who have little idea of what is taking place. But as a whole the people are very motivated, especially since the death of Eloi Machoro, which again tipped more than one.

*Q. Through the trade union,<sup>4</sup> are you in the process of creating solidarity with the other ethnic groups, for example the Wallisians?<sup>5</sup>*

A. You find Wallisians in this union, and they are also in the other parties that make up the Front. They are, however in a minority among the Wallisians, as is the case among the Asians and the Europeans.

The problem is that they become the object of pressures and threats. Some have had their apartments ransacked, their cars dynamited. They have been subjected to gunfire.

Death threats were even addressed to the lawyer who defends our members in prison. Happily, we have the opportunity to also take advantage of the service of lawyers from here [France] who belong to the League of the Rights of Man or the International Association of Democratic Jurists.

*Q. After independence Kanaky will be socialist. What does socialism mean to the Front?*

A. Our socialism is not written down. We are in the process of writing it. It does not refer back to anyone, to any existing political doctrine. To define it negatively, it is the rejection of the exploitation of our patrimony by a handful of colonial settlers.

*Q. Once sovereignty is reestablished, how would that sovereignty be expressed in concrete terms?*

A. The new state will begin by feeding its people. It will have to support any initiative likely to create implements of labor. We also have the idea of a national service for youth in which they would devote a year of their lives to putting these implements in place. We do not want wage workers, but rather people who take responsibility for their activities.

We are a small country, and priority must be given to the small and medium-sized enterprises. Of course it will be necessary to keep the nickel, but our first objective is to create an economic fabric throughout the territory that makes the country increasingly autonomous.

4. The Federation of Kanak and Exploited Workers Unions (USTKE).

5. Of New Caledonia's 145,000 people, 42.6 percent are Kanaks, the original Melanesian inhabitants of the island; 37.1 percent are Europeans; and the remainder are immigrants from other French colonies in the Pacific and from Asia. The 12,000 immigrants from the French Pacific colony of Wallis and Futuna make up the next largest group on the island.

We will be able to sell our products in the big market of the Pacific. And then we can also count on tourism.

*Q. However, for a decade the Kanaks have burned down many hotels.*

A. Because we want a tourism that conforms to our traditions of welcome and is adapted to our idea of first developing small enterprises of the rural-inn type, tourism in the resident's home.

*Q. You want to be autonomous. Will you have the means to do it?*

A. Within the Pacific, our country is the one with the greatest potential in terms of agricultural, forest, mining resources, etc. Around us there are important markets: Japan, Singapore, Australia. We have advantages.

In addition, in our discussions with France on the passage to independence, we can negotiate our strategic position. Whether we opt for neutrality or we sign very narrowly focused military intervention pacts in the region with other countries, all this is up for discussion.

*Q. Are you ready to sign a military agreement with France if, in return, France provides you some assistance?*

A. This will be the subject of discussions, but only, of course, after the referendum.

*Q. Do you think you are ready to allow the Europeans to remain after independence?*

A. I think that those who killed our brothers in Hienghène cannot remain.<sup>6</sup> They will not be able to live in peace. Our looks alone will

6. Ten Kanaks, including two brothers of Jean-Marie Tjibaou, were murdered in an ambush near the town of Hienghène on December 5.

## Kanak congress presses struggle

### Will resume economic boycott

By Eileen Morgan

[The following article is reprinted from the February 15 issue of *Socialist Action*, a fortnightly newspaper published in Auckland that reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

AUCKLAND — One thousand supporters of the national liberation struggle of the Kanak people of New Caledonia are reported to have attended the first congress of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) on February 9.

The FLNKS has been in the forefront of the Kanaks' struggle to free their country from the domination of French imperialism. It is a coalition made up of several Kanak political par-

ties, the Kanak-led trade union, women's group, and other organisations.

*Q. Will they leave on their own?*

A. I do not know. In any event, those from Tiendanite left on their own.

*Q. What do you think about the multiracial society that Pisani talks about?*

A. I don't know what that means. The multiracial society is a concept linked to the colonial situation of New Caledonia.

Does anyone talk about a multiracial society and a pact between communities for French society? No. Yet when you travel in the subway, you note that few cars don't have some color in them.

Ultimately, in my view, a multiracial society is a yoke you force people into to live together. Because it remains to be seen how you would organize the economic, cultural space in such a society. All this has a smell of racism. For me, a country can exist with a consensus on which you set up a development program. And in this perspective, people must not line up on the basis of race, but as national citizens or workers with an interest in the country.

*Q. One last question. What has been your impression of the solidarity in France?*

A. Extraordinary! Sincerely, the meeting organized in Paris warmed my heart. The solidarity is important, especially for the Europeans in New Caledonia who support us and are, therefore, classified as traitors.

In addition, if the Caldoches [European settlers] feel that there is a strong movement in France in favor of independence, a segment of them will perhaps more readily decide to vote "yes." We have already said that independence is the sole solution for those who want to remain in our territory to be able to live there in peace. □

ties, the Kanak-led trade union, women's group, and other organisations.

Those participating at the congress voted to resume an active campaign aimed at undermining French economic activity in New Caledonia. This campaign was suspended following the murder of FLNKS leader Eloi Machoro by the French army on January 11.

Independence for New Caledonia is strongly opposed by the French settler population (the Caldoche). Already, 14 Kanaks have been murdered by the army or right-wing Caldoche gangs in the period since the FLNKS-organised boycott of the November 18 Territorial Assembly elections.

Other imperialist powers in the Pacific — particularly New Zealand and Australia — have been keeping a close watch on developments in New Caledonia. The Labour Party



government of Prime Minister David Lange has continued the former National Party government's policy of opposing attempts by supporters of Kanak independence to have the issue taken to the United Nations by the Pacific Forum nations.

Lange has held discussions on the growing national liberation struggle in New Caledonia with two recent visitors to New Zealand — the French Minister of Agriculture, Michel Rocard, and the secretary-general of the United Nations, Javier Pérez de Cuellar.

Commenting on his discussion with Lange, the February 1 *Evening Post* reports Rocard as saying, "Our ways of thinking are the same" on the subject of New Caledonia.

In an interview conducted shortly before his murder, Eloi Machoro discussed New Zealand and Australian opposition to the Kanak independence struggle. This was published in the

December 14–20 issue of *Rouge*, the French sister paper of *Socialist Action*.

"Australia, as well as New Zealand, are cornerstones of the Pacific Forum," Machoro explained. "They are also two satellites of the United States.

There is the problem of imperialism and control of the Pacific region. That is why over the years we have seen a shift in the position of Australia and other countries in the Pacific Forum. At the beginning, they were very favourable to independence because they had designs. They wanted, with the help of the Kanak people, to get France out of here and gain control of the Pacific.

"However, as our demands became more well-defined, these countries became afraid of removing a power such as France from the Pacific. We think that it is because of this fear that today they are supporting the policy of

France.

"Moreover, we are a native people, and so that [a victory for the Kanak people] would pose the threat of provoking reactions from their own native people."

Machoro went on to answer criticisms of a visit he and other FLNKS leaders made to Libya last year to seek support for the Kanak independence struggle from the Libyan government.

"We knocked for a long time on France's door asking for help in decolonising our country," he pointed out. "The answer was a document [the Lemoine plan] designed for the destruction of the Kanak people. We asked the Pacific Forum to support our struggle. They supported the policy of the French government. So, we have been obliged to go looking for help elsewhere and we will seek it wherever it may be found." □

## Tjibaou hails solidarity in France

*'We are both part of the same movement'*

[The following interview, and its accompanying introduction, are taken from the February 18 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly magazine published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The translation from French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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As a result of the trip to France in late January by Jean-Marie Tjibaou, president of the Provisional Government of Kanaky, anticolonialist activities in solidarity with the struggle of the Kanak people moved to a higher stage. At present the struggle of the Kanak people is polarizing political forces in France. In addition, a large current of sympathy is beginning to take shape, rooting itself in the anticolonialist sentiments of many working-class and democratic activists.

The Association for Information and Support for the Rights of the Kanak People provides a united framework through which these sentiments can be expressed. The association organized a solidarity meeting that brought together more than 5,000 people in Paris on January 29. Surpassing all expectations, this meeting, the likes of which has not been seen in Paris for many years, testifies to the interest in the cause of the Kanak people.

As is noted in the Feb. 1, 1985, issue of *Rouge* — the weekly organ of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International — "the Kanak people's cause is beginning to mobilize or remobilize a whole layer of workers and young people who no longer accept the government's policy or the arrogance of the right wing and the fascists." Many meetings in solidarity with the Kanak people are, in fact, attacked by fascist groupings.

The breadth of the mobilization in France was also seen in the first meeting of the solidarity committees that have already been set up in more than a dozen cities.

The scope of the mobilization also owes something to the pro-unity character of the Association, which rejects any political

exclusionism and appeals to all anticolonialists.

Our comrades from the Socialist Revolution Group (GRS), the Antilles section of the Fourth International [based in the French-controlled Caribbean islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique], have also carried out numerous solidarity activities. They published a special issue of their magazine *Tranchées* ("Trenches") devoted to New Caledonia, entitled "The Truth About the Struggle of the Kanak People." The GRS has also participated in all the meetings held to try to set up united frameworks for solidarity work in Guadeloupe and in Martinique.

On January 14 that kind of support committee was set up in Fort-de-France, Martinique. It has the support of a large number of unaffiliated anticolonialist individuals and anticolonialist organizations like the GRS, the Vanguard Youth (JAG — youth organization of the GRS), and the Martinique Communist Party (PCM). A demonstration was organized January 18. . . .

We are publishing below the interview Jean-Marie Tjibaou granted *Rouge*, which was published in its February 1 issue.

[The interview was conducted by Raphaël Duffleaux in Paris on January 30.]

*Question.* Your stay in Paris is coming to an end. What assessment would you make of it?

*Answer.* I would make a very, very positive assessment of it. But I must say that the pace of work brings to mind the pace of those people who used to be chained to boats to force them to row without stopping.

During this stay, I tried to do my best, and I think that from the vantage point of the struggle of the Kanak people a lot of progress was



JEAN-MARIE TJIBAOU

made. At the same time there was also growth in the level of consciousness of all the organizations that gave us support.

*Q. What have been the reactions of the different political formations you met with?*

A. I was received by the leaders of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. These two big organizations reaffirmed their anticolonialism, although the effective support leaves a little to be desired.

*Q. Did you get concrete commitments?*

A. We welcomed with pleasure the call to the Parisian meeting by the CGT [General Confederation of Labor — the federation led by the CP]. The meeting with its leaders was a very gratifying and even surprising contact, because I had only known [CGT leader] Henri Krasucki through the media.

Also from the FEN (National Teachers Federation). The contacts with the FEN were all the more interesting because in New Caledonia itself, the SNIPEGC [the FEN-affiliate] has not been very open to the demands of the Kanak people. That makes their support here all the more important.

I must also thank the LCR, which, in liaison with the Association for Information and Support for the Rights of the Kanak People, has done a great deal of work. Your printing plant put out posters honoring Eloi Machoro and other posters with the flag of Kanaky.

I thank your members who organized a little party in our honor in your headquarters, which was a very warm and pleasant occasion.

We appreciated the strength of your support. The contacts that Alain Krivine made during his trip [to New Caledonia] aided us a great deal in concretizing the relations with your organization and all those here who support liberation struggles and the Kanak people. All this made it possible to have more authentic contact, because it was directly on the spot, and I must tip my hat to this special relationship.

