

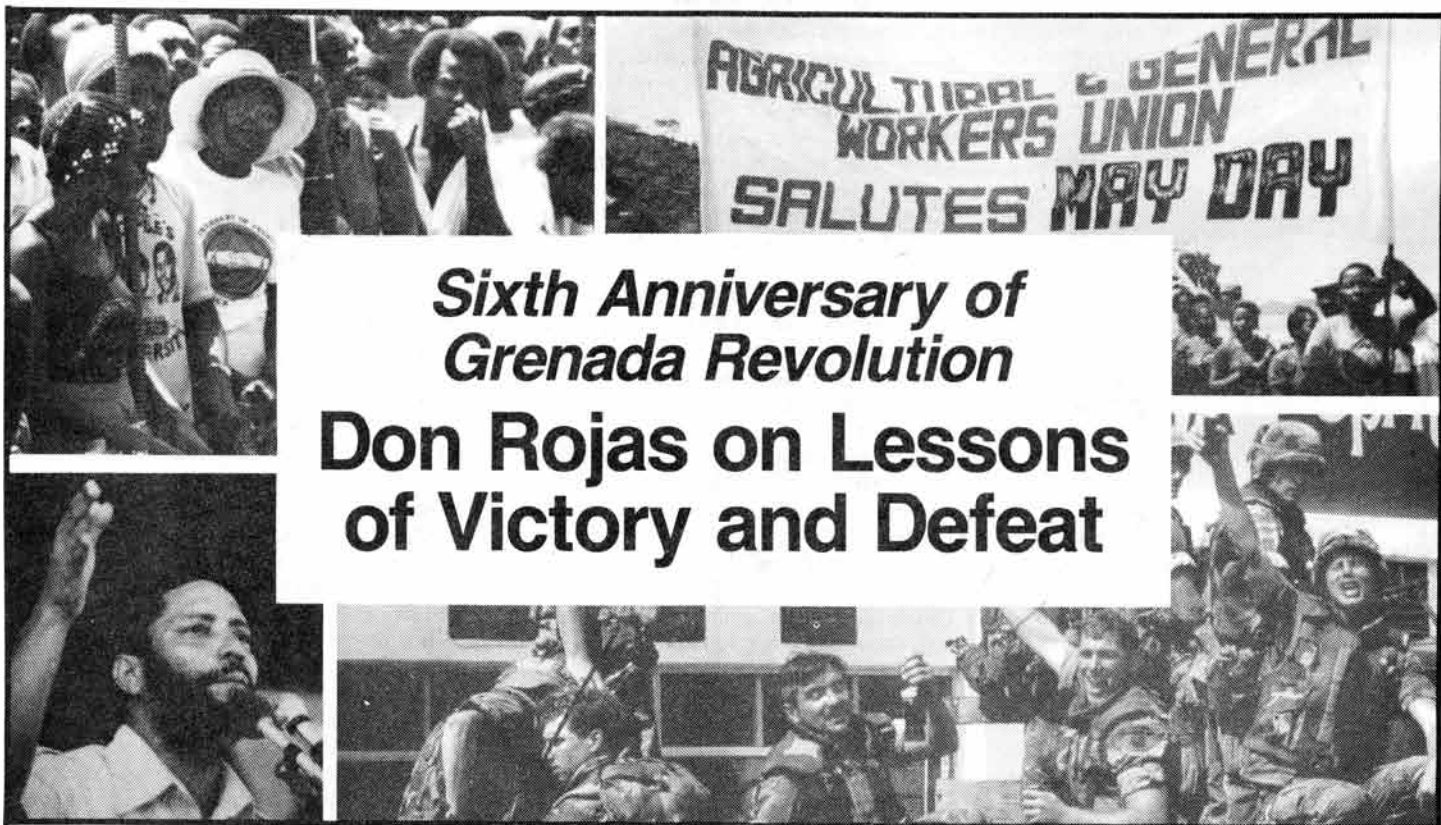
# INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

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Imperialist Pressures**

Fidel Castro in Nicaragua  
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Is a Great Privilege'**

# Merchants of grain pit farmers against each other

By Doug Jenness

In February President Reagan's administration unveiled a new farm program that aims to make U.S. farm products more competitive on the world market.

By drastically reducing the price level at which the government will offer support loans and subsidies to farmers, the administration hopes to lower the prevailing market price of U.S. farm exports. Currently the prices of many U.S.-grown foods are well above those in most other countries.

The proposed measures, Agriculture Department officials concede, will mean less income for farmers per unit of each crop sold, thus forcing thousands of farmers off the land. But, they argue, the plan will spur sales abroad and bring better times for "efficient" and "well-managed" farms in the United States.

Reagan's scheme also calls for the government "to promote open access in world markets for U.S. agricultural exports" by pressing other governments to lower trade barriers on agricultural imports into their countries. If these efforts are unsuccessful, retaliatory measures against imports into the United States will be considered.

Export of agricultural commodities plays a gigantic role in the U.S. economy. Agriculture contributed \$20 billion to the U.S. balance of payments in 1983, partially offsetting a large trade deficit in the nonagricultural sector. In 1981 crops from about two out of five acres harvested on U.S. farms were exported. More than one-half of the rice, wheat, soybeans, and cotton were exported, as well as more than one-fourth of the maize.

## Export boom in 1970s

A major expansion of U.S. food exports began in the early 1970s when the big grain merchants, with government backing, launched a drive to greatly increase the export of grain that could not be profitably sold in the United States and was piling up in storage depots. They were aided in this effort by President Richard Nixon's devaluation of the dollar in 1971, which made U.S. products relatively less expensive on the world market. The government also offered tax breaks and other forms of subsidy to promote food exports.

The big source of new markets was in semicolonial countries, many of which had been virtually self-sufficient in food. Under pressure from the giant grain traders they became dependent on U.S. exports. The export drive was given further impetus in 1972 when the Soviet Union purchased large quantities of U.S.-grown wheat.

However, since 1981 the volume of U.S.

agricultural exports has been falling. Several factors are responsible for this.

One is that the worldwide recession that began in 1981 reduced overall global trade. Many countries have not yet recovered from that downturn, and the pile-up of debts, particularly in semicolonial countries, has undermined the ability to pay for exports.

Another reason is that grain grown in countries such as France, Argentina, and Australia has become more competitive on the world market. The European Economic Community (Common Market), led by France, has, since 1978, become a net exporter of grain.

As in the United States, more grain is grown in Western Europe and Argentina than can be profitably sold there. Rather than continuing to build up large surpluses, merchants trading in European grain have attempted to cash in on the markets in the semicolonial countries and the Soviet Union.

They got a windfall in this regard in early 1980 when President James Carter imposed an embargo on U.S. grain shipments to the USSR.

More significant, however, is that the strength of the U.S. dollar against other currencies has given grain grown in France, Argentina, and other countries a competitive advantage. Overseas buyers are forced to pay out more francs, pounds, pesos, or yen to buy U.S.-grown grain. Consequently, grain exports from other countries are less expensive than those from the United States.

Washington also charges that another reason why the EEC countries are able to sell their grain overseas cheaper is because they pay big export subsidies to European farmers. These subsidies make up the difference between the relatively high grain prices inside Europe and the lower world market prices, thus enabling the grain to be sold competitively internationally.

In 1982-83, the Reagan administration went on an especially concerted drive to pressure the EEC to reduce these subsidies, arguing that they are a form of protectionism. It claimed European farmers were living high on the hog at the expense of U.S. farmers. While Washington was unsuccessful in getting a reduction in these subsidies, the EEC informally agreed to limit its grain exports to about 14 percent of world trade.

Now, EEC officials are warning that they will no longer be bound by this promise. They point out that the amount of export subsidies being paid out has sharply dropped. Because world grain prices are set in dollars, their equivalent in European currencies is now only a shade below the EEC's own internal price

levels.

In this context, pressure on the EEC countries to eliminate export subsidies is likely to have little effect. Instead the Reagan administration is aiming its main fire on price supports and subsidies to U.S. farmers. Reagan also proposes eliminating direct government loans to farmers that have generally been granted at lower interest than commercial bank loans.

Faced with these harsh measures, tens of thousands of angry working farmers are organizing protest actions throughout the country. They are demanding a moratorium on all farm foreclosures, low-interest loans, and a farm price support program that will guarantee their costs of production and a living income for their families.

## Are trade restrictions the answer?

Some farm protest leaders mistakenly believe this can be achieved by pressing Washington to restrict farm imports from other countries or getting it to twist the arms of other governments to lower their trade barriers.

At a recent demonstration in Washington, for example, farmers carried placards urging, "Export Block! Deport Stockman! Import Nothing!" (John Block is the U.S. secretary of agriculture and David Stockman is director of the budget.) Many union bureaucrats are also attempting to link up with farm organizations on the basis of campaigning for protection from imports.

Underlying this notion is acceptance of the big-business and government notion that the problem is competition between U.S. farmers and farmers in other countries.

But this is false. Farmers, whether they work land in France or the United States, are *producers*, not international traders. They do not sell their commodities to consumers in other countries. They sell their wheat, soybeans, or whatever through a grain elevator in their local area. The crop, then, is no longer theirs. It either directly or soon, through further exchanges, becomes the property of one of the giant monopolies that dominate the grain trade.

Eighty-five percent of the international grain trade is conducted by six mammoth merchants — Cargill (U.S.-based), Continental (U.S.-based), Louis Dreyfus (French-based); Mitsui/Cook (Japanese-based); André/Garnac (Swiss-based); Bunge and Born (Argentine-based).

These international traders maintain virtual grain pipelines through their control or ownership of grain elevators, ships, barges, railroad cars, and port terminals. They have their own communications networks and armies of espionage agents. Their monopoly over speedy information about the constantly fluctuating market and their secrecy are key to their vast power.

The influence of the major grain traders is amplified by their expansion into a wide range of economic activities. Cargill, for example, is the number two flour producer in the United States and the number two producer of animal feeds in the world. Cargill the processor is Car-

gill the trader's best customer.

Through their monopoly leverage in the grain market, the big grain merchants are able to keep market prices paid to farmers far below the value of the labor they have put into producing their products. They are *price makers* and keep working farmers in the role of *price takers*. This exploitation of working farmers by the handful of families that own these few commercial giants takes place worldwide, against French, U.S., Canadian, and Argentine farmers alike.

The grain merchants, not working farmers, compete with each other for a greater slice of the world market. Cargill, for example, is the largest exporter of grain grown by U.S. farmers. Consequently, it is especially eager to find markets for this grain. That's why Cargill chairman Whitney MacMillan is vigorously promoting the farm bill introduced by the Reagan administration. In fact, it would be more accurate to refer to the proposed legislation as the "Cargill Bill," as this billionaire grain trader will be the single biggest beneficiary if it is adopted.

But the big grain traders do not care where they buy their grain if they can turn a tidy profit by reselling it. They all buy and sell throughout the world. In some years, for example, Cargill has been the leading exporter of wheat from France as well as the United States.

#### Exploiters vs. exploited

The interests of exploited farmers and exploiting grain merchants are diametrically opposed.

While farmers want timely, accurate market information on which to base production decisions, the big capitalist traders thrive on secrecy.

Farmers need stable prices, but the big grain merchants profit from market instability. Grain companies make millions of dollars by betting on price differences between countries and price changes over time. Commodity price fluctuations are the very lifeblood of the grain trade.

Farmers want a high enough price from the grain merchants for their commodities in order to meet their production costs and have enough to live on, whereas the grain traders care mainly about volume. Since they buy cheap and sell dear, they get their margin on every bushel regardless of price. They can make money from price declines as long as inside information enables them to accurately predict how the market will behave.

Workers also have nothing in common with the big food merchants and processors. As consumers they do not benefit from the low prices the farmers are paid for their produce. While farmers are being squeezed between high production costs and low prices from the food trusts, workers pay higher prices to the food trusts when they go to the supermarket. Both farmers and workers are victims of this monopoly-rigged setup.

Protectionist measures also merely strengthen the economic position of the

capitalists who are driving exploited farmers off the land. They offer no solution to the cost-income squeeze facing the big majority of working farmers in every country. They only pit farmers of different countries against each other.

Moreover, they tend to make agricultural products grown in other countries more expensive in the importing countries. This pits farmers against workers who want cheap food prices.

The fact is that the main relationship between working farmers in different countries is not competition, but their common exploitation. They have a common enemy in the hand-

ful of families that profit off their labor.

In addition to the other demands farmers are raising to alleviate the unbearable conditions they face, a fight could be waged to nationalize these giant food monopolies. By doing this their operations could be opened up and run in the public interest.

An uncompromising struggle for this objective can help lead increasing numbers of working people to one and the same conclusion — that workers and farmers need to forge an alliance to overturn capitalist political rule, establish their own governments, and expropriate the ruling families and all their holdings. □

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# Building a worker-farmer alliance

'New International' discusses key aspect of revolutionary strategy

By Steve Craine

"We are convinced," writes Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes in the Spring 1985 issue of *New International*, "that the working class in the United States — like everywhere else — cannot make a revolution without the farmers, let alone against them." Barnes' article is based on a report he gave to the SWP's August 1984 convention. That convention adopted a new statement of purpose for the party's constitution and changed its governmental slogan to "For a workers and farmers government." Since 1967 the slogan had read, "For a workers government."

In exploring the implications of these changes, Barnes focuses on the major theme of

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the entire issue of *New International* — the place of the worker-farmer alliance in the socialist revolution.

Other articles in the Spring 1985 issue elaborate on this theme from specific vantage points. Two speeches by Fidel Castro and a resolution of the Cuban Communist Party's first congress outline the principles and explore the experiences of the Cuban revolution in building this two-class alliance.

An article written for *New International* by *Intercontinental Press* editor Doug Jenness, "Forging a Fighting Worker-Farmer Alliance: The Answer to the Crisis of Working Farmers," takes up the current predicament and struggles of exploited farmers in the United States.

The lead item in the magazine is the SWP's political resolution. A draft of this document was discussed at the party's August 1984 convention. The final edited form that appears in the magazine is based on further discussions in the SWP National Committee and the January 1985 convention, which adopted it.

This is the fourth issue of *New International*, a journal of Marxist politics and theory edited by leaders of the SWP and the Canadian Revolutionary Workers League. Since the magazine was launched in mid-1983 it has pro-

vided discussions of such topics as "Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today," the aristocracy of labor, the working-class road to peace, and the role of the workers and farmers government in the transition to socialism. The magazine seeks to reclaim, preserve, and develop the Marxist heritage of the world working class. The latest issue helps orient worker-Bolsheviks in relation to the exploited producers on the land.

## Five principles of worker-farmer alliance

Barnes describes five main principles that the worker-farmer alliance must comprise as a revolutionary strategy. First, he says, the alliance must be based not on the notion of reforming capitalism, but on a revolutionary fight to establish a workers and farmers government that will abolish it. This means, secondly, that the alliance and the government that it establishes must be anticapitalist.

The third key is that the alliance needs an internationalist perspective because "socialism in the United States cannot be built against or ahead of the peoples of the world, the majority of whom today are toiling peasants." Next, he points out that workers seek an alliance not with *all* farmers, since some make their living by exploiting labor, but with the *exploited* farmers. Lastly, Barnes explains that within this alliance, the industrial working class must lead because of its size and social weight.

But he stresses that there is no " yawning chasm " between the experiences, capacities, discipline, and consciousnesses of city workers and exploited farmers in the United States. He attacks the myth that farmers, in contrast to workers, "are somehow peculiarly individualistic and that their very conditions of life and work run counter to cooperative labor and social action. . . . The truth is that there is less direct economic competition among farmers than among workers." As Marx explained in 1866, disunity among wage workers "is created and perpetuated by their *unavoidable competition amongst themselves*."

What does tend to differentiate the political consciousnesses of workers and farmers, Barnes says, is the fact that the sources of farmers' exploitation are less immediately apparent, leaving them more susceptible to reactionary attempts to equate their interests with those of their capitalist exploiters.

## Exploitation on the land

The actual mechanisms of the exploitation of working farmers in the United States are analyzed in the article by Doug Jenness. Unlike wage workers, he explains, the working farmers own the product of their labor and are free to sell it on the market. However, "like

wage workers . . . working farmers do not end up with the equivalent value of the labor time they have to put into producing these commodities."

Jenness explains the necessity of making class distinctions within the agricultural population. "Farmers are not a single class," he writes, "and farmers *as a whole* do not share common interests. They are a set of classes that include both exploited and exploiters, with sharply conflicting class interests." His article demonstrates that, contrary to another prevalent myth, exploited farmers are not becoming unnecessary to U.S. agriculture. In fact, "independent farmers and their families today account for the greatest number of hours of labor in agricultural production."

Despite the obvious fact that working farmers are exploited by capitalism and are suffering extreme hardship today, some middle-class radicals insist that farmers cannot be won to an anticapitalist perspective. They base this assumption on the concern of farmers to hold onto their individual pieces of land. Revolutionary workers, explains Barnes, reject this assumption. It is based, he points out, on an erroneous equation of all individual private property and *capitalist* private property.

For the non-exploiting farmers, their land is *not* capitalist property. In fact, only nationalizing the land can protect farmers from the threat of expropriation by the capitalists and satisfy their traditional need for land. "Thus," continues Barnes, "far from being an obstacle to a governmental alliance between workers and farmers, the concern by working farmers to prevent the dispossession of all their private property by the exploiters can be a powerful impetus to join with the working class in the revolutionary struggle to expropriate the capitalists."

The best example of how the revolutionary approach to the worker-farmer alliance has been put into practice is the experience of the Cuban revolution in the past 26 years. This issue of *New International* reprints two speeches given by Fidel Castro commemorating anniversaries of Cuba's first land reform of May 17, 1959, a day he called "fundamental and definitive for the revolution."

## Cuban 'Theses on Agrarian Question'

These speeches are followed by "Theses on the Agrarian Question" adopted by the Cuban Communist Party's first congress in 1975. The theses describe the centrality of the worker-peasant alliance before and after the victory of the revolution in January 1959. "Without this alliance with the peasantry, the working class would not have united sufficient forces to expel imperialism and its puppet, overthrow

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the capitalist system, and free itself from exploitation.

"Without this alliance with the working class, the peasantry would not have been able to break the yoke of the latifundists and the bourgeoisie."

The worker-farmer alliance, the Cuban CP explains, is "not a temporary, tactical pact but rather a strategic and enduring union between these two classes." Furthermore, it must be based on the "inviolable principle" of "respect for the free choice of the working peasant regarding the forms of production."

"This means that the socialist state recognizes the right of the working peasant to work his own parcel of land as an individual; it undertakes to provide him with material and technical aid; and it seeks to establish with him, as long as he remains a private producer, economic relations that are mutually advantageous."

Castro describes some of the concrete benefits that Cuban farmers have derived from this political approach — things like 82 times more credit available to farmers in 1984 than before the revolution and low-interest loans that do not require mortgaging the land as collateral. In conjunction with Jenness' article, which explains that these are among the demands of today's farm protest movement, these achievements show how the example of Cuba can point the way forward for farmers in advanced capitalist countries as well.

#### Alliance as guide for action

The article by Jack Barnes points out that the Socialist Workers Party's governmental slogan is a guide for action and a political tool in the class struggle. It is the perspective for revolutionaries who have what Sandinista leader Tomás Borge called, in an article in the Spring-Summer 1984 issue of *New Internationalist*, "a nose for power."

The slogan of a workers and farmers government is used in just this way in the SWP's political resolution. "Without the axis of our fight being to advance toward the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government, no series of demands, no program — no matter how far-reaching and radical — can be in fact a revolutionary program," it states.

The political resolution is well worth studying for its analysis of the whole range of issues facing the working class, from the U.S. war in Central America to the fight for a class-struggle orientation in the unions to revolutionary strategy in elections. Although it deals with many topics not related to the farm question, the centrality of the worker-farmer alliance to all its analyses and projections for party work becomes especially clear when the resolution is read along with the rest of this issue of *New Internationalist*.

War and revolution in Central America and the Caribbean are at the center of world politics today, the resolution emphasizes. The Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions could not have been successful without their firm understand-

ing of the worker-peasant alliance. And this question is likewise crucial to the developing revolutions in El Salvador and elsewhere in the region.

The new statement of purpose incorporated into the Socialist Workers Party's constitution in August 1984 reads: "The purpose of the party shall be to educate and organize the working class in order to establish a workers'

and farmers' government, which will abolish capitalism in the United States and join the worldwide struggle for socialism." The political resolution explains that this statement "places the proper emphasis on the fact that the workers' and farmers' government in the United States will advance toward socialism along with the workers and farmers of the whole planet, not ahead of them." □

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## Belgium

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# Protests against missiles

## *Cruise deployment aimed at Soviet Union*

### By Will Reissner

Less than three hours after the Belgian government announced it would accept U.S. cruise nuclear-armed missiles on its territory, the first 16 were delivered to an air base in Florennes, south of Brussels, on March 15.

The missiles, to be targeted on the Soviet Union, are the first of 48 scheduled for deployment in Belgium under a 1979 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) decision to place 108 Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany and 464 cruise missiles in West Germany, Belgium, Britain, Italy, and the Netherlands. Deployment of the 572 missiles has now begun in all those countries except the Netherlands, which has said it will make a final decision on deployment by November 1.

On March 17, tens of thousands of Belgians marched through Brussels protesting the missile deployment, which took place a week before the Belgian parliament was to debate the question.

Under the NATO missile plan, first proposed by U.S. president Carter in 1977, the 572 nuclear missiles will remain under exclusive U.S. control.

Both the Pershing 2 and the cruise missiles are part of a package of new weapons the Pentagon is putting into place to develop the capacity to launch a crippling nuclear "first strike" against the Soviet Union.

The new Pentagon strategy was signalled by Presidential Directive No. 59, signed by Carter on July 25, 1980, and leaked to the press the following month.

P.D. 59 instructed the Pentagon to develop plans and strategies for fighting and winning prolonged but "limited" nuclear wars.

Key to this strategy was the development of new nuclear weapons systems accurate enough to knock out Soviet missiles in reinforced concrete silos, thereby crippling any Soviet response to a nuclear attack against its territory.

To achieve that aim, the Pentagon rushed the development and deployment of four new nuclear-weapons systems: the MX missile, the Trident 2 submarine-launched missile, the Pershing 2, and the cruise.

From their bases in West Germany, the 108 Pershing 2 missiles could hit targets in the Soviet Union in as little as six minutes, compared with 30 or more minutes for missiles launched from the United States. The Pershing 2 is highly accurate and carries a cluster of individually targeted warheads.

In contrast to ballistic missiles, which must fly in a straight line once they are launched, cruise missiles have a guidance system that allows them to continually change course and altitude to avoid obstacles and maintain a constant distance off the ground, even when crossing mountain ranges.

