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of ANC
'Freedom Charter'

Founding
Declaration
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National Forum's
'Manifesto of
the Azanian
People'

Philippines

Washington Puts Heat on Marcos Regime



Statue of Ferdinand Marcos being built north of Manila.

Borge on Nicaragua's
'State of Emergency'
Ortega's Speech to UN

Democracy in Nicaragua

By Doug Jenness

On October 15 Nicaragua's revolutionary government announced that it was reactivating state-of-emergency measures adopted in 1982 and lifted temporarily in 1984. These measures suspend the right to trial and habeas corpus and give the police the right to conduct warrantless searches where counterrevolutionary activity is suspected. The right to strike and hold political meetings is suspended where such actions can be used by counterrevolutionaries (*contras*) to set up confrontations with the government.

The government's action, President Daniel Ortega explained, was in response to provocative actions and terrorist plots by "agents of imperialism within the country," including "some political parties, media, and religious institutions."

The response from Washington came swiftly. "These individuals have trampled on civil liberties as very few countries have done in the past," Larry Speakes, a White House spokesperson, said of the Nicaraguan leaders.

Bernard Kalb, a State Department spokesperson, asserted, "The Sandinista government has taken a further step toward imposing a totalitarian regime on the people of Nicaragua."

The editors of the capitalist press echoed this denunciation. "Nicaragua Bares the Nightstick," screamed the headline on an editorial in the October 18 *New York Times*. The paper declared that Nicaragua has abandoned "even the pretense that it tolerates pluralism."

The October 21 *Washington Post* contended that "the Sandinistas in Nicaragua have gone back to the Cuban-type police-state rules they suspended last year during the election period, when a hint of openness to pluralism was deemed convenient. Even in the interval, arbitrariness and repression were common. Now the totalitarian core of the Sandinista philosophy is out in plain view."

From London the editors of the *Daily Express* stated October 17, "For the first time it is admitted that popular discontent and the Roman Catholic Church — not just the United States-sponsored guerrillas — are threatening the communist rulers. All of which make a nonsense of Labour's campaign for brave little Nicaragua."

For U.S. government officials and the ruling-class press, the war measures initiated by the Sandinista government prove what they have been saying all along — that Nicaragua's government is thoroughly totalitarian.

The imperialist rulers have simply seized on these latest measures in order to step up their political drive to try to isolate the Nicaraguan government in the United States and internationally. This ideological campaign is aimed at disorienting supporters of the revolution and winning acceptance for the U.S.-organized mercenary war against Nicaragua's workers'

and farmers' government.

Yet, while the imperialists attack Nicaragua for its alleged lack of democracy, they are actively propping up brutal landlord-capitalist dictatorships in other countries, including Chile, South Korea, the Philippines, Haiti, Paraguay, and South Africa.

And when Argentina's President Raúl Alfonsín announced a state of siege on October 25, the *New York Times* cheered, "For once, a Defensible State of Siege." In typical two-faced fashion the *Times* editors exclaimed, "The Argentine action bears no similarity to Nicaragua, where a Marxist-Leninist Government earlier this month declared a state of siege so that it could shut down opposition political activity and protest."

It is true that the emergency decrees in Nicaragua and Argentina bear no similarity. But not in the way the *Times* says. The state of siege in Argentina was imposed by a government dominated by the country's businessmen and bankers. And although it was supposedly aimed at countering right-wing attacks, it will soon enough be applied to workers' organizations protesting the government's harsh austerity measures.

The actions of the Nicaraguan government, on the other hand, are part of defending the social and economic gains the workers and peasants have made during the past six years against the U.S.-instigated counterrevolutionary bands that are attempting to overturn the revolutionary government.

Argentina's state of siege defends the class interests of the exploiters. Nicaragua's declaration of emergency advances the class interests of the exploited.

Liberals join chorus

The hard-line supporters of beefing up the contra war against the Nicaraguan government are not the only ones who are raising a great hue and cry about the Sandinistas' emergency decrees. Joining the chorus are many liberals who have mouthed opposition to Washington's attempts to overthrow Nicaragua's revolutionary government.

Liberal *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker wrote October 21, "Those Americans who consider it illicit and unwarranted for the U.S. to intervene militarily in the affairs of Central American nations have a heavy burden to bear in Nicaragua's Sandinista Government. Its heavy-handed suspension of civil liberties has made that burden much harder to bear." The heavily burdened Wicker concludes, "If Ronald Reagan is not, the Sandinistas surely are their own worst enemy."

Robert Leiken, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, declared in a guest column in the October 27 *New York Times* that "the Sandinistas have shown their true stripes."

"Only a dictatorship, lacking popular support," Leiken stated, "chooses to fight rebellion with repression instead of rallying its people to defend their country." He called on Washington to do all it can "to bring about a dialogue between the Sandinistas and their opponents."

Mary McGrory, a liberal columnist for the *Washington Post*, got really whipped up on this subject. She dashed off two columns in one week castigating Daniel Ortega. Her pitch was that the Nicaraguan president is a bumbling fool who has a "compulsion to play into Reagan's hands."

She criticized the "timing" of his trip to Moscow last April, which brought "anguished cries of 'betrayal' from those who had nervously taken up for him." And the emergency decrees in October, she contended, were just as ill-timed, coming on the eve of his trip to the United Nations.

Ortega "is washing his hands of his Congressional sympathizers," McGrory lamented. "Countless Congressional delegations have gone to Managua to plead with him to employ a slightly less leaden touch and to give them a break in their efforts to defend his right not to be overthrown. They are sadly concluding," she moped, "that he has developed a taste for spitting in Uncle Sam's eye."

Pete Hamill, a prominent left liberal journalist in New York City, attended a reception for Ortega when he came to the city to speak to the United Nations General Assembly. Commenting on this affair in the November 5 *Village Voice*, a New York weekly, Hamill wrote, "Ortega, who helped provide the contras with their \$27 million in 'humanitarian aid' by his dumb trip to Moscow last spring, had arrived among his dismayed American allies wearing the face of a man who knew he had to defend the apparently indefensible."