We should also cite the contacts with other organizations such as the MRAP (Movement Against Racism, Anti-semitism, and for Peace); the League for the Rights of Man; Justice and Peace; the French Democratic Labor Federation (CFDT); the Protestant church in France.

I was not able to meet with leaders of the Catholic church, as I had hoped.

I also had an interview with Pierre Mauroy [a leader of the SP and former premier of France], who gave us his personal support.

But perhaps the most important thing was the meeting last Saturday with all the committees that have been set up around the country on the initiative of people who may never have seen a Kanak in their whole lives.

All this is moving, gratifying, and I think we are both part of the same movement of sympathy for a cause that must serve the Kanak people and must also serve to raise progressive consciousness in France.

*Q. You are returning to Kanaky today. Based on the lessons you draw from this stay, how do you view the next stage of the struggle?*

A. Yesterday people began to raise the idea of an action on a national scale in New Caledonia, and even internationally, around April 20, after Easter.

This remains to be determined on the spot with the local committees. This could concretize and broaden what happened yesterday with the meeting. It was truly an extraordinary meeting that warmed our hearts, as well as all those who prepared it. It warmed the hearts of all the militants fighting for something better, all of us.

Last night's meeting was a decisive action. This type of action carried out in France is very important for us, especially before the vote on

## Atom bombing of China discussed in 1954

Recently declassified minutes of meetings of the British cabinet in 1954 reveal that the U.S. government attempted to get London to endorse plans to use atomic weapons against the Peoples Republic of China if that country came to the aid of the Vietnamese in their war of liberation against France.

According to press accounts of the declassified documents, Washington put strong pressure on British Prime Minister Winston Churchill's Conservative Party government to join it in a coalition to rescue the French army then facing imminent defeat at the hands of the Viet Minh at Dien Bien Phu.

British and U.S. chiefs of staff met in Washington to discuss their response to China's expected assistance to the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

"Should war with China be precipitated," they concluded, "air attack should be launched immediately, aimed at military targets. To achieve a maximum and lasting effect nuclear as well as conventional weapons should be used from the outset."

Churchill apparently blocked British approval of this plan. In his private papers, which also became available this year under a 30-year rule on classified official documents, Churchill cited public opposition to British involvement in a war in Southeast Asia.

"The British people would not be easily influenced by what happened in the distant jungles of South-east Asia," he wrote, "but they did know that there was a powerful American base in East Anglia [northeast of London] and that war with China, who would invoke the Sino-Russian Pact, might mean an assault by hydrogen bombs on these islands."

Some details of Washington's 1954 plans were revealed in 1978 with the publication of former U.S. president Richard Nixon's *Memoirs*. Nixon described a Pentagon plan code-named "Operation Vulture" to use 200 U.S. bombers against Viet Minh positions around Dien Bien Phu. The plan called for the use of three tactical atomic bombs, according

self-determination, to have the Caledonians take a decisive position. Not for or against France, but for residing, for working in New Caledonia, for living free with the Kanaks.

The support in France will even be a great help as a counterweight to the RPCR [Rally for Caledonia in the Republic, the New Caledonia equivalent of the rightist Rally for the Republic led by Paris mayor Jacques Chirac], which, through the national mobilization of the opposition, explains that to be in favor of the freedom of the Kanak people means being against France.

The sympathy movement here is a movement for the grandeur of your people and it can help those in New Caledonia who are hesitant, who are afraid to take a position for the freedom of the Kanak people without being against their country of origin. □

to Nixon.

The newly released minutes of the British cabinet also indicate general concern among some government figures that their U.S. counterparts might force a showdown with the Soviet Union even at the risk of nuclear war. Lord Salisbury, Conservative Party leader in the House of Lords, said that the greater risk was not from the Soviet Union but "that the United States might decide to bring the East-West issue to a head while they still had overwhelming superiority in atomic weapons and were comparatively immune from atomic attack by Russia."

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden also urged the cabinet to resist U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles' desire for a "dramatic gesture" in support of the French colonialist army in Vietnam.

David Walker, in a series of articles on the documents in the *Times* of London, noted: "Future historians may see the Cabinet meetings of July 1954 as the sole occasion since Britain became a nuclear power that ministers talked frankly about the morality of nuclear weapons. . . . However, it was pointed out that the moral principle against nuclear weapons had been breached when the Labour government decided to make the first British atomic bomb." □

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# Regime faces mounting opposition

*Elections mark setback for military*

**By Will Reissner**

With South Korea's college campuses due to reopen in March after a long mid-winter break, the military regime of General Chun Doo Hwan is bracing for a new outbreak of protests.

In the last months of 1984, the U.S.-backed government of South Korea used fierce repression to stem the tide of student protests demanding a restoration of democratic rights.

Particularly troubling to the regime, which has built its economic strategy on holding down the living standards of the working class, is that student protesters are increasingly joining with workers to fight for better working conditions, higher wages, and the right to form independent trade unions.

The unpopularity of the current military regime was highlighted by the results of the February 12 elections for the powerless national legislature. Despite what Shim Jae Hoon described in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* as "almost limitless access to campaign funds and media exposure," Chun Doo Hwan's Democratic Justice Party (DJP) took only 35 percent of the vote.

Shim added that "in blatant defiance of its public ownership, the Korean Broadcasting System offers heavy coverage to DJP candidates while ignoring or distorting the views of their opponents."

Despite these advantages, the Democratic Justice Party took barely one-third of the vote and ran behind the largest opposition party in the country's four largest cities. But the rules of the election insured that the DJP won a majority of the seats in the legislature — 148 out of 276.

The opposition New Korea Democratic Party (NKDP), formed only a few weeks before the campaign began, won 29 percent of the total vote, which gave it 67 seats.

Two of the NKDP's best-known leaders — Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung — are among 15 political figures banned from all political activity by the regime.

The poor showing by the Democratic Justice Party, despite its huge advantages, has been widely viewed as a slap in the face to Gen. Chun Doo Hwan.

Chun's regime was also embarrassed internationally by the return of Kim Dae Jung from exile in the United States only four days before the voting.

The South Korean regime had originally warned that Kim would be jailed if he returned to his homeland. Under intense international pressure, the Seoul government backed down, promising that Kim would neither be harmed nor jailed.

On February 8, Kim arrived at Seoul's Kimpo airport accompanied by a delegation of prominent individuals to insure that he would not meet the same fate as Benigno Aquino, the Philippine dissident who, in August 1983, was gunned down as he was getting off a plane in Manila. In the airport, South Korean secret police officers forcibly separated Kim from the rest of his party and placed him under house arrest.

"One minute off the plane and we were assaulted by a flying wedge of plainclothes goons," stated Robert White, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, who was in the group accompanying Kim.

Kim was also prevented from meeting the thousands of supporters who had gathered at the airport to welcome him back to the country.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz tried to put the best face on the regime's handling of Kim's return, arguing that "progress is being made toward a more open society" as seen in the fact that Kim had not been thrown into prison to serve the remainder of a 20-year sentence.

Kim had been sentenced to death by a military court in September 1980 on the charge that he had fomented the May 1980 uprising against military rule that took place in the city of Kwangju, after Kim was already in jail.

Due to strong international protests, the regime reduced Kim's sentence to life in prison, and later to 20 years.

In December 1982, Kim was released from jail to go to the United States, ostensibly for "medical treatment."

He remains under an official South Korean government order banning him from public speaking, taking part in politics in any way, holding party posts, running for office, or voting.

By the South Korean government's own count, Kim Dae Jung won 46 percent of the vote in the 1971 presidential election against military strongman Park Chung Hee.

Kim Dae Jung is no radical. He is a liberal politician who calls for a "truly free-market economy." His opposition to the military regime is based on his belief that unless there is a change, South Korean society will radicalize out of the control of procapitalist politicians.

Kim argues: "Some of our people are becoming radical, even accepting communism or becoming anti-American because of their anger and disappointment with the present situation.

"If the situation continues," he warns, "within several years it will be beyond my ability to handle it, and there will be no hope for

the restoration of democracy and peaceful reunification" of North and South Korea, which have been divided since the end of World War II.

Before his return to South Korea, Kim admitted, "I can't say that I have persuaded the American government to change its Korean policy."

In fact, just before Kim's return, the Reagan administration indicated its support for Chun Doo Hwan's regime, announcing that Chun had been invited to visit Washington in April.

In addition, as the elections were taking place, some 200,000 U.S. and South Korean troops were engaged in "Team Spirit '85" military maneuvers, practicing air, land, and sea invasions of North Korea.

There are 39,000 U.S. troops permanently stationed in South Korea. □

## Contraception law adopted in Ireland

By a narrow margin, the Irish parliament voted February 20 to allow the sale of contraceptives without prescription to anyone 18 years of age or older. The measure passed by 83 to 80, with two abstentions.

The bill was approved despite strong opposition from the Catholic Church hierarchy. Catholics make up more than 90 percent of the population in the 26 independent counties of Ireland.

In the British-ruled six counties of Northern Ireland, where Protestants are in the majority, contraception without prescription is already available.

Dublin's Archbishop McNamara had warned that Ireland stood at "a decisive moral crossroads," while Limerick's Bishop Newman stated that Catholics in parliament must "follow the guidance of their church in areas where the interests of church and state overlap."

Had the bill been defeated, it would have bolstered the claim by pro-British elements in Northern Ireland that Ireland's reunification would place them under "Rome rule."

Noreen Byrne, head of a Dublin women's health clinic, hailed the outcome of the vote, noting, "There are a lot of women in this country who are using medical contraception — such as the pill — because nonmedical contraception that would be better is not available."

She added: "The church is forgetting what is happening in reality. The real issue is who rules the country." □

# Workers Party rejects 'lesser evil' option

*Reaffirms class independence, opposes Neves' policies*

By Ernest Harsch

For the first time since the Brazilian military seized power in 1964, a civilian, Tancredo Neves, was chosen on January 15 as the country's next president. He will formally take office on March 15.

Neves' indirect election by an electoral college has been hailed in the bourgeois press, both within Brazil and abroad, as a "return to democracy" in Brazil. What this propaganda effort seeks to obscure is the fact that Neves' new government will serve the same class forces — the capitalists, big landlords, and imperialist corporations — that the military regime served.

"The presidential election is in fact the victory of the revolution of 1964," an army statement declared. By "revolution," it was referring to the military's 1964 overthrow of the João Goulart government.

Some 14,000 retired military officers are expected to retain their posts in government ministries and enterprises under Neves.

One of Neves' first moves after being named the next president was to appeal to working people to abide by a new "social pact," that is, to restrain their demands for higher wages and other improvements. This comes at a time of especially high inflation (223 percent in 1984) and of an unemployment and underemployment rate of up to 40 percent.

Despite Neves' bourgeois policies, virtually all political forces on the left in Brazil declared their support for his election, against the military hierarchy's chosen candidate, Paulo Maluf.

## PT for class independence

But there was one party that did not — the Workers Party (PT).

Just a few days before Neves' election, on January 12 and 13, the PT's national congress vowed to continue its struggle for working-class political independence from the bourgeois government and parties (see following document). It rejected Neves' appeal for a "social pact" and pledged to support the struggles of workers and peasants for their economic and social demands.

