

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 23, No. 19

October 7, 1985

USA \$1.25 UK £0.80

Mitterrand Defies Protests, Vows More Nuclear Tests



French government now admits it sank *Rainbow Warrior* to block protests of French nuclear testing in Pacific.

NAMIBIA

**SWAPO Advances Despite
South African Terror**

FIDEL CASTRO

**'Collecting Debt
Is Impossible'**

Mitterrand's nuclear 'Watergate' crisis

By Will Reissner

The slowly ticking time bomb triggered by the July 10 sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* in a New Zealand harbor has now exploded in French President François Mitterrand's face.

On September 22, the French government finally admitted that its agents had blown up the vessel.

The *Rainbow Warrior*, flagship of the Greenpeace ecological and antinuclear organization, had been scheduled to lead a flotilla of the ships to protest renewed French nuclear-weapons testing on the Pacific islands of Mururoa and Fangataufa. Before it could sail, two explosions sent it to the bottom of Auckland harbor, killing a Portuguese photographer on board.

As the French government's cover-up of its involvement in the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* began to unravel, it provided a glimpse of the lengths to which Mitterrand's Socialist Party administration is prepared to go to defend the interests of French imperialism around the world.

Reflecting the outrage among New Zealand's people, Prime Minister David Lange described the French operation as "a sordid act of international, state-backed terrorism."

Since taking office in 1981, Mitterrand has been an ardent backer of the independent French nuclear strike force and has boosted the strength of the French rapid deployment force, which is designed to intervene around the globe in defense of the interests of the French ruling families.

When Defense Minister Charles Hernu, a long-time Mitterrand associate, was forced to resign on September 20 following revelations that he had ordered the operation, his successor, Paul Quilès, gave him a stirring send off.

"I want to pay homage," said Quilès, "to a vibrant man, my friend Charles Hernu. For four years he has devoted all his efforts to safeguarding our national independence, and to supporting France and her armies in every part of the globe."

Tests will continue

The *Rainbow Warrior* operation also casts light on the arrogance of the French rulers. They have dismissed the huge opposition throughout the Pacific to French nuclear testing in the region, and have pledged to continue the tests.

They have set up a nuclear testing facility halfway around the world, placing it in the middle of an area inhabited by nearly 5 million residents of Melanesia, 1.2 million of Polynesia, and 225,000 of Micronesia, as well as 15 million people in Australia and 3 million in New Zealand.

Pacific islanders who protest the French activities in their region are rebuffed, as Tuaiwa Hautai Rickard found out on September 15. Rickard, a leader of the Polynesian Maori people of New Zealand, had been invited to Tahiti to attend a demonstration of the Polynesian Liberation Front, which is fighting for independence from France.

When Rickard called on "all independence forces to unite against the French presence and fight against the nuclear tests," the colonial authorities expelled her from "French" Polynesia and prohibited her from returning.

Rickard was told by French authorities that "all foreign citizens must respect a certain neutrality toward the territory of the French Republic which welcomes them."

French authorities themselves, however, showed no such "respect" for the territory of New Zealand when they blew up the *Rainbow Warrior*.

Even the arrest of two French agents in New Zealand and their forthcoming trial for murder did not slow down the Mitterrand government's commitment to move forward with the nuclear testing.

On August 18, Mitterrand stated that France will use "force if necessary" to block any further maritime protests of its nuclear testing in the Pacific. "Nuclear tests in the Pacific will continue as long as they are deemed necessary for the country's defense by the French authorities and by them alone," Mitterrand vowed.

Last May, the French military detonated their largest nuclear weapon ever in waters around Mururoa and Fangataufa.

In a direct and calculated slap in the face of South Pacific governments that had protested the French nuclear testing program, Mitterrand paid a special visit to the test range at Mururoa on September 14.

While on the atoll, the French chief executive used the occasion to reiterate his government's determination to exert its military influence in the Pacific. He announced that work would soon begin on construction of a major French military base on its island colony of New Caledonia.

The Melanesian inhabitants of New Caledonia, the Kanak people, are now waging a determined struggle to gain their independence from France. But the September 12 *Journal Officiel* reported that France will invest 400 million francs (US\$46 million) to build a base capable of servicing French nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers.

In a televised address to the French people upon his return from Mururoa, Mitterrand asserted that the 3,000 workers at the Mururoa nuclear test facility were "conscious of playing

a decisive part in the defense of France."

The French president added that he would not be swayed by international protests. "France, as a power present in the Pacific, intends to decide, on its own, questions that touch its national interests."

Portraying his country as the victim of misunderstanding, Mitterrand stated that France "intends only to see its rights respected."

In the same televised address, Mitterrand invited representatives of the South Pacific countries to visit the nuclear test site to see for themselves how "danger-free" it is.

Responses to his offer were not long in coming. Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke said, "I have one message and one message alone for President Mitterrand. . . . Take his tests back to France and have those absolutely safe tests in metropolitan France."

The prime minister of Western Samoa, Tofilau Eti, also turned down the French invitation.

Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, prime minister of Fiji, issued a "total, complete, and absolute condemnation of [France's] indifference regarding the protests of the Pacific countries and, we think, even their safety."

New Zealand's Prime Minister Lange described Mitterrand's visit to Mururoa as "an obscene gesture" aimed at opponents of French nuclear testing. He added that Mitterrand's trip was "a hit-and-run mission to say that France is a Pacific power, France is a nuclear power."

The New Zealand leader also rejected the invitation to visit Mururoa. "I don't want to look into a bomb crater," Lange commented. "I want to see President Mitterrand."

Raymond Lilley, a commentator for Radio New Zealand, described the response of New Zealanders to Mitterrand's lightning visit to the atoll. People resent this French assertion of "their almighty right to traipse around the South Pacific as they wish, blowing off neutron bloody bomb tests and so on."

Ecuador's foreign minister, Edgar Taran, added his country's protest of nuclear testing in the Pacific, describing it as a threat to the ecology of the region.

Leaks reveal outlines of operation

The full story of what happened at the dockside in New Zealand has still not been made public. But revelations leaked by military and intelligence officials to the Paris daily *Le Monde*, published in a front-page article in its September 18 edition, provide the general outlines of the operation.

Acting on orders from high officials in the French government, the General Directorate for External Security (DGSE) dispatched secret agents and commandos halfway around the world to send the *Rainbow Warrior* to the bottom.

The operation began in late April, when DGSE Lieutenant Christine Cabon arrived in New Zealand with orders to infiltrate the anti-nuclear movement. Her mission was to find out when the *Rainbow Warrior* was expected to arrive, and to prepare for additional sabotage teams.

According to *Le Monde*, Cabon had previously conducted similar, though unspecified, missions in the Middle East.

Three other groups of agents carried out the actual attack on the ship.

The first group, including three noncommissioned officers from the French combat frogmen's school in Corsica, rented a yacht in New Caledonia and sailed to New Zealand. Their mission was to smuggle into the country dinghies, a motor, diving equipment, and explosives needed for the attack on the *Rainbow Warrior*. Much of this equipment had been purchased in other European countries to hide the links to France.

Having delivered its deadly cargo, the yacht left New Zealand one day before the attack on the Greenpeace ship.

A second team — Alain Mafart, formerly second in command at the frogmen's training center, and Capt. Dominique Prieur of the DGSE — posing as Swiss tourists, took charge of the equipment delivered by the yacht, made the logistical arrangements for the attack itself, and were to stay behind to cover the tracks of the actual saboteurs.

The third team, which has never been identified but was apparently made up of two frogmen, blew up the vessel. According to intelligence sources quoted in the September 18 *Le Monde*, they left on commercial planes right after the attack, with one flying to Australia and the other to New Caledonia.

The two "Swiss tourists," however, remained behind to get rid of any incriminating evidence. The French government's responsibility for the sinking may never have been revealed had it not been for several mistakes made by the "Swiss tourists."

Members of a yacht club, worried about a rash of burglaries, had watched the couple rowing around the harbor and reported to the police the license number of the rented vehicle in which they left.

The link between the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* and the French government was made when the couple returned the rented vehicle rather than abandoning it. When Auckland police questioned the "Swiss tourists," it was discovered that their passports were forgeries.

Given the right to make one telephone call, the "Swiss tourists" dialed the emergency number of the DGSE in Paris, seeking help. The New Zealand police, meanwhile, were listening in on another extension.

With the arrest of Mafart and Prieur, the involvement of the French government became obvious. Yet Paris continued trying to stonewall.

The Mitterrand government appointed a special investigator, Bernard Tricot, who came to the stunning conclusion that although French agents had indeed been gathering information about Greenpeace's plans to protest French nuclear-weapons testing, it was unlikely they had anything to do with the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior*!

New Zealand's Prime Minister Lange blasted the August 26 Tricot report as "so transparent it could not be called a whitewash."

Yet this remained the Mitterrand government's line until the September 18 article in *Le Monde* reported the existence of the third team of frogmen who actually placed the explosives.

'French Watergate'

In an attempt to control the damage to the government caused by what Parisian newspapers now call the "French Watergate," Mitterrand accepted the September 20 resignation of Defense Minister Hernu and fired the head of the DGSE, Adm. Pierre Lacoste.

And on September 22, for the first time, the French government admitted what the whole world already knew: that French agents had in-

deed sunk the *Rainbow Warrior*, and had done so on orders from Paris.

"It was agents of the DGSE that sank the boat," Prime Minister Laurent Fabius acknowledged. "They acted under orders." But Fabius refused to state who had given those orders.

The French prime minister also refused to name the agents who had carried out the attack, stating that "it would be unacceptable to expose military personnel who were only obeying orders and who have at times carried out very dangerous missions for the country in the past."

Fabius' tardy admission of French responsibility for the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* and the death of the crew member, more than two months after the fact, is unlikely to lay the "French Watergate" affair to rest. □

—IN THIS ISSUE—

Closing news date: September 23, 1985

NAMIBIA	588	Upswing in independence struggle — by Ernest Harsch
AUSTRALIA	592	Salvadoran leaders explain struggle — by Megan Martin
BRITAIN	593	Thatcher's plan to weaken unions — by John Ross
NEW CALEDONIA	595	FLNKS weighs election law — by Andy Jarvis
CANADA	596	Meetings celebrate life of Joan Newbigging — by Lynda Little
ARGENTINA	598	October 23 antidebt actions set
MEXICO	598	Debt crisis worsens — by Juan Roberto-Loforte
JAPAN	599	Growth of feminist movement — by Mitsugoro Kawasaki
SOUTH PACIFIC	601	100 French nuclear tests since 1966 — by Jean-Louis Michel
PHILIPPINES	616	Marcos regime steps up repression — by Deb Shnookal
DOCUMENTS	591	SWAPO's call to Namibian people
	591	Cuban government condemns apartheid
	603	Castro's speech to debt conference
	611	Ortega calls for strengthening FSLN
	612	FSLN leadership restructured
	613	FMLN message to Salvadoran people

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

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

Editor: Doug Jenness.

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

Managing Editor: Ernest Harsch.

Editorial Staff: Steve Craine, Will Reissner.

Business Manager: Patti Iiyama.

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

Intercontinental Press is indexed by the Alternative Press Index, P.O. Box 7229, Baltimore, MD 21218; tel.: (301) 243-2471.

To Subscribe:

U.S. and Canada: Send US\$30.00, drawn on a U.S. bank, for a one-year subscription. Correspondence should be addressed to: Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone (212) 929-6933.

Britain, Ireland, continental Europe: Write to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL.

Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, N.S.W. 2040.

New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 8730, Auckland.

Write to New York for subscription rates to all other countries.

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

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

Upswing in independence struggle

South African terror fails to halt SWAPO advances

By Ernest Harsch

Confronted by a growing insurgency in South African-ruled Namibia, the apartheid regime again sent its troops and planes into neighboring Angola September 16. The previous such invasion of Angola, also directed against Namibian refugees and freedom fighters, came just two and a half months earlier.

Gen. Constand Viljoen, the South African military chief, claimed this latest assault was a "pre-emptive strike" designed to forestall a new rainy season offensive by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for Namibia's independence.

But like most of the earlier South African invasions, this attack was directed not only at the Namibian liberation movement. Striking more than 150 miles into Angola, it was also part of the racist white minority regime's drive to destabilize that country and bring down the government, which provides important assistance to both SWAPO and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa.

The Angolan Defense Ministry announced that the South African troops were supporting the counterrevolutionary mercenary bands of the so-called National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). For a decade now, these bands have burned crops, massacred villagers, and caused widespread destruction throughout much of southern Angola. UNITA receives direct South African funding, training, and logistical support, and often operates from South African bases in Namibia.

According to the Angolan Defense Ministry, South African planes also bombed Angolan troops engaged in a major offensive against the UNITA forces.

At the same time that this new invasion of Angola was under way, the apartheid regime admitted publicly that it was continuing to aid similar counterrevolutionary terrorist groups seeking to overthrow the government of Mozambique.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha acknowledged September 19 that Pretoria had made what he called "technical violations" of the so-called Nkomati accords. Those accords, signed between Mozambique and South Africa in March 1984, prohibited any such support. These violations have included massive arms shipments, regular radio communications, and clandestine visits to Mozambique by South African military personnel.

The U.S. government bears major responsibility for this South African aggression. Through the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria, it has given the racist regime valuable political and economic backing. This has strengthened Pretoria's hand throughout the region and en-

couraged it to strike out at neighboring Black-ruled states.

Nevertheless, U.S. officials, under the pressure of mounting worldwide protests against apartheid, felt obliged to criticize aspects of the South African regime's latest aggression. But they chose their words carefully, avoiding any sharp condemnations.

President Reagan, in a meeting in Washington with Mozambican President Samora Machel, proclaimed that he was "distressed" by Pretoria's violations of the Nkomati accords.

A State Department official, commenting on the invasion of Angola, stated, "South Africa's raid did not appear to be justified by a clear and imminent danger to Namibian territory, and therefore was not [a] reasonable and proportionate response."

He also lectured Pretoria for not justifying its attack the way Washington would have liked. "If we engaged in a pre-emptive strike in Lebanon, for instance, the rationale would be the right of self defense. . . ."

The South African authorities quickly picked up on this suggestion and began calling their attack a "follow-up operation" in response to armed SWAPO actions.

'Linkage'

The Reagan administration has also continued to back Pretoria on the question of Namibia. Although Washington formally favors Namibia's independence, in practice it gives political cover to the apartheid regime's efforts to maintain its domination over the ter-

ritory.

The main form of this is the demand, introduced by Washington several years ago, that Cuban troops first begin withdrawing from Angola before Namibia can gain its freedom. This is known as "linkage."

In explaining this demand, U.S. and South African officials charge that the presence of thousands of Cuban troops in Angola would "intimidate" the Namibian people and pose a "threat" to an independent Namibia.

This argument ignores the real threat to the lives and well-being of Namibia's people — South Africa's massive military occupation and racist colonial rule.

It also seeks to distort what Cuba's actual role in Angola is: to help defend that country against the repeated and devastating South African invasions and destabilization efforts.

Tens of thousands of Cuban troops first arrived in Angola in 1975, at the request of the governing People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), to counter a massive South African invasion. Pretoria aimed to militarily overthrow the MPLA government and impose a puppet regime subservient to Pretoria and Washington. But with the help of these Cuban internationalist fighters, the Angolans were able to turn back and defeat the invasion by early 1976.

In the face of the ongoing South African aggression, the Angolan government has asked the Cuban troops to stay on. In a May 29 speech to Namibian students studying in Cuba, President Fidel Castro pledged that "200,000 Cubans have passed through Angola, but if another 200,000 must pass through Angola then they will."

Virtually every government in the world has condemned or criticized the "linkage" policy, many of them pointing to it as an attempt to obstruct Namibia's independence.

SWAPO has also repeatedly denounced it. At a June 24 news conference in London, for example, SWAPO President Sam Nujoma "considered [linkage] as a concealed maneuver to support the oppressive South African regime and to delay the independence of Namibia," according to an Angolan radio report.

Pretoria has also used "linkage" to justify its backing to the Angolan counterrevolutionaries. On September 20, Defense Minister Magnus Malan, while for the first time publicly admitting that Pretoria directly aided UNITA, declared that this aid would be halted only if "foreign forces are withdrawn from Angola" — meaning the Cuban troops.

In an entirely different way than Washington and Pretoria mean it, however, the Cuban role in Angola is linked to political developments in Namibia and elsewhere in southern



Africa as well.

It helps advance the freedom struggles.

The defeat of the South African invasion of Angola in 1976 was a big blow to Pretoria. For the first time, the South African army — the most powerful on the continent — had been beaten in battle. Opponents of imperialist domination and racist rule throughout the region were inspired. Within months, the Black youth of South Africa rebelled in their hundreds of thousands. The liberation struggle in Zimbabwe escalated. And in Namibia there was a notable upswing in support for SWAPO and the fight for independence.

In addition, Cuba has been a consistent champion of Namibian independence. It has provided scholarships in Cuba to hundreds of Namibian students. It speaks out in support of Namibia internationally. It provides material and other assistance to SWAPO.

Colonial oppression

Although the independence struggle led by SWAPO has been greatly influenced by developments elsewhere, its roots lie within Namibia itself, in the long struggle of the Namibian people against imperialist domination.

With a population today of some 1.5 million, Namibia (then called South West Africa) was first subjugated by the German colonialists at the end of the 19th century. The Herero and Nama peoples launched armed rebellions against the expropriation of their land and cattle, but were crushed. *Nearly half* of the indigenous population at the time was butchered by the German colonialists.

During World War I, the South African regime displaced German imperialism as Namibia's colonial master. Its rule has been no less brutal.

South African and other foreign companies have plundered Namibia's extensive mineral wealth: diamonds, uranium, zinc, copper, tungsten, manganese, and other minerals. White settlers (both German and South African) took the best lands for themselves. Entire African communities were forcibly uprooted and resettled.

Pretoria imposed a system of colonial rule over Namibia very similar to that of apartheid within South Africa itself.

Africans have to live in segregated regions and townships. Rural reserves, called Bantustans, were set up in an effort to control Africans and to divide them along language lines.

Deprived of their land and cattle, many Africans have been forced into wage labor on the white-owned farms and for the foreign-owned mining, fishing, and industrial companies. They receive abysmally low wages, and their right to freely sell their labor is restricted by a migratory labor system in which residents of the Bantustans obtain jobs in the "white" areas on a contract basis.

In the late 1970s, the average Black income in Namibia was one twenty-fifth of the average white income. With the onset of an economic recession in the early 1980s, Black unemployment soared. The authorities responded by



Unit of SWAPO's People's Liberation Army of Namibia. Armed struggle has spread to new areas of country.

tightening labor restrictions and reintroducing "influx control," the system of keeping unemployed Blacks out of the main cities.

Education, health care, and other social services are grossly inferior for Blacks — where they exist at all.

Overall living conditions for Blacks have deteriorated in recent years in the urban centers, with pension cuts, rent hikes, and increases in bus fares and electricity rates. Drought has seriously affected conditions in the impoverished Bantustans.

'Independence by all possible means'

In reaction to such conditions and South Africa's oppressive rule, Namibians have organized themselves and embarked on a struggle for independence.

One of the first modern nationalist groups to be formed was the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO). It was launched in 1957 by a group of Namibian students and contract workers in Cape Town, South Africa. (Most contract workers at the time were Ovambos from northern Namibia.)

As sentiment for independence spread within Namibia, so did the OPO's support. It soon broadened its social base and political outlook to encompass the fight of all Namibians for independence and an end to racist rule.

In 1960, the group transformed itself into the South West Africa People's Organisation. Although one of SWAPO's strongest bases of support remained among the Ovambos (who make up nearly half of the country's total population), Hereros, Namas, Okavangos, Damaras, Coloureds (of mixed ancestry), and others flocked to the organization as well. In recent years, a few whites have also joined.

Although other proindependence currents also emerged in Namibia, SWAPO was by far the strongest.

SWAPO leaders and supporters met brutal police repression, despite the fact that the group remains officially legal. Many lost their jobs, were imprisoned, or were forced into exile.

Faced with this repression, SWAPO decided

to launch an armed struggle for independence. SWAPO's People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) carried out its first armed actions in 1966.

That same year, the United Nations revoked Pretoria's international "mandate" to govern Namibia and declared its continued occupation illegal.

The independence struggle received a big boost in 1971–72, when thousands of Namibian workers launched a five-week general strike to demand abolition of the contract labor system.

It got another, more powerful spur in 1974–76, first with the collapse of Portuguese colonial rule in neighboring Angola and then with the defeat of the South African invasion of that country.

In 1976, Namibian students and teachers went on strike in solidarity with the massive Black upsurge in South Africa and to protest the same racist system of "Bantu education" that Pretoria was trying to impose in Namibia.

In the midst of this upsurge in 1976, SWAPO's Central Committee met and adopted a new political program. It declared that SWAPO's main task was: "The immediate liberation and winning of independence for the people of Namibia, by all possible means, and the establishment of a popular democratic people's government."

The program also called for rooting SWAPO among the "toiling masses of the Namibian people" and for efforts to unite all of Namibia's language and racial groupings into a common national struggle "against colonialism and imperialism."

By the late 1970s, Namibian workers began to form trade union organizations on the factory level. SWAPO sought to encourage and coordinate these efforts; the Namibian Workers' Union, which politically supports SWAPO, was launched in 1977.