By skimming along barely above tree-top level, cruise missiles are designed to sneak through Soviet air defenses. With a range of over 2,000 miles, they could hit major cities in the Soviet Union from West European launching sites.

Opposition members of the Belgian parliament responded with jeers and laughter when Prime Minister Wilfried Martens told a special session of that body that the missile deployment "has no aggressive or hostile character."

Martens, a Christian Democrat, heads a four-party coalition government that holds a slim six-seat majority in parliament. New elections must be held by mid-December, and the opposition parties, led by the Flemish Socialists, are expected to make opposition to the cruise missiles a central issue in the campaign.

The Belgian General Federation of Workers, a union federation with ties to the Socialist Party, reaffirmed its opposition to the missile deployment, saying "the decision has come, but this does not mean that the opposition to the missiles will cease."

The Soviet news agency Tass reported that Martens' action had been taken "contrary to protests by an overwhelming majority of the Belgian population," adding that the deployment decision raises "additional obstacles" to the arms control talks between the United States and the Soviet Union now taking place in Geneva, Switzerland. □

# Government jacks up food prices

## *Solidarity activists arrested for organizing 'illegal' protests*

On March 4 the Polish government sharply increased the price of food. The cost of such staples as bread, milk, cheese, and cereals in government stores was raised. The price of an ordinary loaf of bread went up 30 percent.

This was the first phase of stiff across-the-board price increases. The second phase, scheduled to take effect in April, will drive up the prices of butter, electricity, and gas by as much as 22 percent.

A week before the price hikes were implemented, the government had promised to call them off. But this was simply a maneuver to counter a 15-minute nationwide protest strike scheduled for February 28.

The strike, called by the outlawed Solidarity union movement, was cancelled following the government's February 25 promise that there would be no price increases.

With the protest out of the way, the government went ahead and implemented the price hikes. On such short notice the union organizations were unable to plan organized protests.

On March 7, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and three other Solidarity activists received summonses to report to the Gdansk prosecutor for questioning on charges of inciting public unrest and organizing "illegal" protests.

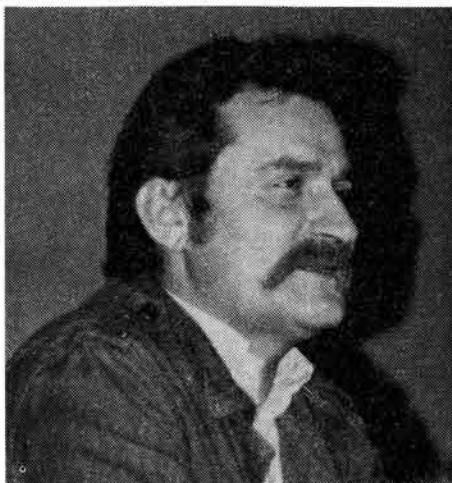
Similar steep price rises had been implemented at the beginning of 1982, 1983, and 1984, each of them stirring some public opposition. Price increases in the past have sometimes led to massive workers' strikes (resulting in the downfall of the Wladyslaw Gomulka government in 1970 and the rise of the Solidarity union movement in 1980).

Food price increases arouse such widespread anger among working people in Poland because they are able to compare their own modest living standards with the extravagant privileges of the top bureaucrats, generals, and factory managers. Workers also feel that they are being made to pay for the bureaucracy's arbitrary and inefficient economic management of the Polish workers state.

The most recent proposal for food price increases will mean an 11 percent decline in the average worker's buying power, affecting the lowest-paid workers the most.

### **'Principles of social justice' violated**

When Solidarity's underground Provisional Coordinating Committee (TKK) called the strike at a January 21 meeting, it issued a statement declaring that "as the authorities institute higher prices, at the same time they fail to do anything to aid the economy or to move toward the reform of the present inefficient economic system. In order to diminish the consequences of poor management at enterprises, the au-



LECH WALESA

Ernest Harsch/IP

thorities are considering the lengthening of the work day, without however increasing workers' wages. It is the duty of all trade union members to oppose all decisions taken by the government that will lower the workers' standard of living."

On February 25 Walesa issued a more detailed Solidarity report on the proposed price hikes and the government's general economic policies. It said that the hikes "mark yet another attempt to shift the burden of the government's economic incompetence onto the shoulders of society."

While noting that Solidarity did not oppose all price increases, it stressed that the "disadvantaged must be unconditionally protected."

The statement concluded, "The policies of the government result in greater and greater stratification of the nation. By making the poor even poorer, they clearly violate the principles of social justice."

While the officially sanctioned unions are being promoted by the government as a counterweight to Solidarity's political influence, and generally toe the government line, they too felt compelled to criticize the price hike plan — if only to try to gain some credibility among workers. The plan, a statement of the unions' national council said, was "dangerous from a social point of view." It would lead to "a decrease in the standard of living for working people which we cannot approve."

### **Protests against repression**

Solidarity's decision to call the protest strike reflected not only the anger of the workers, but also a greater degree of confidence on the part of the Solidarity leadership. The last time it proposed such a strike was in late 1982.

The developments around the price hikes come in the wake of the widespread outrage in Poland over the October police murder of Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko, an outspoken supporter of Solidarity. Some quarter of a million Poles turned out for his funeral, in one of the largest protest actions in several years. Citizens' committees sprang up in a number of cities to report on and investigate police brutalities.

In face of this reaction, the government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski was compelled to bring to trial the four secret police officers immediately responsible for Popieluszko's murder. This was designed to diffuse the popular anger. The authorities also hoped to pin all the blame on the four policemen, while shifting attention away from the fact that it was the government's repressive policies in general that were responsible for Popieluszko's death (as they have been for the deaths of several dozen Solidarity activists).

On February 7, the four police were finally convicted and sentenced to prison terms ranging from 14 years to 25 years. Several days later, General Jaruzelski maintained that justice had been served and indicated that the case was closed.

The conviction of the four does not mean that repression in Poland has ended. Far from it.

Jozef Piniór, a key Solidarity figure in Wroclaw, has received anonymous death threats. Andrzej Gwiazda, a former deputy chairman of Solidarity, is serving a five-month prison term for participating in a protest action and having a Solidarity logo on his briefcase.

Bogdan Lis, another former deputy chairman of Solidarity, and Adam Michnik, a prominent dissident intellectual, were picked up for questioning after participating in the January 21 meeting that issued the Solidarity strike call.

Several weeks later, on February 13, seven important Solidarity figures (including Lis and Michnik) were detained after the police raided a meeting in Gdansk that was held to organize the protest strike. The seven were charged with "illegal activity," and while four were released, Lis, Michnik, and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk were placed under arrest.

Walesa issued a joint statement with Jacek Kuron, another long-time dissident figure, to protest the arrests of his colleagues.

"We are deeply convinced," Walesa and Kuron said, "that, in the case of illegal acts disguised as legal, one must answer with all one's strength so that it is clear that Poles won't accept passively this return of hatred, repression and the violation of human rights." □

# 100,000 celebrate independence day

*Mass organizations protest imperialist threats and pressures*

**By Ernest Harsch**

ACCRA — The youth of Ghana were the focus of a mass rally held here March 6 to mark the 28th anniversary of this West African country's independence from British rule.

Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, the chairman of the governing Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), stood for several hours to take the salute from the more than 10,000 primary and secondary school students who marched in contingents past the reviewing stand in Independence Square.

Some contingents carried their school banners and were led by teachers. Others performed jubilant and energetic dances, sprinkled with acrobatic displays. A few contingents brandished pieces of wood cut in the shape of rifles. These youths, together with the unusually large crowd of more than 100,000 Ghanaians who packed the stands surrounding the square, turned out not only to mark Ghana's independence. They also came to express their opposition to the numerous imperialist threats and pressures that have been directed against the Rawlings government and against the massive popular upsurge that was unleashed here more than three years ago.

The anti-imperialist thrust of this struggle was reflected in Rawlings' speech to the crowd, although in more cautious terms than he has used in the past.

Referring to Ghana's current situation, Rawlings stated that "we have been victims of a world in which one part seeks to apply pressure . . . to encroach on our independence." He added that "the most dangerous and humiliating form of dependence is to be compelled to look for crumbs from someone else's table."

## Contingents in march

Popular aspirations for social change were expressed through some of the contingents that participated in the Independence Day parade.

Besides the student contingents — some of which themselves were quite militant — another 10,000 people marched in contingents representing dozens of voluntary organizations, including such groups as the African Youth Command, the Ghana Democratic Youth, the Voluntary Works Camp Association, and various associations of market women.

Some 200 women also marched behind the banner of the 31 December Women's Movement, whose name marks the day in 1981 when Rawlings returned to power. The banner bore a picture of a woman with an upraised gun and the slogan "total liberation by any means necessary."

There was also a contingent of the Accra Re-

gional Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs), the mass bodies that exist in every town, village, and workplace. Other CDR members were in the crowd, easily identifiable by their T-shirts bearing the inscription "power to the people."

Speaking specifically to the youth, Rawlings declared, "You, the children and youth of Ghana, are about the greatest asset this country has. In your short time on earth you have perhaps been witnesses to the kind of changes that others have taken 70 or more years to see in this world. Some of these changes have been positive, others have only helped to consolidate the process of our dependence."

Rawlings' sober assessment reflected the contradictory reality of Ghana's struggle against imperialist domination.

The country's first postindependence government, that of Kwame Nkrumah, adopted an anti-imperialist stance and enacted numerous progressive social measures. However it was overthrown in 1966 in a CIA-sponsored coup.

The neocolonial rulers who then took over followed a course of abject subjugation to imperialism. They opened up the country even more to the free rein of imperialist corporations and banks — including many U.S. firms — and adopted economic and political policies dictated in London, Washington, and other imperialist capitals.

They dismantled or abandoned many state enterprises and projects, allowing Ghana's industry, transportation, communications and so forth to deteriorate badly. Social services declined. By the beginning of the 1980s, real

incomes had fallen to less than one-fifth of what they had been in 1971. In one of the potentially richest countries in West Africa, poverty and misery spread among Ghana's workers, farmers, and small business people.

At the same time, a tiny minority of government officials, businessmen, traders, and big landlords raked in millions in profits, largely through *kalabule*, the Ghanaian term for corruption, speculation, nepotism, and graft.

The pent-up popular anger over this situation finally burst forth, first in 1979, when Rawlings took power for several months, and then again in the wake of his second seizure of power on Dec. 31, 1981.

Although the previous neocolonial regime of Hilla Limann was overthrown in a coup led by radical junior officers and rank-and-file soldiers, it was not like most other coups in Africa. It had massive popular backing and the support of virtually all of Ghana's left-wing and anti-imperialist political groups. Some leaders of these groups, as well as other radical figures, were drawn into the government (which today is predominantly civilian).

## Mass mobilizations

Mass mobilizations were encouraged and organized throughout the country. Popular organizations were formed, among them the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution. There are thousands of CDRs in Ghana today, organized on the basis of workplaces and residential areas. According to Yaw Akrasi-Sartong, a member of the PNDC's Secretariat, they now have some 400,000 active militants,

## Reporting from Africa — it takes money

Our managing editor, Ernest Harsch, is in West Africa for three weeks as part of a fact-finding tour to learn first-hand about the struggle against imperialist domination. His first report, from Ghana, appears in this issue.

Harsch is part of a delegation of 18 North American political activists, the majority of whom are active in the Black struggle in the United States. They were official guests at the March 6 ceremonies marking the 28th anniversary of Ghana's independence and have received a considerable amount of attention in the news media in Ghana.

The tour is also scheduled to visit Burkina where the popular revolutionary government headed by Thomas Sankara was established in August 1983.

In future issues we will carry reports on developments in these countries and inter-

views with working-class leaders and government officials.

This trip offers an excellent opportunity for us to bring our readers on-the-spot coverage from an important part of the world.

But this trip, like all reporting trips of this kind, costs us money. And the income that we receive from subscriptions and bookstore sales does not cover the cost of putting out *IP*, let alone extra costs of this type.

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while many more are formal members.

Through these CDRs and trade unions, workers have mobilized on an unprecedented scale to improve their conditions and to gain a greater voice in political life. Farmers have organized to increase production and to advance their interests. Small business people and traders have set up their own organizations as well.

What unites all these sectors is a hatred of what imperialism has done to Ghana and a desire to win full national independence. In Ghana's social context, the process unleashed on Dec. 31, 1981, has a revolutionary anti-imperialist character.

On the economic level, however, this process has experienced enormous difficulties. The PNDC has obtained some economic assistance from the Soviet Union, Cuba, and other workers states and has taken important steps to halt and reverse the decline in industrial and agricultural production. But it has also had to turn to big imperialist bankers through the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to obtain much-needed loans. These loans come with strings attached entailing some concessions to the bankers. This underlines the problems Ghana, like other oppressed nations, has in freeing itself from imperialism's economic stranglehold.

The government has implemented some austerity measures which are generating discon-

tent. Right-wing opponents of Ghana's anti-imperialist upsurge have sought to take advantage of this discontent and turn it against the PNDC. This has had a limited impact thus far, largely within the student movement and layers of professionals.

There have also been several counterrevolutionary attempts to overthrow the PNDC and replace it with a pro-imperialist regime. Just a month ago, several former military officers and bourgeois political figures were involved in a plot to assassinate Rawlings in Kumasi, the country's second-largest city. Some were wounded in a gun battle with security forces who came to arrest them.

Following this clash, thousands of workers and other Ghanaians staged a five-hour demonstration in Kumasi in support of the PNDC. This shows the workers' continued determination to defend the government from any attacks from the right.

In face of imperialist pressures and attacks like the one in Kumasi, the PNDC has recently encouraged the formation of a new People's Militia. Its members come from the CDRs, and it is being trained by the CDRs.

This was evident at the Independence Day celebrations as well. Some 200 members of the militia marched behind a CDR banner that bore a large depiction of a clenched fist and the slogan "revolution or death." □

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## Northern Ireland

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# Election rights attacked

## Candidates must swear loyalty to British queen

### By Fergus O'Hare

[The following article is taken from the March 11 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly magazine published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The author is an elected member of the Belfast City Council from People's Democracy, Irish section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

At a recent meeting Belfast City Council voted in favor of a resolution aimed at preventing Sinn Féin and "like-minded organizations" from standing in the local government elections this May, or in any future elections to the Stormont assembly or Westminster.<sup>1</sup> They hope to achieve this by making all would-be candidates for election in the North of Ireland sign a declaration opposing violence and swearing allegiance to the British monarch.

This move is the latest in a series of attacks

on the democratic rights of Sinn Féin and People's Democracy (PD) elected representatives in the North of Ireland, and comes in the wake of a significant victory by PD councillor John McNulty against attempts by Belfast council to "unelect" him.

The PD victory in what became known as the "Butcher's Apron" row has demonstrated both the possibility and necessity of opposing the increasing attacks on democratic rights.

The row broke out last December with attempts by unionists<sup>2</sup> to close down a leisure center in a nationalist area on the spurious grounds that local people had erected an Irish tricolor over it. During the debate unionists heaped abuse on the tricolor. (See article in March 4 *Intercontinental Press*.)

In his response, McNulty made an allusion to the Scottish highland clearances of the eighteenth century, stating that some of his constituents would regard the union jack as a "butcher's apron." A flurry of hysteria erupted from the unionist benches. McNulty was sus-

ended indefinitely from the council chamber, thereby effectively disenfranchising the people who elected him.

The action of Belfast council is seen all the more clearly when you consider that in the past unionist councillors have shouted death threats at PD and Sinn Féin councillors, called for the incineration of the Catholic population, and physically assaulted PD councillor Fergus O'Hare in the council chamber — without any culprits being suspended.

McAnulty has refused to accept the right of the council to suspend him indefinitely and determinedly turned up at every council meeting since, only to be forcibly ejected by the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary].

These actions have been accompanied by strong protests from all other Belfast anti-unionist councillors, the suspension of PD councillor O'Hare, walk-outs from the council meetings by both Sinn Féin and SDLP [Social Democratic and Labour Party] councillors, and noisy scenes in the public gallery as police have been called in to clear McNulty's protesting constituents.

The affair has attracted much publicity in Ireland, and PD has launched a campaign to highlight the case in the labor movement in Britain. The unionist establishment in Belfast has been forced to back down. When McNulty took his case to Belfast High Court, they found in his favor, declaring his indefinite expulsion illegal.

Smarting from their humiliating defeat, the unionists vindictively introduced severe restrictions on the right of the public to attend council meetings and set about trying to ensure that Sinn Féin and PD are prevented from standing in the forthcoming elections.

The "butcher's apron" episode was the first attempt to fight back against the ongoing attack on the rights of elected anti-imperialists in the Six Counties [Northern Ireland], particularly Sinn Féin. It marks an important departure.

With the electoral advances of Sinn Féin since the [1981] hunger strikes, both the British and Irish governments have adopted a policy of trying to marginalize them by refusing to allow them the rights normally accorded to elected representatives. For example, restrictions on the right of Sinn Féin travel to Britain, banning of Gerry Adams [elected to the British parliament] from visiting prisons, the refusal of ministers in Belfast and Dublin to meet Sinn Féin councillors and the exclusion of Sinn Féin from the All Ireland Forum.<sup>3</sup>

Sinn Féin has made little attempt to mount a political defense against these attacks, taking instead a stance: "Well, what else do you expect from these people?" Their non-recognition of the courts and the Dail [Irish parliament] also proves an obstacle to some of the

1. Stormont is the seat of the Northern Ireland Assembly; Westminster is the seat of British Parliament. — IP

2. Unionists are those in Northern Ireland who favor its continued "union" with Britain. — IP

3. The All Ireland Forum was a conference of moderate nationalist forces established to elaborate a minimum nationalist program and a solution to the conflict in the North. British prime minister Margaret Thatcher rejected out of hand even the most mild demands which they came up with. — IV



steps likely to be involved in any defense campaign.

The SDLP leadership, far from defending Sinn Féin, actively collaborated in the attack; for example, through agreeing to exclude Sinn Féin from the All Ireland Forum.

It is within this context that the importance of the PD fight must be seen. They have called for a meeting of all anti-unionist elected representatives in the Six Counties to discuss the situation should the latest Belfast City Council motion be acted on.

The whole question of decreasing democratic rights for anti-imperialist elected representatives in the North of Ireland is something which activists in Britain and elsewhere should be raising within both the trade union and labor movements. □

## Ireland

# Interview with IRSP member

*'We trace our roots to Connolly and the Irish Citizen Army'*

By Will Reissner

"We are a revolutionary socialist party and our objective is to create a revolutionary socialist state in Ireland. Part of the struggle for a socialist state entails resolving the national liberation struggle and ending British imperialist intervention, whether military intervention, political intervention or control of aspects of the economy."

That is how Seamus Costello defined the goals of the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) shortly after it was formed in December 1974 by people who had broken with "Official" Sinn Féin.

Costello, the party's founder, added that ending British imperialist intervention in Ireland is "an essential prerequisite for the development of the class struggle between left and right in this country. The class forces in Ireland have never developed properly in the last 50 years basically because of the imperialist intervention and because of the fact that the national struggle remains incomplete."

In the decade since its formation, the Irish Republican Socialist Party has had to travel a rocky road.

A number of its leaders have been murdered, including Costello himself, who was gunned down in 1977. Others have been jailed in the British-occupied six counties of Northern Ireland and in the formally independent 26 counties of the South.

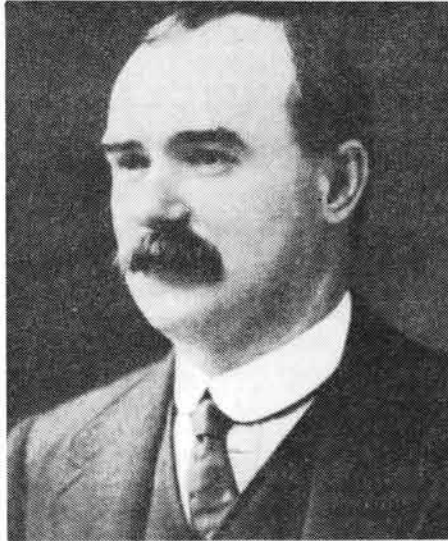
"In view of the forces arrayed against the IRSP," remarked Ray Collins during an interview with *Intercontinental Press* in early March, "it was no small feat that we survived at all."

Collins, a member of the IRSP *ard-chomhairle* (national executive committee) until September 1984, is touring the United States. He is raising funds to finance a record of songs written by political prisoners and other activists. The record, he hopes, will raise money for the support of the prisoners and their families.

### Two trends

Dating back to the Easter 1916 uprising in Dublin against British rule, "there have been two trends within the Republican movement," Collins states.

One tendency was represented by the Irish



James Connolly: "The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland... The cause of Ireland is the cause of labour."

Volunteers, led by Padraig Pearse, a poet and promoter of a revival of the Irish language and culture.

The other trend, says Collins, was embodied in the Irish Citizen Army headed by James Connolly, a Marxist and trade union leader.

Pearse and Connolly were both executed by the British after the Easter Rising was crushed.

"The division between these two main trends," says Collins, "has continued through to the present day. In Belfast, my home, there has always been the question of whether you are more Pearse or more Connolly."

He adds that the IRSP and the Irish National Liberation Army "trace our roots back to Connolly and the Irish Citizen Army, which arose out of the trade union movement to protect the workers and fight for their emancipation."

Collins argues that that historic divide was also reflected in the 1969 split in the leading Republican organization, Sinn Féin, and in the military group associated with it, the Irish Republican Army.

At the time of the split, the "Official" Sinn Féin and the "Official" IRA were trying to develop an orientation toward a mass political struggle for Irish freedom linked to socialism.

The "Provisional" Sinn Féin and the "Provisional" IRA placed greater emphasis on military struggle, virtually to the exclusion of other forms of political struggle.

Many of those now in the IRSP sided with the "Officials" in the 1969 split.

Within a few years, however, the leadership of the "Officials" abandoned the struggle for Irish reunification, viewing it as an obstacle to uniting Protestant and Catholic workers in Northern Ireland.

A united Ireland, the leaders of the "Officials" insisted, could only come after Catholic and Protestant workers had come together around their class interests and after both Northern Ireland and the South had been democratized.

In 1972, the "Official" IRA declared a truce in its armed struggle against British rule in Northern Ireland.

### IRSP's roots in 'Officials'

Collins, who was a member of the "Officials" at the time, recalls that "many people left the 'Officials' in 1972 and 1973 during the ceasefire. From my own experience in Belfast I know that within that year a lot of people who had been very active in the 'Official' movement were so fed up and demoralized that they left politics altogether."

When the IRSP was founded in 1974, the bulk of the founding members came from the "Officials." But, says Collins, "Seamus Costello later concluded that he had lost a great deal of ground by remaining in the 'Officials' until 1974, trying to change things from within. By then, a great many people had simply left politics and never joined the IRSP when it was launched."