Given the continued power of the military and Neves' pledge to maintain the extensive repressive apparatus, the PT congress also outlined an action campaign to fight for greater democratic rights.

First established in 1979, the PT has deep roots in the recent struggles of the Brazilian working class.

Workers first started to go out on strike in massive numbers around 1978, after 15 years of the most brutal repression and direct gov-

ernment control over the trade unions. They fought for immediate economic demands, and also for the right to organize and elect their own leaders, free of government and employer interference.

The formation of the PT, with its strongest base in the heavily industrialized region around São Paulo, reflected the working class's fight for independence on the political level as well. It marked an important break, not only from the dictatorship and its paid bureaucrats within the labor movement, but also from the various bourgeois opposition parties. The PT's most prominent leaders, such as Luís Inácio da Silva ("Lula"), are key trade union leaders as well.

Parallel to the PT's efforts to survive and organize in face of government and employer opposition, the most militant unions came together to form an independent, class-struggle union federation, the United Workers Federation (CUT). Formally launched in August 1983, the CUT now has a membership of more than 11.5 million workers, in both the cities and the countryside.

In face of the frequent strike actions, growth in unionization, occasional urban rebellions, and the development of peasant mobilizations in the countryside, Brazil's ruling class eventually concluded that repression alone was no longer sufficient to keep the popular aspirations in check. The military authorities thus announced an *abertura* — an opening — in an effort to diffuse the discontent and direct it into more manageable channels. The bourgeois parties, both those supporting the military hierarchy and those in opposition, were supposed to play an important role in ensuring the success of this effort.

In 1982, elections were held for state governments and a federal Congress. The pro-military Democratic Social Party (PDS) won a majority. But the bourgeois opposition Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB) took nine state governorships; it also won a majority in the lower house of the Congress.

Later, the regime announced that a civilian president would be chosen in 1985, not through direct elections, but by a PDS-dominated electoral college, which would have favored the selection of the military's hand-picked successor, Paulo Maluf.

## 'Direct elections now'

In response to this maneuver, a massive campaign for "*Diretas já*" — "Direct elections now" — was launched in January 1984. This campaign was politically dominated by the bourgeois opposition parties, in particular the



Brazilian president-elect Tancredo Neves.

PMDB, although forces like the PT and CUT also took part.

This campaign marked one of the largest mass mobilizations in recent Brazilian history. Over a period of several months, some 5 million people took part in rallies throughout the country.

Under this pressure, the PDS support for Maluf cracked, and many PDS delegates to the electoral college switched their allegiance to Tancredo Neves, the candidate backed by the bourgeois opposition parties. As Neves' candidacy gained ground, the bourgeois opposition forces pulled out of the campaign for direct elections. Virtually all forces on the left, with the exception of the PT and the CUT, also concentrated their efforts on getting Neves selected as president. Those parties backing Neves formed the Democratic Alliance.

The campaign for direct elections collapsed by mid-year. The PT and CUT tried to revive the campaign, but under the tremendous political pressures of the bourgeois opposition parties and Stalinist formations like the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) to back Neves, this effort failed.

These pressures were reflected within the PT itself. During the voting in the electoral college, three of the PT's eight representatives defied the party's policy of boycotting the vote, and cast their ballots for Neves. This has set off a sharp dispute within the PT, with some calling for the immediate expulsion of the three from the party, and others for their suspension, pending further discussion.

The complex political situation in Brazil

today and the pressures bearing down on the PT were also reflected in the difficulties the party faced in organizing its congress. While some regions, such as São Paulo, were well represented at the congress, others were not. Some pre-congress state conventions, as in Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and Rio Grande do Sul, were unable to obtain quorums and therefore could not elect delegates to the congress. Thus, the national congress itself failed to obtain the statutory quorum of 146 delegates.

Despite this, the congress's reaffirmation of the PT's stance of political independence from the bourgeois government and parties was an important accomplishment. It kept the PT on the course it embarked on five years ago, and it will set an example to working people as they come into further conflict with the repressive measures and austerity policies of the Neves government.

#### A campaign for democratic rights

Among the other results of the congress was a decision to call and organize a campaign of mobilization and propaganda for a "free, sovereign, and democratic constituent assembly," and for free and direct elections at all levels.

"We are thus directly opposed to the constitutional reform proposed by the Democratic Alliance," one congress resolution stated, "or to giving constitutional powers to the Congress that will be elected in 1986."

Among the specific demands the PT said it would fight for in such a constituent assembly are: revocation of the current restrictive laws on elections and political parties; revocation of the National Security Law and other repressive legislation; guaranteeing free party organization, with equal access for all parties to the mass media and political funding; the extension of the vote to the illiterate, soldiers, and all those over 16 years old; and full support for struggles for economic and social change.

The resolution stressed that it was necessary to demand such changes now, and not wait until a constituent assembly is established.

Another resolution was passed, proposing the formation of political fronts with other groups to fight around such issues. But, it stated, "we do not believe that fronts of parliamentary parties by themselves will solve the country's problems. For us, all and any proposals for fronts must be based on the social struggles of the people's and union movements and apply pressure through their own forms of struggle. A front, as we now understand it, is not organic, nor definitive. It will be occasional and transitory and must concentrate on specific points that the PT publicly defends."

The PT resolution likewise rejected any kind of bloc "that would allow the reformist parties — the PCB and the PC do B [Communist Party of Brazil] — to change their reformist images and coopt the popular and trade union movement into the Democratic Alliance."

Thus far, the shift from open military rule to the establishment of a civilian government has

had little effect in dampening the class struggle in the factories and fields.

#### Continuing strike wave

During 1984, more than 1.5 million workers went out on strike throughout the country. During January 1985 alone, more than 150,000 went out on strike in both the cities and the countryside.

In the state of São Paulo, some 35,000 agricultural laborers on sugar and peanut estates struck. In Bahia, rural laborers stormed the towns of Remanso and Campo Alegre de Lourdes.

At the end of January, the First National Congress of Landless Laborers was held in Curitiba, where some 1,500 delegates from throughout Brazil discussed such issues as land occupations, agrarian reform, and the frequent murders of rural activists by landlords.

Representatives of the CUT participated in that congress. The union federation has also rejected Neves' call for a "social pact."

In the industries around São Paulo, there has been an average of at least one new strike each day. They have taken place in factories where the unions are weak, as in the Toyota plant, as well as in those where the unions have a stronger base. Among the companies affected have been the U.S.-owned Philco and Singer plants, as well as a Brazilian company headed by Antonio Ermírio de Moraes, one of the top figures in the Democratic Alliance.

Some 2,300 workers at the Mauá shipyards went on strike, as did textile workers at the CITEX plant in Paraíba, the first strike in that state in 20 years.

During the course of these strikes, the government's continued use of repression has also been evident. When 20,000 workers in the shoe industries in Franca walked off their jobs, the government "intervened" their union, dismissing its leadership committee. During the agricultural laborers' strikes in São Paulo, police fired into crowds of demonstrators, wounding eight.

Members of the PT have also continued to suffer repression. In Paraná state, PT activists have been dismissed from the health service.

In Carapicuíba, near São Paulo, an elected PT councillor was expelled from the town council for raising embarrassing questions about the PMDB-controlled council's financial dealings. The PT organized a protest demonstration of several thousand outside the town council building on February 4.

In a speech to this protest rally, PT leader Lula declared that the PT based itself on the working people and could not be destroyed by expulsions from parliamentary bodies.

"It is a party that exists in order to demand an end to this society based on oppression and exploitation," Lula declared. Therefore, he said, "we will be a party that says 'no' until the laboring class takes power, until the day that a socialist society is built." □

## DOCUMENTS

# Resolutions of PT congress

[The following are excerpts from several of the resolutions adopted at the January 12–13 national congress of the Workers Party (PT) of Brazil. These excerpts have been taken from the February 1985 issue of *Em Tempo*, a revolutionary socialist monthly published in São Paulo. The translation from the Portuguese is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

#### The continuity of the military regime

Tancredo's agreement to maintain the SNI [National Intelligence Service], the LSN [National Security Law], the National Security Council, all the regime's laws, and the repressive apparatus means that he will guarantee their continuation.

The [army's] return to the barracks, in the form that it is taking place — without settling accounts with those politically responsible for 20 years of arbitrary rule and corruption, without dismantling the intelligence agency, the political apparatus, and the control over the industrial-military complex — means that the military maintains its power, dominating the "civil power" and not the other way around.

Even if it were the latter, it would still be necessary to fight for democracy.

Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the fact that the formation of the Democratic Alliance represents a setback for the present core of the regime. Nor can one ignore the fact that Tancredo and the class bloc that he speaks for will govern through new methods and under new forms, despite the military's tutelage.

#### The economic crisis and the social pact

The available statistics and projections indicate that the employment levels that existed in 1980 will only be reached again by 1990, even though the country's economy will expand until then at a rate of under 6 percent a year. This leaves out of consideration the increase in the number of new workers in the labor market and the investments made to automate the industrial sector. At the same time, regaining the wage levels that existed before 1980 will require continued increases in real wages. This is because, through the austerity policies that were imposed, there has been a decline over the past two years of 40 percent in companies' pay packets in relation to the per capita national income.

It is in this context that Tancredo Neves'



Slums of São Paulo.

proposal for a social pact must be analyzed. As everything indicates, Tancredo's appeal for a "truce" of six or nine months is inspired by the policies of his old benefactor, Getúlio Vargas.\* The social pact is nothing more nor less than a new version of the "belt tightening" policy.

In the name of consolidating his government and his policies, the Democratic Alliance wants a blank check from the workers, a vote of confidence, that would not, however, rule out for the time being the possibility of some concessions, which would basically be palliatives, nor rule out a strengthening of the workers' bargaining position.

#### The Democratic Alliance

The Democratic Alliance unites in a single bloc latifundists, bankers, industrialists, groups of foreigners, and sectors of the military. In an effort to conceal this class character, its objective of ensuring continuity, and its illegitimacy, the Democratic Alliance has exploited the popular sentiments against Maluf by verbally supporting the desire for change. This helps explain why the population — which demanded direct elections but did not see how they could be won immediately — became entangled in the false dilemma of Tancredo or Maluf, and in face of this was led to express its preference for the lesser evil, in line with the country's old traditions.

At the same time, the participation of the PMDB in the campaign [for direct elections] brought to the committees the weight of its influence over broad popular sectors, which had before them the image of a party that was in opposition to the regime of 1964.

Although the diversity of the sections that make up the Democratic Alliance has not al-

lowed it, up to now, to present a fuller political and economic policy, those sectors that are dominant within the alliance have already outlined some agreements and basic objectives.

They are: the direct election of a national congress in 1986, to which all amendments to the constitution will be entrusted; acceptance of the military's tutelage; a pledge to honor all the agreements with the IMF and domestic and foreign finance capital; and a guarantee of the inviolability of big landed property, maintaining the mere application of the Land Statutes as the pattern for agrarian policy.

In sum, a whole array of policy lines that reflect an inclination, already manifested by the presidential candidate himself, to remain true to the ideas of 1964.

#### The need to maintain class independence

At a time when the Democratic Alliance is trying to consolidate its class hegemony by getting the workers to adhere to a social pact and the PT to participate in the conservative tradition, it is fundamental that the party preserve its political independence.

First of all, because the PT was born from the will toward political independence of the workers, who are already tired of serving as a mass that can be manipulated by politicians and parties that are compromised with the current economic, social, and political order.