SWAPO was also able to significantly step up its armed struggle, thanks to the growing rebelliousness of the Namibian masses and the emergence of an independent Angola, which was able to provide sanctuary to Namibian ref-

ugees and SWAPO fighters.

Pretoria responded to this upsurge by sending in more troops and stepping up its counter-insurgency operations, which were directed against the entire Namibian people.

Today, there are estimated to be some 60,000 regular South African troops stationed in Namibia, with tens of thousands of white and Black Namibian recruits and conscripts fighting in the South West Africa Territory Force under South African command.

Much of northern Namibia, where most of the population lives, is under martial law. Free-fire zones have been set up, and the South African military is planning to defoliate a 110-kilometer-long strip of land along the border. Special counterinsurgency units, like Koevoet, carry out sweeps of rural areas and often massacre villagers. Suspected SWAPO supporters are routinely detained, tortured, and murdered. Thousands of Namibians have been killed in this war.

Although much of the South African army's brutality is covered up by official censorship, a few instances have come to light, giving a glimpse of what it means to the Namibian people:

- Two South African soldiers were tried for spit-roasting an old man over an open fire in June 1983. He later died of his burns. The soldiers were fined less than 50 rand (about US\$25) each.

- In 1984, Philemon Dawids, a resident of eastern Ovambo, was arrested by South African troops on charges of being a SWAPO guerrilla. They buried him up to his neck and kicked his head until he died.

- In April of this year, a ditch with seven unidentified bodies was found near Oshikuku, close to a temporary military camp. Villagers reported having heard screams and gunshots from the camp.

Tens of thousands have been uprooted from their homes by the military. By the end of 1983, some 250,000 Namibians had been forced into a 30-kilometer-wide strip of land between the towns of Oshakati and Ondangwa.

According to the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund, "The socio-economic consequences of this dislocation would seem to be enormous, leading to destitution, a spread in diseases, and a breakdown of economic structures. Those who fled from the war zones were reported to be living as squatters around towns and near army bases, in makeshift shelters and lacking any facilities such as sewerage systems, washing facilities, or medical care. . . .

"Bubonic plague, malaria, tuberculosis, typhoid and various forms of venereal disease were all reported to have reached 'epidemic' proportions."

In March 1985, the authorities imposed new restrictions controlling entry into six of Namibia's Bantustans: Kaoko, Ovambo, Kavango, and Eastern Caprivi in the north; and Bushmanland and Hereroland East, bordering on the neighboring country of Botswana to the east.

In a major effort to disrupt SWAPO's armed



SWAPO President Sam Nujoma.

struggle, South African troops occupied much of southern Angola from 1981 to 1984. The South African-backed UNITA bands also attacked SWAPO forces in Angola.

In a withdrawal agreement signed with the Angolan government in February 1984, Pretoria sought to compel the Angolans to restrict the activities of SWAPO and its armed wing, PLAN. But that has not happened. There was even an increase in the number of armed actions in the wake of the agreement.

Armed resistance, mass protests

PLAN units have spread their operations to new parts of the country, including in the south. Attacks have concentrated on military installations and convoys, state-owned factories, administration offices, and strategic targets such as railway lines and electricity pylons. The northern garrison towns of Ondangwa and Oshakati have come under attack by PLAN units. But there have also been sabotage actions in Brakwater, Swakopmund, Tsumeb, and Windhoek, the capital — towns far from the official war zones.

In early September, South African officers admitted that there had been 230 armed clashes and 106 acts of sabotage during the first eight months of this year.

Hundreds of South African troops have been killed in Namibia, a fact that Pretoria goes to great lengths to try to cover up.

In May 1984, South African counterintelligence officers met in Windhoek. Extracts of the conference minutes fell into SWAPO's hands and were published in the Sept. 9, 1984, London *Observer*. According to the South African officers, SWAPO is "organised on a wide terrain on different levels and possesses the infrastructure to collect information over a wide spectrum." They also found the "negative attitude" among South African army recruits serving in Namibia to be "disturbing."

Despite the repression, open support for SWAPO has been increasing among other

Namibian organizations, particularly over the past two years. During abortive negotiations in May 1984 between SWAPO and South African officials in Lusaka, Zambia, more than a dozen representatives of other groups took part in the SWAPO delegation. They included figures from the Damara Council, the Mbanderu Council (representing Hereros), a wing of the South West Africa National Union, the Namibian Christian Democratic Party, the Windhoek Bar Association, and various churches.

SWAPO is now widely recognized, both within Namibia and internationally, as the sole, legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

The extent of popular support for SWAPO has also been expressed in the increasing public protest activities within Namibia — which often take place despite severe police repression.

In April of this year, some 5,000 rallied in Katutura, near Windhoek, to celebrate the 25th anniversary of SWAPO's founding.

On June 17, several thousand Namibians again marched through Katutura, this time to protest the installation of a new puppet administration. This so-called interim government includes white bourgeois figures, and, for window dressing, some African tribal chiefs and a few former Namibian nationalist leaders. Like earlier South African efforts to fashion a political counterweight to SWAPO, it has failed to win any significant support among the Namibian people.

SWAPO, in a statement condemning the new administration, called "on all progressive Namibians, irrespective of race, caste, or religious persuasion, to mobilize under the banner of SWAPO and fight for total independence."

On August 25, demonstrators turned out in Windhoek to mark the 19th anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle.

A campaign against conscription into the South West Africa Territory Force has been launched, involving public protests, petition drives, and legal suits. The groups involved include not only SWAPO supporters, but also other political organizations and church bodies.

In an August 16 call to the Namibian people, SWAPO appealed for stepped-up protests, strikes, and other mass actions (see document on page 591).

Links to South Africa struggle

The rise in open mass protest has been encouraged to a great extent by the gigantic anti-apartheid upheaval in South Africa itself. And there are direct ties between the two struggles.

Shortly after SWAPO founder Andimba Toivo ja Toivo was released in March 1984 from Robben Island prison, where he had been jailed for 16 years, he met in Johannesburg with leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the main coalition of South African anti-apartheid organizations.

When the Namibian National Students Organisation (NANSO) was launched in June 1984, it received greetings from a number of

the UDF's student affiliates.

In South Africa, numerous groups have arisen to oppose military conscription. They have been gaining broader support among young whites who do not want to have to fight in the Namibian war. At the inauguration of one such group, the End Conscription Campaign, in July 1984 in Johannesburg, the main speaker was Anton Lubowski, a white Namibian lawyer who is also a SWAPO leader.

Finally, SWAPO and the African National Congress of South Africa maintain close ties. They collaborate on numerous political initiatives against their common foe. Recently, they issued a joint call for mandatory oil sanctions against Pretoria.

The South African authorities are themselves well aware of the interconnection between these two struggles. They know that a victory for Namibian independence would give a further boost to the struggle for majority rule in South Africa.

That is why Pretoria is as steadfast in its rejection of independence for Namibia as it is opposed to the demands of South African Blacks for full democratic rights.

The struggles in South Africa, Namibia, Angola, and the other countries of southern Africa are simply different fronts of the same battle. In one way or the other, they are all aimed at ridding the continent of imperialism's strongest regional bastion. □

DOCUMENTS

SWAPO's call to Namibian people

Urges mobilizations against South African rule

[The following is the text of a call to the people of Namibia issued by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the liberation movement fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule.

The call was broadcast August 16 over SWAPO's "Voice of Namibia" radio program from Harare, Zimbabwe, in the English, Ovambo, and Lozi languages. We have taken this transcript from the August 19 *FBIS Daily Report*, published by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service of the U.S. Department of Commerce.]

* * *

The SWAPO of Namibia calls upon all patriotic and freedom-loving people of Namibia to reexamine their individual and collective contribution towards the immediate realization of our national independence. SWAPO, as a vanguard of the Namibian revolution, has launched an all-out offensive on all fronts and brought a conference to accelerate the progress towards the liberation of our country.

The Namibian people, particularly the working people and peasants of our country, are the foundation of the Namibian liberation struggle. They are the producers of the material wealth of Namibian society. They are the most oppressed, dispossessed, and exploited section of the Namibian society.

More than any other section of Namibian society, workers and peasants both make up the majority of our people. They possess a power, their labor power, to demolish the foundation of colonialism and exploitation in Namibia.

Their suffering can be shortened only by brave, well-calculated, and well-coordinated industrial action. SWAPO calls upon the workers of Namibia to make the impact of such an action felt in all sectors of the colonial economy in Namibia.

Workers and peasants of Namibia, your battlefields must be the mines, factories, com-

mercial farms, transport and communications, [primary] industries, construction, public services, domestic services, and the others.

Arise, toilers of the soil! Prepare for the battle against exploiters, colonialism, and property owners.

SWAPO of Namibia, a vanguard movement of our struggle, calls upon its members to plan, organize, and lead the workers into strikes, pickets, and generalized defiances of the orders of the exploiters.

The strategic objective of all these patriotic

'A shameful racist system'

Cuban government condemns apartheid in South Africa

[The following statement was issued by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba on August 30. It is reprinted from the September 8 English-language edition of *Granma*, published in Havana.]

* * *

In open contempt for the outraged feelings of humankind, the racist minority government in South Africa horrifyingly increases its mass murder, ferocious hunting down of patriots, torture, repression and persecution of a growing popular movement of repudiation and resistance to such a monstrous, denigratory system.

According to official reports from that country, in themselves always unreliable, so far this year more than 600 people have been killed by agents of the Nazi-fascist regime, thousands have been wounded and thousands more fill the jails of South Africa, a state which is already one huge prison for the 20 million black Africans and other victims of this repugnant and humiliating discrimination.

actions is to cripple the colonial economy in order to compel apartheid South Africa to leave Namibia.

Namibian youth and students have a patriotic duty to make their particular contribution to the liberation struggle in Namibia. Just like their brothers and sisters in South Africa, they must organize themselves and actively reject inferior Bantu education.

They must refuse to be conscripted in the so-called South West Africa Territory Force, SWAFT. Instead, they must find their own way into the revolutionary network at home and abroad. We call upon our youth and students to be committed to their patriotic responsibilities, the total liberation of Namibia.

SWAPO of Namibia calls upon Namibian women to play their full role in helping to mobilize the nation against foreign occupation. The intensification of the women's active participation in the struggle for national liberation will bring closer the day of Namibia's independence, thus ending once and for all the breaking up of family life, the death and suffering of children, and the inferior status of women in the Namibian society.

Freedom for which the Namibian patriots are fighting will be enjoyed by all those who live in Namibia. Thus, the message to every Namibian is:

Let anticolonial action begin and force its head throughout the length and breadth of our country. The key words are mobilize, unite, and organize. The collective and intensified efforts of all sectors of our population in the months ahead will assure that 1985 does indeed become the year for united action for people's victory! □

the repeated agreements and statements of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity.

With its military power and thugs, the Pretoria regime enjoys the cynical and barely concealed complicity of the Government of the United States. In recent days, to the amazement and stupor of world public opinion, while on the one hand [South African President] Pieter Botha with his usual arrogance proclaimed that the racist system was virtually immutable, on the other President Reagan made the absurd claim that South Africa had "eliminated" racial segregation and tried to justify the regime.

In the light of these shameful links it becomes clear that the U.S. policy of "constructive engagement" and Washington officials' at times mild, rhetorical criticism of apartheid are simply means to fool U.S. and world public opinion; a cover for strengthened ties between the United States and South Africa in recent years; and a reflection of the Reagan administration's determination to prop up the racist regime, whatever the price. These are the irrefutable facts.

So-called U.S. "constructive engagement" for South Africa is but yet another covert imperialist formula for continuing to use the racist regime as its military gendarme in the area; to continue the illegal occupation of Namibia and delay independence; and to continue to play a role of destabilizing independent neighboring states which have been repeated victims of South African threats, armed attack and pressure of all kinds.

The racists and their U.S. allies are extremely concerned about the magnitude of the uncontrollable wave of demonstrations against apartheid; they are very worried by the participation of increasingly broad sectors of workers, students and religious groupings in the United Democratic Front in the antiracist struggle.

Neither the state of emergency nor the daily killings and brutal repression, nor infamous U.S. backing, can, however, salvage the abhorrent system of discrimination and racial oppression from the crisis it now faces.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba, in line with its unwavering principled policy, once again expresses its firm and resolute solidarity with black men, women and children of South Africa, who battle with admirable courage each day in defense of their legitimate rights, defying the repressive machinery of the racist regime in the ghettos and on the streets. Likewise, the Cuban Government calls on all governments, the UN, Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, all peoples and progressive and democratic forces of the world to condemn the brutal repression of the apartheid regime and demand recognition of the rights of the people, while also contributing in every way to the elimination of a shameful, bloodthirsty racist system.

The Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba are of the conviction that no force on earth can wrest victory from the heroic struggle of black South Africa for its democratic rights. □

Australia

Salvadoran leaders explain struggle

Hundreds hear touring FMLN-FDR representatives

By Megan Martin

SYDNEY — "The people of El Salvador are relying on international solidarity to help create a wall against U.S. invasion."

This was the message that hundreds of people here heard from two touring representatives of the Salvadoran liberation forces, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR). The tour was organized by an ad hoc committee of solidarity groups initiated by the Sydney-based Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador (CISES).

The two were Dr. Margarita María González from the International Solidarity Commission of the FMLN and Juan José Martel of the FMLN-FDR Finance Commission and the FDR executive, who was a founder of the FDR through his membership in the political commission of the Popular Social Christian Movement.

González, speaking at a public meeting here on September 6, told the audience of 250 people that the U.S. government had effectively silenced media coverage of the war while escalating the horrendous bombing attacks on the rural civilian population — a policy of "scorched earth and 'fortified villages.'"

Despite this bombing campaign, she emphasized, the FMLN has "20 percent of the national territory under our control and military influence in 80 percent. We are extending the war to the whole territory."

The military was suffering over 20 casualties daily and only continued by forced conscription and immediate replacement of lost armaments by Washington, Martel said. He predicted that ultimately there would be "a military victory by the popular forces" unless this was forestalled "by an invasion of U.S. marines."

Martel gave details of the renewed upsurge of labor struggles in the cities despite the continuing assassinations by death squads, stating that "in the first six months of this year, 399,500 workers had been on strike, involving 80 trade unions."

He added that now "we have to take the war to the cities, to stop workers being murdered and because that is where the government will be defeated strategically. The popular army is now getting close to the cities and the popular masses are preparing to welcome and defend the popular army."

On the question of negotiations, González pointed out that the FMLN had been calling for dialogue since 1981 but the Duarte government had not responded until October 1984. Then it proposed that the liberation forces lay down their arms. "If we did that, the death squads would simply kill us," she pointed out.

Martel added that "for us peace is education, health care, employment. This is not the peace that Duarte wants." He urged international pressure to force Duarte back to the negotiating table.

Martel went on to speak of the support given by the governments of Peru, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay to the diplomatic initiatives by the Contadora group for a negotiated settlement to the Central American conflicts. "With eight countries in Latin America supporting a resolution of the conflict in El Salvador," he said, "our struggle can no longer be presented as an East-West conflict as Reagan wants it to appear, but it becomes revealed as a Latin American problem."

Moreover, this created more openings for the international solidarity movement. Martel told the Sydney meeting, "The United States gives one and a half million dollars a day to the Salvadoran army, but your support is worth more to us than all the dollars in the world." And while the international press monopolies black out the nature of the war in El Salvador, Martel told the audience, "you are our media to take our message to the people of Australia."

The platform of the Sydney public meeting included an Aboriginal activist, Karen Flick, who drew a comparison between the struggle of the Salvadoran people for national self-determination and the struggle of the colonized and oppressed Aboriginal people of Australia, who had been "victims of genocide, racism, and exploitation since British settlement in 1788."

A dinner and reception for the Salvadoran guests on September 4 in Sydney also heard Father Brian Gore, a Catholic priest expelled from the Philippines by the Marcos regime in 1984 for working in defense of the rights of rural poor there.

Gore emphasized the parallels and links between the freedom struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala, and those in the Philippines, East Timor, and South Africa. Greetings were sent to this reception from the representatives of the Kanak liberation front of New Caledonia, the FLNKS, and from the African National Congress of South Africa.

Between them, Martel and González spoke to meetings in Sydney, Wollongong, Adelaide, Canberra, and Melbourne. They held discussions with trade union officials and representatives of aid, solidarity, ethnic, and women's organizations. They also met with officials of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party and the Australian government concerned with foreign affairs. □

Your library should get
Intercontinental Press.

Intercontinental Press

Thatcher's plan to weaken trade unions

Restructuring of industry coupled with drive to split labor movement

By John Ross

[The following article appeared in the August 30 issue of *Socialist Action*, a revolutionary socialist weekly published in London.]

* * *

When [Prime Minister Margaret] Thatcher came to office in 1979 she brought with her the most sophisticated and worked out anti-union policy of any British government this century.

Contrary to some forms of alarmism on the left, for example by *Marxism Today*, the goal of Thatcher was not to open up the way for essentially eliminating the trade union movement. No British government today has the relation of forces to achieve that. Instead Thatcher's goal was radically to change the nature of the trade union movement — a goal completely interlinked with the drive to reorganise the British economy and British politics.

At the economic level, Margaret Thatcher has sought to bring about not only a shift of income away from labour and toward capital, but also a dramatic redistribution of income within the working class itself.

Popular myths aside, the period of Thatcherism has not seen an unrelieved assault on the working class with a simple universal increase in hardship. On the contrary, the period since 1979 has been one of major prosperity for significant sections of workers, made possible by the North Sea oil revenues.

This is seen, for example, in the video and home computer booms and the continuing affluence in the South and South East.

Using more precise measures, average real take-home pay increased by more than 10 percent between 1979 and 1985. But this average is deeply misleading. The chief effect of the period since 1979, and of the policies pursued by Thatcher, has been to increase virtually every differential within the working class.

A skilled manual worker earning £199 [£1 = US\$1.36] a week before tax in March 1985 had gained a 4 percent increase in real income under the Tories. This is in addition to far more obvious and spectacular increases: 10 percent for a middle manager earning £18,000; 22 percent for a senior manager earning £26,000 a year; and 35 percent for a company director earning £54,000 a year.

In contrast, all those at the bottom end of the income scale have been savaged. The real wages of semiskilled workers earning £146 a week before tax have fallen by 3 percent under the Tories, and the income of the unemployed by 18 percent. Two million people have been pushed out of jobs altogether — the greatest plunge into poverty of any section of the popu-



MARGARET THATCHER

lation.

Between 1978–79 and 1981–82 alone, the bottom 20 percent of the population suffered an average real loss in income of £82 a year. The after-tax share of income going to the poorest half of the population fell from 27 to 25 percent in the same period. Since 1979 the proportion of male manual workers classified as low paid has doubled from 10 percent to 20 percent even on official criteria. Among women it has risen from 65 to 80 percent.

For some sections of the working class the situation is far worse. Blacks are twice as likely to be unemployed as whites. The wages of an average black male worker are £20 lower than those of whites. And the only reason the differential is not so high for women is that all women's wages are so much lower than men's. Women's wages are still less than three-quarters those of men, and the differential is increasing. Nearly two-thirds of full-time workers, and 90 percent of part-timers, classified as low paid are women.

One of the most concerted of all the Thatcher government drives has been to decrease youth wages. Differentials with "adult" workers have increased sharply.

These divisions are not just increasing between industries, but within specific industries as well. The most famous example is the impact of the incentive scheme in the mining industry, where miners in the productive Nottingham coalfield have been able to secure far higher pay than those in the "peripheral" coalfields. This was one of the key factors underly-

ing the divisions in the NUM [National Union of Mineworkers] during the strike.

Moves to restructure labour market

The trend of development is clear. Thatcher has sharply increased the income of high management, the salary component of the capitalists' income, and substantial sections of the "middle" class. But she has also increased the wages of important layers of skilled and other highly paid workers.

These moves by Thatcher though aren't just about wages and differentials. They are part of an attempt to restructure the entire labour market along Japanese and American lines.

One of the great advantages that U.S. and Japanese capitalisms have compared to their rivals, including Britain, is greater control by employers over the labour market. Japan was once famous in Britain for the "job-for-life" contracts given to workers. The impression was that this applied to the entire working class. What is not so generally realised is that it applied to a small section of Japanese workers. This protected privileged position for a minority was accompanied by a much bigger, more casual work force, with far less rights in employment than in a country such as Britain.

In the United States, until recently, such a clear division of employment did not exist. However, the U.S. achieved roughly the same effect by having far greater fluctuations in employment during booms and slumps than in Western Europe and by the systematic racism against blacks in employment and every other field.

Of late such divisions have been systematised into the U.S. labour system through "two-tier" contracts. Existing workers receive higher wage rates, health protection, employment protection, and so on; new workers, however, are employed at a lower rate, having fewer or no "fringe benefits," have little or no security of employment, etc. In short a division is created even among employees in the same factory or job, with some enjoying relatively far more privileges than others.

While Thatcher's plans have not progressed to anything like the level of the Japanese or U.S. organisation of the labour market, nevertheless the direction in which British capitalism is trying to go is perfectly clear. Restructuring the working class into relatively secure higher-paid layers and into far more marginal and insecure sections lies behind much of recent Tory government thinking and policy. A report in the *Financial Times* of 21 August is worth quoting at length. It gives a clear description of the process involved.