As soon as the IRSP was set up, Collins recalls, "the 'Officials' launched a physical onslaught against us. That made it almost impossible to organize politically, to sell papers, to hand out leaflets. Everyone had to go into hiding." Several leading members were murdered.

"This was a baptism of fire. Things were very difficult for our young movement. We were also targeted by the Loyalist [pro-British] murder gangs."

In addition, in 1976, IRSP members fell victim to a frame-up by the government of the 26

counties of the South, which accused the IRSP of organizing the robbery of more than £200,000 pounds from a mail train.

In all, 40 IRSP members and supporters were arrested, and police wrecked IRSP offices and stole files.

After several trials in juryless courts, three members of the IRSP were sentenced to from 9 to 12 years in prison. A successful appeal led to the release of two of the three after 17 months in jail. The third, Nicky Kelly, who had fled to the United States during the trial, returned to Ireland after the appeal, but was jailed from 1980 to 1984.

More recently, the IRSP has been hard hit by the so-called "supergrass" (informer) trials in Northern Ireland, which began in 1983.

In these trials, hundreds of opponents of British rule have been arrested and tried before juryless courts, solely on the testimony of paid perjurers.

"The trials took a lot of our leadership off the streets," Collins notes. "At the height of the trials, the entire Belfast executive committee with the exception of myself and one other person were under arrest."

### Trying to rebuild

At its *ard-fheis* (convention — pronounced ard-esh) two years ago, says Collins, the IRSP began taking steps to overcome its problems. A new leadership "sat down to criticize and analyze our shortcomings. As a result, the party is getting stronger."

In addition, "a number of prisoners have been released, and they are very active in rebuilding the organization," he states.

"One of the things we saw was that we needed to make clear why we exist as a separate organization and what we stand for," Collins explains. "To that end we are trying to bring out a series of pamphlets explaining our views on different questions."

Among the pamphlets in the works are one on the relationship between the Loyalist assassination squads and the Ulster Defence Regiment and Royal Ulster Constabulary, another on the functioning of multinational corporations in Ireland, one on the attempts to erode Ireland's neutrality and integrate it into NATO, and a pamphlet on the problems of women.

"We are trying to get together the money to publish these studies," Collins states. "This is an area where we've really fallen down. But efforts are being made to turn it around."

The IRSP is also putting more emphasis on education of our members, particularly new members, and is somewhat more selective in who joins the party," Collins says.

"Often we have fallen into the assumption that just because someone has joined the party they are socialists and know what that means for us as a specifically socialist organization in the present situation."

Since the IRSP was founded, fundamental changes have taken place in the Republican movement.

"Official" Sinn Féin has continued its flight

from the national liberation struggle and has gone through two name changes reflecting that evolution — first becoming "Sinn Féin—The Workers Party," and then simply the Workers Party.

"Provisional" Sinn Féin has also gone through an important evolution under a new leadership whose stated goal is the establishment of a "democratic, socialist Ireland."

Since the 1981 hunger strike in Northern Ireland, Sinn Féin has rapidly grown in size and influence. Its move to the left and rapid growth have forced all socialist republican organizations to reconsider their own role in the freedom struggle.

In Collins' view "there is definitely a place for the IRSP and the Irish National Liberation Army," even though "Sinn Féin has changed drastically, largely through the work of Gerry Adams and Danny Morrison, and has moved to the left."

But he feels that "there are many contradictions within Sinn Féin" because "some of the old leaders, who were quite reactionary, are still around." These contradictions, he states, can be seen "particularly on questions concerning women, such as abortion."

In recent years, says Collins, "Sinn Féin has viewed the working class in a new light, seeing that it can play a role in the revolution."

"Where we differ" with Sinn Féin, he asserts, "is that we view the working class as the central and most integral part of the struggle."

In a nutshell, says Collins, "the IRSP sees itself as a republican and Marxist organization."

"Sinn Féin seems to be looking for a half-way house between capitalism and socialism, which cannot exist. They want an Ireland that is socialist with a small 's.'"

### Broad front

Since it was founded, the IRSP has called for establishing a broad front of anti-imperialist organizations and individuals around a specific set of demands aimed at removing the British presence from Ireland and disbanding the Ulster Defence Regiment and the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

In Collins' view, "single-issue campaigns around specific forms of British repression are important, but they do not deal with overall imperialist or capitalist domination and do not hit at all aspects of it."

As a result, he feels, the British have been able to hold the initiative. "Whenever opposition to one form of repression — such as internment or plastic bullets or supergrass trials — has become too strong, the British have shifted to another form."

"After the hunger strike, the H-Block/Armagh committees that had sprung up throughout Ireland were disbanded. Later when the British came up with the supergrass trials, we had to start over again in building a defense movement."

"The British are always one stage ahead of us. They are unified, with a clear and identifiable policy. But no single anti-imperialist organization, no matter how strong, can provide

the same unity on our side."

He adds: "We believe all anti-imperialist individuals and groups should be represented in and have a voice in a broad front, whatever their other differences. Those differences are not so strong as to prevent unity at this stage."

The IRSP feels that "support for armed struggle should not be a prerequisite for participation in the anti-imperialist broad front," according to Collins. "Organizations that do not support armed struggle need only recognize the *right* to armed resistance."

According to Collins, attempts by the new leadership of the IRSP to organize joint activities against repression with Sinn Féin have been unsuccessful. "They are reticent to share platforms with the IRSP," he states, "although they will share them with other groups."

There is "great mistrust of politics and political parties — including left parties — among young people in Ireland," which has the most youthful population in Europe, Collins observes.

"With a unified broad front, you would have a greater chance of attracting these young people, who are the key to the revolution in both North and South."

Given the high level of unemployment and the disillusionment with politics, Collins states, "if the left cannot provide an alternative, young people in that situation turn to drugs or alcohol or move to the right." He adds that "heroin addiction in the Dublin area has already reached epidemic proportions among young people."

The Irish economy, Collins points out, is in a crisis. "The Irish working class is losing its skills as the old industries — shipbuilding, engineering, and textiles — have become moribund, while most of the new industry involves unskilled final assembly work."

In many of the new installations, he adds, "you find American or West German technicians supervising an unskilled Irish work force."

### Multinational corporations

The root of the problem, Collins feels, is the fact that the Irish economy is dominated by multinational capitalist investors. "There is no real Irish capitalist economy that can fight against multinational control," he argues. "When the British partitioned Ireland, they did not allow a rival, independent economy to grow up on their doorstep. The Irish economy was totally tied into the British economy, with the currency based on the British pound."

In recent years, investments by U.S., Japanese, and West German companies have overtaken British investments in the South.

Much of the multinational investment is based on companies that take advantage of land grants and tax holidays to set up low-skilled or unskilled operations. Once the special incentives run out, the companies close up shop.

Because of the decline of old industries and the character of the new investments, Collins worries that "the Irish working class as a whole

is seeing its skills destroyed, and this loss of skills poses a major problem for the future of Irish industrialization and for a socialist Ireland."

Educating the Irish working class about the role of multinational corporations is a key goal of the IRSP, Collins explains. The party hopes to soon publish a pamphlet based on two years of research on multinationals in Ireland, particularly U.S. companies.

#### Strip searches

One issue on which broad unity already exists in the republican movement is the fight against the strip searching of women political prisoners in Armagh jail in Northern Ireland.

Since strip searching began in November 1982, more than 2,000 strip searches have been conducted against the women prisoners, most of whom were in jail awaiting trial.

"There is no security reason for this practice," Collins points out. "It is totally barbaric and intended simply to demoralize and humiliate the prisoners.

"When you go to court for a routine appearance," Collins explains, "you are strip

searched as you are leaving the prison. Then you go straight from the prison to the prison van, where you are kept in a little cubicle to prevent contact with the other prisoners, and from the van to the court. At no time are you out of the custody or sight of the guards. Then when you are returned to prison from court, you are again strip searched."

The searches have been conducted against pregnant women and women who are menstruating. "In one case a woman was strip searched as she was being returned to her cell after suffering a miscarriage," Collins recalls.

"The role women in prison have played in the movement has not always been recognized," according to Collins. "And on the outside women have also played a big role in the organizations without getting the attention they should.

"This has been a problem in our organization as well. It is important for male comrades to be made aware of their own sexist attitudes and their own limitations regarding the role of women in the movement. There's more to this than simply paying lip service or using the right terminology." □

## STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# Congress held in January

## United Secretariat Bureau issues declaration

[The following declaration was issued by the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on February 18.

[The motion in solidarity with the April 20 antiwar actions, referred to at the end of this declaration, was published in the March 4 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. The other solidarity motions were printed in our March 18 issue.]

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The 12th World Congress of the Fourth International took place during January. It brought together 200 delegates, fraternal delegates, observers, and invited guests.

Six resolutions were on the congress's agenda:

- A resolution on the world situation, focusing on the effects and the developments of the crisis in the different sectors of the world revolution — with special attention to the struggle against austerity and militarization — and focusing on the priorities for activities and campaigns of the International and its sections.

- A resolution on the lessons and the perspectives of the revolution in Central America, which pays special attention to drawing the strategic lessons of the Nicaraguan revolution and to defining the present context of the campaign of solidarity against the imperialist intervention and the campaign of solidarity with the

peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala.

The discussion dealt with, among other things, the character of the Sandinista government, its economic policy, and the present situation of the revolution in El Salvador.

- A resolution entitled "Political Revolution and Counterrevolution in Poland," which deals with the biggest experience of a mass uprising against the bureaucracy, the gains of Solidarity, and the tasks of the resistance under General Jaruzelski's regime.

In addition to these three documents dealing with the principal questions of international current events, two other documents took up programmatic questions of a more general nature:

- The first, on the relevance of the theory of the permanent revolution and the notion of a workers and farmers government, reaffirms the validity and the relevance of the general programmatic framework of the formation of the Fourth International in light of the main events taking place in the class struggle.

- The second, entitled "Socialist Democracy and Dictatorship of the Proletariat," continues and concludes a discussion that began at the previous world congress. It summarizes what the bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers states and the antibureaucratic struggles have taught us on the question of the re-

lationship between the revolutionary government and democracy (the relationship between parties, unions, and states after the revolution, guarantee of democratic rights, pluralism, functional character of democracy from the vantage point of economic planning, etc.).

- Finally, a written and oral report on "The Present Stage of Building the Fourth International" laid out the perspectives and tasks for the years to come, and dealt with the question of relations between the International and its sections and other revolutionary currents, the question of the social transformation of the sections and their becoming rooted in the key industrial sectors and popular movements, the question of the functioning and leadership structures of the International as such.

All these resolutions were the subject of reports and counterreports presented either by declared international tendencies (of which there were two) or by delegates representing the majority in their respective sections.

The documents presented by the outgoing majority of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International won a big majority, ranging from 66 percent to 80 percent of the votes depending on the subject. They will be issued in a special publication.

The congress also received written organizational reports from the outgoing leadership on its activity as a whole and on the policy of educating cadres.

A significant part of the work of the congress involved meetings and reports of commissions on the situation of certain sections. On the basis of the report from the credentials commission, five new sections of the Fourth International were recognized (Brazil, Uruguay, Ecuador, Senegal, Iceland), as well as new sympathizing groups in several countries. In total, the International is today present in some 50 countries.

At the conclusion of its work, the congress elected a new International Executive Committee (IEC), with a smaller membership than the outgoing body in order to improve its functioning and the regularity of its meetings. The IEC in turn elected a Secretariat.

The International Executive Committee, comprising members from 27 different sections, and the Secretariat, comprising at this point members from 12 different sections (it is reelected by each IEC), are in charge of leading the International until the next world congress.

Having opened with a tribute to the members who died since the last world congress, the 12th World Congress closed with a declaration of solidarity with all the activists and fighters in the anti-imperialist, anticapitalist, and antibureaucratic struggle throughout the world.

In addition to the general orientation resolutions, the congress adopted a series of motions in solidarity with the British miners, the upcoming antiwar demonstrations on April 20 in the United States, the liberation struggle of the Irish people, the political prisoners in Syria, and our imprisoned comrades in Japan. □

# Farm protest movement grows

Hits government moves to eliminate aid programs

## By Steve Craine

A wave of protests by working farmers has swept the United States in the past two months in response to the worst farm crisis in decades. Demonstrations of 10,000 and more have been held in midwestern grain-belt states and in Washington, D.C. In all these protests, a focus has been the increasing attacks on family farming by the Reagan administration.

It is estimated that some 1,000 family farms are forced out of business each week by the combined squeeze from mortgage holders; the monopoly corporations that sell seed, fertilizer, and equipment and purchase farm produce; and the federal government. A high percentage of working farmers in the United States find their expenses running ahead of income on a regular basis. These agricultural producers are thus slipping further and further into debt and finding it impossible to meet their families' needs.

### 16,000 rally in Iowa

The biggest of the recent protests drew 16,000 farmers and their supporters to a "National Crisis Action Rally" in Ames, Iowa, on February 27. The broadly sponsored rally called for immediate U.S. government intervention on behalf of family farmers.

Banners and posters filled the crowded Hilton Coliseum in Ames. Some of them demanded: "No profit, don't plant," "Save the farmer, save your job," and "Farms not arms, grain silos not missile silos."

Darrel Ringer, a leader of the American Agriculture Movement (AAM), one of the many sponsoring organizations, said the rally represented "a historic turning point. Rural America is ready to fight back. The organizational unity represented here is unprecedented."

The fight against farm foreclosures could be won, Ringer stated, if "the hands of working people and the poor join family farmers, churches, and rural businesses. I'm tired of hearing politicians . . . say some farms have got to go," he added. "I don't accept that."

On March 4 about 800 farmers from across the country marched in Washington from the Department of Agriculture to the White House carrying 250 white wooden crosses, representing the average rate of 250 farm failures per day.

While the farmers were still in the capital to lobby, President Reagan vetoed an emergency farm credit bill, citing his attempt to balance the budget. Democratic Party legislators responded by declaring they would not challenge Reagan's veto.

In late January and early February, protests were held at the Chicago Board of Trade; the Minnesota State Capitol; in Sioux City, Iowa;

and in Lincoln, Nebraska.

Farm activists carried out a series of direct actions against foreclosures in west-central Minnesota on February 1. In one case, pressure from a telegram campaign and the mere threat of a protest had already won the cancellation of one farm sale. Although another farm was auctioned off despite the crowd of farmers chanting, "No sale! No sale!" for 30 minutes, farmers vowed to continue the fight against foreclosures.

### New attacks from Washington

These protests have been spurred by the Reagan administration's farm bill, introduced February 22. This bill would drastically reduce farm price supports and subsidies and eventually eliminate direct government loans to farmers. If implemented it would be the most severe attack on working farmers in 50 years, dismantling relief programs that were won by farmers in the 1930s.

These attacks have been justified as part of the attempt to balance the federal government's budget, without, of course, touching the Pentagon's war budget of hundreds of billions. The antifarmer propaganda generated in this process is of a kind with the rulers' incessant cries about "welfare cheats" and "extravagant" expenditures for social programs beneficial to the working class.

Reagan's budget director, David Stockman, who has been the advance man for many Reagan cutbacks in the past four years, tried to portray farm programs as a giveaway at taxpayers' expense. "I can't figure out," he told a congressional committee, "why the taxpayers have the responsibility to go in and refinance bad debt willingly incurred by consenting adults who went out and bought farm land when prices were going up and thought they could get rich."

Another axis of the attack has been to argue that family farms are inherently inefficient and therefore have no economic reason for existence.

Secretary of Agriculture John Block, himself a capitalist farmer who regularly hires wage labor and speculates in real estate, used this argument against exploited family farmers. He claimed that two-thirds of the country's farms are making money without government help and that the others will have to learn to do likewise or face extinction.

The truth is that while the 25,000 or so farms with incomes above \$500,000 a year may be doing well, 1.7 million farms have incomes of less than \$40,000 before expenses. On these farms, family members must find off-the-farm employment just to make ends meet.

Big-business newspapers like the *New York*

*Times* have endorsed the government's anti-farmer campaign. A *Times* editorial claimed, "The only argument for price supports is that they let struggling small farms stay in business. But why should the majority of Americans pay billions to support a minority's 19th-century vision of the pastoral life?"

In fact, family farms are very productive. The hard labor and planning of the working farmers yield plenty of value; the problem is that most of this value is diverted into the coffers of the banks and monopolies, leaving little or nothing for the farmers' subsistence. Family farms play an indispensable role in the production of many basic foods — 95 percent of vegetables for processing and 80 percent of all seed crops.

The government's attacks are not really designed to eliminate small farming and replace it with a few big capitalist farms organized as "factories in the fields." To the contrary, the purpose is to push more and more of the financial burden and risks of farming onto the backs of the small farmers themselves. If they are unable to make it, they will be pushed aside and their farms sold or rented out to other farmers who will also be squeezed by the big capitalist profiteers.

### Farmers receive support from workers

Farmer protest actions have increasingly seen participation from trade unionists and other workers. At the February 27 rally in Ames, a member of the United Auto Workers union from Rock Island, Illinois, spoke about how the farm crisis led to unemployment among workers in the agricultural equipment industry.

Among those industrial workers showing their support at recent farm protests have been members of the Socialist Workers Party. At the Ames rally, socialist workers, most of them union activists, sold more than 200 socialist newspapers and talked with hundreds of farmers. They found many at the rally open to discussing socialist solutions to the farm crisis and enthusiastic about receiving support from workers.

Many farmers identified the Pentagon's gigantic war budget as the logical source for funds to help them through their crisis. "I beg to wonder what [the U.S. military is] defending, we're certainly not defending my farm," an Iowa farmer commented as he bought a copy of the *Militant*. A Nebraska farmer told one of the socialists that he had been active in a local group opposed to the MX missile. The group called for spending that money to support family farms instead.

Socialists at Ames and at the January 21 demonstration of 10,000 in St. Paul, Minnesota, found that the experience of the Nicaraguan revolution in aiding working farmers was especially interesting to U.S. farmers. The workers and farmers government in Nicaragua has made it possible to end foreclosures, give land to formerly landless peasants, guarantee commodity prices, and provide low interest loans to farmers. □

# Protests hit U.S. warships, bases

*Hawke backs imperialism; working people need own foreign policy*

By Nita Keig

SYDNEY — As the political row over the New Zealand Labour government's commitments to the ANZUS alliance continues, the Australian federal Labor government of Prime Minister Bob Hawke is demonstratively providing port facilities and participating in joint exercises with U.S. warships.

Hawke and his cabinet are attempting to show Australia's capitalist rulers as well as Washington and its allies that they are fully committed to an imperialist foreign policy. Hawke is also determined to aid the U.S. government's campaign to draw the line against Wellington's banning of nuclear warships from New Zealand ports.

Ironically, a port visit to Sydney by the nuclear-powered and -armed aircraft carrier *USS Enterprise* was rejected by the New South Wales state Labor government of Premier Neville Wran in 1976.

Now, however, Wran, in backing the federal government's policy, is not only allowing two U.S. warships of nuclear capability to berth in Sydney harbor but is providing heavy security against demonstrations protesting the presence of the vessels.

The destroyers *USS Buchanan* and *USS John Young* are participating in the Flying Fish air and naval maneuvers which replaced the Sea Eagle exercises cancelled following New Zealand prime minister David Lange's reaffirmation of his government's nuclear ship ban.

Concerned that the New Zealand government's maverick stance may be emulated elsewhere and that Lange is fueling neutralist, isolationist, and anti-U.S. sentiment in the South Pacific region, Washington has reacted swiftly.

In addition to withdrawing from the Sea Eagle exercises, the Pentagon has moved to restrict the flow of military intelligence to New Zealand. Moreover, there have been indirect but unambiguous threats by U.S. government spokespeople and various U.S. business representatives to reduce access of New Zealand products to the U.S. market.

Pressure is also being applied to the New Zealand government through U.S. moves to dump ANZUS in its present form. An ANZUS council meeting due to be held in Canberra, Australia's capital, in July has been cancelled, and the Australian government is being encouraged to help further tighten the screws on the New Zealand government.

Hawke may be restrained from doing this too openly due to a number of factors. These include a reluctance to further damage his own government's relations with Wellington, anticipation of an unfavorable reaction from a



BOB HAWKE

number of Pacific island governments sympathetic to the New Zealand stand, and not least, fear of a political backlash at home.

## Antinuclear pressure

It was pressure from the growing antinuclear protest movement in Australia that led to Hawke's much-publicized withdrawal of approval on February 5 for the U.S. government to use the Richmond air force base near Sydney as a staging point for U.S. aircraft monitoring MX intercontinental ballistic missile tests in the Tasman Sea. The Tasman Sea is located between Australia and New Zealand.

In both New Zealand and Australia there has been mounting popular pressure on the labor governments to end their countries' involvement with the testing and deployment of nuclear weapons.

Awareness in particular of the accelerated production schedule of a new series of these deadly weapons by the U.S. government has produced, as in Western Europe and North America, big protests for peace and disarmament.

Demonstrations of tens of thousands throughout Australia have occurred in the past couple of years, and antinuclear issues have been the subject of considerable policy debate within the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and many trade unions. The 6.8 percent vote for the newly formed Nuclear Disarmament Party in the December 1984 federal Senate elections reflected these developments.

The protesters are calling for an end to the mining and export of uranium, an end to visits by nuclear-powered and -armed ships and aircraft, the closure of U.S. military bases in

Australia, and a nuclear-free and independent Pacific.

## Hawke's 'backdown'

The MX tests controversy broke out in Australia on the eve of a visit by Hawke to Europe and the United States. At that time the February 1-7 *National Times* newspaper revealed that the U.S. government had secured agreement with the Australian government for cooperation in the tests.

It soon became known that as early as June 1983 Hawke had confirmed the agreement which had been made in principle by the previous conservative government of Malcolm Fraser. Until just before the publication of the *National Times* story, only a handful of Hawke's ministers had any knowledge of the agreement.

This produced a sharp reaction within the parliamentary Labor Party, with leaders of all factions, including Hawke's own Labor-Unity faction, scrambling to defuse the anger being expressed in Labor's ranks.

From Brussels where he was concluding trade talks before his departure for Washington, Hawke became convinced of the need to make a tactical retreat by publicly withdrawing agreement to provide the facilities for the U.S. monitoring aircraft.

The big-business press was unanimous at the time in representing this move as a triumph for the peace movement. The right-wing daily newspaper, *The Australian*, in particular, played it up as a "breathtaking victory for the anti-nuclear camp." Its reasons for doing this were obvious when the articles were read side by side with long editorials warning of the dangers of leaving Australia "defenceless."

The ruling-class press was assisting Hawke in using a relatively minor concession to divert attention from the fundamentally uninterrupted political and military collaboration between the two imperialist powers, and from Australia's imperialist role in the region. (See accompanying article.)