Secondly, because the rejection of bourgeois domination is also expressed by the organization of social movements and their struggles, including for their autonomy from the state.

And finally, because our activity in parliament and its institutions is aimed at using those platforms and openings at the service of the struggle to broaden the margins of political liberties and to win social demands, always based on action that will help build up the

workers' strength, with the goal of conquering power and socialism.

Therefore, it is not a question of simply channeling struggles into parliament or believing that a victory for the workers' social and political interests will come from the ruling elite. It involves what we pointed out in the PT's founding manifesto, which we now refer to and which has been clarified in the current succession process, with all the talk of democratizing the country: "Democracy is a conquest that ultimately will either be built with the workers' own hands, or it will not be built."

This stance of class independence and the rejection of the bourgeoisie's ideological domination has been expressed at various points in the PT's history: the rejection of the proposals for fusion; the refusal to give in to the blackmail to cast a "useful vote"; and the nonparticipation in the [state] opposition governments that were elected in 1982.

In line with this perspective, we must set a political line and a plan of action that points toward the construction of a democratic and popular alternative capable of resisting the pact of the elites. □

## Yugoslav government jails dissident's lawyer

The attorney representing a leading left-wing dissident in Yugoslavia has been jailed on the eve of his client's trial.

Vladimir Seks, 42, was jailed February 12 and is being forced to serve an eight-month sentence for a 1981 conviction on charges of "hostile propaganda" against the Yugoslav state.

At the time of his jailing, Seks was preparing the defense of Vladimir Mijanovic, one of six left-wing dissidents arrested in May and June 1984. All six describe themselves as socialists or Marxists and are critical of the manner in which the Yugoslav workers state is governed.

In a trial that ended February 4, three of the six were sentenced to prison terms ranging up to two years on charges of "hostile propaganda," while charges were dropped against a fourth defendant.

Vladimir Mijanovic and Gordan Jovanovic, however, were removed from the first trial and face the more serious charge of "undermining the socio-political system" and government.

The 1981 conviction of attorney Seks was based on an accusation that he had criticized Josip Broz Tito, the central Yugoslav Communist leader for many years, in a bar. Of the witnesses against Seks, one was a convicted burglar and another admitted that security police had told him what to say.

Since being jailed, Seks has been on a hunger strike and is now in a Zagreb prison hospital in frail health, suffering from ulcers and heart disorders. He has been prevented from seeing his wife and his lawyer, and has been disbarred. □

\*President of Brazil in 1930-45 and 1951-54. — IP

# Military regime wages reign of terror

## Targets Indian peasants in drive against Sendero Luminoso

By Mike Taber

Under the guise of fighting a guerrilla insurgency led by a group known as Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), the Peruvian regime of Fernando Belaúnde Terry is waging a fierce war against the Indian peasants in the area around the mountainous department of Ayacucho. In its scope, this reign of terror closely resembles those conducted by the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala.

According to the human-rights groups Americas Watch and Amnesty International, more than 4,000 people were murdered and an additional 1,000 "disappeared" between 1982 and 1984. Most of these killings and kidnappings have been committed by the government's special counterinsurgency police units known as *sinchis*, and by the army, which was sent into Ayacucho in December 1982. Almost every day bodies are found, bound and naked and showing signs of torture.

The military's approach was summed up in December 1982 by Gen. Luis Cisneros, who was at the time Peru's war minister: "To be successful [in Ayacucho] we have to begin to kill Senderistas and civilians. . . . We may kill 60 people, and at best, there are three Senderistas among them . . . and the police will say that all 60 were 'Senderistas.'"

To conduct this war the Peruvian regime is receiving growing financial and military assistance from the U.S. government. In 1985 the Reagan administration proposes to double military assistance to Peru, making it the largest recipient of U.S. government aid in South America.

### Growing polarization

This terror campaign comes in the context of a deepgoing economic and social crisis within Peruvian society — the worst in the century. Squeezed by a foreign debt of \$13 billion and \$300 million in arrears in its interest payments, the government has imposed austerity measures that worsen the living conditions of the working masses.

With an annual inflation rate of more than 100 percent, real wages have fallen by 50 percent since 1980. Already 60 percent of Peru's workers earn less than the minimum wage, equivalent to \$45 a month; 63 percent of the work force is unemployed or underemployed.

As bad as this situation is, it is far worse in the highland areas around Ayacucho, populated mainly by Quechua-speaking Indian peasants. There the average annual income is \$60 a year, life expectancy is 45 years, illiteracy is 55 percent, and infant mortality is 200 per 1,000 live births. There is virtually no electricity or running water, and one doctor exists

for every 18,000 inhabitants. Moreover, there is widespread discrimination against the Indian population, whose main language is not Spanish.

Since 1978, there has been an upsurge in working-class and peasant struggles. Trade union and peasant organizations have grown, along with left-wing political formations. However, the leadership of these organizations is dominated by reformist forces, who count on electoral schemes as the way to achieve social change. Many working people and peasants, disillusioned with this perspective and seeing no alternative leadership that is organizing a mass revolutionary workers party, are therefore attracted to what they perceive as more "militant" methods of struggle.

These conditions provide the context for the emergence of Sendero Luminoso.

### Growth of Sendero Luminoso

Calling itself officially the Communist Party of Peru (Shining Path) [PCP (SL)], this group adopted its popular designation from a quotation by José Carlos Mariátegui, a Peruvian Communist leader from the 1920s, that "Marx-

ism-Leninism will open the shining path to revolution."

Led by a 50-year old former philosophy professor, Abimael Guzmán (also known as Comrade Gonzalo), the PCP (SL) was formed in 1970. The group consisted largely of students and teachers around Guzmán at the University of Huamanga in Ayacucho, many of them from poor backgrounds. In 1978, the members moved to the rural Indian villages in the highland areas, where they learned Quechua and attempted to familiarize themselves with the problems and customs of the peasants.

At its ninth Central Committee meeting in September 1979, the PCP (SL) decided to launch armed struggle. This was begun in May 1980, with several actions designed to sabotage the general elections, the first in 17 years. Sendero Luminoso escalated its armed actions steadily, so that by the end of 1983, it claimed to have already carried out 15,000 armed actions in 15 of Peru's 24 departments.

Two of its most spectacular actions came in 1982 when it attacked the Ayacucho prison in March, freeing more than 250 prisoners, and when it blew up Lima's main power station and blacked out the capital for 24 hours in August.

During this initial period, the PCP (SL) was able to build up a certain degree of popular support because of both the abysmal conditions of the Indian peasants in Ayacucho and the hatred of the police and government authorities. In September 1982, for example, a funeral for Edith Lagos, a 19-year-old *Senderista* militant murdered by the police, drew a crowd of 10,000 to 30,000 in the town of Ayacucho (which has a population of 70,000). And on January 9, 1983, it called a successful one-day general strike in Ayacucho.

While support has declined in Ayacucho since 1982, Sendero Luminoso has recently expanded its activities into other areas, particularly the provinces of Tayacaja, Acobamba, Huancavelica, and Angares in the adjoining department of Huancavelica. In addition, several other small left-wing groups, including split-offs from Revolutionary Vanguard (VR) and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), as well as the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, have allied themselves with various political positions of the PCP (SL).

### Sendero Luminoso's ideology

The bourgeois media around the world has referred to Sendero Luminoso as communist or Marxist. However, the truth is that it has nothing to do with either.

The PCP (SL) describes its ideology as



"Marxist-Leninist-Maoist" and upholds Stalin and Mariátegui among its heroes. In particular it identifies politically with the period of the Cultural Revolution in China, seeing Maoism as the "third stage" of Marxism. In line with this view, it associates itself with the "Gang of Four," Mao's leading supporters in the Chinese Communist Party, who were ousted in 1976 following Mao's death by the faction led by Deng Xiaoping.

In its program, political approach, and organizational structure, Sendero Luminoso is a Stalinist formation.

It has elevated its leader Guzmán to a god-like status. In an interview with *Intercontinental Press* published in the March 19, 1984, issue, Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco stated that "Sendero members act very much like members of a religious sect." Guzmán is often referred to by his followers as the "fourth sword" of Marxism, following Lenin, Stalin, and Mao. In the Quechua language, Sendero members refer to him as Puka-Inti, the Red Sun. In some villages under its control, Sendero Luminoso has made the celebration of Guzmán's birthday a mandatory holiday.

The PCP (SL)'s major programmatic document, "Let us develop the guerrilla war!" published in March 1982, explains their conception of "prolonged people's war" and "surrounding the cities," which they claim is modelled on the Chinese Communist Party's war against Chiang Kai-shek in the 1930s and 1940s:

"It is none other than a peasant war led by the party that is converting the countryside into the armed bastion of the revolution, concretizing this in bases of support, in foundations for the New State of workers and peasants, and isolating reaction and its imperialist boss in the cities. There, the proletariat and the popular masses burn the palms of the enemy's bloody hands, principally with armed actions as a function of the struggle in the countryside, the very center of the storm. Through these actions conditions are being prepared for the final assault on the cities and the total, complete, and thorough defeat of the reactionary order and the army that upholds it."

Sendero Luminoso sees no difference between the current Belaúnde regime and the former military government of Juan Velasco Alvarado, which held power until 1975 and took some measures that brought it into conflict with imperialism. It characterizes both as fascist and rejects the possibility of working people utilizing democratic openings to advance their struggle.

In an article published in 1981 in the magazine *Nueva Democracia*, Guzmán wrote of "the inauguration of fascism in our country in October 1968 [when Velasco came to power], whose implementation continues today under the new government of Belaúnde through the continuation of fascism, that is, the combination of the crude falsification of the old bourgeois democracy with openly terrorist dictatorship."

He continued, "Our country is full of dry



Peruvian security forces interrogate suspect.

firewood. A single spark can ignite the forest."

Sendero Luminoso's schema of guerrilla war consists of five stages. These were summarized in a 1984 document published in Spain and signed by the PCP (SL) and a number of its Maoist international co-thinkers entitled "The truth about people's war in Peru":

1. "Agitation and armed propaganda. The first actions and training of combatants in attacks with limited objectives. This lasted from May 1980 until the end of 1981."

2. "Systematic sabotage and initiation of the first regular guerrilla actions designed to destroy the landlord-bourgeois power in the zones selected as bases of support. This lasted through 1982."

3. "Generalization of the guerrilla war and beginning of the creation of bases of support, following the expulsion of the reactionary authorities. This was extended throughout 1983 and had to come to the fore following the beginning of the army's intervention."

4. "Conquest of the bases of support, establishing in them the power of the People's Committees, strengthening the militia and the people's army. Expansion of the guerrilla war into new zones (including the cities as auxilia-

ry activities) in order to achieve dispersion of enemy forces. Reorganization of production to put it at the service of the people's war. This fourth stage is the longest and most complex one, and the PCP has divided it into numerous substages, each one with specific tactical objectives. In the final substages, it will probably pass over to a war of movement with large columns of combatants."

5. "Generalized civil war. From the liberated zones the People's Army will begin to surround the cities. It is probable that in this stage there will be direct intervention of imperialism. Insurrection in the cities as a complement to the surrounding of them from outside. Complete defeat of the reaction and the installation throughout Peru of the People's Republic of New Democracy as the concrete form of the first stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, in none of its documents has the PCP (SL) spelled out what policies it proposes following the seizure of power.