"Companies are reorganising their workers

in novel ways to increase the flexibility of their labour force, according to a report commissioned by the Employment Department, to be published soon. The report . . . shows how companies are moving towards what it calls a 'dual labour market' — a core of secure workers separated from a periphery of workers on temporary contracts, working part-time or employed by subcontractors.

"The study is based on extensive interviews with managers in 31 companies, half in manufacturing and half in services, including construction.

- "A West Midlands mechanical engineering company has encouraged many of its skilled workers to set up independently as pipe fitters, joiners, painters and so on, and tender for their old work.

- "An electronics company in South Wales employs about 230 supplementals on three-month and 10-month contracts to act as a buffer protecting its 900 permanent employees. The supplements have less attractive sick pay, holiday pay and pension arrangements, and are given permanent jobs only when someone leaves the permanent core.

- "A large insurance company based in the north-west has increased its part-time workers by a quarter in four years and has begun to recruit clerical staff on three-month contracts. 'You can call it our precautionary demand for labour,' a manager said, 'and it helps us to select suitable people to transfer to permanent status.'

- "A British-based multinational in the food, drink and tobacco sector is also searching for functions to contract out, mainly as a way of hiving off its industrial relations problems to a contract workforce. As a sweetener for its unions, the company is encouraging its remaining workforce to compete with outside contractors for work traditionally done by outsiders. . . .

"The study shaped some of the main conclusions of a paper submitted to the National Economic Development Council in March by Mr. Tom King, employment secretary. Companies 'had not been unduly constrained in their initiatives by UK protective legislation,' it says. . . . Companies are however more concerned about protective legislation that stops them offering peripheral workers poorer non-pay benefits, such as holidays, sick pay and pensions.

"In the longer term, the report suggests, these developments could have serious implications for policies on training, since few companies offer their peripheral workers much training; and for social security arrangements, since they are blurring 'the (already opaque) distinction between employment and unemployment.'"

Tory strategy

This economic policy, although it can never be carried through in its perfected form, has clear implications for the underlying Tory attitude towards the unions. It involves a policy not of attempting to eliminate the trade unions — the relation of forces does not exist for that

— but of confining them to these more privileged and secure groups of workers, then doing deals with the more right-wing trade unions that will exist among these sections.

This was spelt out in two of the most important documents the Tory Party drew up in opposition: the draft proposals on the anti-union laws, and the infamous Ridley report, which pre-planned the confrontation with the miners. The two complemented each other.

In several respects, the draft trade union proposals were a word-for-word copy of the policies adopted by the right wing in the AUEW [Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers] and EETPU [Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union] — two of the key unions the Tories had targeted. Their core was the introduction of compulsory postal ballots, coupled with restrictions on secondary action, such as picketing and so on. Thatcher calculated on, and is now getting, relatively direct collaboration from the leadership of these two big craft-originated unions on certain issues of trade union policy.

The second aspect, outlined in the Ridley Report, was that there is a real economic basis for collaboration with the right wing of these unions. Electricity supply — the key to defeating the miners' strike — in particular was singled out as an industry in which long-term security of employment and high wages could be guaranteed. Confrontation in this sector, Ridley noted, was therefore both avoidable and *should* be avoided.

As regards other higher-paid groups of workers, the Tories believed they could gain support by rejecting incomes policy and wage controls. A revolt against wage controls among higher-paid and skilled sections of the working class had already started under the last Labour government with the Leyland toolroom workers' strike. In 1979 the shift to the Tories, among skilled workers, 13 percent, was higher than any other section of the population.

That same process that saw an electoral swing to Thatcher among better-paid and skilled sections of the working class, concentrated in areas such as South East England, was reflected inside the trade union movement, in moves to closer links with the policies of unions such as the EETPU and AUEW.

As for the low paid and unskilled, Thatcher had an answer for them as well. No economic concessions could be given. On the contrary they were to bear the main brunt of the Tory attacks. They were to be deprived of the right to fight back, through a ban on strikes in "essential services" such as health and local government, and through a systematic attempt to weaken or destroy unions such as NUPE [National Union of Public Employees].

Privatisation policy dovetailed into this approach. In *these* areas there *was* an authentic drive by the Tories to literally destroy trade union organisation.

Attack on unity of labour movement

Finally such a policy had a tremendous im-

Two new pamphlets on miners' strike

Supporters of *Socialist Action*, a weekly newspaper published in London, have recently put out two pamphlets on the lessons of the 1984-85 British miners' strike.

"In Defence of the NUM" describes the significance of the strike conducted by the National Union of Mineworkers, including how it changed the face of the British labor movement.

The main article, "The Greatest Working-Class Struggle for Sixty Years," is written by Doreen Wepler and Redmond O'Neill. Wepler is a rail worker and an activist in the National Union of Railworkers (NUR). She is also a union delegate to the Labour Party. O'Neill is a regular contributor to *Socialist Action*.

They state that "the defeat of the miners is not the end of the story. We have a new situation in the labour movement as a result of this struggle. In particular, there is a broad vanguard of workers who look to the lessons which militant miners have drawn from the strike."

The pamphlet also includes an article by Betty Heathfield, one of the central leaders of the women's movement that backed the strike. She describes the activities of the miners' wives action committees and

Women Against Pit Closures.

A third item in the pamphlet is NUM President Arthur Scargill's speech to the union's July 1985 conference.

"Railworkers and Miners" tells the story of rail workers in Coalville who refused to transport thousands of tons of scab coal. Only 30 miners joined the strike out of 2,500 in Leicestershire, where Coalville is located.

In an introductory article, Coalville NUR leader Roy Butlin states, "Our decision to stop all movement of coal was difficult, but it was clear cut. . . . We recognized that our futures were tied to the miners' fight for jobs."

He adds, "This *Socialist Action* pamphlet will be very useful for union activists in other industries who face similar problems."

The pamphlet was written by activists in the rail unions, the Labour Party, and the Labour Party Young Socialists who support *Socialist Action*.

Both pamphlets can be purchased for £0.50 each by writing to: P.O. Box 50, London NI 2XP. Bulk order rates are available on request.

pact on the political level, in terms of the unity and structure of the labour movement. At the peak of its electoral popularity (for example in 1945-50 or 1964-66) the Labour Party's support was based on a bloc of high-paid and low-paid sections of the working class. The unity of the TUC [Trades Union Congress, the national labor federation] itself — with its membership stretching from ultra-skilled high-paid white-collar workers down to low-paid black and women workers — was based on its ability to deliver something for everybody.

So the move of the Tories to increase differentials within the working class also meant an attempt to shatter the unity of the Labour Party and the trade union movement.

At the electoral level this process started with a big swing of skilled worker votes away from Labour, to the Tories, in 1979. In the Labour Party itself, it was carried through by the split of [David] Owen and [Roy] Jenkins to form the SDP [Social Democratic Party] in 1981. The SDP subsequently captured a substantial part of Labour's "middle-class" and skilled workers vote in areas such as the South and the South East in 1983. The culmination of such a move in the trade unions themselves would be a split in the TUC. In these circumstances, the major rows created by the AUEW and EETPU defying congress decisions on postal ballots are just a taste of things to come.

Indeed the final outcome of the present processes, and of Tory and SPD-Liberal policy, is easy to see. It would be to split the trade union movement into two separate federations. One, based on the EETPU-AUEW bloc coupled with white-collar and other unions, would essentially be based on the higher-paid, more-secure sections of the working class. Such a federation would be far more "apolitical" — that is right-wing — than the present TUC, favouring co-operation between Labour and the SPD-Liberal Alliance.

The second federation would be based on the unskilled and general unions, more left-wing, and linked to Labour. The Tories would seek to cooperate with the former and smash the latter. The aim at every level would be to split the labour movement.

Such a division of the trade unions would of course be a catastrophe for the labour movement. There wouldn't be 10 million members — the present membership of the TUC — divided into two federations. Millions of workers would leave the unions altogether. Such a split would be a means to achieve, or would accompany, a qualitative defeat of the working class. This is the scale of the attack the Tories have in mind.

There should be no alarmism or belief that such events will move rapidly. The fact that the ruling class and the Tory Party have this project in mind and their ability to translate it successfully into practice are quite different things. But neither must there be any underestimation of the scale of the assault against the trade union movement — or the scope of what is to come over the next 10 years.

The left in Britain, including the left repre-

sented by *Marxism Today*, have consistently underestimated the radicalism of Thatcher. The goal of the Tory party and British capital, to concentrate resources and income within relatively privileged sections of the working class, and to mount a ferocious assault on the rest, has tremendous implications for the future and structure of the British trade union movement.

The labour movement is not confronted with a Tory Party tinkering at the edges. Nor are the

New Caledonia referendum set, independence fighters weigh stand

By Andy Jarvis

[The following article is reprinted from the September 6 issue of *Socialist Action*, a fortnightly newspaper published in Auckland, New Zealand, that reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Elections are scheduled to take place in New Caledonia on September 29 to establish four new regional assemblies. This follows the adoption by the French National Assembly of a government bill on the future of the colony.

The French government's proposals for New Caledonia were first outlined by French Prime Minister Laurent Fabius in April, and are known as the Fabius plan. A bill drafted by the government was adopted by the National Assembly in July, but was rejected as unconstitutional by France's Constitutional Council. A special session of the National Assembly was called to vote on a revised version of the bill, which was subsequently approved by the Council in mid-August.

The new law divides New Caledonia into four electoral regions, each with its own regional assembly. Together, the members of these bodies will also constitute a national Territorial Assembly.

The law also calls for a referendum on "independence in association with France" to be held in New Caledonia before the end of 1987.

The main revision made to the bill was to increase the size of the Territorial Assembly from 43, as proposed in the original version, to 46. This allows an increase in the size of the regional assembly based on the capital, Nouméa, from 18 to 21, thus increasing the number of right-wing, French-settler representatives in the new Territorial Assembly.

The right-wing parties in France and New Caledonia have expressed strong opposition to both versions of the bill. Despite the fact that the goal of the Fabius plan is to maintain French economic and political domination over New Caledonia, representatives of these parties claim that the provisions of the new law favour the Kanaks.

The Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front [FLNKS] will hold a special congress in September to decide its attitude to the upcom-

ing elections. The previous conference of the FLNKS, in May, decided to participate in the elections, but this will be reviewed in light of the revisions to the election plan.

What is at stake over the next decade is an attempt to change the entire nature of the trade union movement — and to qualitatively weaken it. The left in the labour movement must raise its sights to the full scope of what is taking place. Only then will it be able to develop a coherent strategy for dealing with that situation. □

ing elections. The previous conference of the FLNKS, in May, decided to participate in the elections, but this will be reviewed in light of the revisions to the election plan.

Meanwhile, in New Caledonia, a group of touring right-wing French parliamentarians led by the leader of the Republican Party, François Leotard, were stoned by Kanaks on August 21 when they attempted to enter the mining centre of Thio. They were driven out of the area by FLNKS supporters who described the visit as a provocation. □

Kanaky activists launch magazine

Kanak independence fighters in New Caledonia began publishing a weekly magazine called *Bwenando* in early July. The 16-page French-language publication describes itself as the "first magazine of Kanaky."

In a statement in the first issue, the editors explained that *Bwenando* is a "committed magazine" involved in the Kanak independence movement. The statement explained that although it is not the "official organ" of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) nor does it act on behalf of any group in the FLNKS, *Bwenando* is "a sort of official voice of the front." At the same time, it is attempting to become a source of information open to all those who "stay, work, and live in Kanaky."

The magazine carries reports and documents on the Kanaky freedom struggle. It also includes news from other liberation fights in the Pacific and from French colonies in other parts of the world. For example, issue No. 4 carried a prominent feature on Vanuatu, celebrating the fifth anniversary of its independence from joint British-French colonial rule. Vanuatu, located in the South Pacific, was formerly called New Hebrides.

Three thousand copies of each issue of *Bwenando* are currently being printed and circulated, and a goal of raising that to 5,000 copies has been projected.

Information about subscription rates can be obtained by writing: *Bwenando*, BP 1671, Nouméa, New Caledonia.

Joan Newbigging: 1942–1985

Meetings in Montreal and Toronto celebrate life of revolutionist

By Lynda Little

[The following article is taken from the September 16 issue of *Socialist Voice*, a socialist fortnightly published in Montreal.]

* * *

TORONTO — Eighty friends and comrades gathered here on August 25 to celebrate the life and work of Joan Newbigging. Newbigging was a central leader of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and before it of the League for Socialist Action (LSA). She was also the former editor of *Socialist Voice*. After a four-year battle with cancer, Newbigging, 43, died in Montreal on July 31.

Arthur Young, an RWL Central Committee member who worked with Newbigging for 20 years, chaired the evening. He quoted Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress: "Our people want freedom now. They've lost all patience with the idea that their freedom can be put off, even for one instant. They consider that the purpose of life is to devote it to the struggle for the liberation of our country and they have therefore abandoned all fear of death. For them today the words 'to live' mean exactly the same thing as the words 'to be free.'"

"That is the spirit of the South African struggle today," Young said. "And that is also the spirit in which Joan lived her very rich and full life and why tonight is a celebration of her life."

The evening before, 40 people held a similar celebration of Newbigging's life in Montreal.

Young described the "turning point" in Newbigging's life when she joined the Toronto Young Socialist Alliance and the LSA in 1965. "She brought with her a unique combination of energy and determination, maturity and objectivity."

"Joan did not believe in half-measures. She made an unreserved commitment," said Ernie Tate, a former longtime RWL leader. When she got involved, he explained, "we were actively building support for the Cuban revolution. Joan threw herself into this work and in May 1965 visited Cuba under the sponsorship of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee."

"It was her ability to be inspired by events in the class struggle that showed the way forward for humanity that I remember most about Joan. There was a joy about her that was totally infectious."

Joan Campana, the current editor of *Socialist Voice*, recalled Newbigging as a leader of the Canadian women's liberation movement. "Joan participated in the very first feminist groups and activities. She became a leader of the abortion rights struggle and a



JOAN NEWBIGGING

pioneer in women's fight to work non-traditional jobs.

"Through her experiences and through study, she concluded that our liberation could only be fully realized in a revolutionary struggle to overturn the very roots of oppression and exploitation — the capitalist system itself. That's why she dedicated herself to building the Revolutionary Workers League."

Campana also described the leadership Newbigging had shown "when our party decided to organize to have a majority of its members get jobs in industry and participate as revolutionary workers in the industrial unions. She worked on the railroad, in meatpacking, and in a sawmill."

One of the younger comrades she inspired was Carole Caron, a leader of the Revolutionary Youth Committee in Montreal. Caron described her experience working with Newbigging on the initial steps toward launching a pan-Canadian youth organization in solidarity with the RWL.

"My collaboration with Joan helped me to better understand that the real divisions within capitalism are not between young people and old, between Quebec and English Canada, or between women and men, but between the class of workers and their allies on the one side, and the class of the bosses on the other."

"Joan helped me to see more clearly what unites us, reinforcing what we have in common through the struggle against capitalism, rather than focusing on what divides us. She taught me to be more objective and to respect our revolutionary continuity."

Representing the British section of the Fourth International at the meeting was Connie Harris, a 44-year veteran of the British work-

ers' movement and a leader of the International. She described how impressed she was by the "enthusiasm, confidence, and ability" of Joan and the other young leaders she met while living in Canada for a time in the 1960s.

This was the period when the LSA made a transition in leadership from the veterans who had held the party together during the difficult days of the 1950s to a new generation of fighters including Newbigging.

Harris was also impressed with Newbigging's deep commitment to the international workers' movement. "Despite the stage of Joan's illness, she took on the task of convening the Canadian tour of a striking British coal miner last year, responding enthusiastically to this big upheaval in the class struggle in Britain."

Mary-Alice Waters, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States and of the Fourth International, spoke about Joan's role as a leader of the Fourth International.

"She also brought something very particular to the process of building our party in the United States." Describing tasks the RWL and SWP carry out in common — from educational gatherings to common trade union fractions in North American-wide unions — Waters stressed "the importance of this work in the internationalist education of the Socialist Workers Party. We live inside the United States, inside the belly of the beast."

"Breaking our isolation, cutting through the isolation that our movement and the working class in the United States face because of the strength of U.S. imperialism, is absolutely crucial to the capacity to build a proletarian, internationalist party in the United States."

"The collaboration we have received over the years from the comrades in English Canada and Quebec in this process has been indispensable in helping to keep us from drowning in the imperialist arrogance of the United States, in helping us learn other cultures and other languages, both literally and figuratively. And it's in that sense that Joan contributed enormously over the years."

"Joan had tremendous capacities. But there was something unique about her. What she did as a leader was not something that she was born with. She learned it, just like everyone else learns it. And that's exactly what she tried to do, to encourage everyone to do and learn as she had."

Pat Williams, a leader of the Socialist Action League (SAL) of New Zealand described how, although they had never met her personally, Joan became very familiar to the New Zealand comrades. This was especially true because of a 1983 report Newbigging gave on



Monica Jones/Socialist Voice

Among those who spoke at both the Montreal and Toronto meetings were, from left to right: Connie Harris, Britain; Michel Prairie, Quebec; Deb Shnookal, Australia; and Mary-Alice Waters, United States.

the struggle for abortion clinics in Canada. The report was carefully studied by comrades in New Zealand and other countries.

This was just one example of the collaboration between the SAL and the RWL, Williams explained. She stressed the importance of these links. "For us it means being part of and building the international communist organization, the Fourth International, being able to collaborate concretely to the best we can, given the distances involved."

Deb Shnookal, representing a group of communists who support the Fourth International in Australia, remarked on the appropriateness of the memorial fund being launched in Newbigging's memory. The fund will be used to set up a new French-language Marxist bookstore in Montreal.

Shnookal outlined Newbigging's understanding of the importance of the revolutionary literature distributed by Pathfinder Press. Explaining how the Australian comrades are now circulating this literature in the entire south Pacific, she concluded, "The most appropriate commemoration of Joan's life is to advance these common international projects."

In the Montreal meeting, Ronald Cameron of the Gauche Socialiste (Socialist Left), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Quebec, paid tribute to "the depth of Joan's personal commitment. In reconfirming this commitment in the 1980s, maintaining her activity in spite of illness, comrade Joan Newbigging stands out very clearly as an example to political activists both in Quebec and Canada."

Both the Toronto and Montreal meetings also heard messages from people who knew or had worked with Newbigging in Canada or around the world. These included a telegram from Ernest Mandel, a central leader of the Fourth International.

A life of revolutionary commitment

The final speaker was Michel Prairie, coeditor of *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale*, two journals of Marxist theory and politics published jointly by leaders of the RWL and SWP. Prairie is also editor of *Lutte Ouvrière*, the French-language equivalent of

Socialist Voice.

"Joan Newbigging devoted almost her entire life to building a communist party in Canada. By far that is her principal contribution, the main heritage that she left us.

"Her life reads like a veritable history of the principal struggles of our class over 20 years. Through all these struggles, Joan became convinced that the only way to put a definitive end to capitalist oppression and exploitation was for those who truly produce the wealth in our society to take power from the hands of the big corporations and the banks."

Joan knew that called for building a revolutionary party. "To her, such a party had to truly reflect our class as it is. It had to be a pan-Canadian, multinational party, where young workers, women, and Québécois played a central role."

In the mid-1970s, Prairie explained, there were three organizations that identified with the Fourth International in Canada — the LSA, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), and the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire in Quebec.



Bonita Murdock/Socialist Voice

Ronald Cameron spoke for Gauche Socialiste.

"Joan played an essential role in the fusion of these groups into the RWL in 1977," Prairie said. "She was delegated by the LSA leadership to sit on the joint LSA-RMG steering committee that led the fusion process in English Canada."

When the central office of the RWL moved from Toronto to Montreal in 1980, a move to help deepen the party's pan-Canadian character, Newbigging "enthusiastically" accepted an assignment to come to Montreal.

"Comrades who were then living in Vancouver still remember how she would take advantage of the long traffic lineups leading into the sawmill where she worked to study French at the wheel of her car.

"Joan's interest in learning French was political. She was convinced that it was essential for her and all English-speaking comrades to be able to communicate with Québécois revolutionaries and workers in their own language."

Prairie explained Newbigging's "great satisfaction with the theme chosen for the first issue of *Nouvelle Internationale*. This issue contains a series of articles on the need for workers to forge an alliance with the other class of exploited producers in our society, the small farmers.

"Despite the illness that weakened her and forced her to retire from the Political Committee, Joan played an essential role in this discussion which the RWL Political Committee had opened up inside the party."

In concluding, Prairie quoted Fidel Castro who said that "there is no more noble task than being a revolutionary and devoting one's life to the struggle for the emancipation of humanity." Prairie encouraged all present who agreed with that to join with the socialist youth committees and the RWL in building the revolutionary movement.

"That is exactly what Joan did with her life. And she did it totally, with no after-thoughts. She was thoroughly convinced of what she was doing. She knew that elsewhere in the world, in the factories of Cuba, in the shantytowns of South Africa, in the fields of Nicaragua, millions upon millions of men and women were doing the same thing as she was. They were making history." □

Oct. 23 antidebt actions set

Union official urges steps to broaden protests

[The following interview with Julio Gullian, general secretary of the Federation of Telephone Workers of Argentina (FOERA), was conducted by Andrea González in Buenos Aires on September 5. The translation from Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[Gullian was a participant in the Latin American and Caribbean Trade Union Conference on the Foreign Debt, held in Havana, Cuba, July 15-18. He also attended the five-day Meeting on the Foreign Debt of Latin America and the Caribbean that ended August 4 in Havana. More than 1,200 delegates from 31 countries of the region took part in the second gathering.