What Ortega ably defended on this occasion, as on many others, and what Hamill finds "indefensible," is the declaration of emergency. "The old Stalinist hard men" rammed this through, Hamill insisted with unconcealed disgust. "And . . . the contras will certainly insist" upon a similar sort of order in the event they win.

These liberal critics smugly dish out advice to the Sandinistas about "timing," giving U.S. legislators a break, mobilizing popular support, and negotiating with the contras. Meanwhile, they either fail to mention or cavalierly dismiss the stubborn fact that there is a war going on in Nicaragua.

It is a serious war in which tens of thousands of Nicaraguans have been killed, wounded, or raped, and scores of villages have been destroyed. The U.S. government is organizing and financing mercenaries, ex-Somozaist National Guardsmen, and other counterrevolutionary scum who are trying to overthrow the revolutionary government. These reactionary bands conduct armed raids into Nicaragua from Honduras and Costa Rica and carry out sabotage and terrorist attacks.

The working people of Nicaragua, who made the revolution and have benefited most

from it, are mobilizing a major effort to crush the mercenary forces. The Sandinista government — their government — is using all the resources it can muster to defend the revolution.

The emergency measures put powers into the hands of the government to counteract counterrevolutionary activity. They strengthen the ability of Nicaraguan security forces to move swiftly and effectively against bombing conspiracies and against newspapers and demonstrations that mobilize support for counterrevolutionary actions.

Leiken's advice that the Sandinistas should rally the Nicaraguan people rather than resort to repression to fight the mercenaries is misplaced. The truth is that they are mobilizing the people on every level — into the army and militias, on the farms and in the factories, and in the student, women's, peasant, community, and labor organizations. The emergency measures are not a substitute for the popular mobilization, but a vital part of it. The Sandinista leaders have been explaining this over and over again to all those with ears to listen.

"It's a state of emergency designed not to violate the law and the rights of the Nicaraguan people but rather to protect the existence of those rights," Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge has pointed out. (For full text of his speech, see p. 700.)

Imposing restrictions on counterrevolutionary activity during wartime was not invented by the Sandinistas. In fact, even more stringent measures were taken in the United States in the 1860s by President Abraham Lincoln.

In the fight to crush the slaveholders' rebellion, the U.S. Congress authorized Lincoln to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. Military officers were empowered to arrest without warrant, to imprison, and to serve immediate penalties on persons who interfered by threats, intimidation, or force with the prosecution of the war. Editors of journals were imprisoned, newspapers were suspended, and organizers of peace rallies were jailed. Members of the Maryland legislature and the mayor of Baltimore were arrested and jailed on military order.

Revolution advances democracy

The liberal "friends" of Nicaragua approach the political situation in that country with a classless conception of democracy, which, in their eyes, neither the Sandinistas nor the *contras* live up to. As far as they are concerned, parliamentary democracy represents the highest peak of democracy.

From this lofty perch, however, they are unable to see the situation from the standpoint of the exploited producers who are the big majority in Nicaragua. For the workers and peasants, the revolution has brought forth the greatest democracy that country has ever seen. After Cuba, Nicaragua is the most democratic country for working people in all of Latin America.

Workers and peasants are participating in the political life of the country — debating, meeting, and organizing in a way that they

were barred from under all the previous capitalist-landlord regimes. They are encouraged to organize unions, peasant organizations, and many other associations through which they actively help direct the course of their government. Moreover, Nicaraguans are an armed people, with a large proportion of the population either in the army or organized into volunteer militias.

In major conflicts between capitalists and working people, the Sandinista government has consistently defended the exploited majority. This is a greater test of democracy than any parliamentary election.

Nicaragua's 1984 elections — the most democratic parliamentary elections ever held in Latin America — did not indicate a shift by the Nicaraguan government toward "democracy." Its working-class democracy had already been shown by its actions in the five years before the elections and has continued to be shown in the year since.

The democracy of Nicaragua's working people has deepened as the revolution has advanced and the workers' and peasants' government has become more firmly established. This continues to be the case today as emergency decrees are again implemented. These measures are not aimed at curtailing the rights working people have won, but at defending them. Their legal rights to bear arms, travel, meet, organize, demonstrate, and attend the churches of their choice continue to be exercised by all those who don't try to reimpose the yoke of tyranny and oppression on the producing majority.

If Nicaragua's workers and peasants were to take the advice of Wicker, Leiken, McGrory, Hamill, and others of their ilk, they would weaken themselves in the fight against the U.S.-backed mercenaries. Rather than sermons on democracy, they need full solidarity against Washington's intervention and the lies it uses to justify it. □

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Washington puts heat on Marcos

Urges reforms to prevent dictatorship from toppling

By Will Reissner

Fearing that Ferdinand Marcos' corrupt and brutal dictatorship in the Philippines is losing control, the Reagan administration is waging a highly public campaign to force Marcos to clean up his act before a revolutionary upsurge sweeps it away.

The Marcos regime is being shaken by mass protests against what demonstrators call the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship"; by a burgeoning guerrilla struggle waged by the New People's Army (NPA), led by the Communist Party of the Philippines; and by mounting labor and peasant struggles sparked by the country's worst economic crisis since World War II (see box).

The stakes for Washington are very high. U.S. corporations have invested huge sums in the former U.S. colony. Moreover, the two largest U.S. military bases outside the United States itself — Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Station — are located in the Philippines.

The Pentagon plans to spend \$1.3 billion in upgrading those facilities, which are key installations for projecting U.S. military power throughout Asia. Washington's lease on the bases expires in 1991.

Testifying before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on October 30, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs Richard Armitage warned that "without vigorous reform a communist triumph appears likely."

Armitage estimated the number of NPA guerrillas at close to 16,500, and stated that "initiative still lies with them." He added that the guerrillas had spread their influence throughout the country.

At the same Senate hearings, Paul Wolfowitz, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, reported that the Philippines are in "deep trouble." He warned that "serious interlocking political, economic, and security problems directly threaten the long-term stability and well-being of that country."

In the course of their testimony, Reagan administration officials revealed that the International Monetary Fund, with the backing of the White House, has withheld \$453 million in loans to the Philippines because Marcos has refused to carry out economic reforms that would jeopardize the fortunes of his close associates, who have been granted lucrative import-export monopolies.