Military cooperation of far greater significance to these same MX missile tests was already proceeding at the numerous U.S. and Australian military installations around the country. Just one example of this cooperation was cited by Dr. Desmond Ball, of the Australian National University's Strategic and Defence Studies Centre. He was quoted in the February 11 *Australian* as saying that portable satellite receivers had been placed at hundreds of locations since 1974 for the purpose of helping to map and collect data aimed at improving the accuracy of weapons such as the MX, Trident, and cruise missiles. Many of the bases

across Australia would be routinely used in assisting the MX tests, it was confirmed by more than one military expert.

There is a parallel here with Lange's ban on port calls by nuclear ships at the same time that he is fully in support of the New Zealand navy engaging in offshore exercises with U.S. nuclear-armed ships. These exercises are aimed at strengthening the ANZUS alliance's aggressive capabilities in the Pacific.

Successfully selling Hawke's maneuver as a big victory for the antinuclear forces was a major factor in buying time for Hawke to silence the left and head off any moves to take the wider issues of the ANZUS alliance to broader decision-making bodies of the party.

The "revolt" in the parliamentary party, sparked in at least one quarter by jitters over an imminent state election, was shortlived. Some assurances from Hawke upon his return that there would be greater cabinet consultation and certain changes in methods of decision-making, along with the reminder of the dangers of jeopardizing the existence of the Labor government, were enough to pacify critics in both cabinet and caucus.

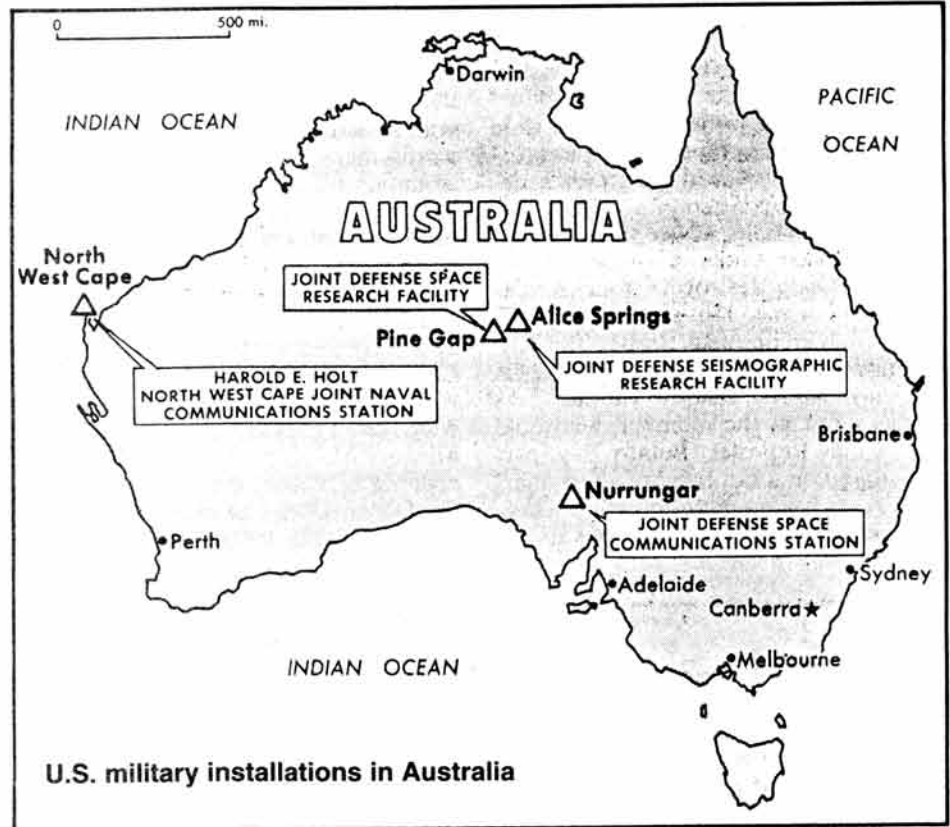
Hawke's call for "cabinet solidarity" is securely based on the common perspective of all the ALP leaders to govern on behalf of the capitalist ruling class. Once in office, the pragmatic left leaders tailor their criticisms to considerations of re-election. This is because the reality today is that all factions of the ALP share a common political framework on both domestic and foreign policy — subservience to the interests of Australia's capitalist rulers. The official left critics of the ANZUS alliance thus assume the need for a strategic defense of the interests of Australian imperialism in the region and worldwide. Their criticisms amount to a call for a more "self-reliant" posture in defense of those same interests, including the buildup of the Australian arms industry and a strengthened conventional defense of Australian capitalism's interests.

This need for a strong and "efficient" military policy was also stressed in the literature and by the candidate of the Nuclear Disarmament Party during their campaign leading up to the December 1984 elections.

#### Australian 'independence'?

These sentiments for "greater Australian sovereignty" over foreign policy, and for an independent stance from Washington in particular, find an echo in the left outside the Labor Party. For example, the Socialist Party of Australia, which closely adheres to the line of the Soviet government, explained in the February 6 issue of its paper, *The Guardian*, that "In Australia, very broad circles are now actively taking a stand against nuclear war, calling for action on the MX decision, for the removal of US bases, a ban on visiting nuclear armed ships and for the scrapping of the American alliance. This is coupled with strong calls for an independent and non-aligned foreign policy.

"These policies are in the interests of peace,



of Australia's security and national independence."

Similarly, the writer of an article in the February 13 issue of the "Eurocommunist" Communist Party of Australia's paper *Tribune* used the same framework when she stated, "It is well known that ANZUS offers no guarantee of defence by the US.

"Even the Hawke government ... admits that in the event of a serious threat to Australia, ANZUS would be of little use." The writer of the article did not elaborate on the source of such a threat to "Australia."

These views give credence to the idea that Australia is under threat from some force (outside of the ANZUS alliance!) and, moreover, that it has an oppressed status in relation to the United States.

But the truth is that it is Australian imperialism — together with U.S., New Zealand, French, and British imperialism — that exploits, oppresses, and blocks the independence struggles of the colonial and semicolonial countries of the region.

When Australian foreign minister Bill Hayden on February 11 endorsed President Reagan's description of ANZUS and the U.S.-Australian alliance as "the foundation of the growing prosperity shared by the US and Australia," he was talking about a prosperity not only gained at the expense of the living standards of working people in these two countries, but even more significantly, a prosperity based on the increasing impoverishment of the peoples of the Pacific, Asia, and elsewhere.

And when Australia and New Zealand's

military forces take part in the Tasman Link maneuvers in late March and the Platypus '85 exercises, along with the forces of Britain, Malaysia, and Singapore in April, it will be to prepare aggression against nationally oppressed people such as those in Kanaky or the Philippines who are stepping up their struggles for liberation.

To "defend" the millions of dollars in Australian investment in the region, the government voted to increase the Australian military budget last August by 8 percent to \$A5.8 billion (about US\$4 billion).

This recognition of shared commitment to defend capitalist profits and political interests is what prompts Lange in New Zealand to say, despite his current stand on nuclear ship visits, "We haven't walked away from ANZUS, we're not in the business of free-loading.

"We've fought with [the United States] in four wars. We hope we don't have to fight in another one but if we do have to front up, we'd rather be with them than anyone else."

It was Bob Hawke's consistency in defending the interests of local and world imperialism that earned him the following commendation in a February 8 editorial in the *Australian*:

"No Western leader could have gone further than Mr Hawke in his endorsement of US actions in such crucial areas as Grenada and Central America, and this country has been among the least critical of America's allies of President Reagan's stand on the questions of nuclear weapons and disarmament."

Just as the capitalist rulers of Australia (along with their right-hand men who currently

compose the Labor cabinet) think in regional and global terms, so workers and their allies need an internationalist outlook.

#### Internationalist outlook

Such a view is one that dispels the lie that working people in this country, in the cities or on the land, have a common interest with the captains of industry and the big financial corporations in perpetuating the exploitation and misery of their fellow toilers in the underdeveloped countries.

What still lies before the labor movement is the fight for its organizations — both the trade unions and the Labor Party — to adopt a perspective that breaks from an alliance with the ruling class, which is a “collaboration” that goes well beyond the shores of Australia.

This fight against the pro-imperialist policies of the Hawke labor government, the Labor Party, and much of the trade union officialdom must come from the ranks of the labor movement.

A working-class foreign policy is one that demands unconditional defense, not of any “Australian national interest,” but of workers and peasants wherever they are fighting to break the grip of imperialism over them, whether in Central America, the Philippines, or New Caledonia.

The demand to break the ANZUS alliance will only take on meaning if it is accompanied by a struggle to pull Australian forces out of Malaysia and the Sinai; to support the people of Nicaragua against the escalating U.S. war; to end support to the corrupt Marcos regime in the Philippines; to break the imperialist economic embargo against Vietnam and Kampuchea and assist them in their post-war reconstruction; to support self-determination for the peoples of East Timor and West Papua; and to use money now spent on the capitalist military budget for aid, with no strings attached, to develop the economies of the oppressed Pacific island countries currently in the stranglehold of Australian companies and banks.

The fight against imperialism’s lethal nuclear weapons systems must be connected to the reality of imperialist exploitation and oppression and the military policies required to maintain imperialism.

The U.S. government, as the leading imperialist power, is striving to demonstrate outright nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union precisely as a means to more freely pursue imperialism’s conventional wars against the workers of the world. It hopes it can deter the Soviet Union and other workers states from offering any assistance to the people of the world, such as the Nicaraguan people and the workers and peasants of El Salvador, who are in the front line of imperialism’s assault.

Today working people in Australia are experiencing not only economic cuts and a renewed offensive against trade union rights, but also a steady, relentless campaign to prepare them for imperialism’s new round of wars. In the face of this, there can be no national or

isolationist solutions. Nor can a way forward be found in a call for “Australian independence” based solely on opposition to U.S. imperialism. The real blows will begin to be

struck for the exploited workers and peasants and oppressed nations of the world when working people recognize that the main enemy is at home. □

# History of ANZUS treaty

## *Imperialist division of labor for policing the Pacific*

By Ron Poulsen

SYDNEY — The ANZUS treaty was signed in 1951 as part of a series of imperialist pacts in the Pacific and the Atlantic centered on the United States following World War II.

It was established by the Australian, New Zealand, and the U.S. governments ostensibly as a mutual defense pact. In reality it marked out the three allies’ shared responsibility for policing the southwest Pacific and Southeast Asia for imperialist interests. It was directed against the postwar upsurge of the colonial revolution and the victory of the Chinese revolution.

Prior to World War II the political, economic, and military concerns of the capitalist rulers of Australia and New Zealand were closely tied to those of British imperialism. The wartime collapse of much of the British Empire in the face of Japanese expansion was followed after the war by the progressive withdrawal of British military forces east of Suez.

British imperialism’s world role was increasingly taken over by the U.S. capitalist rulers. Already the foremost industrial power, the United States was the main capitalist country to benefit economically from the conflict and to emerge militarily strengthened, ensuring its place as the predominant imperialist power. The Japanese imperialists, defeated by Washington (with the help of Australian and New Zealand forces) in the Pacific war, launched a postwar reconstruction effort with U.S. aid. The objective was to build a bulwark against the emergent Chinese revolution.

In this new situation the rulers of New Zealand and Australia secured a formal pact with their powerful larger ally for the mutual protection of their investments and trade. Australian imperialism had a particular stake in the region with its colony of Papua New Guinea. It also had interests in common with New Zealand imperialism in the southwest Pacific islands. The pact, however, was designed to defend general imperialist interests in the wider region.

The ANZUS treaty was penned in the midst of the imperialist war in Korea. Australia and New Zealand were the two imperialist countries to directly aid the U.S. invasion of Korea with their own military forces. This war, fought under the United Nations flag, was directed not only at suppressing the Korean workers and peasants but ultimately at rolling back the Chinese revolution.

After this counterrevolutionary military in-

tervention was stalemated, the ANZUS powers turned to other means to attack the Chinese revolution, through an economic embargo, denial of diplomatic recognition, and blocking of China’s membership in the UN.

#### Aggression in Malaysia, Vietnam

By the early 1960s, Australian imperialism was again engaged in open warfare against the workers and peasants of the region, on two fronts — in Malaysia and in Vietnam. Australian troops were sent to the British colonies of Sarawak and Sabah on the island of Borneo to aid British forces in suppressing indigenous independence movements supported by the Indonesian nationalist government of Achmed Sukarno. Despite Indonesian “confrontation” over the formation of the Malaysian federation and local resistance, these colonies were forcibly incorporated into the new state of Malaysia.

The armed presence of Australia and New Zealand was maintained there after the withdrawal of British forces with an Australian air base at Butterworth in northern Malaysia and a New Zealand battalion stationed in Singapore. Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) planes from Butterworth have reportedly since been used in air strikes against rural-based insurgents in the Thai-Malay border area.

A secret agreement was made between the Australian and U.S. governments in October 1963 affirming that the Australian presence in Malaysia was consistent with the ANZUS treaty. This intervention was carried out against the background of the war that was beginning in Indochina. At a high-level ANZUS meeting in 1962 the decision had already been made to send Australian military advisers to South Vietnam.<sup>1</sup>

Beginning with 30 such “advisers” in 1962, Australian involvement escalated to almost 5,000 troops and an air force transport detachment. Also, the New Zealand government committed an artillery battery to the war effort.

Australia and New Zealand were once again the principal imperialist powers to intervene alongside the United States in that war against the people of Asia. In Vietnam this joint intervention force also included troops from pro-imperialist regimes in Thailand, the

1. Detailed in the book *Secrets of State*, by George Munster and Richard Walsh — a summary of their collection, *Documents on Australian Defence and Foreign Policy, 1968–1975*, which was banned by the Australian government in 1980.



Sydney demonstration calls for withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam, May 8, 1970.

Philippines, and South Korea.

While the ANZUS treaty was not used as the legal pretext for this involvement,<sup>2</sup> the Vietnam war showed the close interdependence of the ANZUS powers in acting to preserve imperialist domination and economic exploitation in Southeast Asia.

The hostility of the three imperialist powers to the Vietnamese revolution did not abate after their withdrawal and the liberation of the south in 1975. For example, the 1982 ANZUS Council meeting endorsed a campaign of continuing economic and political measures against Vietnam, as well as support for the Pol Pot forces and other rightist guerrillas fighting Kampuchean and Vietnamese troops on the Thai-Kampuchea border.

2. The particular treaty used as a legal fig leaf for the continued imperialist war in Vietnam was the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). Formed in 1954 at the time of the Geneva conference on Indochina, SEATO involved France (the defeated colonial power in Indochina), the United States (which was increasingly sustaining the war effort), Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as the pro-imperialist regimes of Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines. Designed to provide backing to U.S. aggression in Indochina, SEATO became defunct with the imperialist defeat in April 1975.

Because of Australia's large area, strategic geographical position, and relative political stability as an affluent imperialist power, the capitalist class in Australia has been able to provide another vital service to world imperialism over the past quarter century. This has involved the siting, under the provisions of ANZUS, of several major and numerous minor U.S. military bases around the continent. This has locked Australia into the complex U.S. global conventional and nuclear network.

The North West Cape base in Western Australia incorporates the largest U.S. submarine communications center in the world. It is used for ultra-low frequency navigation and precision placement of the submerged fleet for missile launching.

The Pine Gap communications installation in central Australia is one of the chief ground stations for monitoring spy satellites over the Soviet Union and China and for mapping Soviet radar patterns for potential use in U.S. air raids by the new Stealth bomber force. Nurrunger, in South Australia, will be used, along with another base in Colorado in the United States, to control the new satellites in the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars) program.

Visits by nuclear-powered and -armed U.S. warships to Australian and New Zealand ports and overflights and landings in Australia of B-52 nuclear-armed U.S. strategic bombers

are also covered by the treaty.

But this is only one part — if the most publicized part — of the routine use of each other's facilities by Washington, Canberra, and Wellington. In fact, there is a close interrelationship of the armed forces and intelligence networks, not only of the three ANZUS powers, but also of Britain and Canada, under a five-power military pact, and to a lesser extent of Japan through the regular RIMPAC (Rim of Pacific) exercises. These relations between the military establishments are a permanent and institutionalized part of the state-to-state relations between these imperialist countries, irrespective of whether a conservative or social democratic government holds office.

#### Economic interests

Australian big business has a growing stake in exploiting the cheap labor reserves and vast mineral resources of Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Broken Hill Proprietary (BHP), the large Australian steel monopoly, having branched into mining, has sizable interests in Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, and the China Sea. Other Australian-based corporations have investments spread from Hong Kong through the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, and New Guinea to Fiji.

These economic interests are in addition to the general imperialist obligations reflected in



ANZUS. Thus, while New Zealand imperialism is central to the southwest Pacific islands, Australian imperialism's central role extends from there into the whole southeast Asian region. It is the only advanced capitalist power in close proximity to the strategically vital archipelago of large islands between the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

The Australian armed forces are trained for tropical jungle warfare, with equipment designed for island beachhead-type operations. The 2,500 troops of the Operational Defence Force based in Townsville in northern Queensland are specifically prepared for rapid deployment in this role.

While the Australian military is relatively small in manpower terms, it is constantly updated with the most technically advanced weapons systems, designed to make it an aggressive force for the regional stability of imperialist superprofits. Under the current Hawke government for example, the RAAF's ageing Mirages, including those at the Butterworth base, are to be replaced with F-18's, the most sophisticated jet fighter-bombers available.

Canberra also has close military ties to its neocolonial allies throughout the region. It has maintained direct military links with its closest northern neighbor and former colony, Papua New Guinea. The ex-colony's armed forces are the outgrowth of a colonial force trained, equipped, and commanded by Australia.

Australia finally ceded independence on Oct. 1, 1975, after a lengthy process of "self-government." Since then, the neocolonial government at Port Moresby has continued to rely on Canberra for military training and aid.

Successive Australian governments, both Liberal and Labor, have provided growing military aid in both finances and hardware for other neighboring pro-imperialist regimes, notably of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore,

and the Philippines. In addition, thousands of officers from these countries have been trained over the years in Australia, establishing a permanent link between the military arm of the capitalist state here and Canberra's regional allies. Moreover, economic aid from Australia often complements the overt military assistance, as is the case with Australian road-building projects in the Philippines. These chiefly benefit trade by the Filipino capitalist rulers and aid the Marcos dictatorship in its military repression in the countryside.

#### Pivotal political role

Australian imperialism plays a pivotal political as well as military role in the region. Australian acquiescence was needed for Indonesia to take over the former Dutch colony in West Papua (Irian Jaya) and forcibly integrate it into Indonesia with the farce of the "Act of Free Choice" in 1969. Since then, Canberra has placed pressure on the Papua New Guinea government over the policing of the border to curtail refugee movements and guerrilla operations by the Free Papua Movement (OPM).

In September 1974 Gough Whitlam, then Labor Party prime minister, gave Australian imperialism's consent to the Indonesian takeover of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. Australia's rulers preferred this to the emergence of an independent East Timor under the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin), which could develop into an "Asian Cuba." Acting on this green light from the Australian government, and after final consultations the day before with U.S. President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in the Indonesian capital, the Indonesian generals invaded on Dec. 7, 1975.

The Indonesian regime's repressive occupations, along with its military rule at home, are carried out with Canberra's blessing and assistance. Between 1972 and 1980, Australia trained more than 1,200 Indonesian armed forces personnel, gave instruction to Indone-

sian intelligence officers on "interrogation" techniques, and supplied Australian-built military equipment including 16 Sabre jet fighters, 18 Nomad and 2 DC-3 transport planes, and 8 patrol boats. In addition, Australian air force planes have conducted mapping projects in Indonesia including over West Papuan rebel areas.

The Australian government, including under Hawke, has acted to postpone and defuse discussion of these issues at the United Nations.

Australian imperialism's commitments also extend well beyond the immediate region. An Australian military detachment serves in the UN "peacekeeping" force in the Sinai Desert protecting the southern flank of the reactionary Israeli regime. And Foreign Minister Bill Hayden has floated the idea of an "independent" policing role for the Royal Australian Navy warships in the Indian Ocean.

While in Washington in June 1983, Hawke declared his government's open support for Washington's escalating war on the peoples of Central America, justified in terms of recognizing U.S. "strategic interests" in the region. Canberra does not yet have any direct military involvement in Central America, but it is aiding the Pentagon's war plans by shouldering a greater policing role on this side of the Pacific. This is part of the division of labor for world imperialism marked out by the ANZUS treaty.

#### Regional cops

For three and a half decades, ANZUS has served as the framework within which Australian and New Zealand imperialism have served as regional cops in alliance with Washington. Whatever the fortunes of the formal treaty arrangements of ANZUS, the basis of the alliance is not just overlapping economic interests of the three powers in the region, but also a common political and military strategy to defend them. The imperialist rulers have no alternative but new Vietnam-style counterrevolutionary wars of intervention against the peoples of the Pacific and Asia fighting for national and social liberation. □

## Seamen strike in Iceland

A strike of the seamen's unions in Iceland has brought almost the entire fishing fleet to a halt. Fishing is the country's main industry.

The principal issue in dispute between the employers and the seamen is minimum wage levels. Seamen are paid a proportion of the value they catch after a fishing trip and are assured a minimum wage from the boat owner in case of poor fishing. They are demanding a 75 percent increase in this basic level, while the employers are offering only 15 to 20 percent.

The minimum wage issue particularly affects workers employed on smaller boats, who are victims of big fluctuations in the catch.

As supplies of fresh fish run out, workers in freezing plants are faced with temporary layoffs. □

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**Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014**

# Open letter from Don Rojas

*On sixth anniversary: draws lessons of revolution and its overturn*

[The following is an open letter, dated March 1, by Don Rojas to progressive publications around the world on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the March 13, 1979, Grenada revolution. At the time of the overthrow of the revolutionary government in October 1983, Rojas was press secretary to Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. He was a member of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) and had served as editor of Grenada's weekly *Free West Indian*. He is currently living and working in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

[Subheadings have been added by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

Dear friends, sisters and brothers, and comrades,

March 13, 1985, marks the sixth anniversary of that glorious Tuesday in 1979 when the Grenada revolution made its dramatic entry onto the stage of world history.

Oct. 19, 1983 — "Bloody Wednesday," as it is now known — marked the betrayal and overthrow of this same revolution, serving up Grenada on a silver platter to the invading occupation forces of U.S. imperialism.

Both events will always be remembered as immensely significant dates in the world revolutionary calendar. This month's sixth anniversary should be a time to celebrate the Grenada revolution's accomplishments, to reaffirm our commitment to struggle against the U.S. occupation, and to reflect on and analyze the lessons to be learned by fighters for national liberation and socialism in the Caribbean and around the world.