[The Argentine trade union official is an active leader in the committee in Argentina building the October 23 regional day of protest against the foreign debt, which was called by the trade-union conference in Havana. The full text of the document adopted by that conference was printed in the August 19 *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. You participated in the trade union conference on the debt, held in Havana. What do you think about the Cuban initiative?

Answer. This is not specifically a Cuban initiative. It is an initiative that has been around

for some time, and has been raised in various countries and discussed by various leaders.

I think that Fidel Castro has tried to contribute to this historical line, is adding his energy so that the peripheral countries can really be heard.

Here we know very well that the powerful decide and we have to pay the consequences. But now the powerful can also see that it is not so easy to decide things on their own because even in the industrialized centers there are difficulties, there is unemployment, there are cuts in the social services.

The conference in Havana was a great experience for us. After it was over, some of us trade unionists were invited by the Cuban government to stay over and participate in a very broad assembly that also took place in Havana. This assembly brought together political parties from the entire spectrum — socialists, Communists, Christian Democrats, conservatives. There were former presidents of Latin American countries, bishops and priests, and even Latin American Masons.

For us this kind of broad assembly was a great experience and I think that all of us felt feeling strengthened by the gathering.

We were not trying to solve the problem on the field of battle. We were trying to unify ourselves to force international negotiations to

resolve the problems. We think this is possible, but we know that we cannot do it alone. We here will mobilize to call on our government to adopt this attitude. And we hope that the workers of the industrialized countries will do the same, to call on their government to seek civilized coexistence among all humans.

This is our hope, and this was the hope in Havana as well.

What I saw in Havana at this meeting was a humanism that went beyond the ideological, philosophical, and religious differences, an attempt to solve the problems of humanity.

Q. What plans exist to mobilize workers here for the continental demonstration on October 23?

A. We are meeting and we are trying to get the CGT [General Confederation of Labor] itself to take on the responsibility. Our hope is to have demonstrations throughout the country, involving members of the Radical Civic Union [the government party], feminists, socialists, Communists, Christian Democrats. We are working to bring together the largest number of people, whatever their differences, in support of this continental day of action.

We have come to learn that a united people is hard to defeat, but we also know that a united people must be organized in order to be able to overcome difficulties.

We are attempting to consolidate the unity of the nation around these strategic objectives. We have to get beyond the idea that this group wants one more member of parliament, that group another city council member. We have an obligation to generate and discuss and clarify our ideas as a whole people. And therefore I think we will have a good event on October 23. □

Protests against debt

More than 200,000 workers demonstrated in Buenos Aires August 29 against the government's steps to squeeze working people in order to pay Argentina's massive debt. The demonstration culminated a one-day general strike called by the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), Argentina's central labor organization.

Argentina's debt to foreign bankers is currently more than \$48 billion and is expected to increase to \$53 billion shortly. Just to pay the interest on that debt, Argentina will have to drain about \$5.5 billion a year from its economy. Only Mexico and Brazil have higher foreign debts among Latin American countries.

President Raúl Alfonsín's administration signed agreements with capitalist bankers at the end of August allowing it to borrow \$4.2 billion. This followed a wage freeze imposed by the government in June along with other belt-tightening moves against working people.

Mexico's foreign debt crisis

By Juan Roberto-Loforte

[The following article is reprinted from the September 1 English-language weekly edition of *Granma* published in Havana. Roberto-Loforte is *Prensa Latina's* correspondent in Mexico.]

* * *

December 31, 1985, will mark the end of a really difficult five-year period for the Mexican economy, particularly because of the critical problem of the foreign debt. During these five years Mexico will have paid the international banks the fabulous sum of \$52.5 billion just on interest from the foreign debt, and its total debt will be nearing \$100 billion.

This means that in just five years, Mexico will have sent to the financial centers of the developed West a sum of money which is more than half of its total debt — and the debt has increased rather than decreased.

What is really tragic about this situation is that the payments were made at the peak of the most serious economic and financial crisis in

the country in the last 50 years.

According to official data from the Secretariat of the Treasury and Credit, interest payments have been as follows (in billions of dollars):

1981:	8.381
1982:	11.264
1983:	9.861
1984:	11.0
1985:	12.0 (official estimate)

If we keep in mind that oil earnings (70 percent of Mexico's hard currency earnings come from oil) come to about \$15 billion a year, then we see that during these years 70 percent of its revenue went to cover interest payments.

In mid-August the nationalized National Bank of Mexico made public an analysis of the Mexican economy which says that this year exports (both oil and nonoil) will come to 23 billion dollars.

This means that in 1985 Mexico will have to spend more than half its total export earnings on foreign debt interest payments.

In the coming five years the situation will re-

main serious because, according to the Treasury, the country will keep making its interest payments on time, ranging from \$10-12 billion — which means that it will pay out at least another \$50 billion.

Thus in a decade (1981-90) Mexico will have sent abroad a sum equal to its total foreign debt, which will not decline in the least since payments on the principal will be about three billion a year on average.

But that's not the worst of it because, according to Treasury Secretary Jesús Silva Herzog, the Mexican economy will be in the red for some time, which means that new foreign loans will be needed to cover the capital deficit.

On the other hand, the international outlook is bleak since the crude oil surplus is tending to lower prices, and if this happens, Mexico's

earnings and therefore its capacity to keep making interest payments will be reduced.

To this we must add the fact that the huge budget deficit in the United States tends to drive interest rates up, and the increase can come at any time. Thus the future looks even darker than the present.

Moreover, the Mexican economy is dependent on export to the U.S. market at a time when all indications are that protectionism in the United States will increase drastically in the near future as a "logical" response of the Reagan administration to what is becoming its chronic balance of trade deficit.

A lot has been said about the problem by analysts, economists and financial experts, but none has come up with a viable solution.

Nevertheless, the claims continue in Mexico that the country will fulfill its burdensome obligations. □

Japan

Growth of feminist movement

Working women in forefront of struggles

By Mitsugoro Kawasaki

[The following is the transcript of remarks made by Kawasaki, a leader of the Socialist Women's Council in Japan, to Etuale Sua-Filo. Sua-Filo is the national coordinator of the Young Socialists, the youth organization affiliated with the Socialist Action League (SAL), New Zealand section of the Fourth International.

[Sua-Filo spoke with her in July while in Japan at the invitation of the Asia Youth Conference (AYC). He spoke on the fight against U.S. nuclear arms in New Zealand and the independence struggles of the Kanak people of New Caledonia and of other Pacific island peoples to four conferences of the AYC. More than 800 young people attended the meetings, which were held in Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka, and Sendai.

[The AYC was formed in 1973 to promote solidarity with anti-imperialist struggles in Southeast Asia, especially struggles against Japanese imperialism.

[This article originally appeared in the September 6 issue of *Socialist Action*, the fortnightly newspaper of the SAL, published in Auckland.]

* * *

Japanese capitalism began to develop in the early 19th century, the main industry being the textile industry. The big majority of workers in this industry were women, and the first workers' struggles to come out of this period were led by these young women. So, you could say, this was the beginning of when Japanese women started to fight for their rights.

However, women did not really become organised into industrial unions on a big scale until the beginning of the 20th century, when

the iron industry became a key component of Japanese capitalism.

Industrial unionism sprang up and grew at a rapid rate as a result of the class battles waged by the iron workers, and eventually this led to the unionisation of women in the textile industry and elsewhere. Of course, women workers were themselves part of these struggles.

World War Two

In the period prior to World War Two, there were many militant workers' struggles. Because of the large number of women in the industrial work force at that time, women were part of the leadership of these struggles.

Before the war, women had no civil or political rights. For example, they were denied the right to vote. This was one of the hangovers of feudalism that Japanese capitalism kept — the feudal, patriarchal family system.

In these conditions, a women's movement developed during this period to demand political rights for women. However, they did not manage to win the right to vote before the onset of World War Two.

For us, World War Two meant that Japanese imperialism began its invasion of Asia and the Pacific. To carry out this invasion effectively, Japan's imperialist rulers had to launch an offensive inside the country as well, to crush the trade union movement and, of course, to crush the women's movement.

There is a bit of a debate within the left on why such a strong and influential women's movement as that which developed before the war was unable to win the right to vote for women. Our view has always been that the majority of the leadership of the women's movement fell in behind the chauvinism and

nationalism whipped up by the Japanese bourgeoisie to justify its preparations for war.

This stand inevitably led to the leadership of the women's movement calling on the women of Japan to forget about their own rights and to see the war effort as the main task. So, when the Japanese ruling class moved to crush the leadership of the women's movement, it was an easy task because the women's leaders had already demobilised their mass support anyway.

U.S. occupation

After World War Two and the defeat of Japanese imperialism, women finally won the right to vote and other bourgeois-democratic rights.

This was during the United States occupation of Japan. The trade unions were also allowed to organise during this period, but the primary problem confronting capitalism with the end of the war was how to replace women workers who had taken the places of men in the factories so they could go and fight.

Japanese capitalism was in a state of total collapse. In the midst of this, a huge workers' upsurge took place, and women were at the forefront of this upsurge.

As part of the drive to force women out of industry, the U.S. occupational forces attempted to sabotage the products of many factories. In response to this, the women workers took over control of the factories and ran them for themselves. These factory occupations spread all over Japan and inspired male workers to do the same. This is what sparked off the upsurge.

During this struggle the women workers and the young workers set up their own organisations. Because of the leading role of the women and the youth in this upsurge, the U.S. occupation forces arrested the main leaders of these organisations.

Eventually, the upsurge was crushed by the U.S. forces, aided by the misleadership of the Communist and Socialist parties.

Changing occupations

The defeat of the trade union movement gave the bosses a stronger hand to remove women from the work force. Thousands of militant workers were fired and blacklisted, and most of these were women.

For example, in the rail industry, where women made up the majority of the work force, 20,000 women lost their jobs and were replaced by men.

Following this setback suffered by the Japanese labour movement, the main occupations of women gradually changed. They became concentrated in jobs such as teaching and the public service. This also became the dominant character of the leadership of the women's movement.

During the 1960s, with the beginning of a long boom in the Japanese capitalist economy, women were again brought back into industry because of a labour shortage in the privately-owned enterprises like the car and electronics

factories.

This period was also marked by the rise of the antinuclear movement, in which women played the predominant role. This movement took a strong stand against the presence of nuclear weapons or the building of nuclear facilities in Japan. It opposed any military alliance between Japanese and U.S. imperialism.

The most significant women's organisation at this time was the National Mothers Congress, led by the Communist Party. Up until recently, this was the main women's organisation in Japan.

The National Mothers Congress was given that name because when the ruling class brought women back into industry in the 1960s, they consciously targeted married women who had children, believing that they would provide a more docile work force. This was one of the lessons they drew from the upsurge after World War Two.

Cheap labour

Today, Japanese women make up around 35 percent of the paid work force. Among that number, about half are married. However, there is also a huge number of women with children who have part-time jobs.

Japanese women serve the ruling class as very cheap labour. The average wage for women is just slightly over half that for men. As well, they have very bad working conditions. The majority of them are not unionised.

The leadership of the trade unions has stood off from organising women into the unions, or from taking up any of the issues facing women in the work force.

Prior to the 1970s, the women's movement had been dominated by the social democratic Socialist Party and the Stalinist Communist Party. These large parties have always had their own separate women's organisations — the Japan Women's Congress being linked to the Socialist Party, and the New Japan Women's Organisation belonging to the Communist Party.

New women's movement

However, in the early 1970s, as a result of the youth radicalisation around the Vietnam war, a new women's movement emerged. This new movement criticised the traditional policies of the Socialist and Communist parties — for example, the fact that they always steered away from organising women in action around the specific concerns of women, such as the right to abortion and against sexual oppression

and the oppression of women in the family.

The new women's movement that emerged took up these issues and organised women in struggle around their demands. Our group, the Socialist Women's Council, was part of this new women's movement.

This movement also criticised the male leadership of the trade unions, but this also led to a lot of confusion. That is, significant sections of the new women's movement began to drift away from seeing women's oppression as rooted in class society and instead began to see men as a whole as the main problem facing women.

This confusion is partly a result of the fact that the Socialist and Communist parties and their large and influential women's organisations have not taken the specific problems of women into the trade union movement — such as abortion, violence against women, and discrimination in the work force.

Many issues

Today, there are many groups and wings represented in the women's movement who have specific priorities and ideas on how women can win their liberation. They range from currents who fight around violence against women, for equal rights and better conditions in the work force, for the right to abortion, those who focus on rape and pornography, to the current that leads the antipollution movement, through to the strange current that campaigns for better health foods.

Although the National Mothers Congress remains the largest women's organisation in Japan, it is in decline and retreat as a result of the growing crisis of Japanese capitalism and the ruling-class offensive against women. But this organisation can still rally large numbers of working women to its banner when it wants to. Recently they held their annual conference, where over 10,000 women attended.

Socialist Women's Council

Our group, the Socialist Women's Council, has a small membership of around 180. Many of our members are supporters of the Fourth International, but we are an autonomous and independent organisation. We seek to involve women of all political persuasions in our activities.

We publish a monthly magazine, *Fujin Tsushin* ("Women's Correspondence"). Its readership consists primarily of activists in the women's movement.

Fujin Tsushin began publication in the early 1970s with the rise of the women's liberation movement. Women's groups began to emerge in many districts around Japan using *Fujin Tsushin* as their political guide, or as a source of information on the problems of women's liberation.

These groups began to link up and organise joint activities, and in 1978 this process culminated in the formation of the Socialist Women's Council as a national women's rights organisation. □

'IP' gets around from Sydney to Bangkok

One of the most common ways potential readers learn about *Intercontinental Press* is by seeing copies that are passed from one friend to another.

We just received, for example, a request for a one-year subscription from a student in Bangkok, Thailand. The letter stated, "I am a post-graduate of Chulalongkorn University, Department of History. I knew *IP* from my friend who is studying at Sydney, Australia. I am interested in the Indochina issue and women's liberation."

This letter helps underline the importance of the efforts being made by our distributors in Australia to get *IP* around in that country.

Pathfinder Press, which distributes *IP* there, normally circulates 150 copies of each issue. But they took 350 of the last (September 23 issue), which was expanded to include documents and articles on the split of the Australian Socialist Workers Party leadership from the Fourth International.

We are also beginning to receive our first responses to that coverage. From Dallas, Texas, a reader wrote, "Your September 23 issue containing information about the Aus-

tralian SWP was very helpful indeed. The articles by Doug Jenness and Steve Clark were excellent. The fact is that many questions raised by the Australian SWP are questions that are raised by the complex and often confusing course of the class struggle itself." He urged that we "have more of such educational articles."

The September 23 issue with these articles is available from our business office for \$1.25.

We received a letter from the director of the Socialist Bookstore in Toronto, Canada, asking for a larger bundle of *IPs*. "We have been selling out each bundle as a result of our increased activity in the South African solidarity movement," he explained. He noted that plans are being made to get *IP*, along with *New International* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, placed in other Toronto bookstores.

Two issues ago we launched a special book offer to *IP* subscribers in the Americas and the Caribbean (see ad on p. 610). So far we have received six responses to this offer. If you are thinking of subscribing, do it now and get one of the two books offered at a reduced price, before the offer expires November 15.

**This Publication
is available in Microform.**

**University Microfilms
International**

300 North Zeeb Road, Dept. P.R., Ann Arbor MI 48106

100 French nuclear tests since 1966

Mitterrand defies protests, pledges to keep on testing

By Jean-Louis Michel

[The following article appeared in the August 22–28 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The dirty tricks by agents of the DGSE [General Directorate for Foreign Security] against the Greenpeace antinuclear campaign again focuses attention on the question of the future of the Pacific Experimentation Center on [the French Pacific colony of] Mururoa, and more generally on the French presence in the South Pacific.

The Pacific Experimentation Center (CEP) was established by the French government in 1963 to replace the nuclear site at Reggane in Algeria, which became unusable when Algeria gained its independence.

The first nuclear explosion on the Mururoa atoll took place in 1966. Since then, year after year there has been a steady stream of nuclear explosions at the two nuclear sites of Mururoa and Fangataufa, 1,200 kilometers from the CEP's rear base at Papeete, Tahiti.

Until 1974, France carried out dozens of atmospheric nuclear explosions at these sites. Since 1975, the government has carried out underground nuclear explosions, always in secret.

Australian and New Zealand sources estimate that the French government has exploded 100 devices in the zone. In this regard it is worth noting that the number of nuclear tests

has been considerably stepped up since 1981, under the presidency of [François] Mitterrand.

In the name of deterrence

French imperialism's so-called deterrence policy serves as the basis for the official justification for the nuclear tests, which are carried out with considerable ecological consequences for the peoples of the region. Maintaining nuclear forces in a state of readiness requires a permanent site for experimental explosions. That is why Mitterrand, the passionate advocate of deterrence, has spoken out loud and clear in this regard, despite the opposition from international public opinion and numerous governments.

"I reiterate," Mitterrand stated on August 18, "that the nuclear tests in the Pacific will continue as long as they are deemed necessary for the country's defense by the French authorities and by them alone."

The presidential palace has an easy ride, knowing that there is a broad consensus of political forces spanning the spectrum from the right to the French Communist Party. This consensus challenges neither the "French" bomb nor even the French presence in the South Pacific, which is indispensable for maintaining and developing French imperialism's policy of nuclear deterrence.

That policy requires blocking off the French colonial possessions in the South Pacific and their maritime approaches. That is why there are no less than four protective barriers at the explosion sites, allowing France to unilaterally establish exclusive control over a maritime zone reaching 122 kilometers from the atoll,

and an air zone that goes out 926 kilometers. International law fixes the limit of territorial waters at 12 miles, that is, 22 kilometers.

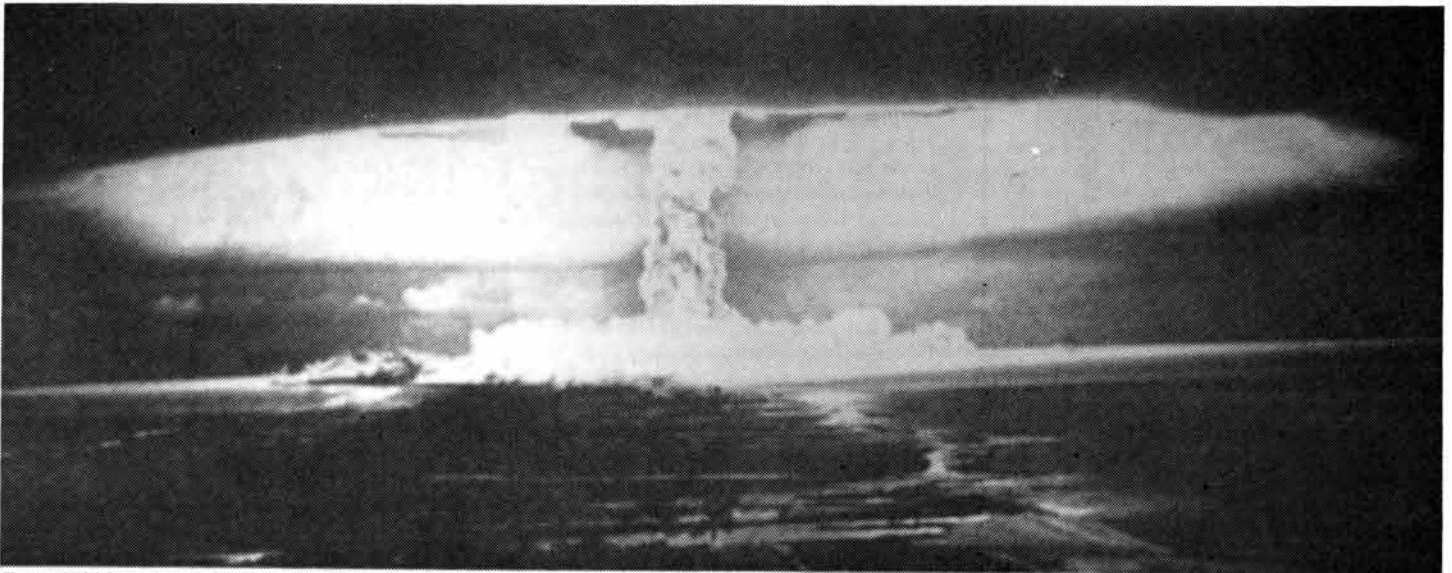
This unconscionable violation of international law has been denounced by the states in the region and the ecology and peace movements.

Contempt for people

Following a strong international campaign of protests against French atmospheric nuclear testing in June–July 1973 — in which the French military waged a naval battle against ships like the *Greenpeace III*, a New Zealand frigate, and a pleasure boat called the *Fri* with General La Bollardière on board, and during which massive boycotts against France were organized by unions in Britain and Australia — President [Georges] Pompidou decided to carry out nuclear tests underground. Behind the accusations about the risks of atmospheric pollution, the outlines could be seen of the debate on the merits of the French nuclear strike force. The French state hoped thereby to calm things down.

But after 10 years of underground nuclear experiments, there is still strong fear among surrounding populations over the geological consequences and the risks of pollution from the nuclear wastes from the explosions. The short-sighted explanations asserting that the CEP's activities are inoffensive do not speak to the eventual long-term consequences for the region.