Charles Greenleaf of the U.S. Agency for International Development also disclosed that the Reagan administration itself withheld \$19 million in U.S. aid to the Philippines in September.



Fifty-foot monument to Marcos under construction north of Manila.

These measures came on the heels of a well-publicized October 16-17 trip to Manila by Senator Paul Laxalt, a close friend and emissary of President Reagan, who delivered a three-page handwritten warning from Reagan to Marcos.

In four hours of personal talks with Marcos, Laxalt delivered the message that the Philippine strongman is "screwing up the fight against the insurgency" and is too preoccupied with financial gain and domestic infighting, an unnamed administration source told the *Washington Post*.

Laxalt was only the latest of a long string of envoys from Washington calling on Marcos to shape up. In previous months Reagan had sent former UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, her successor Gen. Vernon Walters, and CIA director William Casey to Manila.

The Reagan administration's sudden concern contrasts with its previous wholehearted endorsement of Marcos' dictatorial regime. Marcos has ruled the Philippines since 1965, and ruled under martial law between 1972 and 1981.

Even after the lifting of martial law, Marcos retains wide-ranging powers, allowing him to overrule legislation and dissolve parliament.

Change of heart

Despite Marcos' dictatorial record, he remained a favorite of the Reagan administration. On a visit to the Philippines in 1981, Vice-president George Bush lavishly praised Marcos. "We stand with you, Sir," Bush told Marcos. "We love your adherence to democratic principles and to the democratic proc-

ess."

Today, however, U.S. officials fear that Washington has been so closely identified with support for Marcos that the collapse of his regime could threaten U.S. business and military interests there, as happened when the shah in Iran and the Somoza tyranny in Nicaragua were driven from power in 1979.

Adding to Washington's concerns are persistent rumors that Marcos suffers from a terminal illness. One congressional source told David Ottaway of the *Washington Post* (October 27) that Marcos may be dead within six months.

New People's Army

Since its formation in March 1969, the New People's Army has steadily increased in size and in its scope of operations. Despite the difficulties of organizing guerrilla groups in a country made up of more than 7,000 islands, today the NPA operates in nearly all 73 provinces of the Philippines.

The NPA is led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), which was formally established on Dec. 26, 1968, by a small group that had been expelled from the Philippine Communist Party (PKP) the previous year.

Although the new party originally described itself as "guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought," it broke all ties with the Chinese Communist Party in 1975 when the People's Republic of China established diplomatic relations with the Marcos dictatorship.

The CPP also plays a leading role in the National Democratic Front, established on April 24, 1973. Among the groups making up the

NDF are the May First Movement (KMU) union federation, Christians for National Liberation, Nationalist Youth, the League of Filipino Students, Youth for Nationalism and Democracy, the Nationalist Health Association, and the Association of Nationalist Teachers.

The NDF claims it has more than 50,000 full-time organizers working in two-thirds of the country's provinces. Membership in the NDF's constituent mass organizations is estimated at 1 million.

The National Democratic Front has grown as a result of the mass protests that have rocked the Philippines since the Aug. 21, 1983, murder of bourgeois opposition leader Benigno Aquino. He was killed as he got off a plane bringing him back from exile in the United States.

Twenty-six men are now on trial for the killing of Aquino. The most prominent defendant is armed forces chief of staff Gen. Fabian Ver, who has been suspended from his post until the outcome of the trial. Marcos has vowed to reinstate Ver if he is acquitted, as everyone expects.

Washington fears that the acquittal and reinstatement of Ver would provoke gigantic protests that could further weaken or topple the Marcos regime, and has called on the Philippine strongman to back off his commitment to Ver.

New York Times calls for coup

On October 20 the editors of the *New York Times* openly suggested what the strategists in Washington have only hinted at in their public statements.

Pointing to Marcos' intransigence, the *Times* editors warn: "An enlightened military may finally have to supervise the transition to democracy that Mr. Marcos refuses to arrange. If he will not listen even to that counsel, the many demoralized officers in Manila may have keener ears."

Among those Washington has been preening for a possible post-Marcos role is Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, who helped Marcos plan the 1972 martial-law takeover. Enrile and acting armed forces chief of staff Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos have been pointed to as figures who could move to protect U.S. interests in the Philippines if opposition to Marcos threatens to topple the regime.

Washington is also busily trying to cobble together a coalition of proimperialist civilian figures who could provide a viable alternative to the Marcos regime. Among those regularly mentioned are two prominent ruling-class figures: Salvador Laurel and Corazon Aquino, widow of the murdered Benigno Aquino.

Laurel was a founder of Marcos' New Society Movement (KBL), but broke with the president in 1980. A long-time political figure from a prominent and wealthy family, Laurel heads an eight-party coalition called the United Democratic Organization (UNIDO).

Corazon Aquino is a member of the wealthy, landowning Cojuangco family, which is closely allied with Marcos and owes much of its wealth to his patronage.

Family-member Eduardo Cojuangco, a close Marcos crony, has used his government connections to amass millions of dollars in recent years through his monopoly of milling and marketing coconuts, the country's largest export earner.

Recently, strong pressure from Washington was needed to prevent Marcos from granting Cojuangco a monopoly on all wheat imports into the Philippines.

Given this family background, it is not sur-

prising that Corazon Aquino is fiercely anti-communist and rejects cooperation with left-wing forces in the anti-Marcos movement.

Although she had initially rejected the idea of challenging Marcos in presidential elections scheduled for May 1987, Aquino recently stated she would consider running if Marcos calls an early election and if the "Draft Cory Aquino for President Movement," formed in October, can gather 1 million signatures urging her to run. □

A few thrive in economic crisis

This year the gross national product of the Philippines will shrink by 4 to 5 percent, following a 5.5 percent drop in 1984. World Bank analysts predict individual consumption cannot return to 1982 levels before the 1990s.

Meanwhile, the Philippines staggers under the interest on its \$24 billion foreign debt and a huge flight of capital as the country's wealthy ship their money abroad in fear of political turmoil.

Plummeting prices for the country's two major exports — coconuts and sugar — have resulted in a sharp drop in foreign currency earnings and widespread misery in the countryside.