#### Attitude toward the working class

A central slogan of Sendero Luminoso is for a workers and peasants government, although it does not explain what it means by



this. At the same time, many questions have been raised about that organization's attitude toward the working class and its struggles.

For one thing, the PCP (SL) has no perspective of participating in working-class struggles and does not do so. Unlike the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador and the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG), for example, it participates in no mass organizations and seeks no base of support in the trade unions. Rather than being linked to the workers' struggles, Sendero Luminoso's actions are generally seen as having little to do with them.

An article in the August 1984 issue of *Combate Socialista*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Peruvian section of the Fourth International, pointed out that the working class "does not identify its aspirations and immediate demands with those of the PCP (SL)."

Another indication of this is that the PCP (SL) does not even make an attempt to win the working class to support, or even understand, its actions. As Hugo Blanco indicated in the interview quoted earlier, it "pays no attention to public opinion in its activities." Unlike virtually every progressive armed movement anywhere, Sendero Luminoso issues no regular communiqués, has no publications or newspaper, gives no interviews by its leaders, has no radio stations, and refuses to claim or deny responsibility for any of its armed actions. It does not even issue denials of the many atrocities committed by the repressive forces that are attributed to Sendero Luminoso.

The PCP (SL) does have some support in the urban shantytowns of Lima, especially among refugees from the countryside. According to Blanco, "The workers they have attracted have come largely from among the unemployed, who make up a big, and growing, percentage of the population." Insofar as it has functioning cells within the cities, however, Sendero utilizes these exclusively for sabotage operations and does not attempt to organize shantytown dwellers to raise and fight for their demands and immediate interests.

A further indication of Sendero Luminoso's anti-working-class approach is that in some rural villages where it has been able to assert its authority, it attempted to prohibit the supply of agricultural products to the cities, ostensibly to weaken the regime.

#### Stance toward workers movement

One of Sendero Luminoso's most prominent characteristics is its deep hostility to working in common action with left organizations within the Peruvian workers movement. It has termed the majority of the left "objective allies of reaction," and is dead set against any form of united front in defense of the interests of the working masses. This attitude even extends to the trade unions, most of which are led by reformist left-wing organizations such as the pro-Moscow Peruvian Communist Party.

In "Let us develop the guerrilla war!" the PCP (SL) describes its view of the rest of the

workers' movement in a tenor that underscores this attitude:

"Even if these groups all put together seem numerous, they are only representatives of a narrow layer that floats atop the deep sea of the popular masses of our country. And let us keep in mind that for Marxism there is only one tactic with regard to the masses: taking the broad and immense masses that rise up from below and differentiating them from the filthy and putrid scum — that filthy and putrid scum that floats with the waves as a fragile base of trade union bureaucracy and false proletarian political parties that are really 'bourgeois workers parties.'"

There have been unconfirmed reports that the PCP (SL) has been responsible for several violent attacks against other forces within the workers movement, particularly in areas where local officials are associated with the United Left (IU).<sup>1</sup>

Sendero Luminoso's hostility toward the organized left is more than an extreme form of attack on the political perspectives of groups with which it disagrees, and is more than an ultra-left rejection of the united front tactic with working-class organizations. It also reflects a hostile stance toward the organized working class itself.

#### Approach to the peasantry

Despite its apparent ability to win a measure of support among peasants in Ayacucho and other areas, Sendero Luminoso as a political current did not emerge out of the peasant movement, and its policies do not start from advancing the interests of Peru's exploited peasantry.

Peru has had a history of militant peasant movements with close links to the struggles of the working class — symbolized by the peasant unions led by Hugo Blanco in the Cuzco region in the early 1960s.<sup>2</sup> Sendero Luminoso's approach, however, has been to cut the villages off from their potential class allies in the urban areas.

In addition, the PCP (SL) has adopted a hostile and sectarian attitude toward the existing mass peasant organizations, the Peruvian Peasants Federation (CCP) and the National Agrarian Federation (CNA). Even though some peasant leaders and activists have been won to the PCP (SL) because of what they view as its militant approach, it has rejected organizing or supporting the organization of peasants around their own demands and struggles.

1. The United Left, originally formed in 1980, is a coalition of a number of left-wing parties and independent leftists that is contesting the April 1985 elections. Among its principal components are the pro-Moscow Peruvian Communist Party, Democratic People's Unity (UDP), the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), and the Revolutionary Left Union (UNIR). The Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) has recently applied for admission to the United Left.

2. The story of this struggle can be found in Blanco's book *Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972).

In 1982, the PCP (SL) began to actually establish areas under its control. Some of the policies it carried out enjoyed a certain popularity — for example executing hated landlords and usurers. However, it also began to put into practice a number of bureaucratic policies that run counter to the interests of the peasantry.

"There are peasant areas, for example," Hugo Blanco told *Intercontinental Press* in his March 1984 interview, "where it has forbidden peasants to produce more than they can consume themselves." This policy of production quotas "has a terrible effect . . . on the peasants themselves. When they are unable to sell part of their crop, they cannot buy matches or any other commodity they need but do not produce themselves. The result is they are being forced down to a bare subsistence level."

In some areas, Sendero Luminoso has suppressed the weekly local markets where the peasants sell their goods, characterizing these as a "capitalist" form of exchange.

Perhaps the most publicized action along these lines occurred in August 1982 when Sendero guerrillas attacked an agricultural center at Huamanga University, an experimental farm that developed livestock and grain for local production. Characterizing this as "a vehicle for imperialist penetration," Sendero destroyed the farm and slaughtered more than 100 head of cattle.

In other instances, Sendero Luminoso has attacked and destroyed facilities at agricultural cooperatives, destroying tractors and other equipment. In Blanco's words, Sendero Luminoso "treats the cooperatives as though they were enemy organizations." He also gave one example of PCP (SL) followers setting fire to plastic tubing used to irrigate peasants' fields.

An indication of the bureaucratic manner in which Sendero Luminoso administers areas under its control was revealed in a secret document from the PCP (SL)'s Third National Congress in July 1983. *Latin America Weekly Report*, a London-based news service, obtained a copy of this document and noted, "In a change of tack, [the document] recommends allowing [the peasants] to celebrate their traditional feast days and markets but tries to add on a few like 7 October 1928 (the founding of the Socialist Party of Mariategui) and Comrade Gonzalo's birthday."

These bureaucratic methods have led to comparisons to the Khmer Rouge regime in Kampuchea in 1975–79, which led to the death of 3 million Kampuchean. According to Blanco, Sendero Luminoso's behavior is "very similar to that of Pol Pot's forces in Kampuchea."

They also resemble the methods of other Stalinist formations such as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Following its overthrow of the monarchical-landlord regime in 1978, the PDPA imposed a bureaucratically administered land reform, which disregarded the Afghan peasants' views and needs. It also instituted other programs, such as a mandatory literacy campaign and antireligious measures,

that drove masses of the peasants into the arms of the imperialist-supported right-wing bands.

Sendero Luminoso's approach to the Peruvian workers and peasants is also similar to that of Bernard Coard's faction within the New Jewel Movement in Grenada, which attempted to impose its bureaucratic schema on that country's toilers by demobilizing them and eventually turning its guns on them. The Coard faction murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and many of his supporters.

### Executions

One feature of Sendero Luminoso that has received widespread publicity is its policy of holding "people's trials" and executions. Many of the reports of these killings have been fabricated as a way to falsely attribute to the PCP (SL) the murders and atrocities committed by the army and police, or as a way to justify the army's and *sinchis'* repression.

Nevertheless, Sendero Luminoso itself admits this to be one of its practices. Many of those executed are collaborators of the regime, members of counterinsurgency patrols, landowners, and other hated figures. According to Blanco, "Sometimes they try people who really are rich landowners or repressive authorities who abuse the population.

"But at other times," he pointed out, "they put on trial small shopkeepers who, while living somewhat more comfortably than the rest of the population, cannot in any way be categorized as exploiters and are not viewed as such by the local population. Sometimes they have even tried peasant leaders elected by the masses themselves — some of these leaders have been executed by Sendero."

Policies of this sort have led to a decline of peasant support for the PCP (SL) in the Ayacucho area since 1982, according to most reports. Nevertheless, the army's brutal and often indiscriminate massacres of peasants, combined with the abysmal poverty and oppression they face, continue to lead many peasants to sympathize with any movement that seeks to change their existing situation.

### Anti-internationalism

One revealing feature of Sendero Luminoso is that it does not view its struggle in Peru as a part of the struggle of workers and peasants throughout the world. While the center of world and Latin American politics over the last five years has been the unfolding revolutionary battles in Central America, the PCP (SL) has not seen fit to publicly comment on it in any of its few recent statements. In fact, Sendero's U.S. co-thinkers, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), go so far as to counterpose them:

"This revolutionary war [in Peru] and its line are also important in counterpoint to the guerrilla movements in Central America, where pro-Soviet revisionists and even somewhat pro-U.S. elements have taken up arms to serve reactionary imperialist interests and promulgate the line — powerfully refuted by



President Fernando Belaúnde Terry.

these Peruvian comrades — that no oppressed people can liberate themselves without the agreement of one or another imperialism."

(The RCP is a small sect that in the past has opposed the fight for school desegregation, ridiculed the women's rights movement, and carried out physical attacks on other left-wing tendencies. Together with Sendero Luminoso and 14 other pro-"Gang of Four" Maoist organizations in different countries, it helped establish an international formation called the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in 1984.)

In addition, one of Sendero Luminoso's central tenets is hostility to the workers states. For example, it boasts of its bombing of the Chinese embassy, and one of its trademarks is hanging dead dogs from poles as a symbolic rejection of the "running dogs" who in their view now rule China. Sometimes its slogans and graffiti seem directed more at the Chinese government than against the Peruvian regime.

The PCP (SL) also opposes the Soviet Union, which it denies is a workers state, viewing it instead as an "imperialist" power. Sendero Luminoso has taken a hostile stance toward the Cuban revolution and its leadership as well.

### Response to Sendero Luminoso

Backers of imperialism have attempted to use Sendero Luminoso's activities to discredit the struggle of Peru's workers and peasants and to attack the revolutionary upsurges in Central America and the Caribbean.

In March 1982, for example, the Peruvian government began claiming that Cuba was responsible for Sendero Luminoso, and threatened to break diplomatic relations. The Cuban government immediately denied the charge. Gen. Adrián Huaman Centeno, military chief of the Ayacucho region, has justified the repression in Ayacucho to prevent that region from becoming a "new Nicaragua."

In general, these forces have attempted to use Sendero Luminoso to smear liberation fighters, and Marxism as a whole, with the "Pol Pot" brush.

Unfortunately, this campaign has also had an impact on forces associated with the left, both in Peru and internationally. One recent example was an article by Jeanne DeQuine that appeared in the Dec. 8, 1984, issue of the left-liberal U.S. weekly, the *Nation*. DeQuine recited a litany of horror stories and murders allegedly committed by Sendero Luminoso, and attributed all the violence and brutality to it, completely ignoring the well-documented fact that the Peruvian military has been responsible for most of these atrocities. She solidarized herself with the government efforts to fight Sendero, and even chided the army for its "inexperience" and insufficient energy in combating it.