And that does not reckon with "accidents." In March 1981, a typhoon ripped off the asphalt layer holding nuclear wastes and dis-



French H-bomb exploding over South Pacific in 1971.

persed them. Since then, the wastes have been placed in containers. But no one has yet discovered a container that can resist marine pressures or earthquakes over the course of many decades.

If the wastes are buried, that provides little security since the Mururoa atoll has become a real Swiss cheese and is sinking into the sea.

In response to the claims by observer missions, such as Haroun Tazieff's in 1981, that there was no danger to the local populations, the movements opposing nuclear tests in the Pacific have wisely responded: "If nuclear tests are carried out in complete safety, why not hold them in Tokyo, Paris, or Washington?"

In addition to directly threatening the environment, the French government is shamelessly sneering at the rights of people to self-determination. It ignores the protests of the 14 member countries of the South Pacific Forum, which favor the adoption of a treaty to make the zone nuclear free, with the participants pledging "not to possess, test, or use nuclear weapons," while leaving it to each government to decide on "the transit or docking of nuclear-powered or armed ships."

On that basis the last session of the South Pacific Forum, held August 5 and 6, 1985, in Rarotonga, in the Cook Islands, decided to present a resolution to the United Nations during the debate on revision of the general treaty on nuclear nonproliferation, which is expected to take place in September.

However limited such initiatives by the governments of the region may be, they are indicative of the rise of a sense of exasperation among the peoples of the region in the face of the contempt Paris has shown toward their demands of sovereignty and for cessation of the nuclear experiments.

Since 1981, the leaders of the Socialist

Party, committed to Mitterrand's imperialist policy, have backed the military options of the French state. The Communist Party, which was quite compromised after it entered the government and is a strong partisan of the nuclear "strike force," has not opposed French nuclear tests.* Its muteness on this very question strips all credibility from its proclamations regarding the right of peoples to self-determination and its desires to dust off its anticolonialist credentials, for example regarding the Kanak people.

However, the resolution adopted in October 1984 by the Forum of Pacific Trade Unions, which was presented by the Federation of Kanak and Exploited Workers Unions [USTKE — in the French colony of New Caledonia], puts the question in sharp focus.

* The Communist Party participated in President Mitterrand's cabinet from 1981 until mid-1984. — IP

French record of covert operations

By Christian Picquet

[The following are excerpts from an article published in the August 22–28 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

[F]or years the intelligence services have been working to sabotage initiatives hostile to the French bomb. Back in 1972, the SDECE (as the DGSE* was called until 1982) had mined a ship, the *Boy Roel*, that had been chartered by the New Zealand Peace Media movement to prevent the resumption of nuclear tests at Mururoa.

Bernard Stasi, former minister in [President Georges] Pompidou's government, has himself recently confirmed that other sabotage attempts had been envisaged in 1973 against embarkations by Greenpeace. It also appears that since 1982 the Action Service [of the DGSE] organized at least nine attempted attacks on antinuclear activists. . . .

Since 1947, through decolonialization, and especially with the actions of the governments of the Fifth Republic, the history of the DGSE is rich in scandals. We could cite the establishment of the "Red Hand" to liquidate proindependence leaders in [the then-French colonies of] North Africa, the kidnapping of [Moroccan leftist] Mehdi Ben Barka, Operation Barracuda to overthrow [Jean-Bedel] Bokassa [of the Central African Republic], the establishment of a secret-police state in Gabon, the coup d'état in the Comoro Islands, the intervention in the Western Sahara, the attempted landing in Benin, the establishment of guerrillas in Algeria at the time of [President

*SDECE — Foreign Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence Service; DGSE — General Directorate for External Security. — IP

[See box on this page.] You cannot separate the right of peoples to independence and the withdrawal of French troops from the South Pacific.

Intertwined with the activities of the CEP are the questions of nuclear deterrence and French imperialist domination over the peoples of the Pacific, two pillars that Mitterrand is ready to defend through use of state terrorism. He has already just shown this by announcing a virtual declaration of war against the peace activists working around Mururoa, with whom we express our solidarity against any repression.

As French militants, we have a direct and immediate responsibility which, above and beyond a simple "freeze" of the regional situation, must put forward the combined demand for the withdrawal of French troops from the South Pacific, the closing of the CEP, and support to the peoples struggling for their independence. □

Houari] Boumediene's death, and so on.

Nor should we forget the activities aimed against "the domestic enemy," which resulted, for example, in SDECE files on nearly 3 million French citizens.

The Socialist Party and Communist Party were totally conscious of this situation [before coming into office] when they wrote in the Common Program: "The parallel police forces will be dissolved. The SDECE will be abolished."

These fine intentions, however, very quickly disappeared [after the establishment of an SP-CP coalition government in 1981] as the left wanted to demonstrate its aptitude for loyally managing the affairs of the ruling class.

In 1982, the decree changing the name of the secret services specified: "The mission of the DGSE, for the benefit of the government and in liaison with the other organizations concerned, is to seek and exploit intelligence of interest to the security of France, as well as to detect and impede espionage activities outside the national territory that are aimed against French interests in order to prevent their consequences." What goes around, comes around.

Under cover of the reorganization, the secret agents sought to strengthen their role and their resources, particularly in the struggle against the East European countries. The corollary of that is that most of the key men of French espionage were kept in their posts. Acts of discipline, such as the destruction of the archives of the Action Service shortly after [President François Mitterrand's election on] May 10, 1981, were ignored.

And there was a resumption of "offensive missions," the most prominent of which were the series of attempts against various Syrian figures in 1982, the organization of mercenary commandos in Chad the following year, and the aid given to the reactionary guerrillas in Angola. The blowing up of the *Rainbow Warrior* obviously fits in with this pattern. □

France out of the Pacific!

[The following resolution was presented by the Federation of Kanak and Exploited Workers Unions (USTKE) of New Caledonia and adopted by the Third Conference of the Forum of Pacific Trade Unions in October 1984.]

* * *

Recognizing the absolute necessity for an independent and nuclear-free Pacific, recognizing that there cannot be total denuclearization of the Pacific without the independence of all the countries of the region, the Third Conference of the Forum of Pacific Trade Unions reaffirms its support to the struggle of the Kanak people for the exercise of their innate and active right to independence [from France]. The forum condemns the neocolonial policy of the French government, which aims to perpetuate colonialism and capitalism in the Kanak country.

'Collecting debt is politically impossible'

Part I of Castro's speech to closing session of Havana conference

[The following is the first half of Cuban President Fidel Castro's August 3 speech to the final session of the Meeting on the Foreign Debt of Latin America and the Caribbean in Havana. The second half will be printed in our next issue.]

[Of the 1,200 delegates attending the meeting, some 100 represented trade unions or peasant organizations, 115 were heads of parties or political organizations, and about 50 were members of various women's groups. A total of 31 countries were represented.]

[The presidents of both Argentina and Bolivia sent personal representatives, and the Ecuadoran government had an official delegate. The Nicaraguan delegation was headed by Vice-president Sergio Ramírez.]

[From El Salvador, Guillermo Ungo, president of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), and Fermán Cienfuegos, a commander of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) attended.]

[Also participating were numerous religious figures, military officers, businessmen, academics, artists, and journalists.]

[The countries of the Caribbean, including the English-, French-, and Dutch-speaking islands, were well represented.]

[The August 19 issue of *Intercontinental Press* carried a report from Havana by Mary-Alice Waters on the conference.]

[This meeting was part of a series of conferences in Cuba that have drawn together broad forces from the region to discuss the debt crisis.]

[Since the first of June, meetings have been held in Havana of nearly 300 women from 27 Latin American and Caribbean countries, 150 journalists from 20 countries, and more than 300 union and peasant leaders from 29 countries.]

[Documents from these meetings have appeared in *Intercontinental Press* in the issues of July 22, August 5, August 19, and September 9.]

[The text of the following speech is taken from the August 18 issue of *Granma Weekly Review*, the English-language newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party. Footnotes and bracketed material are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

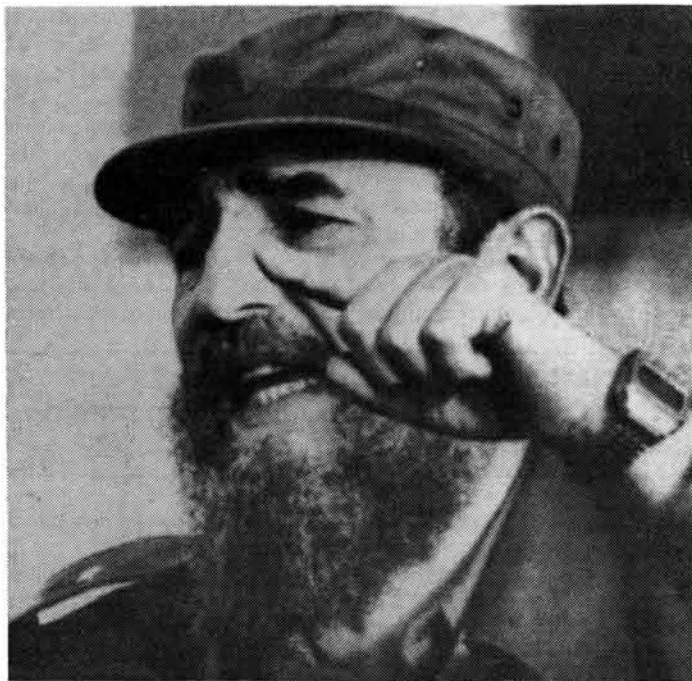
* * *

No need to be alarmed at all these papers and folders I have with me. They're to be used as sources of reference in some cases. . . . Thank you, Comrade Tencha [Hortensia Bussi de Allende, chairperson of the session] for your warm and generous words. On opening day I called you distinguished guests and esteemed guests. After almost five days of working close together and intensively, allow me to call you dear guests.

This afternoon, Carlos Rafael [Rodríguez, vice-president of Cuba] was saying that I was going to make a summary of this meeting, and I immediately protested the term "summary." I believe that a summary could be made by Gabriel García Márquez in an extensive novel, given the infinite number of ideas, expressions, and events that have occurred in the past days. I'll try to tell you about a number of personal impressions and at the same time delineate some ideas, to express my ideas regarding the topic that brought us together in this meeting.

I realize that I have a privilege, and that's Tencha's permission to speak, but not without a time limit, because everything has its limits: your patience, my endurance, and even common sense, which advises us not to be too extensive. Many of the brilliant, capable, and intelligent persons who spoke here did not enjoy such a privilege. I can understand what it must have meant to them to have to limit the development of such a complex theme to 12, 15, and maybe 20 minutes in some cases. But I've gone through that experience, too. I've attended many events, and I've often had to limit my speeches to 8, 10, or 20 minutes, without being able to do as well as you did here.

I must respond to some of the charges that have been made regarding Cuba's activities in connection with this dramatic problem.



FIDEL CASTRO

One of them is that Cuba is taking an opportunistic stand — that's one of our neighbors to the North's favorite phrases — that we're trying to improve relations, to improve Cuba's image, and a whole series of odd ideas like that. I believe that whatever efforts we have made in this direction are far removed from any attempt to improve our image, because nothing could be further from our way of thinking.

The way I see it, all this business about image, propaganda, and so forth is typical of the system they represent, and they think that anybody who does anything in this world is doing it as a matter of propaganda or for image improvement. As I told the Latin American and Caribbean trade union leaders in the meeting preceding this one, and also at the celebration of the 26th of July, with an image you can't even feed a tiny bird. I believe that this is a very serious problem, and we mustn't let ourselves be confused or deceived, nor should we allow such an insidious campaign to continue.

This is why I tried to find some antecedent from the period in which we have been discussing the problem, and I found one dating back 14 years. It was in Chile, when we visited that country following the victory of Popular Unity.¹ On that occasion I was invited to an infinite number of events among them a brief visit to ECLA's [Economic Commission for Latin America, a United Nations body] headquarters in Santiago, and there an impromptu dialogue took place. There are stenographic transcripts of all those speeches and they were all published, and I have here some of the statements I made that day. That was 14 years ago! At that time nobody knew if Latin America's debt was 30 or 40 billion dollars.

I said on that occasion: "We have recently read that Chile owes over 3.5 billion dollars. It is known, for example, that Uruguay owes more

1. Castro visited Chile from Nov. 10 to Dec. 4, 1971, at the invitation of President Salvador Allende. A compilation of Castro's major speeches from this trip is published in English in *Fidel Castro on Chile*, an Education for Socialists Bulletin, available for \$5 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St. New York.

than 800 million dollars and that it has to pay 80 million a year now. Its exports amount to something like 190 or 200 million dollars, and it has to import at least that much. This is a difficult situation, especially since its basic products have problems in the markets. Not only problems of unequal trade but even problems of markets.

"The Argentine Republic is said to have a debt of some 5 billion dollars. I don't know what each country's debt is. But what I wonder is how they're going to pay the United States, how they're going to meet the foreign debt with this powerful country, how they're going to meet the dividends, how they're going to maintain a minimum subsistence level, and how they're going to advance in terms of development.

"It is really a very serious problem of today, or tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow. It is a problem that brings us face to face with the reality of our countries. A problem that leads us to a consideration of that famous gap, that famous abyss, that famous difference that increases like the distance between an automobile traveling at 10 kilometers an hour and one traveling at 100 kilometers an hour, or a car traveling at minus 10 and one traveling at more than 150 kilometers an hour."

On November 29 of this year exactly 14 years will have passed since I made those statements. I believe that all that I have said from that time on were the seeds of uncertainty, of concern, a question for which there

These are the same ideas we have raised for years; we could see the problem coming, it was coming, closer and closer . . .

was no answer. We can ask ourselves if there is an answer now and if the scene now has any resemblance to that of 1971.

All these years Cuba has been bringing up these problems before the international organizations. Now I find it necessary to mention another document I referred to during the trade union meeting, and therefore I beg the pardon of the almost 100 trade union leaders who stayed on for having to listen to the same words again. I made these statements at the United Nations, in 1979, shortly after the conclusion of the Sixth Summit Meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held in this same hall.

In September 1979 I went, as it is customary following a Non-Aligned Summit Meeting for the country that has been the venue, to speak at the United Nations. I said then: "The developing countries now have a foreign debt of 335 billion dollars. It is estimated that more than 40 billion dollars a year goes to servicing this foreign debt — more than 20 percent of their exports. Moreover, average per capita income in the developed countries is now 14 times greater than in the underdeveloped countries. The situation is untenable." This was in 1979.

I ended that part of my speech by saying:

"In brief, Mr. Chairman and representatives, unequal trade is impoverishing our peoples, and it should cease!

"Inflation, which is being exported to us, is impoverishing our peoples, and it should cease!

"Protectionism is impoverishing our peoples, and it should cease!

"The disequilibrium that exists concerning the exploitation of sea resources is abusive, and it should be abolished!" Later on the agreement on the Law of the Sea was reached, and the United States refuses to sign it, along with a small group of allies.

"The financial resources received by the developing countries are insufficient, and they should be increased!

"Arms expenditures are irrational. They should cease, and the funds thus released should be used to finance development!

"The international monetary system that prevails today is bankrupt and should be replaced!

"The debts of the relatively least developed countries and in a disadvantageous position are impossible to bear and have no solution. They should be canceled!

"Indebtedness oppresses the rest of the developing countries economically, and it should be relieved!

"The wide economic gap between the developed countries and the countries that seek development is growing rather than diminishing; and it should be closed!

"Such are the demands of the underdeveloped countries."

The Third World's debt was then 335 billion, or around that figure. I began talking about this subject in 1971, when Latin America owed around 35 billion, and probably the entire Third World owed less than 100 billion.

I kept coming back to this topic in the years that followed. At the Seventh Summit Conference, held in New Delhi in March 1983, Cuba's detailed report on the serious international economic crisis was distributed among all the delegations and sent to all heads of state in every underdeveloped and industrialized country.² The same had been done with the UN speech I just mentioned.

In that meeting I spoke on the same subject, and among other problems I discussed unequal trade at some length — what it consisted of and how it affected us. And I cited a few examples, as follows:

"In 1960, 37.3 tons of fertilizers could be bought with a ton of coffee. In 1982 only 15.8 tons could be bought with the same amount of coffee." We, the countries of the Third World, export, generally speaking, coffee, cocoa, other similar agricultural products, and import fertilizers from the chemical industry of the developed world. To grow coffee or to grow corn or other foodstuffs we need fertilizers; however, we must deliver more and more coffee to have less and less fertilizers — and we don't want people to go hungry.

"In 1959, with the income from the sale of six tons of jute fiber, a seven-to-eight-ton truck could be purchased. By late 1982, 26 tons of jute fiber were needed to buy that same truck.

"In 1959, with the income from the sale of one ton of copper wire, 39 X-ray tubes for medical purposes could be purchased. By late 1982, only three X-ray tubes could be bought with that same ton."

We are exporters of jute, copper wire, tin, and other mineral ores. Copper is exported by Peru, Chile, and other countries as a main commodity; and these countries export aluminum or other raw materials. And when we compare all the products that we export with those we import, it's the same story.

So we import sophisticated equipment, X-ray machines, industrial machinery, electronic apparatus, chemical products, etc., which is what the industrialized world produces at very high salaries. And what about us? What salaries go into our exports, for mention has been made here of salaries of 30 or 40 dollars a month in Peru, in Bolivia, in Brazil, in Chile. On that same occasion I quoted other examples, but I don't think we need any more to grasp the idea of the tragedy we are enduring due to this unmerciful plunder.

Among the things I mentioned in New Delhi in March 1983 were:

"To struggle tirelessly for peace, improved international relations, a halt to the arms race, and a drastic reduction in military spending and to demand that a considerable part of those funds be dedicated to developing the Third World.

"To struggle without respite for an end to unequal trade that reduces our real export earnings, shifts the cost of the inflation generated in the developed capitalist countries onto our economies, and ruins our peoples.

"To struggle against protectionism, that multiplies the tariff and non-tariff barriers and blocks the marketing of our export commodities and manufactured goods.

"To struggle for the cancellation of the foreign debts of the large number of countries which have no real possibilities of paying them and drastically lighten the burden of debt servicing for those that, under new conditions, may be able to fulfill their commitments."

When at the United Nations four years earlier I had said the same thing, it was the point that drew the largest applause by most of the countries represented there; even some industrialized countries understood that such a situation was no longer tolerable. They're the same ideas raised for years; we could see the problem coming, it was coming, closer and closer.

Already by late 1982 the foreign debt was reaching 600 billion dollars, that is, it was increasing by tens, from 30 to 300 billion, then double 300 billion and later triple. Now it is triple the amount, and the prob-

2. This report was published by the Publishing Office of the Council of State in Havana, under the title *The World Economic and Social Crisis*.

lem has become a crisis. Now Latin America alone owes more than what the whole of the Third World owed in 1979. That is, the crisis matured, it worsened terribly, became unbearable, and that's why the same ideas, adapted to each changing reality, change tone; it changes from one occasion to the next. At first it was "The debts of the relatively least developed countries and in a disadvantageous position are impossible to bear and have no solution. They should be canceled!" And then later another tone was used.

"To struggle for the cancellation of the foreign debts of the large number of countries which have no real possibilities of paying them" — by 1983 mention was being made of a large number of countries — "and drastically lighten the burden of debt servicing for those that, under new conditions, may be able to fulfill their commitment." The problem became increasingly serious, and the time came when it became clear to us that none could pay it, with very few exceptions.

At that time we thought that Venezuela or Mexico should be among the countries whose debt should be lessened; but later we realized that oil-producing countries like Nigeria, Venezuela, Mexico had fallen into such a situation that these countries couldn't be excluded from the watchword to annul the debt — that it indeed was a valid watchword for all the Third World countries.

I have no intention of offending anyone when I advocate the annulment of the debt for all the Third World countries, because I'm thinking that we are struggling for something fair, for something reasonable; this is not aimed in the least at offending anyone, but instead at including all in a demand that for many years now we have been making on behalf of part of the countries, when the situation was not as serious as it is now. Today all prices are depressed, including oil prices.

It's true that the drastic rises in oil prices in the middle of the last decade had a bearing on the crisis, yet they were not the cause of the crisis, and the best proof of this is that many oil-exporting countries are also in crisis.

The oil situation made it worse, but who was responsible for the oil crisis?

The industrialized capitalist countries abandoned the coal mines and began wasting a low-cost fuel; the transnationals earned huge profits and, at the same time, kept up the supply of cheap fuel that competed with coal and competed with everything else. At the expense of what? Practically every five years the world's fuel consumption doubled, and what it took nature hundreds of millions of years to create these con-

sumer societies were using in 100 years. Fuel was being depleted, they squandered it, what with huge automobiles, carelessly designed facilities used it in unlimited amounts. What could be conserved following the energy crisis — when they decided to conserve, again thinking of coal and working oil wells that had been abandoned.

But they are the ones who also caused the oil crisis, with their wastefulness; with their senseless and irrational system of squandering the world's human and natural resources.

We do not deny it. Yes, oil had an influence, worsened the situation, but they are still the guilty party.

The only change from 1979 and from 1983 to 1985 was arriving at the logical conclusion that when the Third World owed nearly 1 trillion dollars, no Third World country could be excluded from the watchword of canceling the debt.