Six years ago, the Grenadian people, in an expression of unified resistance unprecedented in the history of English-speaking Caribbean mass movements, heeded the call of the New Jewel Movement led by Maurice Bishop to effect the region's most fundamental break with imperialism since the Cuban revolution in 1959.

On Oct. 19, 1983, these same Grenadian workers, farmers, women, and youth, in another massive movement of resistance involving a third of the island's population, rose up to free their revolution's leader, Maurice Bishop, from house arrest, and were brutally gunned down by troops under the command of the New Jewel Movement's Central Committee, which had been hijacked by Bernard Coard and his gang of ultraleftists and opportunists. This infamous act of counterrevolution opened the door for the equally infamous Yankee invasion of October 25, which then drove the last nail into the coffin of the revolution's corpse.



Diane Wang/IP

Slain prime minister Maurice Bishop.

On the occasion of this sixth anniversary we must sing out loud the manifold achievements of the Grenada revolution, lest they be lost in a maze of imperialist misinformation, or forgotten amidst the pressures of our daily struggles.

#### **Achievements of revolution**

We must remind ourselves, and remind all peace- and freedom-loving humanity, that it was the revolution that brought democratic rights, national sovereignty, economic justice, and social progress to the working people of Grenada.

It was the revolution that enabled the national economy to grow by 12.5 percent over three years.

It was the revolution that reduced unemployment from 50 percent to 14 percent, that introduced free secondary education and free medical care, and that provided scores of university scholarships for talented young Grenadians to study abroad.

It was the revolution that stimulated the widespread unionization of Grenadian workers, that called on women to step forward to take their rightful place as social and economic equals, that adopted laws to protect and advance the interests of working farmers, that raised the incomes of agricultural workers, that drastically reduced crime.

It was the revolution that allowed sports and culture to blossom.

It was the revolution that built the Maurice Bishop International Airport and that invested millions of dollars in other major economic development projects.

It was the revolution that created popular mass organizations of women, youth, farmers, and children. It was the revolution that established councils in all the country's parishes — grass-roots mechanisms to increase the regular and direct participation of the people in run-

ning the country's affairs. It was the revolution that involved the masses, for the first time in the history of the Caribbean, in the formulation of a national budget. It was the revolution, in short, that initiated a process of revolutionary democracy far superior to the parliamentary farce that today, propped up by Washington, has falsely laid claim to democracy in Grenada.

These are just a few of the material achievements that we can joyously recall on this occasion. But we must also celebrate the intangibles, the spiritual achievements of the Grenadian people: their pride in self and country; their self-confidence and hope; their high national and internationalist consciousness; their collective sense of belonging, of participating, of involving themselves in their nation's affairs; their sense of feeling genuinely sovereign, of being owners of their country and its resources, of being masters of their destiny — all of which were so eloquently articulated, so boldly personified and inspired, by the revolutionary commitment of Maurice Bishop and his close comrades.

#### **Hardships, misery return to Grenada**

Today, however, the workers and farmers no longer hold power in Grenada, although the spirit of their revolution is very much alive. Today, in the absence of the revolutionary government, hardship, misery, despair, and hopelessness have returned to what a Cuban friend of mine once described as "the small nation of giants."

Unemployment now stands at more than 40 percent in militarily occupied Grenada, and little or no economic growth is expected this year. Prostitution is rampant once again. Drug abuse is on the rise. Social services are deplorable. The socioeconomic programs of the revolution, which once delivered benefits to the working people, are things of the past.

The means of production that were once owned by the people's state have been sold to local and foreign capitalists. The government investment code and the structure of import duties and tariffs have been revised to make it easier for foreign capital to penetrate the economy and for substandard North American imports to be dumped on the local market. The much ballyhooed financial aid from the USA has resulted in millions for training and equipping the military and paramilitary police and counterinsurgency forces, with only pennies for infrastructural projects and social welfare programs. Austerity is the order of the day, and greater political and economic subordination to imperialism is the guiding principle.

Herbert Blaize and the other neocolonial puppet politicians put into office through the rigged elections last December 3 today govern at the dictates of Washington. "Restoration of democracy," Reagan-style, has meant increased human rights violations, the banning of democratic mass organizations, the elimination of councils of people's power, the waging of psychological warfare and anticommunist campaigns, harassment of the progressive and patriotic forces, and CIA penetration of the trade unions.

We could go on at length chronicling the systematic and deliberate reversal of the gains of the Grenada revolution, as the process of neocolonization imposed by imperialism is consolidated in the once free and proud country of Grenada.

On this sixth anniversary of the March 1979 victory, however, we also must review some of the lessons to be learned from the demise of the revolution, important lessons for progressive, democratic, and revolutionary forces in the Caribbean and around the world. Over the past year and a half, new questions have arisen and fresh insights have merged to enlighten our analysis. Such a discussion is not a useless exercise in "armchairism," to coin a phrase, or a substitute for an ongoing struggle against the imperialist occupation of Grenada and the escalating attacks on the rights and living standards of its people. Instead, this discussion should be seen as necessary for the clarification of political theory and strategy on which the present and future revolutionary practice of fighting workers and farmers must be grounded.

#### **"Both sides are to be blamed"?**

As a point of departure, I want to take issue with those political currents in Britain, North America, and the Caribbean who have embarked on a campaign to rewrite the history of the revolution's collapse. I am referring to the advocates of the "both-sides-are-to-be-blamed" explanation, which purports to lay equal responsibility for the crisis of October 1983 on Maurice Bishop and his allies on the one hand, and Bernard Coard and his supporters on the other. Such an explanation is patently false and misleading. Those who are peddling it today deliberately distort the facts, with the real motive of rehabilitating the discredited Coardites, who are the true architects of the revolution's collapse.

Since mid-1984 these elements have stepped up their campaign of misinformation in Britain and North America through articles in various left-wing publications, through their own leaflets and brochures, and through speaking tours. They have launched so-called Committees for Human Rights in Grenada and Committees to Free the Political Prisoners in Grenada with the purpose of confusing and deceiving the ill-informed and manipulating the genuine sentiments of supporters of the Grenada revolution and opponents of the U.S. occupation.

Behind the smokescreen of this "human

rights" campaign, Coard's supporters argue that revolutionaries and democrats the world over must defend Bernard and Phyllis Coard, Hudson Austin, Selwyn Strachan, Liam James, Ewart Layne, Leon Cornwall, John Ventour, and the other traitors currently facing trial in Grenada, because they cannot receive a "free and fair trial" in the present circumstances of the U.S. occupation. Supporters of this campaign incorrectly describe these individuals as the "patriotic political prisoners," and stress that defending them is tantamount to opposing the imperialist occupation and puppet government.

Since all the contradictions related to this trial are not clearly perceptible on the surface, such an argument can appear to be persuasive, and the campaign for "human rights" therefore supportable.

Such an argument, however, is premised on the fundamental misconception that to defend the Coardites is to defend revolutionaries facing an imperialist frameup. This puts reality on its head. By their counterrevolutionary actions of October 1983, the Coardites have absolutely no claim to be considered revolutionaries; socialists and communists must judge these individuals not by their words but by their deeds, which are indefensible.

#### **Crimes of Coardites**

What are the facts?

First of all, Coard and his gang arrested Maurice Bishop and a number of his key allies without the consent or authority of the rank-and-file members of the New Jewel Movement, and against the will of Grenada's working people.

On Oct. 19, 1983, the Coard faction, which had taken over the NJM Central Committee, ordered the cold-blooded assassination of Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman, Jacqueline Creft, Fitzroy Bain, and other Grenadian revolutionaries who had been taken to Fort Rupert by the jubilant masses after they had liberated Bishop from his house arrest.

On the same day the Coardites massacred dozens of other Grenadian patriots who were gathered at Fort Rupert. The soldiers who carried out the dastardly crimes were subsequently applauded publicly by Coard's so-called Central Committee and "Revolutionary Military Council" (RMC), whose members were hiding out at Fort Frederick.

Over Radio Free Grenada on the night of October 19, Hudson Austin lied that Bishop and the other martyrs were killed in a "cross-fire" instigated by Bishop supporters at Fort Rupert. He denied that Bishop had ever been under house arrest, and spread the slander that Bishop was in league with "counterrevolutionaries."

The RMC imposed a 24-hour shoot-on-sight curfew on the entire Grenadian population from the night of October 19 right up to the day before the Yankee invasion.

Moreover, while the RMC called on the Grenadian people to lay down their lives to resist the U.S. invasion, Coard, Strachan,

James, and the others, who were all well-armed, were captured by the Yankee invaders without a fight. The sixteen members of the RMC cowardly abandoned their troops after the first two days of fighting, leaving young Grenadian soldiers leaderless to heroically defend their homeland with their lives and their blood. Not a single member of the RMC was killed in battle. Today, Grenadian folk humor has reformulated the acronym "RMC" to stand for "Run when the Marines Come."

These are some of the facts. These are some of the unforgivable crimes.

The rich history of working-class struggles worldwide has taught us that revolutionaries act on principles and selfless convictions, not on personal ambitions, that they honestly accept responsibility for their actions, and that they possess the moral courage to defend and die for their convictions if necessary. We learn also that revolutionaries never disrespect the collective will of the working people, never hold the masses in contempt the way Coard and his clique did in October 1983.

Deliberate crimes such as those committed by the Coardites — crimes against the Grenadian people that robbed them and the Caribbean masses of a genuine revolution and of a bright future, crimes against the entire world revolutionary process — must never be allowed to be explained away as "errors" or "mistakes," as the "double-blame" theorists are wont to do. We must continue to stress that the Coardites' actions are crimes against revolutionary morality. Their lying, scandalizing, deceiving, and brutalizing tactics are not the stuff of revolutionary politics. "No crime must be committed in the name of the revolution and freedom," as the Oct. 20, 1983, statement by the Cuban government and Communist Party explained.

It was Lenin himself who emphasized that honesty and integrity in politics are an immutable law for revolutionary parties.

The Coardites' uncontrollable ambition for power at all costs led them to resort to a counterrevolutionary coup. Driven by their greed for power, drunk on misunderstood theory, misappropriating the ideas of Marx and Lenin, Coard and his minions offered up the revolution to Washington on a platter at a time when imperialism is especially aggressive and expansionist in the Caribbean and Central America.

#### **"Joint leadership"**

The "double-blame" theorists, in their shrewd attempt to discredit Bishop, are today claiming that he violated democratic centralism by refusing to accept the NJM Central Committee's decision in September 1983 to establish "joint leadership" with Bernard Coard. They compare Bishop to Mao Tsetung, who they say also went "over the heads of his party to the masses" during the so-called Cultural Revolution in China. They perpetuate the lie that Bishop spread a rumor in Grenada that Coard was planning to kill him. They say that Bishop was a vacillator and equivocator, that

he lacked a grasp of Leninism, and that because of all these "errors and weaknesses" he, too, was responsible for the crisis of October 1983 and for the Yankee invasion.

As historical "evidence" of these charges, Coard's apologists have elevated the dubious NJM Central Committee minutes to the level of sacrosanct papal edict and have proclaimed the Coardite Central Committee majority to be infallible. They even intimate that Bishop provoked his own murder (like the reactionary judges in the USA and Canada who argue that rape victims seduce the rapists). They sing praises to Bishop while at the same time calling for a defense of those responsible for his murder.

Let us here briefly reexamine the "joint leadership" question. This proposal was introduced at the Central Committee plenary in September 1983, by Liam James (the same man who hatched the story about Bishop's "rumor," as well as the false story that the Cubans were planning to intervene militarily to support Bishop against Coard). James' proposal was not intended to improve collective leadership within the NJM. As chairman of the Central Committee and Political Bureau, Bishop never overruled collective decisions. But his guidance, his political experience, his grasp of strategy and tactics, and his skill at synthesizing various points of view could and did influence the direction of discussions and hence decisions that arose therefrom.

This is how collective leadership worked in Lenin's day. This is how it works in the Cuban Communist Party led by Fidel Castro. And that is how it worked in practice in the New Jewel Movement while Bishop was chairman.

"Joint leadership," as proposed by James, would not and could not have meant an equal sharing of leadership responsibility and authority between Coard and Bishop. Coard, in effect, would have taken the day-to-day leadership of party and state, with Bishop's role relegated to mere ceremony. If implemented, it would have led to serious polarization of the entire NJM membership and leadership into two camps. It was not only impractical but inherently divisive, since it was aimed at consolidating the Coard faction's takeover of the party leadership and government.

The maneuvers of Coard's Central Committee had nothing to do with democratic centralism as it was practiced in Lenin's Bolshevik Party or the Cuban Communist Party today. What the Coardites labelled "iron Leninist discipline" was actually blind mechanical obedience to the dictates of a faction that had maneuvered behind the backs of the party to replace the central leadership that had been tested by a decade of struggle in building the NJM and in leading the workers and farmers to power.

#### Origins of Coard faction

The majority of the Coard group came out of a study group led by Coard in the mid-1970s called the Organisation for Revolutionary Education and Liberation (OREL). With little or

no links with the masses, OREL in 1976 joined with Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman, Kendrick Radix, and George Louison of the NJM, which had been formed a few years earlier. Henceforth, the OREL people secretly fancied themselves as the natural heirs to leadership of the Grenada revolution because it claimed to be more ideologically developed than Bishop and the "petty bourgeois democrats" who had founded the NJM. And they began their maneuvers to put this perspective into practice.

In such a climate, therefore, dogmatism, sectarianism, and intolerance were promoted by the Coard gang among many inexperienced individuals in the ranks of the NJM instead of creative thought, open debate, and individual initiative. The hijacking of the NJM, hiding behind a fake centralism, was carried out under the credo, "The higher organs of the party are always right and the ranks must always be subordinate." Their capture of the NJM leadership bodies was facilitated by the very small size and the class composition of the party. In 1983, after four and a half years at the head of the revolutionary government, the NJM counted among its ranks only about 300 members, with less than 100 full members. It had all too few workers and farmers who had proven their leadership capacities in the unions, organizations of rural producers, and in the National Women's Organisation and National Youth Organisation. Too high a percentage of its membership was composed of young, petty-bourgeois idealists with insufficient emotional and political maturity and class-struggle experience to bear the enormous responsibility of being central leaders in the vanguard of the only English-speaking revolution in the U.S.-dominated Western Hemisphere.

During the Central Committee meetings of September and October 1983, the Coardites claimed that the revolution was facing a social, economic, and political crisis of monumental proportions — a crisis, as Coard's supporters warned, that would destroy the party within six months and bring down the government within a year. But this "crisis" was in fact manufactured as a pretext for Bishop's removal. The crisis that actually *did* bring down the party, the revolution, and the government of the Grenadian people was the one that had been created by the Coard gang over the years, and that came to a head in the fall of 1983. Real problems facing the revolution, and the steps to solve them, were the last thing on Coard's agenda. The Coardites exaggerated these difficulties, labeling them crises that required drastic solutions, even military solutions, as Selwyn Strachan, John Ventour, and Ewart Layne were already calling for in September.

At the September 1983 meeting where the Coard group made its open bid to complete their replacement of the party's tested leadership, they offered absolutely no new proposals to advance carrying through the national democratic stage of the revolution, the policy of agrarian transformations, the creation of national industry, the further democratization of

social life, and the deepening of economic and cultural cooperation with the socialist countries.

#### A fundamental lesson

Perhaps the most fundamental lesson we have learned from the overthrow of the Grenada revolution is one that the magnificent Cuban revolution continues to teach us: that it is not possible to seize and hold onto power only *in the name of* the working people. The workers and farmers must be led to take power themselves. This is what Bishop's NJM did on March 13, 1979. The mobilization and organization of the masses is the sole motor force capable of guaranteeing the conquest of power, its preservation, and its advance through the democratic revolution toward socialism. This critical lesson Maurice Bishop understood, and Bernard Coard consciously rejected.

The historical role of Marxist-Leninist parties as the political vanguard and collective leader and organizer of the working people is a colossal responsibility that can only be effectively carried out by understanding the class interests of the working people and learning from them.

Lenin taught that the gravest danger for any revolutionary party is for it to become divorced from the worker and peasant masses, for it to grow self-centered, disregarding the will of the people, or — worse still — holding them in contempt while hypocritically speaking in their name, as the hijacked NJM Central Committee did in late 1983.

Infantile leftism and sectarian phrase-mongering, that verbal disease Lenin called "the itch," grow out of a misunderstanding by petty-bourgeois radicals of the objective laws of social development. It leads to adventurism, bureaucratic abuses, and brutality, as in the case of the Pol Potists of Kampuchea and the Coardites of Grenada.

The "double-blame theorists" are today arguing that Coard and his followers contributed much to the Grenada revolution and to the NJM as if to call for a softening of the condemnation of these architects of the revolution's demise. Past individual contributions to a revolutionary process, however, cannot be considered on an equal basis with crimes by those same individuals, crimes that destroyed that very process. Here the assets and liabilities simply do not equate on the historical balance sheet.

For revolutionists there is no room for sentimental attachments. We must emulate the leadership of the Cuban revolution in accepting the objective truths that Coard, Austin, Strachan, and others in and out of prison are morally and politically responsible for the murder of Bishop and the other Grenadians October 19 and for the overthrow of the revolution and subsequent Yankee invasion. All serious revolutionary, socialist, and communist parties around the world have so concluded.

Still, the Coardites (with no moral right to speak in the name of the NJM after murdering

the founders and leaders of the party) arrogantly refuse to accept the verdict of the world revolutionary movement, and since September 1984 have begun issuing press releases in the name of the NJM. In one of these short statements, they speak about "errors" they committed in October 1983. In other statements, they condemn the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM) for naming its party after the slain leader of the revolution and for participating in the Dec. 3, 1984, elections. They hypocritically try to reclaim the political mantle of Maurice Bishop, whom they labelled a right opportunist in October 1983, by now calling him "an outstanding revolutionary democrat." (The designation of "brilliant Marxist-Leninist strategist and tactician" is still reserved for Coard.)

What of the Coardites' leftist criticism of the MBPM's participation in the elections as giving legitimacy to the U.S. imperialist occupation? The boycott alternative advocated in the Coardites' statements, if heeded by the MBPM, would have played into the hands of the imperialists, who would then have argued that the revolutionary movement in Grenada was a dead force, with no credibility, unable to utilize public platforms, afraid of showing its face to the Grenadian people.

Instead, the MBPM courageously decided to directly confront the Yankees and their puppet New National Party (NNP) forces in the elections. The MBPM leaders spoke out publicly all over Grenada demanding an immediate end to the military occupation and a restoration of the country's sovereignty.

Despite the stated call for a boycott, some prominent Coardites in Grenada actually campaigned for the NNP, the Reagan-backed capitalist party that won 14 of the 15 seats in the rigged bourgeois parliamentary elections. They justified this opportunist stand with the argument that the NNP would build capitalism in Grenada, and that this would help create a larger working class that at some later stage they would organize to seize state power.

Such convoluted logic serves only to confuse the democratic forces in Grenada. It is akin to Bernard Coard's explanation to George Louison a few days before Oct. 19, 1983, that while Maurice Bishop's house arrest might throw the revolutionary process back five years, such so-called Leninist staunchness would somewhere down the road catapult the process 10 years forward.

History has already condemned Coardism and Reaganism as objective accomplices in monstrous crimes against the Grenadian people, and history demands just payment from both those criminal elements.

#### Revolutions on trial

To be sure, we must clearly understand the ulterior motives of U.S. imperialism and its puppet administration in the Coard trial. Imperialism is not concerned about satisfying the Grenadian people's demands for revolutionary justice. No, Coard and his gang will be sacrificed on the altar of Reagan's anticommunist

crusade. On trial instead will be Maurice Bishop's legacy and his undying prestige. On trial will be the Grenada revolution, the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions, and all progressive, socialist, and communist parties and movements in the Caribbean and Latin America. Our duty then is to explain, expose, and condemn these imperialist motives, not to defend a morally and politically defenseless gang that, employing leftist demagoguery, betrayed and destroyed the revolution and committed real crimes against the people of Grenada.

As proletarian internationalists, one of our main duties on the occasion of this sixth anniversary of the Grenada triumph in 1979 is to continue standing firm with the militant, fighting people of Nicaragua, and with their vanguard Sandinista party, as they valiantly defend the dignity and sovereignty of their homeland against the gangs of Somocista terrorists and bandits unashamedly supported by Ronald Reagan and his warlords.

The Sandinistas have time and again diplomatically outmaneuvered the bellicose U.S. government with wise tactics that never compromise their principles or their integrity. They continue to successfully mobilize the patriotic Sandinista people to defend their revolution while simultaneously entrenching their revolutionary democracy. If the Sandinistas had pitted themselves against the masses, as the Coard gang in the NJM did in 1983, the stars and stripes might well be flying over Managua today, as they do over St. George's.

So we must now and in the coming days militantly reaffirm our solidarity and support for the Sandinista revolution, resolve to defend it with all our capacities, and urge our friends in the United States to participate in the planned April 20 demonstrations for Peace, Jobs, and Justice in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

Patriotic and revolutionary Grenadians everywhere place high hopes in the success of these planned mass actions in the very belly of the imperialist monster, because only a united,

conscious, and vigilant American public can aid the working people of Nicaragua and El Salvador in defeating Washington's escalating military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. The April 20 demonstration also provides another platform from which to advance the fight against the U.S. occupation of Grenada.

The struggle to liberate Grenada from the imperial stranglehold will be long and difficult, and it will necessitate marshaling the best fighting qualities of all Grenadian patriots at home and abroad. But victory is certain, and the second Grenada revolution is inevitable. The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, the only genuinely anti-imperialist force in Grenada today, has already demonstrated its maturity and potential, and it will continue to hold aloft Maurice Bishop's proud banner of freedom, independence, dignity, and social justice.

In the coming months and years, the struggle for a free and peaceful Caribbean will intensify. The contradictions created by imperialism's increased military and economic penetration of the region in the wake of the Grenada revolution's demise will also intensify. Thus all Caribbean revolutionaries must be prepared to confront these new challenges with determination, maximum unity among our ranks, political clarity, and utmost fidelity to the working people of our region.

Let us resolve on this sixth anniversary that through our revolutionary practice we will reverse the negative public image, especially in the English-speaking Caribbean, of socialists and communists as people who kill, maim, and deceive while screaming ultraleft rhetoric. Our challenge is to put dignity and honor back into the name communist, and to once again wear that lofty badge with pride.

U.S. occupiers out of Grenada!

Let us together move forward ever on our feet, never on our knees.

Don Rojas

## 30 leftists to be tried in Egypt

Thirty left-wing activists arrested in towns and cities throughout Egypt are due to go on trial soon. Eleven of those to be tried are accused of belonging to the Egyptian Communist Party-Congress Faction (a left split from the Egyptian CP) and 19 of membership in a "Trotskyist Communist organization."