DeQuine concluded with a warning to other proimperialist regimes to be on the lookout for liberation movements. "Sendero's bold revolution remains confined within its own country," she wrote. However, "the insurgents have created a phenomenon few Latin American neighbors can ignore: the capacity for destruction among disaffected people energized by revolutionary chemistry, terrorist strategy and one relentless zealot."

Within Peru, some left-wing forces have also given back-handed support to the repression by concentrating all their fire on the threat of "terrorism" and downplaying the capitalist government's actions. Many use Sendero Luminoso's anti-working-class practices as a way to justify their own reformist political perspectives, based on focusing all energies on achieving social change within the bourgeois electoral arena.

### Real targets of repression

While ostensibly aimed at the Sendero Luminoso guerrillas, the Peruvian regime's murderous repression is actually directed fundamentally at the workers and peasants of Peru. Already a number of trade union and peasant fighters have been victims of the government's repression. The regime has used the excuse of its war in Ayacucho to institute states of emergency and other measures designed to restrict democratic rights.

To the Peruvian rulers and their backers in Washington, the Sendero Luminoso insurgency reminds them of what can happen as Peruvian working people and peasants step up their struggle to defend their rights and living standards, and as they continue to be inspired by the revolutionary struggles occurring in Central America. The wholesale massacres in Ayacucho are a warning that the proimperialist forces are prepared to follow the example of their class brothers among the murderers and torturers in El Salvador and Guatemala in order to defend their interests.

While revolutionary Marxists have a responsibility to explain the totally destructive and anti-working-class nature of the actions, perspectives, strategy, and ideology of the Sendero Luminoso group, it is essential to focus on combating the wave of repression being carried out by the Peruvian government with the support of Washington. □

# Fidel Castro speaks on threat of war

*'We have no interest in seeing bloodshed of U.S. and Cuban people'*

[The following is the first part of a speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro to the closing session of the Sixth Congress of the Federation of Students in Intermediate Education (FEEM), held at the Salvador Allende Teacher Training School in Havana on Dec. 8, 1984. The second part of the speech took up some of the advances as well as some of the problems in Cuban education. The text is taken from the December 23 issue of the English-language *Granma Weekly Review*.]

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The most outstanding feature of this Congress is the fervor with which you express your readiness to defend the Revolution and the homeland. I know that defense preparations and joining the Territorial Troop Militia have been discussed in considerable depth in all their aspects at the Congress.

I have closely heeded your watchwords, thinking to myself, "Well, there are more than 400,000 intermediate-level students in our country and with that spirit they represent a tremendous force that the enemy should take into account, has to take into account, unless it's completely out of its mind." (APPLAUSE) It expresses the revolutionary spirit of our youth that has truly taken up the traditions of our people, the spirit of our workers, our peasants, our women, and all our people in general.

Needless to say, we would not like to have to put that force to the test, to need to demonstrate that our enemies are out of their mind. The policy of the Revolution will not be an irresponsible one; it never has been. Nor will it be an adventurist one; we are not warmongers. All that is in our hands, in the hands of our state and our Party, everything possible will be done to prevent the bloodshed of the young.

By this I mean that we will do all that is in our hands to further international détente, to foster a climate of peace; we will do all that is in our hands to further détente in our area, in Cuba and in Central America; we will do all that is in our hands to further détente even in other areas, as part of our principled policy and our awareness of the need to fight for peace. By doing so, we feel we are interpreting the finer aspirations of humankind and of our own people.

But peace is not attained through weakness. Peace is attained through strength, courage, and determination of peoples. I believe this is what has characterized our Revolution over these 25 years.

Without a firm line, without the determination to struggle, to resist, and to pay whatever price for our Revolution and independence, we do not think our Revolution would have survived under the difficult conditions in which it

came about and developed, within a few miles of the world's most powerful imperialist country. I believe that spirit of our people has been decisive, first to the survival and later to the momentum and development of the Revolution.

One day, our adversaries will have to understand this: we have no interest in seeing the bloodshed of the U.S. people and the Cuban people in an imperialist adventure in our country. This is why we will always be on the alert for any sign or indication as to U.S. leaders veering toward a policy of respect or a policy of aggression toward our country.

What's more, there have been contacts made in the past few months in regard to what is called normalization of migratory relations between the two countries. This is the only point that is being discussed, a question of interest to both sides. They have their set interests and we have ours. In order to obtain certain results, we will have to cede a little and they will have to cede a little. But if these contacts bear fruit, they will, without a doubt, point to the real fact that problems can be resolved through dialogue and that, with us, no problem can be resolved through force. (APPLAUSE)\*

I would say that a large part of the world and the world's statesmen are waiting to see what is to be the main course to be charted by the U.S. government — that is, the current administration — in its second term of office. That's the unknown, the question that is being asked in all corners of the world, on all continents. We do not believe that the people of the United States want war. It is evident that the immense majority of the people of the United States reject the idea of war, of any war, but most of all a world war.

It is already known that scientists, thousands of scientists in all fields have carried out computer studies and used mathematical models to determine what would happen in the event of a nuclear war. They have all reached the same conclusion: nuclear war means an end to human life, at the very least, and perhaps to other forms of life, although it is said that cockroaches may be able to survive a nuclear war. (LAUGHTER)

They know what they are talking about. They are mathematically certain of all phenomena, not only contamination but ecological change, fallout, the drop in solar radiation, the drastic drop in temperature, to

say nothing of land and water pollution that would make survival impossible. The men who have in their hands the possibilities of carrying through or averting this type of war bear on their shoulders a tremendous responsibility.

We know that socialism doesn't want war, has no interest in war, and makes no business out of war or weaponry. Wars and the arms race have always been the business of capitalists, of imperialists, not of socialism, which has no economic reason for investing huge resources in destructive weapons when there are so many needs to be met, so many aspirations to social and economic development for the well-being of man that must be made a reality.

And so wars, the arms race, and the arms business are inherent to capitalist society and diametrically opposed to the nature, concept, philosophy, and needs of a socialist society. For the socialist countries, arming themselves is a bitter necessity, a costly necessity, which they do without hesitation because they have no alternative.

It is our conclusion, therefore, that the main danger of whether or not there is war in the world and the danger of nuclear war comes largely from the United States. There are even those who dream of military supremacy and space weapons capable of creating an invulnerable shield, fantasies that could only lead to an increase in the arms race and in the danger of war.

But we know that the people of the United States do not want war. They can be fooled in regard to certain things and through the skillful use of the mass media. They can be skillfully manipulated into certain prejudices, false conceptions, and lies, and on certain occasions a large part of U.S. public opinion has been led to support criminal acts for which there can be no defense or justification, as for example in the case of the invasion of Grenada over a year ago.

The students, who, it was said, were in danger and would have been held as hostages, arrived in the United States after the invasion, kissing the ground. All this was shown on TV in totally artificial, preconceived, melodramatic theatrical fashion, calculated to make an impact and demonstrate that it was thanks to the action that those students had not shared the same fate of the U.S. embassy officials in Iran, who had been held as hostages for many months.

In the minds of many U.S. people, the one was associated with the other, and [they had] the idea that the operation had saved the lives of those students who were never in any danger whatsoever. And who could know this better than us? No one there, not even the extremist group who with their atrocious actions practi-

\* An agreement between the Cuban and U.S. governments on immigration was reached on Dec. 14, 1984. Castro announced the accord in a televised address on the same day. The full text of Castro's speech appears in the Feb. 4, 1985, *IP*.

cally opened the doors to invasion, ever had the idea of even bothering the U.S. students in any way and, in fact, offered them all kinds of guarantees.

Cuba's cooperation with Grenada was associated with the idea of ominous plans for continent-wide subversion. And the tourist airport that was being built with the cooperation of several countries, including Britain, Western European countries, and Canada, was made out to be an extremely dangerous military airport, when it was almost finished and hadn't a single military brick in its construction. That was another of the big lies.

Now they've finished the airport, and followers of Bishop, those who remained loyal to Bishop and his ideas, sent a cable to Cuba recently saying that they wanted it to be called Maurice Bishop Airport and thanking the Cuban people for the airport.

I firmly believe that the airport will be called Maurice Bishop Airport, that our people will always know it as Maurice Bishop Airport. Grenadian revolutionaries will call it Maurice Bishop Airport, and revolutionary, progressive, honest people everywhere will also call it Maurice Bishop Airport, no matter what other name it is given. (APPLAUSE) The airport will have two names: the official and the popular.

They associated events in Grenada with other events, with the Vietnam War, the humiliation that meant, etc. And that attack on a small country, one of the world's smallest countries, with an area of some 400 square kilometers and a population of 120,000, was presented as a great deed, a great victory, a great demonstration of the power, greatness, and glory of the United States. It was all orchestrated with the mass media, to make an impact on U.S. public opinion, and in part it succeeded, because many people were taken in. These are the facts, and only history and time will make episodes such as this completely understood in all objectivity.

However, and this is the truth, these manipulations have failed to arouse a war spirit among the people of the United States. The U.S. people do not want a world war, and that includes the tens of millions who voted for the current president of the United States and who could be influenced by conjunctural factors, for example, a certain economic growth on the tail of a profound crisis for which the system is to blame, because the preceding administration cannot be specifically held to blame.

The crisis had been developing for many years as a result of the fabulous expenditures of the Vietnam War, financed with currency issues, and the contradictions and problems inherent to the system, but there had also been a marked increase in unemployment and a big increase in inflation.

All these factors made a big impact on public opinion, and in the last two years there has been a conjunctural growth of the economy

and a drop in unemployment. We say conjunctural because many specialists predict a new crisis — and relatively soon — if there's a continuation of the high interest rates, budget deficits of around 200,000 million dollars, and a trade balance deficit of 100,000 million, all of which many lead to an even greater crisis of the U.S. economy than before.

On July 26, in Cienfuegos, I took the opportunity to explain how the economy of the other capitalist countries and, above all, the economy of Third World countries, had had to pay the price of that increase in the U.S. economy over the last two years.

This conjunctural increase was the result of mechanisms that enabled the United States to freely dispose of money of other countries in its economic sphere. Money was brought in from Europe, from Japan, from all parts, especially the Third World, through high interest rates and a partial confrontation of the problems but without any sound foundations for the future. Most of those resources have been invested in armament, with a military budget of over 300,000 million dollars.

These arms expenditures do not help develop the economy. Precisely one of the benefits enjoyed by the Japanese economy after World War II was that, by virtue of the treaties established at the end of the war, Japan was not allowed to invest in armaments. As a result, most of the investments went into industry, new technology, much more productive branches, while many sectors of U.S. industry lagged behind, steel, for example, whose products cannot compete with those of Japan or even those of European countries.

This forced the United States to levy quota restrictions in its free enterprise, free trade system, for its steelworks to survive. All that enormous arms investment does not create a solid base for the economy; it bankrupts it.

The real fact is that in the last few years of the present U.S. administration there was economic growth and a drop in inflation and unemployment and, in our opinion, these were very important, basic, decisive factors. Familiar as we are with U.S. voter patterns, we never had the slightest doubt as to the result of the election. It was clear on analyzing all these factors.

But the people of the United States, I insist, do not want a war. They can be cajoled to a certain extent by telling them that theirs is a powerful country, that it continues to be a great power and will become an even greater one. Certain nationalistic chords can be touched, even certain chauvinistic feelings can be developed.