Now, I wonder if anyone with the notion of challenging the fact that Cuba is concerned about these things and has raised the matter where it had to be raised, so many times, if just one of those challenging the fact that Cuba is hosting a meeting to discuss these problems or that somebody speak about a problem — as if ideas were also private property, just like a capitalist factory; and I understand that ideas are no one's private property (APPLAUSE) — if just one of them spoke about the problem 15 years, 10 years, six years, five years, three years, or three months ago. For here one man did indeed prove that three years ago he spoke about the problem, and it was Miguel Angel Capriles [a Venezuelan newspaper publisher]. He proved it with his January 1983 editorial, where he raised the problem in rather similar terms. (APPLAUSE)

Capriles said here he was a businessman and a capitalist, and I hope no one will suspect he is a Communist, or that he said that out of sheer demagoguery or to improve his image. It's quite possible that some even laughed when the editorial came out then, but I feel respect and in this case for a man who was not our friend, who has been an adversary and a strong critic of our Revolution.

I bow to and feel respect for a man who three years ago raised the problem in the terms he did, because he had the vision, he developed an awareness rather early about the problem. He did come to this dialogue, he had no objection in coming, taking part and speaking here.

Who among those who challenged us or refused to come in order not to play into Castro's hands have spoken one word about the problem, and when did they say it?

Really, some people have spoken out in these days; some hurriedly

Castro's plan for canceling the debt

Since the beginning of this year, the Cuban government has been campaigning to win support for canceling the \$360 billion foreign debt and \$40 billion interest owed by Latin American and Caribbean countries.

Cuban President Fidel Castro has presented a concrete proposal around which he urges the countries in the region to wage a struggle to get rid of the unpayable debt. He has been explaining this plan in scores of interviews and speeches.

One of the clearest explanations of his proposal appears in an interview with the Mexican Daily *Excelsior* in March. (It is included in the recently published *War and Crisis in the Americas: Fidel Castro Speeches, 1984-85*, Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, \$6.95.)

In that interview Castro said that if the debtors join together and cancel their debts,

the "industrialized creditor countries can and should make themselves responsible for the debts to their own banks."

How could they do this? Castro proposed that the governments issue 10-year treasury bonds. This is a customary method for capitalist governments, from the national to the municipal level, to raise revenues. By selling such bonds to bankers, insurance companies, speculators, and the like, they can obtain the funds needed to pay the private banks for the canceled debts of the Latin American countries. The bondholders would find this profitable because they would be guaranteed a certain percentage of interest on their investment.

Where would the U.S., British, French, Japanese, and other imperialist governments get the funds to pay the interest on these bonds?

"That's easy," Castro stated: "from mili-

tary expenditures — and not all military expenditures, just a small percentage of them: 10 percent or, if interest rates remain as high as they are now, a maximum of 12 percent." The pool of funds now spent annually throughout the world for military purposes, Castro said, is a trillion dollars — more than enough to pay off the debts.

The Cuban leader has repeatedly counterposed this method of obtaining funds to raising taxes. A tax boost, he says, would place the burden on working people in the industrialized capitalist countries. "We need the support of the workers and public opinion in the capitalist countries involved," Castro told a conference of Latin American and Caribbean trade unionists in Havana in July. "Thus, we are proposing formulas that may reconcile the interests of public opinion, the people and the workers of the United States, Japan, England, Europe, and our interests."

have been talking about the problem. Was it perhaps out of some old, deep-rooted concern? No! They're frightened because Castro is talking about the problem, (APPLAUSE) and they're even saying: "What a pity it's a Communist talking about this problem!" (LAUGHTER)

Well, that's not so, because Capriles is not a Communist, and Cardinal Arns [of Brazil] is not a Communist. (APPLAUSE) And I'm glad that talking about the problem has served at least to get many who had never even thought about the problem to talk about it now. I'm glad! Because what's needed now is that everyone talk about the problem. (APPLAUSE)

I wish to make it clear, furthermore, that we are not against any government; or I should rather say, to be correct, that we are not against any democratic government.

Fortunately, at this moment the number of countries ruled by a constitution or going through a democratic process or having a democratic opening are in the majority. That is partly the result of the struggle of the Argentine people, the Uruguayan people, the Brazilian people, three very important countries that have changed the correlation of democratic forces in our region. (APPLAUSE) That process is the result of the struggle of those peoples and of the crisis, the two things put together. Those who ran the repressive governments had realized that the countries were becoming unmanageable.

In other words, the crisis helped the process, and in turn, the democratic processes can now help in the struggle against the crisis. Because many of the things we've raised here were practically impossible to raise when the correlation of forces favored the military dictatorships. Today we can say that most countries are governed under constitutional norms, that there are now democratic electoral processes. Each one has its own ideas, in terms of how much is real democracy and how much is formal democracy, but we are not arguing that.

I think no one questions how positive the recent processes of democratic opening have been, and we all are anxious for the moment to arrive when we can say: "At last there's also a democratic opening in Chile!" (APPLAUSE) And it will come, we don't doubt it — Pinochet is the only madman of that plague who still lingers on, who thinks that his country is still manageable under these conditions — no matter how much imperialism aids him and tries to alleviate the situation at the expense of putting Chile deeper and deeper in debt.

We are not against the development of a single democratic process; on the contrary, we are concerned that this economic crisis, unless a correct solution is found, may render the survival of these democratic processes impossible.

We are not against the Cartagena Group³ in the least. Our only objection concerning the Cartagena Group is that it has not included all the Latin American and Caribbean countries, as was done at this Havana meeting, so that all may be present. (APPLAUSE) The reasoning is used that they are the main debtors, but this world is not made up of main and lesser debtors, because in the United Nations all the countries,

We all are anxious for the moment to arrive when we can say: 'At last there's also a democratic opening in Chile' . . .

big and small, have one vote each. And this battle will possibly have to be taken to the United Nations, the OAS, to 20 other places, and those votes are needed.

The solution may be that the current Cartagena Group take the lead, that a directing, coordinating committee be set up with the founders of the Group and that all others will join it. There is no sufficient explanation or justification as to why we don't have any Central American country in the Cartagena Group, despite the fact that the per capita debt of some of them is greater, or why there isn't a single Caribbean country in the Cartagena Group, except the Dominican Republic. Jamaica is not in, Trinidad and Tobago are not in, many other countries are not in.

In our meeting we were very concerned that every country speak; it

3. Named for a meeting of finance and foreign ministers of 11 Latin American countries held in June 1984 in Cartagena, Colombia.



Mass protest in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Banner in foreground reads "Out with the IMF."

didn't matter whether it has 250,000 inhabitants or 100 million; they are countries with their own anthem, their own flag, their own sovereignty, their own rights, and they must be respected. (APPLAUSE)

That's the only objection we have publicly raised concerning the Cartagena group. As we see it, our battle is helping the struggle of that group. We have nothing against it and are prepared to support it in its struggle to find a correct solution to that problem.

We are not against SELA [Latin American Economic System] in the least; Cuba was one of the first countries that took part in founding SELA. When that Latin American economic organization was created thanks to the initiative of Mexican President Luis Echeverría, one of the first countries with which he spoke and one of the first to support it was Cuba. We belong to SELA, we support and agree that SELA, which is a Latin American and Caribbean agency, play a role in searching for a correct solution to this problem.

We are in agreement with and support the idea of a meeting of heads of state, first proposed by President Alfonsín of Argentina following his visit to Mexico; then President Febres Cordero seconded it and he even proposed that the Galápagos Islands, granted World Heritage status, host it. Then President Alan García, who has just taken over the government of Peru, also proposed such a meeting. Three presidents have suggested it. You supported it, and we enthusiastically support a meeting of heads of state.

You know we don't feel much affinity with the OAS [Organization of American States]. But even if the OAS meets, as some people say it will, if it's true that it's calling a meeting of the ministers of the treasury and of the economy of the hemisphere for September in Washington, wonderful! Let them meet there, let them sit the United States in front of them at the defense table, let them discuss things with that country,

speaking to it about reality and demand solutions. (APPLAUSE) If the OAS were to be useful in its lifetime, it would be for this, and then all the difficulties and shame it has meant for the hemisphere would have been worth it. Even the OAS!

We are not in battle against anybody, and all the steps we have taken have been done fully conscious that this struggle is helping the other countries. This doesn't mean that our positions are radical just for the sake of being radical. I don't think our positions are radical or maximalist, as they are saying. Some people have said they are maximalist positions. No, no, on the contrary, they are quite realistic. Still others say we are dreamers, but it's the others who are dreamers, those who think this can be solved otherwise.

They blame me for saying that the debt is unpayable. All right. The blame must be placed on Pythagoras, Euclid, Archimedes, Pascal, Lobachevsky, any other mathematician you may prefer either in an-

Latin America owes 175 dollars and 30 cents per hectare . . . I can't think of anybody charging that much for land rent . . .

cient, modern, or contemporary times. It is mathematics itself, the theory of the mathematicians that proves that the debt can't be paid.

I must talk about that, and I wish to explain why I think it is unpayable and how none of the technical formulas offered can solve the problem. But before going on I wish to inform you that a false alarm was sounded today here in this auditorium when the news reached us that the United States had decreed a blockade or punitive economic measures against Peru.

A cable arrived here that tried to explain the situation, and it reads like this:

"Peruvian Foreign Minister Alan Wagner paid no importance to the announced suspension of U.S. economic and military aid to Peru and emphasized this was a lesser question that the world press had magnified.

"In statements to the press after meeting in this capital with U.S. Ambassador David Jordan, the foreign minister underscored that involved here was an error of the news agency that sent the report and associated it with questions that have nothing to do with the case.

"He added that the application of the Brooke-Alexander Amendment is a legal formula that the United States automatically sets in motion when debt payments are delayed. He said that Peru owes Washington about 100,000 dollars, a portion of its arrears that are going to be immediately paid, and remarked that no special importance should be attached to this debt and that it is the consequence of an administrative error of the former government, which should have paid it.

"Wagner insisted this was an unimportant problem with no political implication whatever and that merits no greater attention." Had we known this before we would have saved ourselves some of the anguish voiced here today.

"The Peruvian foreign minister added that the decision of President Alan García's government to devote only 10 percent of its exports to paying the foreign debt is something everybody knows about and which has not had any negative effects on relations with the United States.

"The U.S. ambassador, in turn, said that it was only a small misinterpretation of the information released by the international news agencies." These blessed news agencies are always creating alarm. (LAUGHTER)

"Jordan added that Peru owes the United States some 100,000 dollars that it has promised to pay, and that this was a matter that could be easily settled and had nothing to do with the economic policy of the Peruvian government. He repeated that it all boiled down to a misunderstanding due to a misinterpretation of the news, which led to linking together things that have nothing to do with this problem. Jordan concluded by saying that the news was false and the relations between the two countries were good."

I must say these people from the United States are sincere. (LAUGHTER) There's no doubt about that, they have a model government. It was all a misunderstanding, a misinterpretation, a mistake. What it real-

ly was — this is my interpretation, and that's why I was waiting, although several comrades were anxious to find out what Peru's reaction had been — was a trap, a provocation, a trick, a banana peel for someone to slip on. Because those people apply the Brooke-Alexander Amendment whenever they please, when they deem it advisable, and this time they jumped the gun.

A meeting is taking place here and they got nervous. Several days ago the new government was inaugurated in Peru. They never applied the amendment to the old government, but they apply it immediately to the new one, as soon as it proclaims that it won't discuss things with the International Monetary Fund and will cut down the debt payment to 10 percent of exports. Then — what a coincidence! — all military and economic aid is suspended immediately.

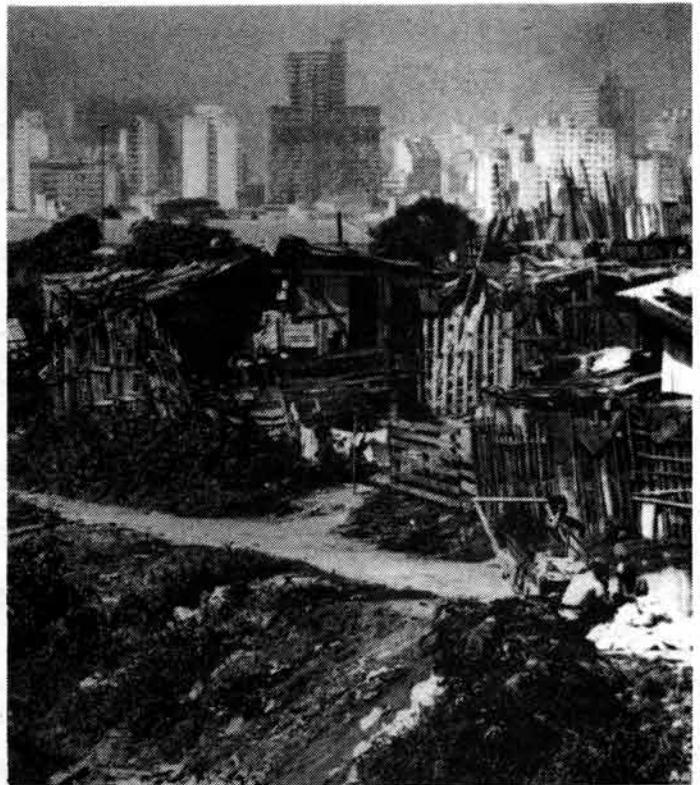
I really think that the new government of Peru acted with a clear head and refused to be provoked. But the intentions are clear. Nobody knows these people the way we do!

I wanted to explain this before I go on, because I also want to talk about the 10 percent formula.

I said that as a rule mathematics showed that the debt was unpayable, but in this case the rule has no exceptions. And please believe me when I say that I have listened and will continue to listen with the greatest respect to all the arguments of those who think that it's possible to pay the debt and believe so, but I don't go along with that idea. We don't even have to discuss some countries, but as far as the few countries where it seemed possible for them to pay, I say that it's equally impossible.

What do these figures mean? Sometimes it's necessary to translate them into something. One day I got the idea of figuring out how many years it would take to count out Latin America's foreign debt if an individual counted it at a rate of one dollar per second. Do you know how many years it would take him to do it? 11,574 years. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE) Then I began to wonder how long it would take to count out the interest owed in the next 10 years. At a rate of one dollar per second, working round the clock, it would take 12,860 years. (LAUGHTER)

However, if we're told that we're exaggerating things by putting only one individual to work, we'll say: All right, get 100 men to count.



Foreign bankers are demanding Brazil pay the interest on debt of \$103 billion while millions live in poverty.

(LAUGHTER) How long will it take them? One hundred and twenty-eight years. How could anybody pay in 10 years what it takes 100 persons, counting at a rate of one dollar per second, more than 100 years to finish counting? Moreover, if all those who were invited to this dialogue — over 1,000 — started counting now it would take them over 10 years to finish the job. (APPLAUSE)

Another day I got the idea of figuring it out by hectare. (LAUGHTER) Latin America owes 175 dollars and 30 cents per hectare — practically the cost of a single hectare, and it has to pay in 10 years — and in interest alone — when I say what it has to pay in 10 years, I'm not talking about capital, but rather about interest — it has to pay 194 dollars and 80 cents per hectare in the next 10 years.

Then I started calculating on the basis of square kilometers, and it came to 17,530 dollars per square kilometer — and there are over 20 million square kilometers in the region. How much would Latin America have to pay in the next 10 years per square kilometer? A total of 19,478 dollars — and that's in interest alone. We've heard a great deal about latifundists and exploiters, but I can't think of anybody charging that much for land rent! (LAUGHTER)

How much does each inhabitant owe? As you know, some owe more, others less, but on the average the debt runs to 923 dollars per inhabitant, and there are 390 million inhabitants. How much is the interest alone, without the principal? A total of 1,025 dollars per capita in the next 10 years. As we can see, the cost of living becomes really unbearable if each one of us has to pay 1,025 dollars just to breathe.

There are countries like Costa Rica, for example, that are not too large and owe 100,000 dollars per square kilometer. How in the world will they ever be able to pay? It would take a small gold mine or a pretty large gold mine per square kilometer, because what Costa Rica owes is neither pesos, nor sucres, nor bolivares. The debt is in dollars! Dollars that must be obtained on the world market by exporting things if they can be produced, if they have a market, and if they are bought for what they're really worth. None of that exists. It has no products, it lacks many things — it's an underdeveloped country — its products are not

paid what they're worth, and it has no market to sell them in.

So if somebody tells me that Costa Rica can locate one gold mine for every square kilometer and can locate 5,000 of such mines, then I'll say that maybe it'll be able to pay. Especially if it's in the form of nuggets and it's pure gold, like what you find in rivers.

I made other calculations. Considering that we're dealing with a continent where it is asserted people go hungry, where there are persons whose daily calorie intake is 1,200 and even less than 1,200, where there are so many undernourished people, where there are 110 million unemployed and underemployed, where there is malnutrition — as you have reported here — where 70 percent of the people live at the poverty level or below the poverty level, I figured out how the population of Latin America could be fed with the money that is being used for interest payments.

According to my figures, at the current price being paid for wheat, each of the 390 million inhabitants — I based my figures on 400 million, so there's 10 million extra, in case the mice eat some of the food — could be provided with 3,500 calories and 135 grams of protein every day for the next 17 years.

A continent plagued by underemployment and poverty is being asked to pay, in interest alone, in the next 10 years the equivalent of 3,500 calories and 135 grams of protein per day, much more than what is needed in order to survive, for 17 years. Is this logical? Does it have any sense? Is it rational? Well, that's reality, what the figures show.

The problem is that facts have shown that it's not easy to pay. As I said before, in order to pay a debt you need markets. And where are the markets? The International Monetary Fund wants everybody to export, but what are they going to export? Oh, I see . . . more coffee, more cocoa, more sugar, more beef? The answer is no, if they're going to get less and less for their products. And besides, to where could these countries export anything when protectionism in the form of tariffs and non-tariff barriers multiplies day after day?

Every day one more country is affected by these measures. Today it may be Mexico, tomorrow it'll be another country, and so forth. This year alone, Mexico's exports were damaged to the tune of 3 billion dol-



Mexican demonstrators express opposition to Washington's policies in June 1985 action.

lars when that country was deprived of some preferential tariffs with a stroke of the pen.

Today, one of Colombia's representatives spoke about his country's coal mines. And, indeed, a large open-pit coal mine is a great source of wealth. But I also know that since the price of coal dropped from 50 dollars to 39, the United States began proposing a protectionist tariff of nine dollars per ton to prevent Colombia's coal from ever reaching the electrical power plants in the eastern United States, where around 79 plants are potential buyers of Colombian coal.

The coal companies in the United States have already called for the levying of a tax. And it could very well happen that a country makes a tremendous effort, enormous expenditures, and once it begins to export its coal it's stuck with a nine-dollar tariff, because those gentlemen have much more influence and pull in the U.S. Congress than any Latin American country.

More than 80 protectionist measures against Japan are being discussed in the U.S. Congress. That's against Japan alone. The war is not only against us any more; now they're all at war with one another. They're making desperate efforts to combat competition; they can't find a way out, and so they again resort to protectionism.

We sugar producers have onerous protectionist measures imposed on us. The representative of Martinique told us a sugar mill in his country had to shut down, and the Panamanians know that the Bayano sugar mill, built near a big reservoir that guaranteed a source of water for creating electrical power and for irrigation, has been shut down for the past four years.

While the United States imported 5 million tons of sugar in 1981, it imported only 2.7 million in 1984, is importing 2.6 million this year, and may cut down to 1.7 next year. How can the economy of a few, sugar-producing countries withstand a reduction of their sugar market from 5 to 1.7 million in only six years as a result of subsidized sugar?

This is the same market that was taken away from us when they were giving out sweets all over the place. They traded our sugar quota for Cuba's isolation. Why are these things forgotten? We don't want to remember them, but it happened. It was a sad experience, but it's all in the past.

But now they're taking away the quota. What's happened? Have these countries made a socialist revolution? Not as far as I know, unless I've been misinformed by those news agencies. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE) They take these measures, they demand that our countries step up their exports in order to get dollars, they tell everybody to export, and then they close down the markets. So where are they going to export to?

We know that the world is plagued by needs, and that those who have needs don't have the money to satisfy them. Yet the Latin American countries are asked to get dollars to pay off the interest on the debt. Nobody talks about the principal anymore, and the creditors aren't concerned over it either, because they know they recover it every eight or nine years, and go on recovering it, and in 30 years they've recovered it three and a half times over. They can forget all about the principal because they can solve the problem with the interest alone.

To where can Latin America export? On top of that, the IMF says "cut down on imports." How in the world can they step up exports when — this was made clear here and everybody knows it — they need certain goods, equipment, spare parts, and so forth in order to increase production and exports? And even when that miracle is performed — some countries were successful for one year — it can't last for more than about one year, because they run out of stock: no raw materials, no spare parts, no equipment. And that stock must be replenished. I'm not even talking of development. It's a matter of one year, a flash in the pan.

And the IMF still insists on less imports. Where can these countries get what they need to increase exports, and if they do increase exports where's the market? And if they increase them and they have a market, how much are they paid for their exports?

We know that in 1984 Latin America's exports ran to 95 billion dollars. A gigantic effort, raising production from 75 billion to 95 billion, in spite of depressed prices. They would have achieved the same purchasing power in 1980 with 75 billion and 22 percent less goods. They worked hard, they killed themselves producing more, they exported it and got 22 percent less than exports four years before. What country,

what economy can bear the brunt of these catastrophic effects?