The drop in domestic income and in foreign currency earnings has caused a substantial decline in industrial production as well. Philippine industry is heavily dependent on assembly and processing of imported raw materials. Unemployment has doubled in the past year.

The crisis in the coconut and sugar industries has had a grave impact on working people. Some 37 percent of the work force makes its living from producing, processing, marketing, and servicing these crops.

The impact of falling world sugar prices has been dramatic. In 1980 the Philippines earned \$624 million from exports of its 2.3 million ton crop, while in 1984 a similar crop earned only \$246 million.

For most of the past half decade, coconut prices, too, have been depressed.

The sugar and coconut industries are symptomatic of the crisis in the Philippines. In both cases, the mass of the rural population suffers while close associates of Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos reap huge profits.

Sugar production in the Philippines is concentrated in large plantations owned by wealthy landowners, who altogether employ 500,000 low-paid field workers.

More than 33,000 farms grow sugar. But 600 of them control 26.2 percent of the sugar land.

Since 1977, sugar sales have been monopolized by the Philippine Sugar Commission and the National Sugar Trading Corp., organized by Marcos crony Roberto

Benedicto. Benedicto has used his position to amass a huge fortune. In addition to monopolizing the sugar industry and legalized gambling, he controls two banks, insurance companies, a hotel, broadcasting stations, and a television manufacturing company.

With the current world-market price for sugar less than half the cost of production, field workers are suffering.

But planter-controlled private armies deal harshly with protests. In the small town of Escalante, on the sugar-producing island of Negros, 4,000 people demonstrated at city hall on September 20. Police and planter-funded "home defense" forces opened fire on the crowd with automatic weapons, killing 27 and wounding dozens.

The night before the protest, Armando Gustilo, head of the National Federation of Sugarcane Planters, announced on his radio station that the protest would lead to anarchy. Gustilo kept in close touch with the police commander in Escalante before and after the massacre.

A week later, Gustilo said on local television, "The dead are dead, not merely because of the soldiers. They are dead because they were induced and incited to make moves against the government."

The coconut industry is less concentrated than the sugar industry, with coconuts grown on some 2 million small farms. But here too a Marcos associate was given monopoly control over processing, marketing, and development. Eduardo Cojuangco, whose family began with vast rice lands, also has major holdings in cement and heads the San Miguel Corp., the largest company in the Philippines. Cojuangco has been trying to gain a monopoly over wheat imports, flour-milling, and the baking industry as well.

Cojuangco sided with Marcos in his dispute with opposition leader Benigno Aquino, even though Aquino was married to Cojuangco's cousin Corazon.

Although Cojuangco is sometimes cited as a possible successor to Marcos, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* notes that analysts joke that "Cojuangco does not want to run the Philippines, only own it."

Footnotes to Vietnam article

Vietnamese CP and murder of Fourth Internationalists

By Doug Jenness

Steve Clark's article in the September 23 issue of *Intercontinental Press* answered the justifications that have been presented by the leadership of the Australian Socialist Workers Party for the murder of Vietnamese Fourth Internationalists in August–September 1945.

The article was part of a feature in that issue of *IP* on the split from the Fourth International by the Australian SWP leaders. Clark subsequently added two footnotes that will appear with the article when it is reprinted in a new Education for Socialists publication, *The Split of the Australian Socialist Workers Party National Committee from the Fourth International*. For the information of *IP* readers, we are reprinting those footnotes here.

The first footnote appears at the end of the following paragraph in the September 23 article: "The leaders of the Australian SWP thus try to justify the murder of revolutionists — a crime against the revolution that can have no

justification, and that the Vietnamese Communist Party itself has never subsequently sought to defend." The footnote states:

1. It is not correct to say that the Vietnamese CP "never subsequently sought to defend" the 1945 murder of Fourth Internationalists. I first called into question the accuracy of this statement after this article was published, when I came across a translation of an article from the February 1983 issue of the Vietnamese Communist Party publication *Tap Chi Cong San* ("Communist Review"). The article slandered murdered Fourth International leader Ta Thu Thau and other Vietnamese Fourth Internationalists as "agents of imperialism" and "spies for Japanese fascism." More than 40 years ago the Stalinist leadership in the Soviet Union leveled identical smears against Leon Trotsky. Its murder machine assassinated him in 1940.

'IP' gets good response in Britain

We recently received a note from a railworker in London who wrote, "I find your excellent political coverage of the international class struggle both informative and educational. As a railworker, *IP* helps me in taking up arguments and discussions in the workplace and, therefore, I need to receive it regularly."

In a similar vein an economics lecturer at Kingston Polytechnic in Britain wrote, "I find *IP* an indispensable aid not only to my own understanding of world events but also to my teaching."

These readers will be pleased to learn that *Intercontinental Press* is becoming more readily available in Britain. Pathfinder Press in London, which handles distribution of *IP* in Britain, reports that *IP* is now being sold in eight bookshops in London, Manchester, Nottingham, Birmingham, and Edinburgh. In September the number of subscribers increased by 20.

The September 23 issue, which was expanded to carry articles and documents on the split of the Australian Socialist Workers Party National Committee from the Fourth International, sold particularly well. In addition to the copies going to regular subscribers in Britain, 200 copies of this special issue were sold. Since then Pathfinder has raised its regular bundle to 200.

From another part of the world, we also

have received a favorable response. A university official in Accra, Ghana, wrote, "Accept my congratulations for this rare publication which gives to world news what I believe is a correct interpretation."

He added, "I am happy to say all my friends have found your paper extremely impressive. It is therefore very widely read around here. Indeed, I now put back copies in our waiting room."

In the past year we have made some progress in expanding our circulation in the Pacific Ocean region. Our distributors in New Zealand and Australia have played a big role in this effort.

One reader from that area recently sent us a letter. From Hawaii she wrote, "Very much appreciated the *IP* article on Asian women at the UN women's conference in Nairobi ["Asian women at UN conference," by Vibhuti Patel, October 21]. I just wrote an article for our local movement paper *Ta Huliau* (Hawaiian, meaning 'The Turning Point') on our eight isle women who went."

She concluded by urging us to "keep up the good work."

If you haven't yet purchased a subscription or renewed your subscription, you should hurry and take advantage of our special subscription offer. The deadline is November 15. For full details see the advertisement on facing page.