But for the last 120 years the people of the United States have not experienced war in their own country. They had the Civil War in the middle of the last century, a costly and bloody war, but the people of the United States never experienced the destruction of either World War I or II, as the Soviet people did.

The Soviet people know what war means, because they experienced it at close quarters, between 1914 and 1917, and especially after the Revolution, with foreign intervention leading to the occupation of a large part of the country in the wake of great destruction. Years later, they were the object of fascist attack with a toll of 20 million lives and the destruction of thousands of cities. The Soviet people know what that means and are much more aware of what war is like.

But in spite of the difference, the people of the United States, too, are against war; they have the intelligence, understanding, and knowledge to realize what a war means. They are not only against a world war — which nobody wants — but also against any local war.

We can say that the people of the United



"U.S. public opinion rejects a military venture in Central America."

IP: Lou Howort

States are against intervention in Nicaragua; and this is reflected in the Congressional opposition to the allocation of funds to mercenary bands. U.S. public opinion rejects a military venture in Central America, and none of the efforts of the U.S. administration have been able to really change that.

U.S. public opinion does not want a war in Cuba. They have not been persuaded of an attack on Cuba being convenient. There may be a number of extremist groups — they exist everywhere — made up of extreme reactionaries, impassioned advocates of the use of force, but the majority of U.S. public opinion, while realizing that the danger involved is not that of a nuclear world war, is against local wars.

People have not been persuaded of that and know that any adventure in Central America will not be the walkover in Grenada. Many people realize this, many intelligent people who believe that this would take many lives, apart from the fact that such an unjustifiable act, the responsibility for the virtual genocide that world public opinion refuses to accept, would discredit the nation. And that would be an enormous political and human price for the United States to pay. They also know, of course, that in the case of our country, it would be much worse and of unforeseeable consequences.

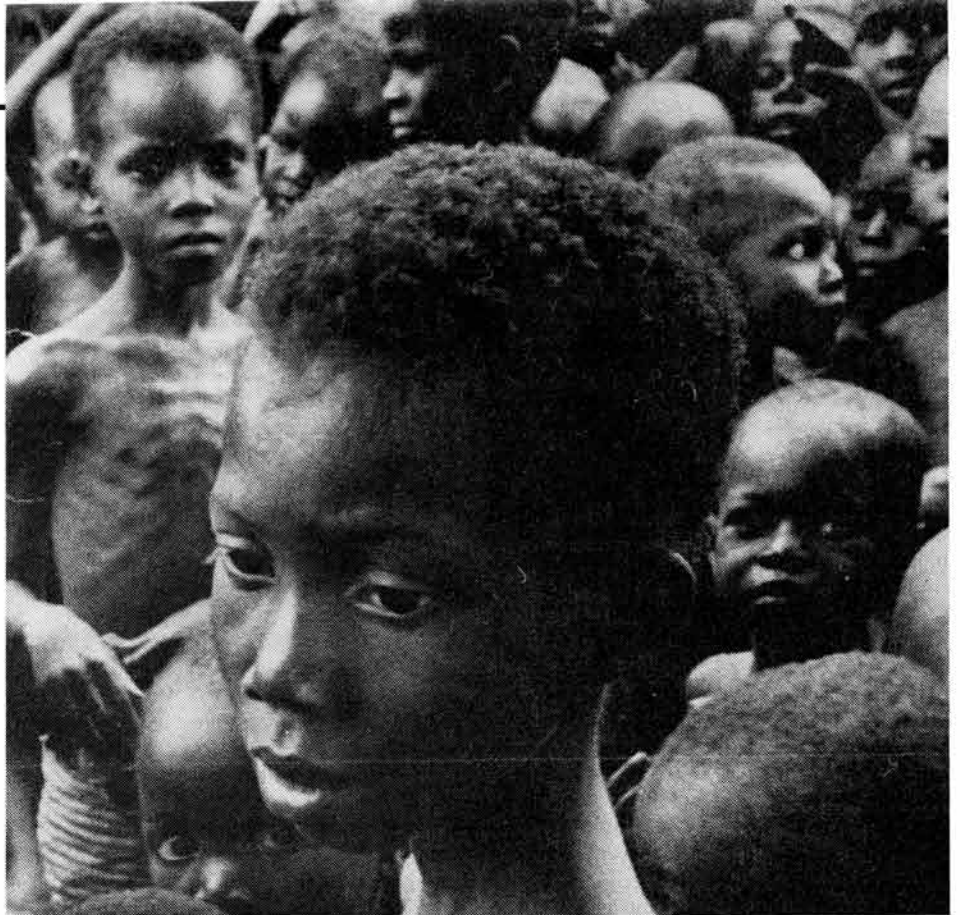
How the people of the United States think is important, because, even though sometimes their leaders might forget what the whole world thinks, it's not so easy for them to forget what the people of the United States think.

The intervention in Vietnam, a grievous war that took so many lives, was one that initially was given scant attention by world public opinion. As the years went by, greater attention was paid and there was greater international condemnation. As the years went by and the casualties started, when the mass media also began to reveal the atrocities in that war — and there are those who think that television is to blame for the defeat in Vietnam, because the people should never have been informed on what was going on there — when U.S. public opinion took a firm antiwar stand, that was decisive to the end of the war.

We must take all these factors into account. And I believe they will also have to be taken into account by the U.S. administration. They know that a 200,000-million-dollar budget deficit is untenable and that they will have to either levy high taxes, which would be both unpopular and hard to justify, or put a limit on that fabulous military spending.

Mention is already being made about measures, further restrictive social measures, to try to cut down on the deficit. Those measures will also be unpopular. A worsening of the international climate is not good for the U.S. economy. What it needs is a certain détente.

The way things stand, there seems to be no solution to these problems, and everybody is watching and waiting, wondering whether apocalypse is around the corner, whether there is a fatalism to this administration as to the end of the world having come or whether, on the



"There are situations of entire continents, like Africa, where desert is advancing steadily."

contrary, the time has come to reflect on these questions.

There are those who think that perhaps the concern is another: whether this administration will go down in history as an administration that fought for peace or an administration that led to war.

Of course, the outcome is relative. If the course is one of peace, it will go down in history; but if it is one of war, then there will most probably be no more history, history will come to an end.

This is why world public opinion is closely charting the events and any signs that can appear. There have been some positive signs. For example, we could mention the interest shown in continuing the talks on migratory questions, even after the elections. Although the talks are strictly limited to that, this is in our opinion a positive sign. The meeting between U.S. Secretary of State [George] Shultz and Comrade [Andrei] Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister, next month is unquestionably another positive sign.

This doesn't give anybody the right to harbor illusions. The course of events must be observed and analyzed.

I believe that our people's knowledge of international politics is greater than it ever was. I remember that several years ago, when the international agreements on arms control, etc., were signed by the Soviet Union and the United States charting an era of détente, our Party wrote a series of editorials to explain to our people what détente meant. This was be-

cause our people, a militant, harassed, irate people under attack, were naturally not the most psychologically prepared to understand détente.

Several years have passed since then, and our people have attained a cultural level and concrete knowledge of international economic problems and political problems and have a much more solid and clearer awareness to understand these problems much better and to follow closely what is happening and what might happen.

The next few months will be decisive, and 1985 will be an important year. We will have to see how these factors work in conjunction and what the outcome will be, and whether or not the world can harbor any hope for peace. This is important. Whether there can be hope for peace in our area is very important, and also what course the international situation will take in the next few years.

Peoples driven to desperation by underdevelopment and hunger — and you have heard the news about the famine in Africa — by ecological phenomena on top of the problems of underdevelopment and technological backwardness that have shaken the world, know that in a climate of international tension and arms buildup there isn't the remotest possibility of solutions being found to Latin America's 350,000-million-dollar debt and the even higher figure in the rest of the world, bringing the total up to about 800,000 million.

Until now, the increase in the foreign debt and military expenditures has been roughly on

a par, but now military expenditure has shot ahead. According to recent data, it runs to a million million dollars, at least what I was taught was a billion. In the United States, a billion means 1,000 million. In the language of that country, it is 1,000 billion; in Spanish one billion. That is, world military expenditure at this moment runs to a million million dollars.

And those countries whose situation is desperate, irrespective of ideology — we've seen this in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries: left-wing governments, middle-of-the-road governments, right-wing governments — have many problems in common, including unequal exchange, foreign debt, and underdevelopment, which are a source of concern to them all. They know that without détente, that unless a stop is put to the arms buildup, there isn't the remotest possibility of funds being found for a solution to their problems, that is, if they are ever to be found.

There are situations of entire continents, like Africa, where the desert is advancing steadily southwards, while the population is growing everywhere, even in the desert area. It has taken a tragedy like this for world public opinion to be made more aware of the problem. But just imagine how much it will cost to take the pertinent measures to check the desert's advance and make the land fertile again, apart from the agricultural development and hydraulic resources the continent needs in order to solve its food problems.

That is why the world is very much watching and waiting to see what is going to happen everywhere in the world in the next few months. For us, that's important. Yes, because we're prepared for any eventuality. We're prepared for war and for peace. (APPLAUSE)

I think that the efforts of our country, its fortitude, calm, courage, organizational capacity, and revolutionary and patriotic fervor, have made for greater possibilities for peace, whatever the U.S. line may be. Because, over the past four years, every day, every week, every month that has passed has made us stronger.

The threats against our country have served only to multiply our forces, over and over again, because not only the number of organized, armed, and trained men and women has multiplied, but so also have the ideas. There is now a greater sense of awareness and knowledge of defense, taking in major experiences in the world over recent decades that have enabled us to develop our defense potential on the basis of people's participation, and this has made us much stronger, much more invincible than ever before, and this effort must be kept up.

Clearly we prefer peace to war. This is a basic duty of every revolutionary, of every Marxist-Leninist, and, above all, of every party in power, every responsible government.

It's very important for every citizen — every mother, father, brother, sister, and child — to know what the Revolutionary Government's stand is on this, to know that the government does not act on impulse or pride but is rather characterized, and must always be characterized, by calm, deliberation, and sangfroid, because the responsibility for the life and destiny of an entire nation falls on our Party and government. This obliges us to look ahead, to take every measure, and make every effort to be strong and, at the same time, calm.

Even should a situation of détente emerge — and that's what we would want — defense cannot be neglected — cannot be neglected!

This is very important, for what we have achieved cannot be cast aside. It is a reality imposed by our geographical location.

The difference in the political, economic, and social system between us and our most powerful neighbor forces us to always give maximum attention to defense. Even if someday the United States were to have a socialist system, we couldn't neglect defense because, well Vietnam is bordered by China, the two countries are socialist, and Vietnam cannot neglect its defense! (APPLAUSE)

Sweden is a neutral country; it doesn't belong to any military bloc. It's in northern Europe and, nevertheless, despite the fact that it was not involved in World War I or World War II — which is one of the factors that have contributed to its economic and social development — it doesn't neglect defense, or arms, or the training of the population, or fortifications.

We need, therefore, to understand the importance of the efforts we have made to date and the importance of always being on the alert, always strong, even in a situation of détente on international and regional levels. There can even be a certain international détente and no regional détente — this is one of the possibilities — although international détente clearly benefits the whole world in one way or another and establishes a logic which differs from that of an aggressive, warlike policy.