Then comes the IMF and says, "Besides that, remove all tariff barriers." Everybody is prescribed the Chicago formula or something similar. It looks like the IMF always belonged to the Chicago School:⁴ "Remove all barriers! Compete!" That's the kind of competition Radomiro Tomic [of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile] was talking about yesterday: the competition between the lamb and the lion. When I passed by I asked him why he had spoken about competition between a seal and a lion, and he said, "No, no, don't turn my words around. I said between the lamb and the lion and between a seal and a shark." That's fine. Two excellent examples given by our friend Tomic in a brilliant speech.

Well, let them compete. Ah, but they'll compete against Japan's robot machines and automated production. This is why, according to what an Uruguayan told me, even a small factory that turned out hair ornaments was put in competition with a transnational in South Korea, and within a few days it folded and had to close down and from then on the hair ornaments came from South Korea. That's the prescription: "Remove the tariff barriers," while they, the industrialized countries, tighten theirs for our products.

These are realities we mustn't forget. If we forget about unequal trade, excessive interest rates, and all their tricks and acts of piracy, then maybe one could dream for a day — only one day — that the debt can be paid. But there are many other realities, and when we base ourselves on these realities — I'm talking about economic realities — then we see that payment is impossible.

Now, do technical formulas solve anything? No, they don't, none of

That's their prescription: 'Remove the tariff barriers,' while the industrialized countries tighten theirs on our products . . .

them. It was in the interview for *Excelsior*⁵ that I tried to explain a number of hypotheses; I mentioned four.

Our friend Juan Bosch [former president of the Dominican Republic] based himself on those four hypotheses to explain the problem in Santo Domingo, what's happening with the Dominican debt. None of the hypotheses provided a solution for the problem.

Now there's a new formula. I had studied the formula of using 20 percent of exports to pay the debt and had come to the conclusion that it wouldn't solve the problem. Now we have the formula put forth by the new government of Peru: 10 percent. Considering what's going on, coming up with such a formula as refusing to negotiate with the IMF and using only 10 percent of exports to pay is indeed a step forward.

We know that Peru's exports amount to exactly 3.1 billion dollars. Imports, around 2.9 billion. The foreign debt, we all know because it was stated here, is around 14 billion. Over 1 billion has to be paid in interest alone every year. Neither the Monetary Fund nor the imperialists are at all happy with the idea of someone saying they'll use only 10 percent to pay.

But, would the 10 percent formula really solve the problems? I'm speaking strictly in economic terms, in arithmetical terms. It's not a solution and this can be shown. I asked some comrades to go to the computer and do the calculations — as you know, I didn't have the time to do it myself because I was here with you — and I gave them another four options to work on.

The government of Peru says it will pay the 10 percent for one year. All right, but let's say more than a year.

Let's say Latin America applies the formula of paying only the 10 percent not for a year but for 20. What would happen? Supposing there

4. Refers to free market, monetarist economic policies associated with Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago. Former students of Friedman's have served as economic advisers to the military government of Chile, advocating austerity and reduced government intervention in the economy.

5. Castro's March 1985 interview with the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* was reprinted in Cuba as a pamphlet and distributed to the participants of the Havana conference.

was a 20-year grace period, no amortization of principal, and only 10 percent of exports used to pay interest. Let's suppose that exports increased to over 100 billion a year — they haven't yet, but let's suppose they did — and that servicing didn't exceed 10 billion a year and the interest rate approximately what it is now and that no new loans were received. What would happen? What would be the situation after 20 years?

Applying this formula to all of Latin America, to the countries as a whole, in the course of 20 years the region would pay 200 billion dollars. And at the end of the 20 years — when interest and principal were added up, plus interest on the interest — despite the 10 percent formula and payments not exceeding 10 billion a year, Latin America would owe 2,075,140,000,000 dollars, more than five times what it owes now.

With that formula, this would be our bright future in the next 20 years, and we would have paid 200 billion dollars in hard cash. What we could do with 200 billion invested wisely! I'm talking of well-invested capital, not drained-off capital, as you know.

A second option, a miraculous one: supposing there's a 20-year grace period; 10 percent of exports are allocated for servicing, with no limit on exports even if they go over 100 billion and reach as much as 200 billion a year and over; interest rate the same as now; and exports increasing at the fabulous rate of 10 percent a year for the next 20 years. (We could ask the representatives of the Dominican Republic or any other country if they could increase their exports at an average rate of 10 percent a year for 20 years without receiving a single new loan.)

What would happen in 20 years' time? Well, in 20 years' time with that 10 percent of exports, which are increasing by 10 percent every year, we'd pay 572,752,000,000 dollars on interest. And do you know how much we'd owe in this fabulous and hypothetical case? 1,198,715,000,000 dollars; approximately four times what we owe now. Another "bright" prospect for the future. That is what mathematics tells us: Pythagoras, Euclid, and those I mentioned.

Another miraculous option: the interest rate is reduced to 6 percent and, again, we don't pay more than 10 billion per year. As in the first option, in 20 years' time we'd pay 200 billion. At the end of that time, supposing that interest is established at half the rate it is today, we'd still have a debt of 885,732,000,000 dollars. What a bright future. We've escaped from dependency completely. We'd have to find someone who could do the calculations and see how long it would take him to count

the debt under this option.

A fourth option, the "perfect" one: without borrowing a cent we achieve the miracle of finding the markets, the prices, everything, and exports increase at an average of 10 percent during 20 years, with interest at 6 percent, and paying the interest on the debt with no more than 10 percent of exports each year. This is the "superoptimal."

What would happen in 20 years' time? We'd pay 427,292,000,000 dollars in interest, and still the debt outstanding would be 444,681,000,000 dollars. An incredible amount! Almost 100 billion more than we owe now. A bright future, indeed, after making all different sorts of miracles. So, it's not a question of being whimsical. If instead of paying 10 percent of exports we paid only 5, the result would still be the same and the debt would increase.

One must understand the problem for what it is. The debt is a cancer. It has to be understood that it is a cancer that multiplies, that kills off the organism. It is a cancer that requires a surgical operation. I can assure you that any solution that isn't a surgical one will not solve the problem. (APPLAUSE) Not one malignant cell can be allowed to remain. If malignant cells remain the result is metastasis, that is, the tumor reproduces and rapidly kills off the organism. It must be understood that by then it is an irreversible disease.

Some of the delegates spoke about illnesses, of viruses, and things of that nature. Monsignor [Sergio] Méndez Arceo [of Mexico] spoke of the virus of anticommunist campaigns, others used different images. Well, there's nothing that resembles a cancer more than the foreign debt. For that reason any part that remains of that malignant tumor, a half, a fifth, 1 percent, will propitiate its reproduction.

It is imperialism which has caused that disease, that cancer, and it must be destroyed totally through surgery. I don't see any other solution. Anything that deviates from that idea is simply deviating from reality. Given that reality, all technical formulas, all palliatives won't improve the situation. They will only serve to make it worse.

Moreover, unequal trade is more and more unequal. I believe that even a child in first grade who has been taught to count and has an idea of what a million is can understand that.

That is what is demonstrated by any analysis that is made of the situation.

[To be continued.]

SPECIAL OFFER TO IP SUBSCRIBERS

If you subscribe or extend your IP subscription you can receive *Fidel Castro Speeches 1985-85* or *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution* at a saving of \$2.95. Offer expires November 15.

Please begin renew extend my subscription

North and Central America/Caribbean: 6 months/US\$15

One year/US\$30

South America: 6 months/US\$20 One year/US\$40

Enclosed is an additional \$4 for a copy of *Fidel Castro Speeches 1984-85**

Enclosed is an additional \$5 for a copy of *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution**

Name _____

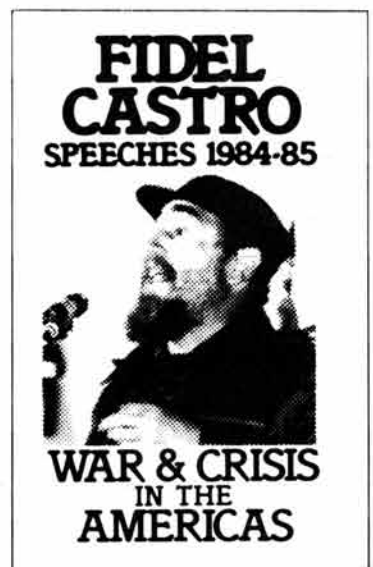
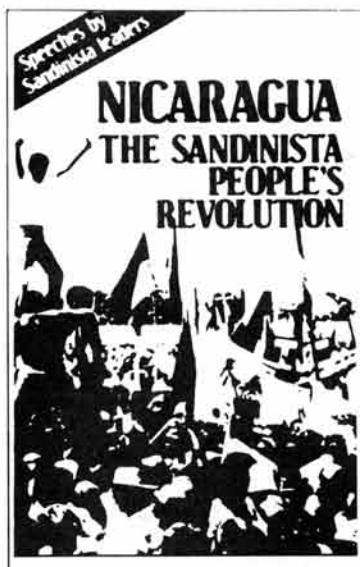
Address _____

City/State/Postal Code _____

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

This offer good only for the Americas and the Caribbean. For information on overseas rates see business information inside front cover.

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



Ortega calls for strengthening FSLN

'Now is the time for new forms of party organization'

[The following speech was given by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega to the closing session of the extraordinary meeting of the Sandinista Assembly on Aug. 3, 1985. The Sandinista Assembly is a body of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), the party that led the 1979 overturn of the Somoza tyranny in Nicaragua.

[The speech is taken from the August 4 issue of *Barricada*, the FSLN's daily published in Managua. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Twenty-four years ago, our historic vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front, arose with cries of heroism from the very roots of our history. We began to build the party of the people, joining with the fighting workers and peasants of the world, who were thirsty for justice, freedom, and independence.

That historic response is embodied in the Sandinista Front, born of the unfinished struggles of our people against Yankee imperialism and for the great social transformations that would free the Nicaraguan toilers from the yoke of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

We inherited the historic program of Augusto César Sandino, and we enriched it with international revolutionary theory and experience.

Surviving the centuries, Simón Bolívar and Karl Marx became, together with Sandino, an inexhaustible, abundant, fresh, and timely source for the new generations of Sandinistas.

It was this thought that was so correctly put into action at historically decisive moments by Carlos Fonseca, Jorge Navarro, Silvio Mayorga, Rigoberto Cruz, Oscar Turcios, Ricardo Morales, Pedro Aráuz, and other Sandinista militants, in consolidating the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

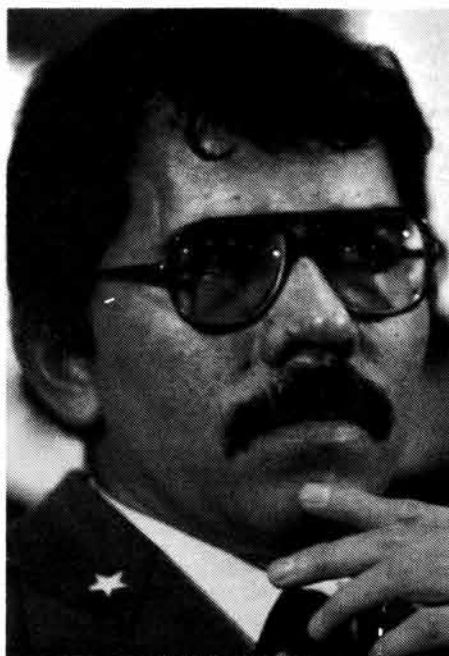
Our vanguard was forged in the guerrilla fronts, in demonstrations and rallies, in prison, in torture, and in daily battle.

The people demand more organization

Our party was not built by announcing itself, or by declaring it was the party. It was the blood and sacrifice of the combatants that built a worthy party, a resolute and unbeatable party.

Our Sandinista Front was the people rising up on July 19, 1979, destroying capitalist and imperialist domination and kicking it out of Nicaragua.

We used to be underground cells and guerrilla squads; today we are the power of the workers and peasants, the power of the toilers, the power of the people.



DANIEL ORTEGA

We are confronting the same enemy, who dreams of reimposing a reign of terror in our country. To defeat that enemy, the people are demanding more organization, and more organization means that the people's party, the Sandinista Front, must be more and more solidly structured.

We are engaged in a merciless war, facing an enemy that is bent on destroying our revolutionary process.

Just as in Patuca, Raití, and Bocay, in the most difficult moments, we must strengthen the quality of the vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front, which leads all of society.

Just as in Pancasán, in the hardest moments, we must transform the setbacks into more ideological unity, more political unity, more action, more organization in meeting the goals projected by the vanguard.

Just as in Zinica, we must continue to look to the future, with the eyes of Carlos Fonseca that the executioners were unable to shut.

United leadership to confront the enemy

As in the final offensive, where united leadership was decisive in defeating the Somozaist dictatorship, today, more than ever, we need that united leadership which comes out of the Sandinista Front and is reproduced and multiplied by the strict and disciplined carrying out of tasks and in critical discussion by Sandinista militants.

We will strengthen this vanguard, this party, this Sandinista Front, to the extent that it is led by the people.

Strengthening the National Directorate, the Sandinista Assembly, the auxiliary departments, the regional and local committees, and the branches is the task for all of us who, whatever positions or responsibilities we have, are above all Sandinista militants.

It is as militants of our vanguard, of our party, of our Sandinista Front that we are responsible to the people.

Today, enriched by experience, we are adopting new structures that come out of the reality of our daily confrontation with Yankee imperialism.

We know that the Sandinista Front will not fail the people, because the Front arises from the bosom of this humble but heroic people.

At this time the U.S. rulers, working through the CIA, the Pentagon, and their mercenary forces, have ordered terrorist attacks deep in our territory.

The strategic defeat of imperialism has begun

They have been suffering defeats. The armed people have dealt blows to the counter-revolutionary forces, who are being expelled to their camps in Honduran and Costa Rican territory. Responding to the strategic defeat that imperialism and the counterrevolution are beginning to suffer, the Pentagon and CIA strategists are launching desperate attacks, sending mercenary groups deep into the country.

The \$27 million approved by the U.S. Congress for so-called "humanitarian aid" to the counterrevolution will be used to try to reactivate the terrorist actions of the mercenary forces.

The \$27 million approved by the U.S. Congress will be used to violate the human rights of the Nicaraguan people.

Those \$27 million that the U.S. Congress approved are for terrorism. They are for the genocidal National Guards. They are for killing Nicaraguan mothers. They are for murdering children, women, young and old people. They are for destruction. Those \$27 million that the U.S. Congress approved are for spreading terror.

But we are defeating and we will keep on defeating and throwing out the Yankee aggressors, in La Trinidad and Sarapiquí, because we, the Sandinista Front, are the organized people.

Even when their warships approach us threateningly, we are not going to give in. We have said it before and we repeat it: we are willing to discuss whenever possible, but if

not, we are prepared to fight.

We want peace. That is why we defend this revolution.

We want peace. That is why we look for peaceful solutions to problems. That is why we have accepted the Contadora Peace Agreement.*

We want peace. That is why we are willing to have a dialogue with the United States which, with its imperialist policy, is the cause of destabilization in Central America.

We want peace. That is why we are willing to have a dialogue right now with the neighboring governments, which are also victims of the aggressive policies of the United States.

We are eager for peace. But we are also determined to continue resisting and fighting

*In September 1984 the Nicaraguan government announced its willingness to sign the peace accord on Central America drafted by the Contadora Group, which is made up of the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela.—IP

FSLN leadership restructured

Resolution adopted by Sandinista Assembly

[The following resolution was adopted August 3 by the Sandinista Assembly. It is taken from the August 4 issue of *Barricada*, the daily paper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

I. The National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, meeting in an extraordinary session with the Sandinista Assembly, has concluded that the historic circumstances — characterized by the urgent necessity of concentrating all the people's energies to defend the revolutionary power in the midst of a grave economic crisis caused by imperialist aggression — require furthering the process of improving the FSLN politically and organizationally in the following ways:

1. Strengthening the quality of the FSLN as a vanguard and its role of leading all of society.

2. Strengthening the political unity of the FSLN.

3. Overcoming disunity and feudalism and guaranteeing a unified political leadership of the great national effort to defend the revolutionary power.

II. The analysis reached in different sessions led to a series of organizational adjustments that have the following aims:

a) Strengthening the National Directorate, its overall leadership capacity, and its executive efficiency.

b) Making the FSLN more capable of harmoniously uniting the basic structures of the revolutionary power and mobilizing the people's energies in defense of the revolution.

c) Strengthening the FSLN's political unity and its coordination in action.

until we defeat the imperialist aggression.

Now is the time for new forms of party organization, to guarantee the defense of the country.

Now is the time for new forms of party organization, to take on the tasks of production in a conscientious way, with efficiency, austerity, and discipline. The hours of work well done are part of the daily combat that we are waging successfully on the military fronts.

Now is the time for new forms of organization, to strengthen the unions, the mass organizations, and revolutionary vigilance.

Now is the time for the Sandinista Front — for new struggles, new battles, and new successes — to achieve total victory.

Now is the time for the Front, for the people, resolutely taking up arms to defend the power of the toilers, the workers and peasants, the power of the people.

Now is the time to fight to defend this Free Homeland or Death! □

d) Turning the auxiliary departments into effective instruments of support to the work of the overall leadership of the National Directorate.

e) Strengthening the participation of the cadres in developing the line and in evaluating and generalizing practical experiences.

f) Strengthening the mechanisms of internal education that will guarantee a constant struggle against lifestyles and work habits that separate us from the masses and from continually improving ourselves as revolutionaries.

III. In implementing these goals, we have ratified and adopted the following political-organizational resolutions:

1. The National Directorate of the FSLN

The National Directorate is the highest leadership body of the FSLN and of the revolution, and this role must be preserved and strengthened.

The National Directorate creates from among its members an executive committee, charged with organizing the execution and control of the decisions in all bodies of the revolutionary power. This committee represents the National Directorate before all the membership bodies and the members of the FSLN; in this latter capacity it is the National Directorate's link with the FSLN's action and support bodies.

This executive committee does not have any of the powers of the National Directorate. Rather it implements its decisions.

The National Directorate dissolves the political committee and its executive functions, which will be assumed by the executive com-

mittee of the National Directorate.

The executive committee will be headed by a coordinator who will be responsible to the National Directorate for the work of the executive committee, and who will represent the executive committee before all the other FSLN bodies.

Moreover, the executive committee will have a vice-coordinator designated by the National Directorate from among its members in order to ensure the permanent connection of the committee with the FSLN structures. This person will be in charge of the daily work, and in this capacity will direct the central bodies and auxiliary departments.

2. Sandinista Assembly

The Sandinista Assembly is a permanent advisory body that helps the National Directorate in making the more important decisions of the revolution. It will be composed of a representative group of cadres named by the National Directorate. Their number is not to exceed 105 members.

The Sandinista Assembly will have two categories of members: full and alternate.

It will meet once a year to make a balance sheet of the FSLN's activities, and will hold extraordinary sessions to decide on particular problems.

For practical reasons or as political encouragement, the National Directorate can invite some outstanding cadres to the Assembly meetings when they may be able to contribute to the discussion of certain problems.

The regular meeting of the Sandinista Assembly will be in June, when an annual balance sheet will be made. The executive committee, aided by the coordinated action of all the auxiliary departments, will prepare the meeting at least one month in advance.

The National Directorate will organize ad hoc commissions in the Sandinista Assembly, with the goal of paying attention to special subjects that have permanent relevance. Moreover, these commissions can in turn use the help of outstanding specialized cadre.

The National Directorate will periodically check the revolutionary quality of the composition of the Sandinista Assembly.

3. Auxiliary Departments of the National Directorate

The auxiliary departments of the National Directorate are the following:

1. Secretariat of General Affairs
2. Organization Department
3. Agitation and Propaganda Department
4. Political Education Department
5. International Relations Department
6. Finance Department
7. Institute of Sandinista Studies

Connected to the auxiliary departments, an advisory council may be established by the National Directorate, which will be composed of outstanding members who will have the task of helping the people in charge of the auxiliary departments in analyzing and evaluating programs and plans, drawing up proposals, etc.

4. Regional Committees

Regional committees will be created as FSLN leadership and coordination bodies. They will represent the National Directorate and will handle the general work of the regions. They will have coordinators who will head up the regional committees politically.

These regional committees will be integrated by the coordinator and other outstanding cadres who will be in the forefront of the bodies of the revolutionary power and of the most important tasks in each region, especially those related to the defense of the revolution.

In order to guarantee effective and dynamic

leadership, the regional committees will not exceed 10 members.

5. Zone Committees

Subordinate to the regional committees are the zone committees. To define more clearly the role of the zone committees, there will have to be an evaluation, revising their actual structures, functioning, tasks, methods, and styles of work.

6. Grassroots Committees

The grassroots committees will continue to be the primary structures of the FSLN. But taking into consideration that they have demon-

strated weaknesses in their functioning in some cases, and in other cases are structured in a way that does not appear to be adequate for bringing the FSLN's influence and strength to distinct sectors of the population, we will change the functioning and the structure of the grassroots committees in order to correct deficiencies where necessary.