According to reports by Associated Press and Agence France-Presse, as well as by the Egyptian daily *Al-Ahram*, those arrested January 21 included a doctor, a journalist, a pharmacist, a teacher, a translator, two lawyers, three engineers, six government employees, and seven students.

The 30 people were jailed and charged with "belonging to secret armed Communist organizations." They are to be tried in the State Security Court, and the prosecutor is demanding

sentences of 15 years in prison at hard labor for them.

The indictment claims that pamphlets were found at the homes of some of those arrested that "incited people to rebel and demonstrate against the regime, and criticized religion," as well as books on "terrorism" and on "the use of arms and explosives."

The arrests are part of stepped-up attacks against the left by the Hosni Mubarak government. On January 10, according to a report in the *Washington Post*, six alleged Communists were sentenced to prison terms of up to five years for possession of arms and explosives.

Messages of protest demanding the immediate release of the 30 about to be tried can be sent to Hosni Mubarak, President of the Republic, Presidential Palace, Cairo, Egypt. □

# Fidel Castro speaks in Nicaragua

*'To be a revolutionary is a great privilege for any human being'*

[The following speech by Cuban president Fidel Castro was delivered on January 11 in Nicaragua, at the inauguration of the Victoria de Julio sugar processing complex.

[The speech was broadcast on radio and television in Nicaragua and Cuba, but as far as we know has not been published before. This translation is based on one by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service of the U.S. Department of Commerce. Footnotes and bracketed material are by *Intercontinental Press*.

[Castro refers to two Nicaraguan leaders who spoke before him. The first was Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock, who is minister of agrarian development and reform and a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Wheelock explained the economic, political, and social significance of the new Victoria de Julio sugar mill, which, when completed, will be the largest industrial enterprise in Nicaragua.

[Also speaking was President Daniel Ortega, also a member of the FSLN's National Directorate. Ortega explained that January 11 is the anniversary of the assassination in 1929 of Julio Antonio Mella, the founder of the first Communist Party in Cuba.

[At the inauguration ceremony Castro was awarded the Order of Augusto César Sandino in recognition of his contributions to the revolutionary movement in Latin America and throughout the world and for his solidarity with the Nicaraguan people.]

\* \* \*

Dear Compañero Daniel Ortega, president of the Republic of Nicaragua;

Dear compañeros of the FSLN National Directorate;  
Distinguished members of the guest delegations;  
Compañero Nicaraguan and Cuban workers:

Since the Augusto César Sandino Order was created, the compañeros of the Nicaraguan leadership and of the FSLN, probably taking into account the ties of affection and brotherhood that have existed between us throughout the years, have had the idea of conferring the order upon me and have proposed this to me on many occasions. They invited me to Nicaragua for that purpose on many occasions.

I considered this such an overwhelming honor that I could not accept it. On several occasions, I asked them to postpone it for the future. I resisted on many occasions until today, when I could no longer resist (APPLAUSE), and at last they have impressed, in both senses of the word, the honor upon me. (APPLAUSE)

Imperialism claims that the Central American problems, the revolutionary struggles of these peoples, are the result of an alleged international conspiracy of so-called subversion from abroad. What would the colonialists have said when all the peoples of America became involved in the struggle to win independence until they were successful? What would those who invaded Latin American countries in the past have said?

They wrested huge geographical tracts from these countries, as occurred with the sister Republic of Mexico that lost half of its territory. What would they have said to justify the actions and to explain the heroic struggle of the Mexican people against the invaders? What would they have said to explain that unforgettable historic action by the heroic cadets of Chapultepec, who hurled themselves from the heights of the castle (APPLAUSE) and preferred to die wrapped in the flag rather than yield the flag to the invaders?

What would they have said in those times to explain the struggle of the Central American peoples in 1855 against the invading filibusters who occupied Central American territory and, moreover, named themselves the rulers of Central America? What would they have said in

1902 after the first U.S. military occupation of Nicaragua to explain the people's resistance?

Since the October Revolution [in Russia] had not yet occurred, who would they have blamed for that? How would they explain the Mexican revolution, which was so hard fought and so heroic between 1911 and 1920, since the Mexican revolution also took place before the revolution in October of 1917?

Who would they have blamed for Sandino's struggles? For that heroic battle waged by the Nicaraguan people against the U.S. invaders in 1928 or 1927? What would they say? Who would be blamed for that subversion? Who would be blamed for that revolutionary struggle? We Cubans? Can the Cuban revolution be blamed for Sandino's struggle?

When Sandino began his historic, glorious struggle on May 4, 1927, against the U.S. occupiers, I was not yet a year old. (LAUGHTER) Sandino struggled for six long years with a tiny army against the immense power of the invaders. Who was to be blamed for that?

We know the rest of the story: negotiations; betrayals; the installation of an army of occupation that replaced the invading troops; Somoza; 50 years of the Somozaist dynasty until the children of Nicaragua, again taking up arms as they had done so often in history, destroyed the tyranny at an enormous cost in blood and won the definitive independence of their fatherland. (APPLAUSE)

Sandino was certainly, by his example, an inspiration for all peoples of America. Many of us grew up inspired by Sandino's example, by Sandino's teachings. Therefore, his influence was not limited to Nicaragua. It was felt in Cuba and throughout the entire hemisphere. We grew up under that influence.

However, Sandino also showed us our people's patriotism, our people's valor, our people's indomitable spirit, and their capacity for struggle regardless of how powerful the adversary. Sandino became an eternal symbol that emerged when it was so greatly needed in that period.

The proof of the value of that example, of the value of that symbol, is this revolution which carries his name: the Sandinista revolution. (APPLAUSE)

That is why I say that this is a very great honor. I receive this decoration as a tribute to our people, as a tribute to the thousands of my compatriots who have been here over the past five years as teachers, doctors, health technicians, construction workers, and assistants in many fields

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## Instead of teachers from Cuba alone, why didn't teachers come from all of Latin America, even from the United States? . . .

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giving their sweat and some of whom, as Daniel [Ortega] pointed out, also giving their blood and their lives. (APPLAUSE)

Many of them worked under difficult conditions. Our teachers lived alongside the peasants. They lived with them. They ate what the peasants ate in the most isolated corners of Nicaragua.

Cuba was often criticized for sending teachers. Every year they taught tens of thousands of children. Did Nicaragua, perchance, refuse teachers from any other country? Instead of teachers from Cuba alone, why didn't teachers come from all of the sister countries of Latin America and even from the United States? What stopped them from doing this? They and we all knew that there were children without teachers and that was our only motivation, not prestige or honors.

We have done only what we would have been happy to share with everyone. All of the other Cuban helpers worked in the same spirit. On their behalf I receive this honor, which is not only in recognition of



Barricada

Castro receives order of Augusto César Sandino from Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega.

those who worked here, but also for those over there who always made every effort to collaborate and help produce things for Nicaragua. (APPLAUSE)

On behalf of our people, their internationalist spirit, and their love for the Nicaraguan people, we receive this acknowledgment. (APPLAUSE) Compañero [Jaime] Wheelock explained the history and the significance of this project that has united us here today. I had not even dreamed or thought of the privilege of inaugurating this project on a date such as today, in the presence of so many fraternal representatives from several countries, in the presence of the FSLN, their most prestigious authorities, Nicaraguan workers, the fighters of the Sandinista People's Army and the Interior Ministry, and in the presence of Cuban workers and collaborators.

Wheelock's statements save me from having to explain many things about this project. Initially, I want to point out that this industry is the product of Nicaraguan initiative and was conceived by Nicaragua, an integral conception, as has already been explained, in all aspects, especially in a project as important as the saving and development of new energy resources. I want to point out that this will involve increased production, a 50 percent increase in current Nicaraguan sugar production, and 30 percent of the future production when the projected enlargements have been carried out in other facilities in the sugar industry.

I must say something, objectively. This sugar industry, this project, is the most complete in the sugar production industry. It is the best conceived and the most complete of those existing in any country in the world, even in our country. (APPLAUSE)

With the triumph of the revolution, we inherited many sugar mills from all eras, of all models, and with machinery from all over the world. For this reason, the maintenance and development of these mills was very complicated until after the revolution, when we enlarged and modernized many of them.

Moreover, in the past few years we have constructed several mills that are identical to this one. I speak of the industry. These are standardized mills with the same production capacity and with the same type of equipment, which helps a lot. We have approximately 10, 15, or 20 mills that are similar.

We contributed the conception of the mill, but Nicaraguans contributed the complete conception. This is why I am convinced that this industry, this agro-industrial complex, will become a point of reference and a model for the sugar industry. I have spoken to many persons who visited Nicaragua; they knew of this place and this project when it was under construction. They were impressed by this project, which was constructed in such a brief time with such passion and with such effort.

Wheelock explained the economic significance. While he spoke, I thought of another fact. When the construction of this industry began, it was for the people. Because this industry will not belong to any transna-

tional or any foreign company, (APPLAUSE) no one is going to take a single cent from this industry, which is the result of the workers' effort. No one will take its capital and send it to the corporate headquarters. Not one cent. The entire mill is Nicaraguan and belongs to the Nicaraguan people. (APPLAUSE) All that is produced, saved, and all profits are for the Nicaraguan people. (APPLAUSE)

In reality, when we arrived here we did not meet any "Misters." (LAUGHTER) I remember when I was seven years old — six, eight, ten, a long time — not a long time ago, but a long time afterwards (LAUGHTER) — I heard people talk about "mister this" and "mister that." I saw all of the factories administered by the misters. They gave the orders, they earned large salaries, and the firms earned huge profits.

When I arrived here I did not find, I repeat, any misters, but rather some young men. They told us: here is the "investor," a Nicaraguan; here is the director of industry, a young, well-prepared Nicaraguan who is the chief. What a difference! If we think about all of this, the conclusion is that in reality this means great changes, great social changes, and great revolutionary changes.

I do not know, then, what is considered fair. Would it be fair if the mill belonged to Somoza? He had many industries, and we never heard a word of protest. If the mill belonged to sugar companies? Is that, perchance, what is just? Is it possible to convince the people that this is just? Was the past just, or is the present just?

Ah, but while the construction of this mill was starting, something else had also started in 1981. The dirty war against Nicaragua had started. The dirty war was called covert operations. What is left of this

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## No one will take a single cent from this industry and send it to corporate headquarters . . .

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covert nature, if all the U.S. newspapers discuss all the resources, budgets, and credits approved to carry out this dirty war against Nicaragua?

What has been the meaning of this dirty war and how can it be justified? It has cost so many lives; the lives of no fewer than 4,000 Nicaraguan patriots and humble citizens. Most of them were civilians, and many of them were women, elderly people, and even children.

However, it is not just a matter of the lives that it cost. For the first time in this country's history, Nicaraguans were involved in a literacy campaign in which hundreds of thousands of humble citizens, workers, laborers, and peasants were being taught to read and write. While schools were being established, hospitals were being opened, medical services were being promoted, and vaccination campaigns were being carried out to save the lives of children by reducing the rates of illness and mortality and increasing their life expectancy.

While all this was under way, a dirty war was being unleashed that was taking the lives of children and women: 4,000 lives.

Not only did it take lives. While the Nicaraguans were trying to promote agriculture, industry, and products for export, while they were carrying out projects like these as well as other projects, that dirty war was destroying farms, agricultural installations, and schools. It was destroying the country's economy. It had a considerable adverse effect on Nicaragua's production of lumber, one of the country's most important export products. That product is also needed by the people to build houses, to have wood to build their houses. They destroyed equipment; they destroyed sawmills.

While the Nicaraguans were building roads for communications among towns, the dirty war was destroying bridges and construction equipment and killing construction workers who were promoting the country's development.

The dirty war, with its pirate attacks, mining of ports, and constant harassment, considerably undermined the country's fishing production, another important source of income.

The dirty war undermined the coffee production, the country's most important source of income and foreign exchange, which helps to purchase foodstuffs, medicines, and essential products for the people. It

cost the country hundreds of millions of dollars a year.

That is why today, while we are here inaugurating this plant, somewhere else they may be destroying an agricultural installation, a school, or some other social installation.

In the light of human conscience, in the light of ethics, can there possibly be any justification for this? Can it be justified? Is there any justification for sending mercenaries to destroy a people's peace, a people's wealth, a people's work? Perhaps the significance of a project like this is better understood when it is contrasted with those actions.

Have we come to such a pass, have we seen so much pretension and arrogance that it is necessary to justify and explain a project like this one, to show that it is not a great crime? Have we come to such a time that we even have to give reasons for a visit to Nicaragua? We have not visited Nicaragua very often. This is the second time in five and a half years, counting anniversaries. I have actually been invited very often, but do I have the right to be taking up the Sandinista compañeros' time? Do I have a lot of time to travel?

But is it perhaps a violation of international law to extend an invitation? If so, imagine how many violations have been committed at this time on the occasion of the inauguration of compañero Daniel [Ortega]. Have we reached such extremes of trying to curtail the sovereignty of states that it is necessary to ask permission and even to apologize for inviting someone and, moreover, for the guest to apologize for visiting a brother country? (APPLAUSE)

Amazingly, yesterday a U.S. State Department spokesman said that he was very annoyed about Mr. Castro's visit to Nicaragua. (APPLAUSE) The friendship between Nicaragua and Cuba is a problem. Since when? It is as if we were to begin to tell another country that we are displeased when they invite a friend.

I believe that no other country receives more delegations than the United States. Yet I have never heard anyone in any part of the world protest because it has invited someone, even if that someone was Somoza or [Chilean dictator] Pinochet, or the fascist prime minister of South Africa, where horrendous racial segregation prevails. No. All kinds of personalities, citizens of the world of all kinds are usually invited, usually invited. I have never heard a word of protest from anyone.

Ah, but Nicaragua cannot invite us, and I, a citizen of the world, a modest citizen of the world, cannot visit Nicaragua without a protest. (APPLAUSE) Some of the news dispatches said: "Castro's surprising visit," "Castro's unexpected visit." Castro cannot do anything that is not surprising or unexpected. Or else they said: "Castro's unannounced visit."

If Castro does not announce his visits, who knows better than the United States why I cannot enjoy the luxury of announcing many visits, (APPLAUSE) of announcing visits?

One can go to the U.S. Senate's archives to analyze and study all the investigations they have carried out and the statements they have made about just a small part of the attack plans they have prepared: dozens of attempts, plans for attempts inside and outside Cuba. One might be called the right to ban visits, and another might be called the right to hunt down a revolutionary internationally. This is what has been done against my country, and this is what is practiced against my modest person. The situation is such that not even the right to air travel exists.

We know that many things have happened, and we remember for example that a mine exploded in the port of Corinto one day, another one exploded in Bluefields, and another somewhere else, and another in yet another place.

The puppet mercenaries then came out and said: "Yes, we are responsible for these mines; we are the patriots! And we will continue to lay these mines to blow up more ships." A few weeks later it was revealed that no mine had been laid by any puppet counterrevolutionary organization. A relatively advanced technology was needed to manufacture these mines; sophisticated systems are necessary to lay these mines.

It was then discovered who had really laid these mines; this created a great international scandal. The CIA had laid these mines. Can we place any trust in the morality and ethics of such a policy?

Well, I regret it very much. I would like to travel like any other citizen, but I cannot announce my visits. I do not like to collaborate with the enemy. (LAUGHTER, APPLAUSE) This explains the mystery of

the "surprise" and the "unexpected."

If one wants a clearer explanation, it is a preventive measure to avoid running into one of the SR-71s [U.S. spy planes] that are flying throughout the Caribbean, violating all borders. They violate Nicaraguan airspace and have violated many other airspaces, including ours. I was seeking to avoid air accidents.

I wanted to explain something about Cuba's cooperation in this project. Compañero Wheelock gave many details, and, moreover, he spoke with such affection for Cuba that you could say, and I was thinking, that if Cuba's participation in this project can be described as generous, much more generous have been the words of recognition expressed here this afternoon by Compañero Wheelock. We were truly moved by those words.

We consider cooperation with Nicaragua and other countries basic duty. Other countries help us, countries that have more resources than we do. We have more resources than Nicaragua. The least we can do is cooperate with Nicaragua and many other peoples, brothers and friends of the Third World, who have fewer resources than we do.

Thus, there are Cuban doctors in over 25 Third World countries; and we even have 22,000 foreigners from 82 countries on scholarships in our country. (APPLAUSE) That is why we have said on other occasions that to be internationalist is to pay off our own debt, our homeland's debt, to humanity. (APPLAUSE)

I wanted to give a few figures, not to bore you, because that is not my intent, but for a reason that I will explain later. Incidentally, I noted that some of the figures that I brought from Cuba do not coincide 100 percent with those given by Wheelock. Something happened — perhaps a typing error (LAUGHTER) by the Cuban Ministry of the Sugar Industry or the Cuban Cooperation Committee, or by Nicaragua. In some cases the figures are higher, and in others they are a little lower.

I would like to point out what our cooperation consisted of. In technological equipment produced in Cuba, 34,161,000 pesos; technical equipment acquired by Cuba in the socialist world, 11.2 million pesos; metal structures built in Cuba, 170 tons worth 63,000 pesos; 7,800 tons of sheet metal — I think that Wheelock gave a higher figure, and it could be that some other equipment was listed in the steel section, but we have a figure of 7,800 tons of steel, worth 1.95 million dollars; 219 units of pumping equipment and engines, 525,600 — was I saying "dollars"? Ah no, pesos, and it should not be forgotten that we consider our peso worth more than the dollar. (LAUGHTER, APPLAUSE)

Well, in Cuba a peso has much greater purchasing power than a dollar in New York. I can give you examples. In Cuba, with a peso you can make 20 trips on a bus; in New York, a dollar pays for less than 2 trips. You can make more bus trips and do more things with a peso in Cuba than with a dollar in New York.

Agricultural equipment, 44 units — I think that this includes the combines, right? — 1.9 million pesos. In total — and here we do not agree, Wheelock — the value of these items is 49,810,000 pesos. I think you said 48 million. Might it not be in another currency, that of the eagle?

Now for total tonnage: Tonnage sent from Cuba was 31,500 tons. Volume was 77,680 cubic meters. That might not be a very important

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## To be internationalist is to pay off our own debt to humanity . . .

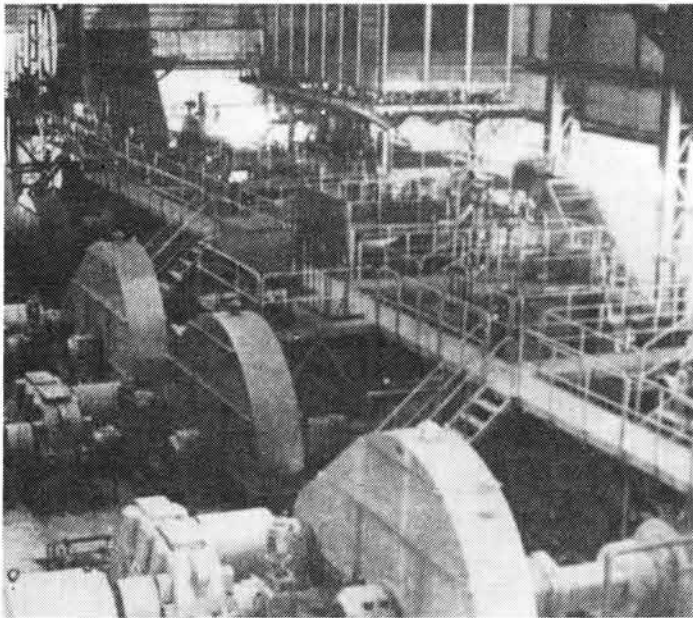
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figure, but the compañeros who gathered the data will probably be encouraged to have their data used.

The number of packages was 22,350. It was probably stated that these were weapons being sent to Nicaragua. As for the number of sea voyages, you said 29, and my figures say 33. There were probably some other trips that you do not have listed. Shipment by air: 210 tons. Estimated number of critical, basic spare parts sent, as of June 30, 1985, 1,500 tons. We still owe another 1,500 tons.

In addition, as Wheelock said, some 400 Cuban workers and technicians worked on the project. A few hundred more, some 700, came for brief periods according to their respective skills and then left. There is a contingent of workers that is helping to put the mill into operation.





Granma Weekly Review

Partial view of grinding area in Victoria de Julio sugar mill.

Perhaps I should mention, regarding our cooperators, that throughout these years since the unleashing of the dirty war, Cuban workers have run the same risks as the Nicaraguan people. In the face of the incessant threat of an invasion or an attack, our cooperators have faced the same risks alongside the people. In other words, they are making their contribution under conditions of real and potential danger.

You may wonder why I am referring to the data on Cuba's contribution. You might think I was gaining propaganda, publicity, with that contribution. I would not have dared to speak if Wheelock had not spoken first, but he did speak, and to excess, not to excess in content but in generosity, in what was moreover a brilliant work of oratory, with data, a difficult feat, leaving out nothing and no one who made this collective project, as he called it, possible.

I speak of these specific figures for the following reasons: Our cooperation with Nicaragua throughout the five and a half years since the Sandinista people's revolution triumphed has been based on absolutely free cooperation in all areas. (APPLAUSE) In education, health, agriculture, construction, the merchant marine, fishing, and many other areas, at various levels of teaching, in transportation, and on occasions of natural disasters. We have contributed material, cement, and steel. We have also contributed construction equipment; in other words, everything that has been at hand, and always, of course, we have tried to give some assistance to our many needy friends here.

I have been noting that some people have become specialists in presenting their needs objectively. We do what we can with pleasure. In general, it has not been difficult for them to obtain some assistance from Cuba, because they have many other friends besides me, many other advocates in the country who greatly desire to help the Nicaraguans. I note this subjective factor among our compañeros.

All of this cooperation has been given without charge; with the exception of this project. When they proposed that we cooperate in this project they asked for a loan. Well, this was a large-scale industrial project, and although we have reached some degree of development and we already produce, as Wheelock said, over 60 percent of the equipment needed for a mill of this kind, we do not have a lot of resources.

They said: We want this on the basis of a loan, and we agreed to cooperate on that basis. It is what is called a soft loan, at low interest. We offered a credit payable in 12 years at 6 percent interest, which is less than half of the current interest rate on the world market.

If one adds up all the materials, work force, projects, transportation, and so on, plus the interest, the amount Nicaragua would pay, according

to our estimates — I don't know whether Wheelock's figures are higher or lower — is \$73.8 million. We have figured it in dollars in this instance.

These estimates are based on cost prices. Some projects of this type, construction cooperation, or what could be called commercial operations in worldwide practice, could be calculated — as Wheelock and I estimated — if they were carried out or supplied by a transnational company or the like — and we know this because we purchase a great deal of industrial equipment — the value of this cooperation could be estimated at some \$100 million, and that would be conservative.