Tonight seemed like a good opportunity to explain this, especially given the enthusiastic response demonstrated by the students with regard to the country's defense. I also take this opportunity to convey these ideas, which I think are very important, to public opinion in the country, to the rest of our people. □

## DOCUMENTS

# 'A united left in '85, we can do it!'

## Mexican PRT proposes joint slate for the 1985 federal elections

[The following article appeared in the February 4-10 issue of *Bandera Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International. The translation from Spanish and the footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The Second National Plenum of the PRT Central Committee took place January 18 and 19. The principal points that were discussed and decided on were: the evaluation of the process of alliances put forward by the PRT and by the left for participating in the federal elections next July and the preparations for the election campaign.

The main decisions that came out of the Second National Plenum of the PRT CC were:

- To reaffirm our proposal to set up a single

national electoral coalition of the left, to provide an alternative that can successfully confront both the official party [the PRI] and the PAN.<sup>1</sup>

- To step up the call for unity we made to the United Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM) and the Mexican Workers Party (PMT).<sup>2</sup>

- To concretize the agreements on electoral unity that have been initiated with various social organizations of workers.

- To begin the process of candidate selection, placing Compañera Rosario Ibarra de Piedra at the head of the PRT's ticket for multi-seat districts.

Five months after it proposed the formation

1. The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) has, under several names, been the ruling party of Mexico since 1928. The National Action Party (PAN) is the leading capitalist opposition party.

of a total coalition of the left for the coming July elections, the PRT CC reaffirmed this unity orientation. This is the only way the left can run in the elections without causing confusion and ambiguity as the alternative social force to PRI-ism and PAN-ism.

In our party's view, a total coalition of the left means we would register, under this electoral formula, 300 common candidates in the single-seat districts and 100 in the multi-seat districts all under a single ballot designation.

By initially making this unity proposal and by reaffirming it today, we are thinking first and foremost of the interests of the Mexican

2. The PSUM was formed in 1981 through the fusion of the Mexican Communist Party with several smaller reformist groups. The PMT is a petty-bourgeois nationalist party founded in 1974 by some leaders of the 1968 student uprising in Mexico.

workers, who have been hit hard by the government's austerity plans.

There can be no doubt that the wage restrictions, the uncontrolled price increases, the attacks on the trade unions, the restrictions on democratic freedoms, and the government's general inability to overcome the economic and political crisis facing the country are creating strong discontent within the population, and particularly among the most affected sectors: the wage workers in the countryside and cities, the unemployed, the slum-dwellers, the young.

All these factors will be expressed in the next election and will leave their strong imprint upon it. Through their votes, the workers who go to the polls next July 7 will express their repudiation of this government that is impoverishing them.

### Our unity proposal

Therefore it is very important that the organizations and parties that think of ourselves as representing the interests of the workers should run as a force capable of enhancing the struggles of the workers and their political action.

And this will not be possible if we do not unite our forces in order to channel the social discontent into higher forms of organization and struggle.

If the left does not run candidates on a united basis, the July federal elections will turn into a sharp defeat for the working-class parties and the workers, and into a clear victory for the right wing, of both the PRI and PAN varieties.

The workers need to clearly see a credible option to vote for — a united left throughout the whole country, in each district, on each ballot.

We have thoroughly analyzed the proposals for partial unity put forward by the United Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM) and by the Mexican Workers Party (PMT), and we do not feel they suffice to achieve these objectives.

The PSUM proposes forming state coalitions but not a national coalition, and it proposes forming them only in the single-seat districts. In the best of cases this would limit unity to only 200 districts. It means that the workers would see a united left on their ballot only in two-thirds of the country, while the PSUM continues to reject the establishment of alliances for the multi-seat districts.

Its proposals are based on special partisan interests, not on the interests of the workers. This is a very limited unity, which in many cases would help confuse the electorate when the time comes to vote.

The PMT's proposal is even weaker. It does not even agree to set up coalitions; it only agrees to register common candidates in some districts.

On previous occasions this proposal has been put into practice within the left and it has already shown its limitations. It places the various parties in competition despite having a single candidate, as each party carries out its

own separate campaign in search of votes for its particular ballot designation.

Once again, you cannot say that you are seeking unity and think only of achieving your specific partisan interests.

We repeat, the only proposal for real unity is the one that shows a mature left putting aside partisan interests and giving first priority to the interests of the workers by running under a single ballot designation, with a single list of candidates in the 300 single-seat districts as well as the multi-seat districts.

To seek this total unity, the PRT CC made the decision to step up our campaign for unity and to wait until the last possible minute in the electoral time-frame before resigning ourselves to seeing the left again divided.

Based on this view, we will concentrate our greatest efforts during the first half of February to make use of periods of propaganda, discussion forums, and various mobilizations to call on all the left parties, whether or not they have a registered status, to cement the basis of a total electoral coalition.

In particular, we have decided to approach the national electoral conventions of the PSUM and the PMT, which will take place between February 10 and 16, to get them to change their course and agree to total unity.

### Electoral alliances with other forces

The united left must be fundamentally based on the parties that have legal registration status. But the PRT has also approached unregistered political and social organizations about forming electoral alliances and fortunately has gotten a positive response.

In this regard, we are having very advanced talks about concretizing electoral pacts with the following organizations: Marxist Workers League (LOM), Socialist Workers Party (POS), Union of Revolutionary Struggle (ULR), Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), People's Defense Committee (CDP) of Chihuahua, People's Revolutionary Movement (MRP), Union of Neighborhoods of Naucalpan AC (Naucopac).

Not only have we begun to concretize agreements with all these organizations for joint participation in the elections next July, but we have also come together with them around the need to seek a total alliance of the left to confront the PRI and the PAN.

### Preparations for the election campaign

At the same time that we are stepping up our efforts to build the unity of the left, the PRT CC decided to begin the preparations for the PRT's national electoral convention, which will make the final decision on what candidates to register.

One decision in this regard was to wait until March 3 to hold our national electoral convention, thereby providing the greatest possible amount of time, within the limits of the electoral period, to work out a unity agreement.

The other important decision adopted by the PRT CC was to begin the process of candidate selection. In line with this, the Central Committee of the PRT voted unanimously that our party's slates for the multi-seat districts will be headed by Compañera Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, the outstanding fighter for the defense of human rights, leader of the National Front Against Repression, and former candidate for president of Mexico.

As is the case with Compañera Rosario, our slates of candidates will be made up of outstanding fighters in social movements in defense of the interests of the workers in the factories, the *ejidos*,<sup>3</sup> and the poor neighborhoods. In addition, until our electoral convention takes place, we will leave open the possibility of all our candidates being subject to change through negotiations with other parties in the context of a total left coalition. □

3. Traditional communal lands, which had been taken away from Mexico's peasants by big landlords and restored to them as a result of the 1917 agrarian reform. Under the *ejido* system the state retains ownership of the lands, which are worked either cooperatively or individually by peasants.

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# STATEMENTS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## Declarations of World Congress

*Support struggles in New Caledonia, Britain, Northern Ireland*

[The following are five declarations of the World Congress of the Fourth International, which met in February. The congress brought together representatives of revolutionary parties in 38 countries.]

\* \* \*

### For self-determination for the Kanak people

The Kanak people's struggle for independence has speeded up greatly in the last few years. The founding congress of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front in 1984 was, in this context, a further step forward in the radicalization of the struggle of the oppressed Kanak masses. The electoral boycott of November 18 last year then demonstrated a new relationship of forces on the ground and at first forced the French imperialist government of François Mitterrand to make certain verbal concessions. However, this latter is still committed to finding a neo-colonial solution that would deny the Kanak people's rights to self-determination and guarantee the preservation of the interests of French imperialism and the white settlers.

It is in this perspective that the Pisani plan was developed. This desire of French imperialism has led it to increase repressive actions against the Kanak population and the activists of the FLNKS (the murder of Eloi Machoro and of Marcel Nonarro, disarming the Kanaks, house to house searches among the tribes). This stepping up of brutal colonial repression has also been signalled by the installation of a state of emergency, the application of which is in general oriented to stopping the mobilizations of the Kanak independence forces and sending new military reinforcements.

International solidarity is more than ever an important factor in achieving a change in the relationship of forces in favor of the Kanak people.

The Fourth International calls for the building of a mass movement of solidarity with the struggle of the Kanak people for independence. Many activities can be undertaken: petitions; delegations to French embassies; united demonstrations; official statements of the workers' and democratic movements; a campaign to denounce French colonial and military policy in the Pacific. . . .

We call for the immediate withdrawal of French occupation forces and support for the FLNKS demand for complete and immediate independence of the Kanaks.

No to the continuing colonial war!  
Stop the repression!  
Victory to the Kanak people!  
International solidarity with the struggle of the FLNKS and the Kanak people for independence!

### British miners' strike against pit closures

Militants of the Fourth International gathered at this Twelfth Congress salute the long and determined struggle of the British miners and the women in the mining communities against the closure of pits and against the attacks on workers' rights led by the Thatcher government.

Every effort is being made by the militants and supporters of the Fourth International and their organizations in over fifty countries to explain the struggle of the National Union of Mineworkers and their allies to workers and oppressed people throughout the world.

We are proud to identify ourselves in solidarity with your struggle, which we know has inspired millions of working people throughout the world.

We recognize the crucial part played by women in the mining communities, who have provided vital support and inspiration.

Your determination has given new confidence to working people in many countries to continue and step up their own battles against oppression. Your struggle in itself is already a great victory for the oppressed.

We are committed to continue our efforts to mobilize the labor movement in political and material solidarity with you.

Victory to the miners!  
Down with the Tory government!  
Workers of the world unite!

### Exclusion of socialist from Belfast City Council

The Twelfth World Congress of the Fourth International declares its solidarity with comrade John McNulty of People's Democracy (Irish section of the Fourth International) undemocratically barred from exercising his rights and duties as a member of the Belfast City Council.

Comrade McNulty has been barred from attending council meetings until he withdraws a statement describing the British flag (the Union Jack) as a "butcher's apron."

Comrade McNulty made this statement in response to pro-British Unionist councillors calling the Tricolor, the traditional national flag of Ireland, "a rag."

Unionist councillors of Belfast City Council are refusing to implement the fire safety regulations in the Andersonstown leisure center, newly opened for the population of this working-class Catholic neighborhood in West Belfast, unless the Tricolor that is presently flying above it is taken down.

Fellow PD councillor Fergus O'Hare and Sinn Féin councillors have joined comrade McNulty in his protest against this vindictive and undemocratic act.

We call on the labor movement and its elected representatives to demand that Belfast City Council lift its ban on comrade McNulty, and implement the fire safety regulations in the Andersonstown leisure center.

Forward to the day that the Tricolor flies in a 32-county Irish Workers Republic!

Britain and its butcher's apron out of Ireland now!

### Against violent attacks on Japanese socialists

The 12th World Congress of the Fourth International condemns the terrorist attacks by Chukaku and the campaign of intimidation against the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL), Japanese section of the Fourth International, and expresses its solidarity with its Japanese section.

The world congress also expresses its solidarity with the imprisoned members of the Japanese section.

### Solidarity with victims of repression in Syria

The 12th World Congress of the Fourth International affirms its fraternal solidarity with the struggle of the comrades of the Communist Action Party (CAP) of Syria against the brutal dictatorship of Hafez al-Assad.

In particular the congress affirms its solidarity with the 170 comrades held in the dictatorship's jails on the charge of membership in the CAP.

The Fourth International pledges to continue and step up its fight for the freedom of these comrades. □