This implies an analysis of the internal aspects of the grassroots committees — their political-ideological demands, organizational dynamic, external influence, and links with the masses both as a body and by way of its individual members, as well as the perception the masses have of the grassroots committees. □

DOCUMENTS

FMLN message to Salvadoran people

Reports progress in unification of revolutionary forces

[The following is the text of an August 13 declaration of the General Command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador. The following day it was broadcast over the FMLN's clandestine Radio Venceremos by Leonel González, a member of the General Command, speaking on behalf of all five groups making up the front: the People's Liberation Forces (FPL), the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCS), the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), and the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC).

[The translation from the Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

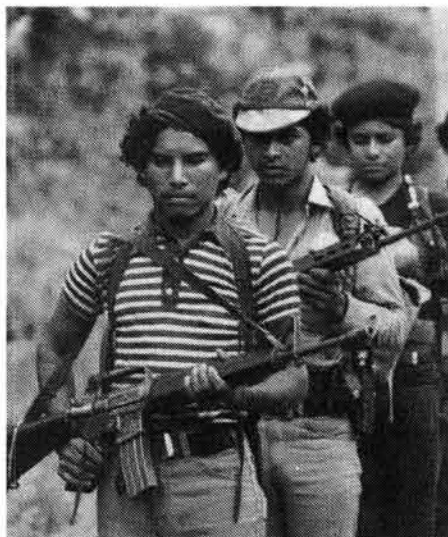
* * *

Through me, the FMLN General Command sends a fraternal and combative greeting of solidarity to all our people struggling for a just peace that corresponds to the people's aspirations.

I would also like to greet the combatants and leaders of the FMLN's revolutionary army, who are fighting in the cities and the countryside, setting an example of heroism, efficiency, and high fighting morale, and turning the enemy's operations into continual defeats.

We salute the cadres and activists for their consistency in implementing the directions of their vanguard, the FMLN, and for their self-sacrificing efforts in the political and ideological sphere, which tempers the firmness and the belief in victory of our political and military forces.

We greet the people's organizations, and say to them that their struggle to achieve their demands has the admiration, respect, and appreciation of the entire FMLN. It also has the sympathy and support of all the working people of the world and of our people. The pages that you are writing through your struggle are exemplary ones.



FMLN guerrillas in Usulután Province.

We salute the solidarity of the world. We know that our just cause to achieve a genuine, popular, independent, and democratic solution has the sympathy, support, and solidarity of the world. We also know that the heroism and determination of the people of El Salvador is a living force that stimulates the liberation struggle of other peoples.

It is important to stress the agreement of our General Command, at its current meeting, to delegate one of its members on behalf of all of them to address the activists, combatants, and leaders of the five organizations of the FMLN to explain the new guidelines of their work. This is irrefutable proof of the progress achieved in the unity of the FMLN, given the importance of this meeting for the current period and for the guidelines it established.

We call on all the people, leaderships of our organizations, combatants, commanders, activists, and cadres to study and absorb the fol-

lowing message:

The FMLN General Command informs our people that the regular meeting of the command was held this past July in Morazán Province.

Since an analysis and evaluation of the current situation in the country was a central part of the work of this meeting, we were able to confirm the progress and development of our political and military forces and to outline plans to confront not only the counterinsurgency effort of the Christian Democrats and the army High Command, but also the aggressive escalation of the Reagan administration against the Salvadoran people.

We would like to emphasize the close fraternal spirit, maturity, trust, and full agreement of the FMLN in its evaluation of the situation and the guidelines to be developed. These provided solid foundations for advancing to a new level of unity.

The results of this meeting were very satisfactory; we are sure that they will lead us to a new stage of victories and revolutionary advances.

Continuing the gradual development of our unification process, the conclusions reached during this meeting were superior to those of the previous meetings. Without a doubt, we are today closer than ever before to *the complete unification of our organizations* into a single organization and a single revolutionary army.

The FMLN General Command's evaluation of the current relationship of forces is as follows:

The Salvadoran crisis takes place within the framework of the struggle of all the world's peoples for peace and social progress and against the bellicose and warmongering policy of the current U.S. administration of Ronald Reagan.

It is part of the crisis that Latin America is

living through, unleashed by its worst economic and social crisis. One of its most dramatic reflections is the enormous foreign debt of \$360 billion, which obliges Latin America to pay \$40 billion a year in interest alone. This phenomenon is the product of the dependent capitalist system, of imperialist domination that deprives our peoples of their resources and affects Latin America's vital economic interests.

To prevent a just solution in the interests of the Latin American peoples, North American imperialism promotes a policy based mainly on military aggression by its marines and economic aggression through the IMF [International Monetary Fund], with diplomacy subordinated to those means. As a result, it constantly violates international law through direct and covert military aggression.

Blockades, economic blackmail, and disregard for the international bodies set up to regulate the relations between states are common problems for Latin America, resulting from North American exploitation. But all these problems heighten the masses' confrontation with imperialist domination and deepen the crisis.

Central America is the region most affected by this confrontation. The Reagan administration therefore blockades and militarily attacks the new-born Nicaraguan revolution and is carrying out an escalating military intervention in El Salvador. This intervention is being conducted through the political and military counterinsurgency plans of the Christian Democrats, with José Napoleón Duarte at the head of the government and the fascist High Command at the front of the puppet army.

The FMLN has successfully countered the Yankees' political-military plan, and we can affirm that after a year and some months of the Duarte government, the results are in our favor and are a resounding fiasco for the enemy.

The broad working masses of the countryside and cities, who are bearing the consequences of the regime's serious economic and political crisis, have seen that the Duarte government cannot resolve and satisfy their just demands. Therefore, they are developing a higher level of organization and fighting solidarity. That is, they have been forced to employ strikes, work stoppages, and mobilizations to defend their rights and win their just demands. These actions have exposed the false and hypocritical policy of Napoleón Duarte, his government, and his populist farce. The people have unmasked his antipeople, repressive, genocidal, and subservient character.

In the military sphere, their false propaganda campaign claim that they have passed from a standoff to a military offensive has crashed to the ground. The vain illusions of the High Command have been unmasked. Reality demonstrates that the army is suffering a continual loss of lives and a drop in the fighting morale of its troops. In the operations that the enemy launched against our zones of control, it suffered many losses, at a rate of 25 to 1 in the FMLN's favor.



JOSÉ NAPOLEÓN DUARTE

Through the actions of our guerrilla units, our constant mobilization has enabled us to inflict bloody losses on them on a daily and systematic basis. We have spread the war throughout the country, and especially in the key cities: San Salvador, Santa Ana, and San Miguel.

New theaters of operation have been opened up in the western and central-southern regions of the country. In San Salvador, commando actions have intensified, striking at the apparatus that leads and carries out the North American plans: the advisers, military commanders, and Christian Democrats.

The FMLN's sabotage of the war economy, the oligarchy's productive infrastructure, military communications, electricity, communications and transport, and cotton, coffee, and sugar cultivation has risen in intensity and effectiveness, causing losses of hundreds of millions of dollars for the Duarte dictatorship.

In conclusion, this process reveals on the one hand the advances of the FMLN's political-military strategy and tactics and on the other the setbacks to the regime's counterinsurgency plans and its defenses.

The FMLN's growing strength and the weakening of Duarte's counterinsurgency plan reflect the victorious march of the perspective of the FMLN, the vanguard of our people.

In the context of this favorable situation, the meeting of the General Command adopted as its principle guidelines:

1. To move forward by transforming the FMLN into a single organization. Since 1979-80, when the unification process was initiated, we have pursued the difficult task of achieving unity in our political-military, strategic, and tactical outlooks and of correcting our errors and weaknesses. This enabled us to progress to even higher levels of unity.

We have attained such a level of unity in our political views that significant strategic differences no longer exist.

We can assert that we have a *single political line*, just as we have an historical analysis of the process of developing our military views

and an understanding of the laws that govern the evolution of our war.

On this basis, we can affirm that we have one military line, united in strategy and tactics.

In this context, we are beginning to take firm steps toward ideological unification, seeking to train our activists around the same strategic program of struggle and, through an exchange of experiences, to establish common lines in the ideological and political programs of our revolutionary schools.

All of this is leading us rapidly toward party unity, until we transform ourselves into a single organization.

We Salvadoran revolutionaries have taken a firm decision to make the revolution and we are carrying out common efforts to unify the forms of achieving, maintaining, and developing it.

Constructive discussion of the validity of the ideas of the different groups has allowed us to advance and unify, overcoming at every step of the way the influence of bourgeois ideology, based on individualism. We are constantly working to counter ideological behavior that is against the people's interests.

The struggle for unity is the struggle to create a single view of the revolution. At the same time, it is a struggle to eliminate from our ranks deviations like hegemonism, arrogance, and the lack of comradeship, which divert us from a single revolutionary outlook among forces that represent the same class interests and that seek the same goals.

The wealth of our political, military, and international outlook, of the people's ability to organize themselves, and of the ideological strength of our activists has combined with the most important factor — the lessons of unlimited heroism given by our people throughout these years and their efforts to respond to the strategic necessity of winning a war over imperialism in its own continent. These factors have tended to make us more mature, to unite us, and to lead us toward a single view as a common goal.

The best decision and the best idea is the one that enables us to advance even more and that brings us closer to victory. We have all made that decision. We have turned every error into a lesson, to gain maturity and effectiveness, based on a sober spirit of self-criticism.

Today, the dominant attitude among all the organizations of the FMLN, among its leaderships and rank-and-file activists, is one of consistency and constructiveness, of maturity, of fraternity, of trust, of collective thinking, of unity in strategic outlook, and of frankness. These attitudes dominate over sterile and empirical thinking.

This allows us to assert, without equivocation, that a decision has been made to unite ourselves more and more to advance toward victory, putting the interests of our people above the interests of each individual organization.

The enemy's propaganda tries to portray us as being mired in sharp conflicts, internal battles, hegemonistic and ambitious disputes, etc. But the facts show the opposite. And no one

can doubt that over the past two years the FMLN has unified itself much more in every field.

All the human misery associated with the very values of bourgeois society concerning personal ambition, power struggles, and other things the enemy refers to have nothing to do with our unification process.

Our proletarian and revolutionary values have been strengthened. We have demonstrated that in practice and we will continue to do so, becoming ever more united until we transform ourselves into one party and one army. The only division that the enemy can expect of us is the division of labor and responsibilities to guarantee that our blows will become more telling and our progress more solid and unstoppable.

It is our objective to establish a single revolutionary party and we will proceed toward that goal in an irreversible and sure manner.

2. In the military sphere, to defeat the current Yankee plan.

We have decided to escalate the process of wearing down all the enemy's patrols and operations, causing the greatest possible number of casualties. Our goal is to bleed the enemy's troops as much as possible, while preserving and increasing our own forces to the maximum.

Our goal is to deepen the economic and political destabilization of the enemy, striking mercilessly at its war economy and breaking up its local and national bases of political power, so as to block the implementation of its plans.

Our goal is to expand the war and to take it to the entire country, to the capital and the major cities, striking behind the enemy's own lines and setting up new local forces.

The war must reach everywhere. The enemy troops and commanders must have no place of security. We must cover all the highways, all the regions, all the cities, all the towns, all the vital points, until the country cannot be governed by anyone but the people themselves.

3. In the political field, to organize and mobilize the entire people against the Yankee-Christian Democratic counterinsurgency plan, giving each of our fighters the task of being an organizer of the people.

We must organize the masses everywhere and by all possible means to implement the strategic line of involving the entire people in the war effort, struggling through all possible forms.

There must be no part of the country in which our forces are based or through which they pass without the people being organized and made conscious.

We must keep the initiative of political struggle against the enemies of the people: Duarte and the Christian Democrats, the army High Command, and the current U.S. administration.

"Develop the war of the entire people!" is the slogan that governs our activity.

We will accompany our organizational line with a policy of ideological and political edu-

cation of our own organizations to strengthen our militancy and to prepare them to fulfill the new political and military guidelines and the process of unifying our forces.

We must strive to carry out the line of unity and to correct divergent ideological conduct.

4. In the international sphere, to work toward strengthening the solidarity and unity of the peoples of the world against the bellicose and warmongering policy of Ronald Reagan, for the defense of the Nicaraguan revolution, and to struggle to defeat the escalating intervention in El Salvador.

Finally, our command tells our people:

We have arrived at a higher phase of the struggle, at a phase of greater advances, as expressed in the overall deepening of the people's war in the political and military fields.

The enemy's plan is to reduce the war to a few small fronts in one or two regions of the country, as far as possible from vital areas. Our plan is to take the war to the entire country, and to the greatest extent possible to the main cities.

The enemy's plan is to reduce to a minimum the popular support for our forces. Our plan is to involve the entire people in the war.

The enemy's plan is to halt the people's struggle for their demands and to separate them from the revolutionary war. Our plan is to transform the revolutionary armed struggle and all the other struggles of the people into one mighty torrent that can defeat not only the puppet Duarte but also the Yankee invaders if they dare to invade us.

We call on all our commanders, fighters, party cadres, and activists in general to do their utmost to fulfill all the tasks that have been outlined.

We call on the international community, the solidarity movement, and the progressive forces to strengthen the international united front to defend the Nicaraguan revolution, to curb the escalating aggression against El Salvador, and to defeat the interventionist and militarist policy of the current U.S. administration, which threatens world peace and social progress.

The FMLN, the vanguard of our people, is ready to show the world once again that no power on earth can subdue "a people determined to win its freedom."

The final word in this liberation war, which has cost our people so much blood and sacrifice, belongs to the toilers, the workers, the peasants, the humiliated, and the exploited. The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, their vanguard, is with them and will always be with them.

Long live the workers' struggle!
Long live revolutionary unity!
Long live the revolutionary war!
Long live the people's revolutionary army!
Death to the Christian Democratic dictatorship!
Death to Yankee imperialism!
Revolution or death, we will win!
United to struggle for the final victory!

10 AND 20 YEARS AGO

Intercontinental Press

Africa Asia Europe Oceania The Americas

September 29, 1975

The National Parole Board of Canada turned down a request for parole for Dr. Henry Morgentaler September 8. Morgentaler is in prison on charges of having performed illegal abortions, despite the fact that he has twice been acquitted by juries.

Parole board official Claude Bouchard cited Morgentaler's "behavior in jail" as grounds for denying his request for parole. Bouchard also suggested that Morgentaler "could be a danger to society." "Some people consider abortion murder," he said.

Morgentaler is still recovering from a heart attack suffered when he was brutalized by prison guards.

Statements protesting the parole board's decision have been issued by the Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws (CARAL) and by Doctors for Repeal.

CARAL has called a protest rally for October 19 to demand amnesty for Morgentaler and has appealed to groups across Canada to undertake similar actions.

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

(Predecessor of Intercontinental Press)

October 1, 1965

A new test of strength has been taking place in Bolivia between the miners and the ruling military junta. Action centered around the Siglo XX-Catavi mining area. In an attempt to crush the miners' movement headed by trade unionists now in the underground, the junta ordered assaults by government troops and announced September 22 that the mines would be closed down "indefinitely."

Violent battles occurred between the troops and the miners with some thirty reported killed and hundreds wounded. The press headlined the news that three policemen, held hostage by the miners, had been hurled down mine shafts to their deaths. However, Agence France Presse reported September 24 that all three had reappeared from inside the mine without having been injured.

As a new repressive measure, the junta singled out groups of miners suspected of being ringleaders and ordered them deported to isolated regions of the country.

Thus the course that began last May has continued along the indicated lines. The military junta could not "purge" the labor movement of its best known leaders and "reorganize" the mines (through massive layoffs and substantial wage cuts) and at the same time continue to play the game of "restoring democracy" after the downfall of Paz Estenssoro. A direct conflict with the miners was inevitable.

Marcos regime steps up repression

Human rights activists targeted for prison and murder

By Deb Shnookal

MANILA — In addition to workers, peasants, and students, who have been consistent opponents of the Marcos regime since the declaration of martial law in 1972, priests, lawyers, journalists, and human rights activists are increasingly becoming the target of military repression in the Philippines.

Evidence of this growing repression is presented daily in Manila papers like *Malaya*, which on September 7 ran a front-page story headlined: "Soldiers behead dissident priest; Two NPA amazons also decapitated."

The report described how government troops had murdered a priest and two women guerrillas in an "encounter." Human rights groups immediately responded with a call for a fact-finding mission to Bakun, Benguet, in northern Luzon where the beheadings had taken place.

When I interviewed Sister Mary Radcliffe, a full-time worker for the Task Force Detainees (TFD), a human rights organization, on September 9 in Manila, she explained that "the situation in the Philippines is getting much, much worse as regards human rights violations." Radcliffe, a Columban nun from Britain, described the impact of the dramatic rise of the mass anti-Marcos movement since the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino in 1983.

"Marcos really got frightened," Radcliffe said, "by the huge numbers who took to the streets in what we call the 'parliament of the streets.' Marcos counteracts this with his own power: more tanks, tear gas, police truncheons and so on. In the past two years we've had more strikes in factories than ever before. Marcos responds to these strikes with live bullets. This has meant serious injuries. Marcos can't any longer convince people with words. So the way he retaliates is with brute force."

Selective repression

Political repression, however, is selective. While student protests and workers' strikes are met with tear gas and truncheons, rallies organized by the anti-Marcos bourgeois forces in the Makati business district of Manila are left alone.

Particular groups have been targeted by the military this past year, Radcliffe explained. For example, since the end of 1984, three lawyers have been murdered by the military. According to Radcliffe, "they were all members of human rights organizations, and had a reputation for helping political prisoners. They were also usually involved in progressive organizations in their area." The most recent victim was Attorney Crisostomo Cailing, who was killed in Balingasag, Misamis Occidental,

July 6.

There are currently three lawyers from Mindanao being held in Manila and another two imprisoned in Abra in the north of Luzon. "The Supreme Court, Radcliffe said, "has ordered their release, but Marcos refuses and has put them all under PDAs."

(By issuing a Preventive Detention Action [PDA], Marcos can override any court decision in favor of the release of a political detainee. This is just one example of Marcos' dictatorial powers.)

The clergy has also increasingly been under attack. The most recent case is that of Father Rudy Romano, who was abducted in Cebu City on July 11 and has not been heard of since.

Radcliffe also pointed to the murder of Father Tullio Favali, an Italian missionary, in April; Father Ted Remigio, who was arrested in February and is still in detention; and Father Ed de la Torre, who has been in prison for the last three years.

"We see the reason why the regime is so against the priests is not because they are priests, but because they are on the side of the poor and are willing to struggle with them for liberation," Radcliffe said.

She explained how the TFD itself had recently become a victim of a systematic terror campaign. "We've always more or less been harassed," she said, "with people being watched, or sometimes picked up and arrested. But usually they've been released after a week or a few days. But in July this year the first TFD worker was killed. This was Eufrocino Inamarga, a volunteer worker in Aklan. He was called out of his house late at night and shot dead on the spot.

"Last month, on August 2," she continued, "we had a full-time TFD worker brutally stabbed to death, also in Aklan. He was very badly tortured before he died. Both victims were only young men, about 23 years old.

"And now," Radcliffe added, "only two weeks ago, we heard that a third TFD worker in Lucena, about four hours from Manila, had been abducted by the military. He had been riding in a tricycle [a motorbike with a side car] which was blocked by a Toyota jeep, and some plainclothes men jumped out and grabbed him. We haven't found him yet and it is presumed he has been killed. So we in the TFD see that this is another deliberate harassment against human rights organizations."

Murders, disappearances mount

TFD's statistics "prove that the militarization is becoming much worse," said Radcliffe. For example there were only 17 reported disappearances in 1977. But in 1984 there were

more than 137. In 1977 there were 51 cases of "salvaging" or summary executions. Last year TFD reported 445, and "this horrific figure," Radcliffe insisted, "was not complete, as it did not include statistics for the last few months of 1984 in Mindanao, where the worst abuses have taken place."

The number of political detainees has remained more or less around 1,000. "But the trend towards increasing disappearances and salvagings is clear," she explained.

"For example, already from January to March this year one person has disappeared in Metro Manila, seven in Luzon, five in the Visayas, and 22 in Mindanao. As regards salvaging, there have been 13 in the Visayas, 31 in Luzon, and 49 in Mindanao," Radcliffe noted.

Journalists are becoming another target of the Marcos regime. According to the most recent figures 22 journalists have been murdered this year. These journalists, Radcliffe pointed out, "have been writing what the government would call 'anti-government' but what I would call 'pro-people' articles."

"Definitely, things are getting worse," she said. "Apart from the arrests, disappearances, torture, and salvagings, there is now an increasing number of massacres, that is, murders of groups of 10, nine, or five people together. In our office we learn of almost one such massacre a week. They have mainly occurred in Mindanao, but more recently there have been reports from central Luzon."

There have also been strafing incidents and the "hamletting" of peasant communities. "Many of the military's tactics are those used in the Vietnam war," Radcliffe commented. "In other words, it's the American government that is teaching the Philippine military more brutal and ruthless methods of repression."

"Nevertheless," she said, "the people no longer believe that they should live this way. And they're willing now to fight back, even though they are terribly frightened. But they see that if they unite and support each other they can do something. And this is a great strength.

"Actually, I believe the situation will have to get worse before it gets better," Radcliffe concluded. "We are relying a lot on international support in the same way as Nicaragua. This is badly needed in the Philippines also." □

**This Publication
is available in Microform.**

University Microfilms International

300 North Zeeb Road, Dept. P.R., Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106