Although *Tap Chi Cong San* does not mention the murder of Ta Thu Thau and other Fourth Internationalists, its slanders against them serve to justify these crimes. This is consistent with the fact that not a single Vietnamese government or Communist Party leader has ever publicly repudiated these murders. Not once in 40 years.

In the process of rethinking this question, I went back to check a statement attributed to Ho Chi Minh that I recalled seeing. A number of books and articles about Vietnam report that Ho Chi Minh did repudiate the murder of Ta Thu Thau. This has been so widely circulated that it has achieved the status of "common knowledge" in much of the literature. Upon closer inspection, however, all such accounts can be traced to one, and only one, source.

This source is Daniel Guérin, a left-wing French journalist. In the introduction to his 1954 book, *Au Service des Colonisés: 1930-53*, Guérin states that he conducted an interview with Ho Chi Minh during the Vietnamese CP leader's visit to Paris in 1946, eight years earlier. According to Guérin, "The pleasure I took in paying my respects to him . . . was darkened not only by our ideological disagreements but by the memory of Ta Thu Thau. Some overzealous Stalinists, close to the leader, had recently slain [Ta] on account of his 'Trotskyite' views.

"He was a great patriot and we mourn him," Ho Chi Minh told me with unfeigned emotion. But a moment later he added in a steady voice, 'All those who do not follow the line which I have laid down will be broken.'"

Two points should be made about this alleged "repudiation."

First, even if Guérin's account is accurate, the statement by Ho Chi Minh is not a repudiation of the murder of Ta Thu Thau or the other Vietnamese Fourth Internationalists. Ho Chi Minh's statement does not even acknowledge that Ta Thu Thau was murdered at the orders of Vietnamese CP officials, let alone repudiate this crime. It amounts at most to a cover-up for the murder.

Second, no other published interview with Ho Chi Minh reports anything similar. Ho Chi Minh himself never stated this in any published speech or article, and no other Vietnamese Communist Party leader has ever done so.

Thus, those who claim that Ho Chi Minh repudiated the murder of Ta Thu Thau are

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simply wrong.

If Vietnamese CP leaders "never subsequently sought to defend" the 1945 political executions explicitly, it is only because they have preferred to say nothing one way or the other about their responsibility.

The second footnote appears toward the end of the article, after the following paragraphs: "... what made possible Vietnam's 1954 and 1975 victories over French and U.S. imperialism was the Vietnamese Communist Party's consistent refusal, following the disastrous defeat of 1945-47, to ever again subordinate the independence struggle to the class-collaborationist course dictated by the foreign policy interests of the privileged castes in Moscow or Peking. This enabled the party to lead the Vietnamese workers and peasants to liberation from imperialist domination, north and south, by 1975.

"Far from being a continuation of the line of the Stalinized Comintern in the colonial countries, which the Communist Party of Vietnam did apply — under duress, and with whatever divisions and hesitations — from the late 1930s through the defeat of 1945-47, its course after this time marked a qualitative change in this decisive regard."

Clark's footnote following these paragraphs states:

2. The qualitative shift by the Vietnamese Communist Party leadership on this question, which was decisive to the independence struggle against French and U.S. imperialist domination, does not mean that the VCP at the same time rejected other policies

that are the product of its Stalinist political training. For a discussion of this question, see "The Vietnamese Communist Party, Stalinism, and Proletarian Internationalist Leadership" by Steve Clark, available for \$2.00 from the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014.

The Education for Socialists publication on the split of the Australian SWP leadership in-

cludes all the material that appeared in the September 23 issue of *IP*; the article "Croatian group stirs debate on left" by Nita Keig from the Oct. 15, 1984, *IP*; and materials related to the Australian SWP leadership's 1983-84 purge of supporters of the Fourth International from the party. It can be ordered from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, USA; 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, Britain; or P.O. Box 37 Leichhardt, Sydney, NSW 2040, Australia. □

Unionists, Blacks, Labour Party leaders to speak at London socialist conference

A broad range of left-wing Labour Party leaders, union officials, Black leaders, and socialist activists is scheduled to speak at a national conference in London on November 16-17. The theme of the gathering, cosponsored by *Socialist Action* newspaper, is "Building an alliance for socialism."

Participants at the weekend conference will discuss the lessons of the recent miners' strike and the ongoing campaign for amnesty for victimized strikers; the fight against racism and to build a Black section of the Labour Party; organizing women in the labor movement; solidarity with the struggle in South Africa; defense of Nicaragua; and the fight to get Britain out of Ireland.

Among those expected to speak are: Diane Abbott, Black Section national steering committee; Tony Benn, a prominent left-wing Labour Party member of Parliament; Jack Col-

lins, secretary of the Kent National Union of Mineworkers (NUM); Jeremy Corbyn, Labour Party MP; Vladimir Derer, secretary of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy; Betty Heathfield, organizer of women's support for the miners' strike; Peter Heathfield, general secretary of the NUM; John Ross, a regular contributor to *Socialist Action*; Mac Warren, National Black Independent Political Party in the United States; Doreen Wepler, a rail worker and activist in the National Union of Railworkers; Jude Woodward, a regular contributor to *Socialist Action*; a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador; and many others.

The conference will be held at Sir William Collins School, Charrington St., London, NW1 (near Kings Cross Station); £5 for the weekend, £3 each day. Write to *Socialist Action*, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP for information. □

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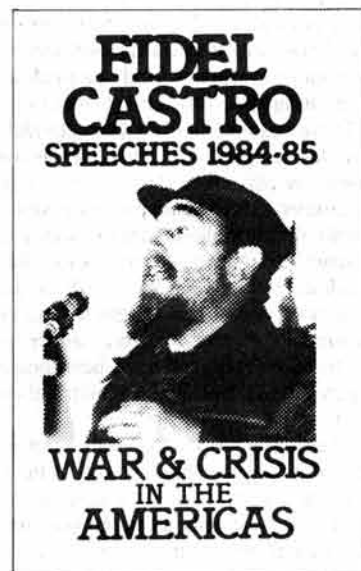
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FLNKS wins big vote in colonial election

Majority of Kanaks show support for proindependence position

By Andy Jarvis

[The following two articles are reprinted from the October 18 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.]