Well, none of this is important. The essential, fundamental reason for my explanation of these figures is as follows: The leadership of our party and of our government has been analyzing, on the occasion of the inauguration of the project, everything related to this agreement, this convention. We have also been analyzing what is happening in Nicaragua, as I was explaining.

While colossal efforts are being made to increase production and services, a dirty war is being waged against the country. It is costing lives and hundreds of millions.

In addition, Nicaragua inherited the legacy of Somoza: an enormous debt, a country that was destroyed twice in a short time, by an earthquake and by Somozaism — the Somozaist repression and Somozaist bombing. It is facing problems: high interest rates; low prices for its products on the market; and problems of the international economic crisis.

Cuba has reached the decision to cancel this debt owed by Nicaragua. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) (Radio announcer: "All members of the National Directorate and all those in attendance have risen to their feet to salute this decision reached by the Communist Party and revolutionary Government of Cuba.")

Therefore, we are donating all the equipment, material, labor, the value of the projects, and the physical and mental effort to Nicaragua. Thus, in the name of the Cuban people, we donate to Nicaragua the cooperation that we have carried out in the construction of this project, including the 1,500 tons of equipment that remains to be delivered. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Actually, it is my profound conviction that the solution to the problems of our Third World countries, which are presently burdened and strangled by enormous debts and which have few resources, is the cancellation of their debts. We proposed this at the last summit meeting of the nonaligned countries, in principle, not to resolve the problems but simply to begin modestly to solve the problems related to those Third World countries that are less developed and have fewer resources. Similarly, I am convinced that for the Third World countries of greater development and more resources, the only solution is an extension of the payment period to many years with grace periods and low interest rates.

This is not an absurd demand. It is the only possible solution to begin to resolve the Third World's present problems. It is true that at times the debts are owed to private banks, but the states, especially the rich industrialized states, should assume responsibility for that debt. For example, the internal debt of the United States is \$1.6 trillion. Can you comprehend that? It is not easy. It is not easy to explain to yourself. I will say it another way, as I did recently in Cuba: \$1 trillion, plus \$650 billion, is the U.S. internal debt.

What is spent on weapons yearly in the United States, in the United States alone, is a figure almost as large as the foreign debt of all Latin America. It is not impossible for the economy of the rich industrialized countries to assume that debt and to assume it all. In our discussions we established a difference between the countries of less development with greater difficulties and fewer resources, and those which have a higher level of development and more resources, for which we proposed a longer period for paying off their debts, with low interest rates.

This is consistent with the decision adopted by our party and our government. If you permit me — I realize that I am not in Cuba and that I do not have the right to speak for such a long time (APPLAUSE) — but I think it is necessary, if you will permit me, to speak of the international system on this occasion. It is related to Nicaragua and our position, and

I want to go into it.

In order to justify the imperialist attacks on Nicaragua, it is stated that Nicaragua wants to export its revolution to Central America, and it is stated insistently that Nicaragua wants to export its revolution to El Salvador. In fact, if one thinks about it a little, it is not necessary to turn to the historical facts that I mentioned previously, but just to remember that in the 1930s, before the Cuban revolution and long before the Nicaraguan revolution, there were great uprisings and great struggles in El Salvador, and that tens of thousands of people were killed. Some 30,000 peasants were reportedly killed.

Anyone who is a little informed knows that at least 10 years before the Sandinista triumph, Nicaraguans [Salvadorans?] had been fighting against the genocidal, repressive regime. I know quite well that it began many years before the triumph of the Sandinista revolution and that it had gained great strength by the time the Sandinista revolution triumphed.

How can Nicaragua be accused of wanting to export revolution to El Salvador or any other country? One thing we are totally convinced of, it could be called a principle that can be summarized in a few words. Revolutions can neither be exported nor avoided. This has been demonstrated by life, by history, and by revolutionary theory and practice throughout the centuries.

If necessary, we can go back to the French Revolution, or the Mexican revolution, or the Russian revolution of 1917, or any revolution, even ours. If we had wanted to import our revolution, we had nowhere to place an order. We did not know anyone. We did not know where to place an order for a revolution as an import. That argument is so ridiculous, so absurd, so simplistic.

We can say: Who can export the present international economic crisis that is creating so many social problems and so much instability in many countries? Who can export that enormous Latin American foreign debt of \$360 billion?

We can remember the era of the Alliance for Progress, when it was said that Latin America's problems would be solved with \$20 billion loans. Now Latin America, 24 years later, has twice as many problems, twice as many people, twice as many social problems, and an enormous and intolerable debt of \$360 billion. Who can export that situation? Who can export the growing underdevelopment and misery in Latin America and the hunger, the real fact that tens of millions of people are hungry?

The statistics on average nutrition in each country are known, and averages mean that the figures are much lower for the majority and much higher for a minority. The figures on health are known. All international organizations report on this constantly. Who can export these conditions, which are the source of the peoples' struggles and revolutions?

Who can export this selfish policy of the capitalist, industrialized countries, whose protectionist policies strangle the economies of the developing countries? Who can export the unequal trade under which every year we must deliver more products to pay for the same amount of equipment that we import? Who can create those conditions artificially? Who can export those conditions? They result from numerous, varied, different historical factors and the accumulation of the problems that those factors have created.

They resort to the misused argument that Nicaragua is trying to export the revolution, as they have done with Cuba. Let me say what I think,

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### **The main agent of revolution in this hemisphere is the IMF . . .**

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my inner conviction — the truth is that the main, the essential, and the surefire agent of the revolution in this hemisphere is the IMF [International Monetary Fund]. We saw this in some countries; we saw the measures applied, the social restrictions enforced, and the brutal damage inflicted on the people's standard of living, especially the workers. In some places, like in Santo Domingo recently, this provoked a rebellion among the people against the IMF measures. The police and the army had to be sent out to kill citizens, and they killed dozens of citizens.

The enormous foreign debt and high interest rates, the underdevelop-

ment, poverty, protectionist measures, unequal trade, and exploitation against our people are creating unbearable conditions for our countries.

If we are going to talk seriously, these are, I repeat, the surefire factors of subversion and revolution. Subversion is a word invented by them to blame someone else for this, and revolution is our word.

If no solution is sought for these problems, and if, for example, no solution is sought to the foreign debt problem, then the conditions of political instability in Latin American countries will become increasingly worse. If we want to achieve stability, we must start by overcoming this problem.

The world needs peace and the need for peace is currently a universal call, more than ever, because humanity has become fully aware that

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### **If we had wanted to import our revolution, we had nowhere to place an order . . .**

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with modern weapons and technology you cannot conceivably solve international problems through war. For many centuries, the powerful warmongering states, the colonialist powers and then the imperialist powers, had this luxury.

Nowadays, no one can afford the luxury of thinking that the solution to problems lies in a war because, I repeat, humanity has become aware of this fact. Humanity is aware of this; leaders are aware of this; statesmen are aware of this; scientists are aware of this; and anyone with a minimum level of education — and there are many in the world — is aware of the fact that a world war nowadays would represent the extinction of humankind and many other species; possibly every species.

Some scientists say that only cockroaches and other similar insects would be able to survive a nuclear war, a world war; apparently they have a strong defense against radioactivity. This is very well known.

There is a generalized clamor for peace and we give a lot of thought to these problems. Thus, the international public, the whole world, welcomed with satisfaction the news and communiqués regarding the meeting in Geneva between the U.S. and Soviet representatives. The whole world awaited the communiqué about this meeting, because it is a very important event.

The communiqué talks about the two countries' willingness to discuss matters related to the so-called space war, space weapons, strategic nuclear weapons, the long- and medium-range strategic nuclear weapons. The communiqué talks about negotiating to curb and reduce the arms race and, for the first time in a communiqué of this nature, it mentions the destruction of all the nuclear weapons as its final goal.

This is the first time in this critical period, which was, is, and will continue to be highly dangerous, that such a complex and dangerous problem ever to be faced by man is discussed and mentioned as the final goal. Naturally, this was welcomed with pleasure by all countries. This is fundamental for Third World countries because if we do not have peace, if this incredible arms buildup is continued, there will not be a single ray of hope for them to solve this other type of nuclear weapons: hunger, underdevelopment, poverty, loss of natural resources — as is happening in African countries.

These countries are facing a veritable apocalypse: the growth of their desert. Millions of people are dying of hunger, and the industrialized world has seen scenes on television screens that recall the Nazi concentration camps after the war. The world has become aware of this problem, because there would not be the most remote hope for Third World countries if this problem is not solved.

Industrialized countries, who are aware of these weapons' power, also consider it vital, fundamental, essential, and a priority to avoid a nuclear war. This concern is shared by all the statesmen, leaders, even the closest U.S. allies.

Southern African countries want peace; the southern African peoples need peace. The Southeast Asia peoples want and need peace; the Middle Eastern peoples want and need peace; the European peoples want and need peace. The peoples in our region want and need peace and they have the right to achieve peace.

I think that all of the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America want peace. Mexico wants peace in the region and works for peace in

the region. We always mention Mexico with great respect, with great gratitude, because Mexico's conduct in this hemisphere has been exceptional regarding Cuba. It has been exceptional not only regarding Cuba. It has also been exceptional regarding Nicaragua. Mexico is one of the countries that has aided Nicaragua economically the most during these years. We know this. (APPLAUSE) However, Mexico did not only help Nicaragua; it along with Venezuela — as a result of the brutal rise in oil prices — promoted agreements to supply the Central American and Caribbean countries with oil based upon the possibilities of receiving as credits a part of the price of the oil. Oil increased from \$20 a ton to more than \$200.

Mexico promoted and supported a policy of supplying approximately one-third of that price as credit to be paid under certain more favorable conditions if these resources were destined to investments in energy. Good, it was an effort, even though all the countries of the area would have to pay in cash more than \$150 per ton or thereabouts, which was practically unbearable. But at least it was an effort, it helped. We can say that Mexico has been very generous in its economic cooperation with the countries of Central America and the Caribbean. Mexico has made an effort to create formulas of negotiations and peace in the region, and it is one of the pillars of the Contadora Group.

Panama wants peace and needs peace, in Panama and in the region. The Panamanians struggled for a very long time to recover their rights over the canal and for the restitution of the territories occupied by military bases. For a period of years, in order to carry out their independent policies and in order to complement their aspirations of achieving total recovery of their sovereign rights over their canal and their territory, that country needs peace. It is one of the countries that, along with Mexico, has made a great effort to find political solutions to the problems of the area.

Colombia, the third country of the Contadora Group, wants peace. Venezuela wants peace. These four countries have formed the internationally known group — with ample international support — the Contadora Group, which has been struggling to achieve solutions to the problems.

Nicaragua needs and wants peace. All of the Central American countries need peace. All of the countries in the Caribbean, including Cuba, want and need peace. This is a reality.

However, I believe even more that the people of the United States want and need peace, on the international level as well as on the regional level. The U.S. economy cannot endure much longer under these colossal military expenditures. At least, it cannot endure the increase of these expenses, as it cannot continue to endure a budget deficit of more than \$200 billion, a trade deficit that already reaches \$120 billion annually. It cannot endure without the economy breaking down. They have done this but at the expense of the economies of the rest of the Third World countries and those of their own capitalist allies.

Objectively, the U.S. economy needs peace. This would not only be in the interests of the countries of the region and the continent, but also in the interests of the American people. No one is capable of calculating the consequences of an armed invasion by the United States of any Central American or Latin American country. It would be such a great offense and such a deep wound to the Latin American peoples' feelings that it would take who knows how long to erase it, if it could ever be erased.

We are not living in 1927 or 1912, when there were no radios or other media, nor the awareness that exists in the world.

Today there are more than 150 independent states, an ample and powerful international opinion, not only in the world, but in the United States itself, and this was demonstrated at the time of the Vietnam war.

With invasion of a Latin American country, we only have to recall the hemisphere's reaction to the Malvinas war, even though a repressive military junta was ruling the country [Argentina]. However, this was not an obstacle to the expressions of support for the Argentine people. In view of the current level of awareness of our peoples, I really think that it would be an inconceivable mistake.

Furthermore, our peoples are not at all defenseless, and they should not be underestimated. I am absolutely sure that an intervention in Nicaragua would generate a totally invincible resistance from the Nicara-

guan people. (APPLAUSE) This is based on realities, not wishful thinking. An intervention in Nicaragua would give rise to an endless people's war, would develop into real genocide that the world would consider intolerable, and a war in which the invaders would have to pull out in the end.

The situation is exactly the same as in our country. We have prepared our people to resist. We are absolutely and totally sure of this, no matter how many millions of soldiers are used.

But there is nothing extraordinary about this, as we have seen in recent times, even facing the most sophisticated technologies, the most

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## **I believe the people of the United States want and need peace . . .**

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perfect weapons. I recently gave a few examples at the Cuban National Assembly.

For instance, I mentioned the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic, whose representative is here among us. (APPLAUSE) A small country, with a very small population, located in a desert region, is fighting for its independence, against the occupation of foreign troops. It is fighting against hundreds of thousands of Moroccan soldiers, supported by the United States, with highly sophisticated weapons and equipment. That country is victoriously fighting back the occupation, and has kept the Moroccan Army under control. There is no way of destroying that movement, that struggle. The Saharan people cannot be defeated.

I also mentioned the case of Algeria when it fought against one of the strongest, best equipped, and most experienced powers in colonial wars: France. The Algerians fought against hundreds of thousands of soldiers for many years and achieved victory.

In Yugoslavia, whose representative is also here among us, (APPLAUSE) during the Nazi occupation, the people rose in arms, under the leadership of the Communist Party. They were not really ready for that, as they were practically without any weapons when they started, but they fought against dozens of the best German divisions and against dozens of Italian divisions, against dozens, perhaps hundreds of thousands of collaborators, and gave a lesson of what people can do.

Ah, but after that we had the Vietnam lesson. For years the United States, the most powerful imperialist country, sent 500,000 soldiers, its best divisions, thousands of planes and helicopters, its best experts against the small, poor, economically poor country Vietnam. The Vietnamese people fought for years, developed extraordinary experience, and defeated the most powerful imperialist power, giving the world the example of an invaluable experience.

Near Nicaragua, Salvadorans have been fighting for five years on a small piece of land, against tens of thousands of soldiers trained, armed, and equipped by the United States, against dozens of planes, helicopters, all kinds of technologies, but the Salvadorans persist under these conditions. They have experience and strength, they are an example of what people can do and are doing.

This cannot be neutralized by any military technology, regardless of how sophisticated it may be. In other words, our people have the capacity, determination, courage, and fighting spirit. In other words, any military adventure against a Latin American country will not only generate colossal political problems, but also the invincible resistance of our peoples.

However, our peoples do not want these victories, this glory, that would cost many U.S. lives on one hand, and countless Latin American lives on the other. No one wants that bloodshed, no one ever wants this kind of war to begin. This is why we can say with profound conviction — not only with a realistic but with a political and revolutionary conviction — that our peoples and this includes the American people want peace, need peace.

I have seen many North Americans, professors, technicians, and youth, whose feeling of sympathy leads them to collaborate with Nicaragua, because they are ashamed of the dirty war. They are collaborating in different fields of agriculture. There are many in the United States who feel the same way. The way the American people feel is very im-

portant.

We are also aware of the efforts being made to change the way the American people feel, to fool them, writing articles, documents. Last night I read a dispatch on a book to be published in the United States in which the U.S. Government uses tremendous arguments supposedly to explain and justify new funds from Congress for the dirty war. It contained some facts that astonished me. They began talking about tons of arms and ships with arms. I do not know where the agency obtained the information, but apparently the book talks about how it increased every year. And that this year, the last year, they talked of 33 ships loaded with arms for Nicaragua. Well, that is more ships loaded with arms than the number I was told brought the equipment for the sugar mill for Nicaragua. Thirty-three ships! It is incredible, absurd, an invention from top to bottom.

I recently read a dispatch that mentioned seven Soviet ships loaded with arms. However, I knew that the seven Soviet ships were loaded with supplies for Nicaragua and not one single weapon. I closely followed the developments.

A few days later, they said the seven ships arrived but they did not carry heavy arms, they transported light arms. I do not know if a bag of wheat, or an oil barrel, is a light arm, if foodstuffs, agricultural equipment and transportation equipment are light arms. It is the first time in my life that I heard such a thing.

We know the truth about those ships. They did not bring one single weapon. Evidently there is a deliberate campaign to try to prove that what Nicaragua says is not the truth, and that reality and truth don't count.

A campaign has been unleashed because Nicaragua has armed itself and has tried to obtain arms that are not offensive, arms that are of a purely defensive nature. An armored vehicle or any other weapon that can be used offensively can be called an offensive weapon.

The fundamental arms that make Nicaragua powerful are the light arms. Definitely. They are very hard to neutralize.

And Nicaragua has not done this to threaten its neighbors. It is ridiculous, it is absurd, to think a revolutionary country would carry out a military adventure against its neighbors. It is contrary to the thought, the ideas of any revolutionary party of this hemisphere, continuously threatened.

Who can conceive that a country like Nicaragua can harbor the intention of waging a war against a sister country? Against Costa Rica or against Honduras? It is absurd. This would be to serve imperialism on a silver platter, a golden pretext to attack Nicaragua. It is absurd and inconceivable.

They say Nicaragua is arming, but against whom is Nicaragua arming itself? Who is threatening Nicaragua? None of the neighbor countries is threatening Nicaragua. Nicaragua's traditional threat has always come and continues to come today from the most powerful imperialist country. That is where the threat comes from. Nicaragua made the efforts to prepare itself and organize the people for the people's struggle. Is it that difficult to understand that Nicaragua did not receive arms to fight against its neighbors, nor does it have any interest to fight against them? It is just trying to defend itself from the traditional threat, past and present.

Can we criticize a country for doing that? What are we supposed to do when we are threatened? Should we disarm ourselves, or go down on

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### **What is spent on weapons yearly in the United States alone is almost as much as the foreign debt of Latin America . . .**

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our knees? No revolutionary country, when threatened, disarms itself or goes down on its knees. (APPLAUSE)

This is understandable. That is why we can say with absolute certainty that our peoples want peace and they are willing to contribute with efforts for peace in the world and in our region.

It is an honest attitude. What can we gain from war? War, for what? We will defend ourselves only if we are attacked or invaded, like the lion's cubs of which we talked yesterday. Spanish lion's cubs to which

Daniel referred yesterday, recalling Rubén [Darío].<sup>1</sup> Not just a thousand cubs, but millions of cubs, and not just Spanish cubs, but Spanish, Indian, and African cubs we are. (APPLAUSE)

What interest can we have in waging a war with our neighbors? Even in our country we have a military base [U.S. naval base at Guantánamo] against the will of our people. It has been there throughout the 26 years of the revolution, and it is being occupied by force.

We have the moral and legal right to demand its delivery to our people. We have made the claim in the moral and legal way. We do not intend to recover it with the use of arms. It is part of our territory being occupied by a U.S. military base. Never has anyone, a revolutionary cadre, a revolutionary leader, or a fellow citizen, had the idea to recover that piece of our territory by the use of force.

If some day it will be ours, it will not be by the use of force, but by the advance of the conscience of justice in the world. Meanwhile, billions are spent there uselessly or are spent to try to humiliate Cuba.

Should we decide to attack the base, it would be the pretext that imperialism would use to label us aggressors, warmongers, and to attack our country. The same attitude is observed by any other revolutionary country or group of responsible leaders. I cannot speak for the Nicaraguans, but I know how the Nicaraguans think, based on our relations of many years. Therefore, revolutions cannot be exported. Nor do our countries have the least intention of fighting or attacking their neighbor brothers.

We are willing to cooperate. I was saying a few moments ago that we want and need and have a right to peace. We must demand peace, not as a gift but as a right. We need peace the same as the world needs it. We will be glad if there is peace in the world. It is not possible, however, to have détente and peace in the world if our region and our peoples are attacked. This would be a disturbing factor in all international relations.

I explain this in order to express here all our convictions and the reasons for our principles and the ideas of our party. Talking to the Conadora foreign ministers, I was able to explain to them our opinions on what we have been discussing, as well as our willingness to cooperate.

We sincerely believe that this can be truly achieved. We need to negotiate agreements and this is not easy. There are also complex problems, but right now I can think of two essential things.

One, we have to promote a dialogue and political negotiations between the FMLN-FDR [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Revolutionary Democratic Front] and the Salvadoran government. We must encourage these political negotiations. We must support them.

It is necessary to find negotiated political solutions in El Salvador. This is an essential factor in the solution of Central American problems. We cannot think of any solutions in the area if it means that El Salvador would be excluded. It would be a tremendous mistake to think that the Central American problem, particularly in El Salvador, can be solved through the extermination of all Salvadoran revolutionaries. These revolutionaries have demonstrated their ability to fight, their courage, and their morale in combat for five years, and they are unbeatable.

In addition to talking, one has to watch many things and learn from the experiences of others, events that occur in various places, the development of revolutionary political movements. We can say that the Salvadoran revolutionaries are nowadays the most courageous and experienced in Latin America. (APPLAUSE) These revolutionaries are among the most experienced in the entire world.

This is only the logical and the natural outcome of the struggle. As obstacles and forces are encountered by a fighting people over a long period of time, the people develop an even greater fighting strategy and gain even more experience.

We might say that it is fundamental to dismiss the notion that, if we want to find solutions in the area in good faith, we can solve the problem by doing away with all the Salvadoran revolutionaries. We must have agreements to guarantee Nicaragua's integrity and security against direct aggressions or dirty wars. This is essential.

Actions are required to guarantee peace and security for all the Central American countries without exceptions, because all are brother countries and need peace. If there is good faith — and we are willing to

1. Rubén Darío was Nicaragua's foremost national poet. He died in 1916.

work in good faith — it is possible to have peace in the area and friendly relations among Central American and Caribbean countries, and Cuba.

We can even have good, normal relations between our countries — in this case I mean Cuba — and the United States. This is based on revolutionary conviction and realism.

Very different systems exist. It is up to them to change it when they so desire. I have not yet met anyone who has demanded a change in the U.S. social system. Ah, but the United States has this mania of trying to change the social systems of other countries. But the nations' sovereignty has to be respected.

We also declare our willingness to live in peace with all other countries, but in a peace based on respect. I repeat, we will never kneel before any threat.

We consider ourselves capable of living on good terms with all our neighbors, near and far, from the Caribbean and Latin America in terms of respect and peace, regardless of their ideology and economic system.

And I repeat, these situations that can bring changes in some countries are historical factors. We don't renounce anything, we don't renounce any principle, and of course we don't renounce history and the realities of history.

I reiterate here our sincere willingness, which we expressed to three Contadora foreign ministers yesterday, to have peace. It is possible to have peace. This will require the good faith of all, and all will have to make concessions of one type or another. We cannot have peace if some make concessions while others make none. Peace based on the demands of the other party is not peace, but rather shameful surrender. And no revolutionary country either sells itself or surrenders. (APPLAUSE)

I avail myself of this occasion to state my viewpoints to the Nicaraguan people as we inaugurate this achievement of peace, this sugar mill. The real dream of revolutionaries is to be able to achieve many works like this, factories, hospitals, and schools, and to be able to develop the country's education, public works, public health, production of foodstuffs, and increase the people's cultural levels and their dignity. This mill is a symbol of the most intimate dreams of revolutionaries. (APPLAUSE)

A few words more, with the noble intention of concluding. Regarding some of my impressions during this trip, I will say that we were curious to see how the Nicaraguan people were, how the cities looked.

I was favorably impressed when I saw the cleanliness throughout the city of Managua, the beauty of the city, the changes, the orderliness throughout the city, and the green areas. There have been noticeable changes since I was last here. I was favorably impressed. It was especially pleasing to observe the Nicaraguan people's high morale, combativeness, and enthusiasm. This explains the great tasks they have carried out during these last years.

If the construction of this sugar mill was a Nicaraguan enterprise, an enterprise that was really a feat, I believe that what the people have done throughout these years has been an even greater feat. They have countered aggression, fought courageously and with dignity during the aggression and the dirty war which has been waged against them.

How were they able to withstand economic problems throughout these years, which also brought problems for the whole world?

How were they able to meet the challenge of the country's institutionalization and the elections while simultaneously facing a war? The elections were held with the traditional liberal rules — we call them the liberal bourgeois norms — in this arena. These are the classic electoral norms, casting a direct ballot.

And they did not harbor the slightest fear. They were conscious of their authority, of their moral strength and, above all, they were conscious of the people's revolutionary quality. (APPLAUSE)

The challenge was accepted, but the enemy did not accept the challenge; U.S. imperialism did not accept the challenge and tried to obstruct the elections, because it was aware that the people support the FSLN.

Imperialism did everything possible to obstruct the elections; it exerted all kinds of pressure, resorted to all kinds of pretexts, manipulated the situation and the people — this manipulation was quite apparent and evident — to obstruct the elections or postpone them forever.

The Sandinistas had talked about holding the elections in 1985. Later

many people asked the Sandinistas to move the elections forward, so they were brought forward.

Once the elections were brought forward and the government provoked them, others demanded that they be postponed. Other demands, many more demands would follow the first ones, with the intention of wearing down the country with a dirty war, the human and economic wearing down of a country with a dirty war. There would be economic pressures and boycotts, and the people would be submitted to an endless electoral process.

That is why I think, why I am firmly convinced, that the FSLN's decision to stick to its pledge and the date of the elections was the intelli-

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## **An intervention in Nicaragua would generate a totally invincible resistance . . .**

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gent, correct, and appropriate thing to do. The FSLN did not fall into the trap.

Journalists, more than a thousand journalists, came from all over the world. What did they witness? The people's support for the revolution and the people's enthusiasm. It was not merely support, it was enthusiastic support, and it was evident to all the world. We have been able to ascertain at every level a certain truth. The elections were absolutely honest, as they seldom are anywhere else. The elections were not only honest; a great percentage of people voted in them. This percentage is rarely observed anywhere else in Latin America or even in the United States itself.

In addition, the FSLN received a percentage of votes far greater than those ever received by any other political party in Latin America. (APPLAUSE) This is a real and objective fact. What right does anyone have to challenge these elections when they were held according to the traditional norms?

Yesterday we had the opportunity to participate in the inauguration ceremony. Its simplicity, seriousness, formality, and solemnity were impressive. It included the participation of all sectors, including the executive branch, the Assembly, and state officials. It even included the church's participation. I have seen my picture today in some newspapers; I was beside Monsignor [Pablo Antonio] Vega, president of the Bishops Conference.

It was a pleasure, and at various times we exchanged views on different topics in an amiable way. His attitude impressed me favorably, because we were able to talk with complete freedom during that ceremony and exchanged views. He left us with a positive impression.

I also had the opportunity to greet the apostolic nuncio in Managua. We talked for a few minutes, and it was a nice conversation. I reminded him about the role played by a nuncio in Cuba. In the beginning there were some conflicts between the revolution and the church. I will never forget the role played by that nuncio, Monsignor Charles Tachey, because it was positive and constructive and helped us establish normal relations with the Catholic Church in Cuba.

I might add that we established normal and respectful relations with the Catholic Church and all the churches in our country. This was not a prerogative generously granted to an institution; it was based on the principle of respect for the religious beliefs and customs of any citizen.

We are not talking only about respect; more than once I have asserted my appreciation and admiration for the work carried out by many members of religious organizations, especially by many nuns, in our country, taking care of the sick and the elderly. We really appreciate this extraordinary work. I once said at the National Assembly that the nuns who run asylums are models of communism. I referred to their attitude, spirit, generosity, and charity. (APPLAUSE)

We are extraordinarily pleased because the relations between the church and state are improving in Nicaragua. No one could be interested in creating a conflict. I think that all would benefit from an improvement in these relations, based on our experience. Appropriate relations, based on absolute respect, should prevail between the state and the religious organizations.

Yesterday we had the opportunity to hear Compañero Daniel Ortega's

speech, and I must congratulate him for it. It was serious and responsible. He explained the Sandinista Front's goals in every sector, for a mixed economy and political pluralism; and he even talked about a foreign investment law.

Nicaragua could build this sugar mill with its own resources and the collaboration of others. It builds a mill that is the property of the Nicaraguan people, not of a foreign enterprise.

But if a great oil deposit is discovered on the Pacific or the Atlantic coast and the country does not have the resources or technology to exploit this resource, it can perfectly well reach an agreement with an organization that has the technology or resources to exploit it. Many coun-

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## **Cuban workers have run the same risks as the Nicaraguan people . . .**

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tries do this, because this does not violate any national interest if the government places the country's interests above all else, if it cannot be bribed, if it does not sell itself to a company, if it analyzes everything. And this cannot happen any longer in Nicaragua, in line with the outline they have proposed.

Companies have come even to our country to talk about creating an enterprise to drill off our coasts, and if the appropriate circumstances and conditions are present in our country, we will accept the establishment of a mixed enterprise; all this is possible. We still do not have a law for this, but I do not think such a collaboration would go against our principles. We would have this collaboration if it proved very advantageous to us, and we would demand proper controls. We cannot conceive any other way; it must prove advantageous for us and must not go against any principle.

With the proper plans, the country can continue development. I imagine that you will exert yourselves to exploit all your resources and build many works like this one and other industries. I know there is also room within their conception for a mixed economy. This does not contradict principles.

The main problem is the achievement of development, a correct use of national resources, an intelligent use of national resources, and above all the defense of the people's interests.

You can have a capitalist economy. What you undoubtedly will not have, and this is the most essential thing, is a government at the service of the capitalists. That is something quite different. (APPLAUSE)

It will be a government of the people and for the people and it will defend the people's interests. These actions are not in conflict with revolutionary guidelines. Can it be done, must it be done? It depends, because each revolution is different from the others; each revolution is based on different conditions, forces, and situations. No one can say: This is the prescription for all countries. Each country must write its own prescription.

We know that great problems currently prevail in Third World and Latin American countries, and we do not harbor the slightest doubt or see the slightest contradiction in the realistic, courageous, and wise policy of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. (APPLAUSE)

The work that lies ahead is, of course, difficult. Every revolution is difficult and complex. Should anyone believe that a revolution is easy, it would be best to advise him from the start to give up the task or goal of making a revolution.

A revolution is much more difficult and complex than any other task. It is much more difficult than a war.

I assert: Waging a war is easier, much easier, than making a revolution, driving it forward, developing a country, and building an economy. How many obstacles, how many problems!

This is especially true when you must carry it out in a country that has only a terrible heritage of underdevelopment, debts, and illiteracy. It is extremely difficult, and it involves all kinds of complex problems, regardless of the country's specific situation. You can bear witness to this.

I will tell you something that might prove useful, my Nicaraguan brothers: You should know that the task that lies ahead is difficult and complex. However, it is also a noble, honorable, and worthwhile task.

I believe that to be a revolutionary — in a revolutionary epoch — is a great privilege for any human being.

People don't become revolutionaries just because they want to. Could anyone want to be a revolutionary back in the Middle Ages? Could anyone be a revolutionary? No one is a revolutionary because he wants to be, but because a revolution is a need and a possibility at a determined historical moment.

I sometimes ask, could anyone in our country have been a revolutionary during the 16th century and try to achieve social and political changes? Could that have been possible in the 17th century, or in the 18th century? Maybe during the second half of the 19th century, when many of our Latin American peoples were already independent, when our people felt the need and saw the possibility of struggling for their independence. And our people struggled for many years.

Were there no courageous and heroic people in the other centuries, capable of being as courageous and heroic as that generation? Yes, there were, but the historic moment did not exist.

The generation of [18]68 had it in our country. The generation of [19]53 had this privilege in our country. The people of Nicaragua, and the youth of Nicaragua, had this privilege in the 1970s.<sup>2</sup>

No one should complain; no task is more honorable, noble, or stimulating than the task of being a revolutionary. However, it is also the most difficult, and it requires responsibility, self-sacrifice, discipline, and facing a thousand problems. We always say this to our people: We have advanced far in many fields, but we have difficult tasks ahead, and we have raised this with the people. We have said that we must overcome the basic problems of our productive sector in the next 15 years. We must increase our exports, consolidate our economy, and not think about new consumer goods. We have discussed this with the people, with the youth, planning for our future.

The Nicaraguan people also have these responsibilities, this task. Difficult problems must never, can never, deter a real revolutionary. Great efforts must be exerted in agricultural and industrial production, despite the lack of raw materials and resources, amidst a dirty war, despite lower prices and undermined production. There lies the merit, heroism, and glory of revolutionary peoples who confront and defeat great obstacles. History is full of these examples.

I tell you sincerely: I see in the Nicaraguan people a magnificent, courageous, struggling, intelligent, and hard-working nation, and they will emerge victorious. They will emerge victorious from their struggle against economic obstacles. They will not lack collaboration from abroad. They will not lack friends who make efforts to help them.

However, the essential thing is the people's struggle, the use of natural resources, the savings in raw materials and fuel. This is essential,

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## **Subversion is a word invented by them, and revolution is our word . . .**

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and I am convinced they will emerge victorious.

I am also convinced they will defeat this dirty war, with or without new budgets. Of course, the open allocation of funds to wage a dirty war, violating all norms of moral and international law, would not contribute to achieving peace in the area; it would not be an act of good faith, of goodwill.

I harbor the hope that peace and stability in the country will be achieved even faster through the efforts of countries in the area, through the efforts of many countries, in the quest for political solutions.

Our most heartfelt hope is that Nicaragua's right to live in peace will be achieved without any more bloodshed, without sacrificing more sons. I harbor that hope, and, as I said, I see it as a real possibility, pro-

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2. 1868 marked the beginning of the Ten Years War for Cuban independence. On July 26, 1953, a group of young people, led by Fidel Castro, attacked the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba, beginning the struggle that led to the overthrow of the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista on Jan. 1, 1959.

vided there prevails common sense, wisdom, good faith, and goodwill.

However, I also know that you will be able to defend your right to dignity, independence, and justice, regardless of the sacrifices involved.

I am completely sure that the people of Nicaragua will know how to honorably and gloriously fulfill this responsibility, which flows from

the privilege of living in revolutionary times.

I am fully convinced that you, like the Cuban people, will emerge victorious. I also said not too long ago in Cuba: I harbor the hope that there will be peace for you, peace for the peoples of Central America, peace for the peoples of our hemisphere, and peace for the world. Thank you. □

# Cuban CP holds special meeting

## *Central Committee reviews international situation, foreign policy*

[The following article is taken from the February 10 issue of the English-language *Granma Weekly Review*, published in Havana, Cuba.]

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The 11th Special Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba was held on January 31, 1985, after being convened by the Political Bureau. The purpose was to examine the development of the international situation since the 10th Plenary Meeting held in December.

The 11th Plenary Meeting approved a report presented by the first secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Fidel Castro, on his recent visit to Nicaragua, the talks held with a group of legislators and businessmen from the United States, and the meeting with representatives of the Church hierarchy in the United States.

Comrade Fidel Castro gave details of the bases of Cuba's foreign policy and its efforts to solve the pressing problems faced by countries which are subjected to unjust and brutal relations of neocolonial domination; of the constructive and realistic nature of Cuba's positions to help solve regional conflicts; and the efforts our country is making to promote unity among the countries burdened by the world capitalist economic crisis, huge debts, backwardness, and dependency.

The 11th Plenary Meeting resolutely approved and praised the tireless, creative work of first secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Fidel Castro, in formulating, developing, and implementing our Party's principled positions regarding the complex international situation.

The Plenary Meeting once again confirmed that only these positions, rooted in the unity of our people, their ideological strength, the sustained growth of the national economy, and constant fortification of the country's defense capability, can open up alternatives for dialogue, peace, and cooperation based on mutual respect.

For Cuba, whose future is assured by the dedicated work of its people and the multifaceted cooperation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, promoting those alternatives is part of its contribution to international and regional détente, an objective which reflects the most legitimate interests of

peoples.

The 11th Plenary Meeting also discussed and made decisions regarding Party work.

In discussing these issues the 11th Plenary Meeting approved the proposal by the Political Bureau to remove Comrade Antonio Pérez Herrero from his post as alternate member of the Political Bureau and member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

This decision was made as a result of the analysis undertaken by the Political Bureau concerning shortcomings and repeated errors committed in the fulfillment of his duties which, although they were pointed out to him opportunely, he did not overcome. Since these were not errors of principle and taking into account his experience, his many years of service in the Party, and his revolutionary merits, Comrade Antonio Pérez Herrero will remain a member of the Central Committee.

The 11th Plenary Meeting elected Comrade José Ramón Balaguer as a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

At the Plenary Meeting an explanation was given of the initial measures adopted by the Political Bureau to improve the Party's work in the ideological and cultural sphere. These measures include organizing this sector, at the level of an auxiliary branch of the Central Committee, in two main divisions, each to be supervised by a member of the Central Committee's Secretariat.

Comrade Jorge Risquet Valdés will oversee the Department of Revolutionary Orientation and the Department of Culture of the Central Committee and will be directly in charge of the Department of Culture. Comrade José Ramón Balaguer will oversee education, science, and sports and will be the head of the department covering these activities.

The 11th Plenary Meeting was also informed of the Political Bureau's decision to transfer the guiding programmatic and methodological role in the Marxist-Leninist education and training of cadres and members, carried out by the Party schools and the Centers for Ideological and Political Education, from the Political Education Department which now ceases to exist to the Advanced Party School. Toward that end, the School will have department rank in the Central Committee and will be supervised by Secretariat member José R. Machado Ventura.

The Plenary Meeting was informed that

Comrade Carlos Aldama Escalante has been named head of the Central Committee's Department of Revolutionary Orientation. The Political Bureau agreed to recommend that the Secretariat of the Movement for Peace and the Sovereignty of the Peoples designate Comrade Orlando Fundora López, previously the head of the Central Committee's Department of Revolutionary Orientation, as its chairman.

The Political Bureau also informed the Plenary Meeting of the creation of the Religious Affairs Office, which will be supervised by the Secretariat of the Central Committee. José Felipe Carneado was appointed department head.

The 11th Plenary Meeting also learned of the Political Bureau's decision — in light of the above mentioned shifts of cadres — to propose to the Plenary Meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Party in City of Havana that Comrade Julio Camacho Aguilera be released from the post as first secretary of that Committee in order that he be proposed to the Plenary Meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba in Santiago de Cuba as first secretary to replace José Ramón Balaguer.

Comrade Camacho Aguilera has recognized experience and success in Party work necessary to take over the leadership of the Party in a province with the historical, political, and economic importance of Santiago de Cuba, where Comrade Balaguer did such excellent work. Comrade Jorge Lezcano Pérez, member of the Central Committee, will be proposed to the Provincial Committee of the Party in City of Havana as its first secretary.

The 11th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee decided to recommend to the Council of State the release in principle of Comrade Jorge Lezcano Pérez from his post as vice-president of the National Assembly of People's Power and the designation to that post of Comrade Severo Aguirre del Cristo, member of the Council of State, until both decisions are submitted to the National Assembly of People's Power for its consideration.

Finally, the 11th Plenary Meeting agreed that the main ceremony and related activities for the 32nd anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Garrison be held in the province of Guantánamo, in recognition of its notable efforts and the results obtained by that province's workers and population as a whole. □

# Miners forced to end strike

## Vow to wage defense for victimized workers

[The following editorial appeared in the March 8 issue of *Socialist Action*, a weekly newspaper published in London.]

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"The strike is over, but the dispute continues." Arthur Scargill's statement after Sunday's [March 3] special delegate conference expressed the spirit of struggle that continues to exist in the mining communities. The closeness of the return to work vote — 98 to 91, even after 12 months on strike — was adequate testimony to that. So was the reaction in the Kent and Scottish coalfields and at Armthorpe in Yorkshire.

The NUM's [National Union of Mineworkers] refusal to sign an agreement which would make it complicit in the Coal Board's closure programme was correct and necessary. Given the deteriorating situation faced by the strike, and the necessity to return in the short term, it was far better to refuse to make an agreement than to dress up a capitulation as "compromise."

As Arthur Scargill wrote in the *Observer* on 3 March: "The NCB [National Coal Board] is demanding that the NUM accepts closures on 'economic' grounds *prior* to such cases going through the review procedure — which means that the fate of these pits and units would effectively be predetermined even *before they enter the procedures*. That is the Board's ultimatum to us. We cannot accept it."

The crucial question for those who voted not to go back was rightfully the issue of amnesty for the 700 miners sacked in the course of the strike. This struggle is going to deepen. There are still over 2,000 court cases outstanding against NUM members — many on serious charges such as conspiracy and riot.

The NCB will continue to use these cases to victimise militants. Defence of those sacked is now a key task of the entire movement and not just the NUM.

Together with the overtime ban it is the immediate issue facing the union. Kent, Scotland, and Armthorpe in Yorkshire led the way on Monday with their votes to stay out to fight for an amnesty.

The outcome of the strike is a defeat not just for the miners but for the entire labour movement. But the attitude taken by Scargill, and the NUM rank and file, has created the best conditions possible for an ongoing struggle.

This is despite the fact that the right has been sitting on its hands and waiting for an opportunity to isolate the Scargill wing of the union. And despite the fact that the South Wales executive decision to recommend a return — with the implied threat that the coalfield would go back whatever the national conference decided — effectively tried to pre-empt the discussion

at Sunday's delegate conference.

The refusal of the NUM to sign an agreement, to become complicit in pit closures, means that the miners return to work in a much more favorable situation than, for example, the workers at British Leyland or British Steel — [NCB chairman Ian] MacGregor's previous two victims. There the leaderships accepted the agreements and effectively policed the run-down of the industries.

The NCB tried to force this same role on the NUM. It failed.

Of course the NCB will try to move rapidly now to stamp its authority on the coalfields: to isolate militants, restructure the industry, and impose its spurious criteria of profitability. MacGregor has already announced he will be continuing with the closure programme.

But the miners, under Scargill, are in a much better position to rebuild for a fightback than the steel workers were under [their former president Bill] Sirs — or for that matter than the miners would be under another Joe Gormley [former NUM president]. This is what makes the Scargill leadership different from anything that has existed in the British labour movement for 60 years. That is an intransigent determination to stand and fight on the basic issues.

That determination turned the miners' strike into a social and political struggle that welded the left together into a class-struggle layer whose growth and development will continue in the next period.

The blame for the defeat does not lie with the NUM leadership. The mining communities have given the greatest example of struggle in the history of the British working class. Responsibility for the defeat lies with the leadership of the TUC [Trades Union Congress] and the Labour Party.

As Mick McGahey [vice-president of the NUM] put it at the December TUC General Council, there were "three kinds of leader round the table": the honourable ones who had tried to deliver support and had succeeded, the honourable ones who had tried to deliver support and failed, and the dishonourable ones who had never tried.

The last are in a clear majority in the TUC. There is no room in the offices of the TUC for a leadership that stands and fights for its members' interests.

The NUM's refusal to allow the TUC to take over the dispute was correct. The decisions of the September [TUC] congress to give "total support" to the miners was sabotaged by [TUC general secretary Norman] Willis and the majority of the General Council.

The TUC, no doubt, will use as an excuse the clause that support — particularly in the power stations — had to be "by agreement

with the unions concerned." The truth is that from the beginning the General Council have been more afraid of a Scargill victory than a Thatcher one.

To cap it all there can be few more dispicable incidents in the history of the British labour movement than the TUC using last week's talks to "bring them closer to the government."

The TUC's treachery is all the greater when one realizes just how little effort was necessary to bring power cuts and win the dispute. As few as eight of the major power stations had to be stopped to bring nationwide cuts. This was well within the TUC's grasp. Instead, along with [Labour Party leader Neil] Kinnock and [deputy leader Roy] Hattersley, Willis concentrated on attacking the NUM for so-called violent picketing.

As Scargill put it: "The trade union movement in Britain, with a few honourable exceptions, has left this union isolated. They have not carried out TUC congress decisions, to their eternal shame."

From Willis through to [electrical workers union leader Eric] Hammond and Kinnock through to [Labour Party MP Denis] Healey, the Labour leaders have clearly shown that they are unfit to lead the labour movement.

In the present crisis the working class needs a leadership that will stand and fight. The miners' strike has driven this understanding deep into the trade unions, the Labour Party, and all sections of the oppressed in struggle. That is the permanent gain of this dispute, and the greatest guarantee of avoiding future setbacks.

The centre and right of the TUC and Labour Party will undoubtedly use Thatcher's victory as an occasion to try and crush the left in the movement. They want the defeat of the miners to be, as the *Observer* put it last Sunday: "the making of Neil Kinnock." And now Kinnock has announced his opposition to an amnesty for sacked miners.

For the labour movement, such a strengthening of Kinnock would be a disaster. It would consolidate the leadership that betrayed the miners — one that couldn't fight its way out of a wet paper bag.

But Kinnock will not have it an easy task. The miners' strike has brought into being a class-struggle layer and leadership in Britain which is thousands strong and organised throughout the movement. It has opened a period of radicalisation and political struggle of a kind not seen in Britain since the 1920s. It is a radicalisation that will deepen.

The task now is to organise that left to throw out the traitors. It requires a programme for a government as loyal to our class as Thatcher is to hers — and a fight for the Labour Party to adopt such a programme.

We need a leadership that will follow the example of the miners in resisting the attacks on the working class. For the working class there is no other road — no matter how long it takes.

Arthur Scargill put it very well: "It is on struggles such as ours that democracy itself depends. Our fight will go on." □