* * *

Leaders of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) regard the outcome of the September 29 elections in New Caledonia as a step forward for the Kanak independence struggle. The FLNKS won over 80 percent of the Kanak vote in the elections, clearly establishing that it has the mass support of the Kanak people.

The election result destroys the accusations that the FLNKS does not speak for the majority of Kanaks, FLNKS leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou told reporters. On the contrary, it has demonstrated that "the majority of the Kanak people is for independence," he said.

The outcome was greeted by widespread rejoicing in Kanak communities, with truckloads of young FLNKS supporters waving the Kanak flag along country highways.

In contrast, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports that a "sullen mood . . . immediately gripped the white community in Nouméa." Right-wing, anti-independence politicians charged they had been cheated in the elections by the French government.

Regional assemblies

The September 29 elections took place under a plan drawn up earlier this year by the Mitterrand government and adopted by the French parliament in August. Under this legislation, New Caledonia has been divided into four new electoral zones, each with its own regional assembly.

A number of legislative powers vested in the previous Territorial Assembly (the colonial parliament) have been transferred to the new regional assemblies. These include areas such as education and administration of the French government's "land reform," under which some tracts of farmland have been purchased and restored to traditional Kanak tribal ownership.

A Territorial Assembly will continue to exist under the plan, made up of all the members elected to the regional assemblies. However, it is to have only a limited function.

A national governing body, an executive committee, will also exist. It will consist of the presidents of the four regional assemblies and an overall president to be elected by the Territorial Assembly.

Overall power, however, will remain in the hands of the French government and its local representatives.

FLNKS view

The French government presents this scheme as the first step to what it calls "independence" for New Caledonia "in association with France."

The FLNKS, on the other hand, describes it as "neocolonial" — that is, aimed at maintaining French domination over the Kanak people. Nonetheless, a national conference of the FLNKS in May decided that it would participate in the elections for the regional assemblies. This decision was reconfirmed by a special conference called to discuss the elections in mid-September.

A statement issued by the Political Bureau of the FLNKS on September 5 outlined its objectives in the elections: to demonstrate that "we are the representatives of the Kanak people, thus confounding our most virulent detractors or the most skeptical observers"; and to consolidate, through the elections, the gains registered by the struggles of the previous

months, with "the final goal remaining Kanak Socialist Independence, for which the mobilisation remains permanent."

The outcome of the elections would "determine the degree to which each of the parties in the negotiations to come will be taken into account," the statement continued. It added that even if the strength of the FLNKS at the grassroots level is unchallengeable, "that would only be reinforced by satisfactory results in the elections."

The statement urged FLNKS supporters to go all out in a unified campaign to "get the best possible results for the FLNKS lists" in the elections.

Election outcome

In the elections on September 29, the FLNKS won a majority on three of the four regional assemblies.

FLNKS candidates won six of the nine seats in the North region, four of the seven seats in the Loyalty Islands, and five of the nine seats in the Centre region. In the South region, comprising the capital Nouméa where the majority of the French settler and immigrant population

FLNKS radio breaks media monopoly

On September 24 the first pro-independence radio station went on the air in New Caledonia. An FM stereo station, Radio Djiido, is broadcasting in the Nouméa region, and independence supporters hope to set up similar stations across the country.

A special message of greetings to the new radio station appeared in the September 26 issue of *Bwenando*, weekly newspaper of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS). *Bwenando* itself has been appearing for three months. Its circulation has now reached 4,000 and is growing steadily, with every issue sold out.

"In this country where information has always been controlled by the power of money, the appearance of an independentist radio represents an important political event," said *Bwenando*, "because we know the degree of responsibility which the local news media bears in maintaining an unhealthy atmosphere of hidden civil war."

Bwenando itself had opened up a first breach in the domination of New Caledonia's media by local right-wing, French settler, business interests, the statement said. Radio Djiido now marked a new step forward.

"The setting up of Radio Djiido was long

and costly in money and energy. But the hardest remains to be done: to get across to a broad public, to win over the maximum number of people and sympathisers as listeners of our radio. It will not be easy. . . ."

The message noted that the musical tone of the station had been set from the first broadcasts: "The musical line will be Black. Funk, soul, reggae, and of course some good 'fehoas' from our country."

"Radio Djiido will distinguish itself by the quality of the broadcasts and of the music programming. . . . An absolute priority will be information, whether it be local, regional, or international. In brief, Radio Djiido should be a well produced political radio programme, and pleasant to listen to.

"Radio Djiido, we hope, will be able to take up rehabilitating the Kanak languages and all the minority languages which barely survive in today's Kanaky.

"All night, Kanaky was shaken by the frenzied dancing of the imps and little devils who welcomed and sang to the birth of their radio station. That was all it needed to make the colonists mad!

"Courage to the technicians and the workers; long life to Radio Djiido!"

— Neil Jarden

lives, anti-independence candidates won all but one of the 21 seats.

In all, the FLNKS won 16 seats and 29 percent of the vote.

The RPCR [Rally for Caledonia in the Republic], the main capitalist party which opposes independence, won 25 seats, and the ultraright National Front won three. Together they took just under 60 percent of the vote, winning a 12-seat majority in the new Territorial Assembly.

Two minor parties won one seat each.

Record turnout

The elections saw a record turnout of almost 90,000 voters, or over 80 percent.

Although Kanaks make up 62,000 of New Caledonia's population of 145,000, or around 43 percent, the non-Kanak population, which includes many thousands of recent immigrants, has a considerably higher proportion which is of voting age, giving it a greater weight in electoral contests.

However, the non-Kanak population is concentrated in the capital Nouméa. In the three regions where the FLNKS has won control of the regional councils, Kanaks constitute the majority.

The perspective of the FLNKS is to use its majority on the regional councils to push forward changes in these three regions in favour of the Kanak people. These include establishing Kanak schools, developing agricultural and other work cooperatives, and implementing the French government's land reform programme.

These regions also contain the colony's huge nickel reserves and prime agricultural land, around which its economy is centred.

French opposition

Not surprisingly, therefore, the right-wing white settler population in Nouméa regards the outcome of the election as representing a hand-over of the country to the Kanaks. They are looking to a victory by the opposition parties in the coming French parliamentary elections, to be held next March, to turn this situation around.

The week before the election was marked by several incidents of right-wing bombings and threats. On September 26 a huge explosion devastated the upper floors of a 10-story government building in Nouméa that houses the offices of the French government's land reform programme.

Only hours before this bombing, a huge right-wing rally had taken place for Jacques Chirac, leader of the French opposition party Rally for the Republic (RPR). Two other bombings took place that night, one of them directed against a prominent supporter of the FLNKS.

Two days earlier, right-wing groups in Nouméa issued threats that they would blow up the new FLNKS radio station, Radio Djido. The station has been placed under a permanent guard by the FLNKS.

The buildup to the September 29 election

saw visits to New Caledonia by the leaders of the two French conservative opposition parties, the RPR and UDF [Union for French Democracy], as well as the leader of the ultraright National Front. They all gave strong backing to the anti-independence forces and pledged to reverse the Socialist Party government's policies on New Caledonia.

FLNKS leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou responded that the FLNKS would continue its drive for independence no matter who is in power in Paris.

He added that the recent revelations about the French government's bombing of the *Rain-*

bow Warrior would aid the Kanak struggle. "This is going to mobilise the countries of the Pacific to support us in the Pacific Forum and above all at the United Nations," he predicted.

The Kanak independence struggle received another boost recently, at the Nonaligned Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Luanda, the capital of Angola. A resolution moved by Vanuatu and cosponsored by over 20 other countries was adopted unanimously. The resolution expressed the support of the Nonaligned Movement for "self determination and the early transition to an independent New Caledonia in accordance with the rights and aspirations of the indigenous people. . . ." □

Kiribati

Signs fishing pact with USSR

U.S. warns of Soviet 'toehold' in South Pacific

By Will Reissner

Few people outside the South Pacific have ever heard of the Republic of Kiribati, a country of 33 tiny islands (20 of them inhabited) stretched over 2 million square miles of ocean, with a total population of 56,000.

Yet U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz is treating recent events there as "a high priority," and Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke sent a letter to Kiribati's president expressing concern over recent developments.

What provoked this sudden interest is a decision by Ieremia Tabai, Kiribati's 35-year-old president, to sign a US\$1.7 million contract with the Soviet Union in August, allowing 16 Soviet vessels to fish in Kiribati's waters for 12 months.

The Soviet Union is gaining a "toehold" in the South Pacific, warned Paul Wolfowitz, U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asia and the Pacific.

Kiribati's president, however, pointed out that negotiations with the Soviet government began only after Washington announced it would seek to cut the royalties paid by U.S. vessels for tuna catches in Kiribati's waters. In

1983 and 1984 U.S. fishermen paid only \$700,000 a year to operate 63 boats, less than half what the Soviet government will pay, and the U.S. fleet wanted to cut the royalties still further in 1985.

In an interview with the *Melbourne Age*, Tabai pointed out, "We have simply signed a commercial fishing deal, no more." He added that "the U.S. attitude is to get as much as possible and pay as little as possible. They are insensitive to the real concerns of our people."

"In the past," Tabai continued, "they have behaved like bullies. They fly over our islands without authority. They have no respect for our boundaries, our sovereignty. And now they want to take our fish for nothing."

By contrast, the agreement with the Soviet Union "is the best deal for us and the best fisheries deal signed in the South Pacific area by far," Tabai told *Melbourne Age* reporter Mark Baker.

The people of the Republic of Kiribati are among the poorest in the South Pacific. Until receiving independence in 1979, Kiribati was a British colony known as the Gilbert Islands. About half the country's annual budget now comes from a fund established with revenues from the country's now exhausted phosphate deposits.

Phosphates were mined on Banaba Island from the time of its annexation by Britain in 1900 until the deposits ran out the year independence was granted. The initial agreement had provided for royalty payments of \$100 per year on a 99-year lease. The phosphate deposits were mined by the British Phosphate Commission, formed by the British, Australian, and New Zealand governments.

Aside from the income from the invested phosphate royalties, Kiribati relies on its fisheries and copra sales as the only other significant source of revenue. Copra, dried coconut meat, is widely used to make soaps and detergents as well as margarine and veg-



etable shortenings.

The negligible amount of soil on the coral islands makes significant development of agriculture impossible.

Tabai, who has headed Kiribati since it gained its independence, sees fishing royalties as a key element for developing the country's economy. Royalties paid by foreign fishing fleets are being used to build up the Kiribati fishing fleet, which now has four ships. There

are plans to purchase four more and to develop improved port facilities.

"Our objective in all of this," said Tabai, "is to secure the financial independence of our country. Our friends will never do this for us. They are not worried about us, only worried about themselves."

During World War II, the Gilbert Islands were captured by the Japanese in 1942. In

fierce fighting in November 1943, U.S. marines captured the main island, Tarawa. During the battle U.S. forces lost 1,087 dead and 2,292 wounded, while the Japanese death toll was 4,690.

"The Americans," said Tabai, "didn't come to Tarawa to save us in World War II. They came to save themselves. Most of their politics is motivated by self interest, and the same is true of Australia." □

DOCUMENTS

Debate on the South African revolution

Programs of the ANC, UDF, and National Forum Committee

[The following is a selection of six documents from South Africa. They reflect the discussion and debate that is going on within South Africa today over the program and character of the South African revolution. That discussion basically revolves around two counterposed perspectives.

[One perspective is advanced by the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), South Africa's vanguard liberation organization, as well as those groups that look toward the ANC for leadership. The ANC puts forward a program for the national, democratic revolution, known as the Freedom Charter, which was originally drafted in 1955. Since the early 1980s, scores of other organizations in South Africa have also publicly adopted the Freedom Charter. Many of these groups have affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF), the anti-apartheid coalition of more than 2 million members that has been in the

forefront of the current popular mobilizations against the apartheid system.

[A different view is put forward by the National Forum Committee, which has far less support than the UDF. Launched in mid-1983 around the same time as the UDF, it presents as its program for the South African revolution the Manifesto of the Azanian People.

[One of the main forces within the National Forum Committee is the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which was formed in the late 1970s out of the remnants of the nationalist current known as the Black Consciousness movement. Another key affiliate is the Cape Action League, whose most prominent leader is Neville Alexander, a former member of the Non-European Unity Movement who was jailed on Robben Island for 10 years.

[In the following documents, the subheads are from the original; the footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

administration of the country.

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour, or sex.

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils, and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

All national groups shall have equal rights!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts, and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

The preaching and practice of national, race, or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

The people shall share in the country's wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks, and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture, and to enter all trades, crafts, and professions.

The land shall be shared among those who work it!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors, and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

The Freedom Charter

[The following is the text of the Freedom Charter, which was unanimously adopted by nearly 3,000 delegates attending the Congress of the People, held in Kliptown, near Johannesburg, on June 25-26, 1955. The congress was convened by the African National Congress, together with the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Organisation, and the Congress of Democrats. At an ANC special conference in early 1956, the liberation organization formally adopted the Freedom Charter as its program.]

* * *

Preamble

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

- that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;
- that our people have been robbed of their

birthright to land, liberty, and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

- that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

- that only a democratic state, based on the will of the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex, or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen, and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

The people shall govern!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws.

All people shall be entitled to take part in the

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All shall be equal before the law!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported, or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour, or belief shall be repealed.

All shall enjoy equal human rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship, and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits, and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There shall be work and security!

All who work shall be free to form unions, to elect their officers, and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a 40-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers, and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system, and contract labour shall be abolished.¹

The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened!

The government shall discover, develop, and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books,

1. Contract laborers are migrant workers from abroad or from one of South Africa's 10 Bantustans, the impoverished rural reserves. While employed in the cities, they must live in segregated, single-sex, barracks-like compounds. The tot system, practiced on some white-owned farms, involves giving wine rations to farm workers in place of part of their cash wages.

ideas, and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty, and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal, and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport, and in education shall be abolished.

There shall be houses, security, and comfort!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful, and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crèches, and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled, and the

sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure, and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There shall be peace and friendship!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities, and status of all;

The people of the protectorates — Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland — shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;²

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close cooperation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

"These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty!" □

2. Basutoland (now called Lesotho) won its independence from Britain in 1966, Bechuanaland (now Botswana) also became independent in 1966, and Swaziland in 1968.

Interview with ANC's Joe Slovo

[The following is from an interview with Joe Slovo, a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, as excerpted in the July 14, 1985, issue of the *ANC News Briefing*. It was originally broadcast over the ANC's Radio Freedom station in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and begins with an introduction by a station announcer.]

* * *

Compatriots, recently we, the people of South Africa, marked the 30th anniversary of the adoption of our blueprint for a democratic South Africa, the Freedom Charter. This document, like all other popular programmes, has managed to stand the test of time.

Today, more than at any time in our history, our struggling people are upholding the Freedom Charter as the only genuine alternative to the tyrannical rule of [South African President Pieter] Botha and his fascist generals. Attempts by the enemy and some detractors have tried to discredit this popular document, giving it different labels.

But in the words of Comrade Joe Slovo, member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, the Freedom Charter is neither a blueprint for a socialist system nor for a capitalist one.

Slovo. I do not believe the Freedom Charter is a programme for socialism in South Africa, nor do I believe that it is a programme for capitalism. For example, the Freedom Charter states that in the kind of South Africa which it envisages, all people of whatever colour shall have the right to trade, to engage in their trades without any colour restriction. The Freedom Charter also states without any equivocation that the basic wealth of the country must be returned to the people.

The Communist Party programme, which describes the Freedom Charter as a programme which can be supported by socialists and non-socialists alike, is a correct characterisation of the Freedom Charter.

The Freedom Charter, you must remember, did not set up a strategy of struggle. It is a kind of inspirational vision of a free, democratic South Africa. You will find no definition in the Freedom Charter of the kind of power structure which will emerge the day after the ANC flag is raised over the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Those are issues which will be determined on the ground by the class forces which are engaged in the struggle. There can be no doubt about the fact that there is enough in the Freedom Charter to enable a people's government which is dominated by the working people to



Protesters carrying slogan of Freedom Charter, at October 1984 march in Cape Town.

begin to lay the foundations for the completion of the national democratic revolution by creating conditions, during the transition period, for the eventual construction of socialism. There is nothing in the Freedom Charter which one can say is in contradiction with that possibility.

It is equally possible that if the people's victory is dominated by the aspirant black capitalist class or middle class, sections of the Freedom Charter could be used by them to take South Africa along the capitalist road. We must therefore work to ensure that in the present stage of the struggle, the working class assumes the leading and dominant role.

Q. What are the tasks of our people at this stage of the struggle, for a free and democratic South Africa?

Slovo. I believe . . . that we are in the midst of perhaps one of the most important challenges which our revolution has faced. What the people are doing is common knowledge. What is emerging is a qualitatively new situation in the sense that one could say that for the first time in the history of our struggle those elements which normally historically converge to bring about a radical transformation are beginning to show their presence in a greater measure than ever before.

There is a crisis in the enemy's ranks, a readiness of the people to struggle, even at the risk of death, and an acceptance by them of our liberation movement led by the ANC as the alternative power in South Africa.

Precisely for those reasons, the Freedom Charter takes on a new meaning. It is no longer as it was in 1955 a dream, an abstract expression of a vision of the kind of South Africa that we would very much like to see; it has now become a realistic possibility, its attainment is no longer a vision.

The reason why the Freedom Charter is becoming more and more the banner around which the broad sections of people are uniting at this stage is precisely because its contents have entered the realm of practical achieve-

ment within the foreseeable future.

I don't think there have been many documents of struggle in many parts of the world which have maintained their freshness and their practicability and their relevance as the Freedom Charter has attained, even though it was adopted 30 years ago.

UDF founding declaration

[The following is the founding declaration of the United Democratic Front (UDF), adopted at its inaugural conference in Cape Town on Aug. 20, 1983. More than 400 organizations were represented at this conference. Since then the number of UDF affiliate organizations has risen to some 600.]

[As a broad coalition formed to fight against new, restrictive measures of the apartheid regime, the UDF is open to all groups opposed to those measures, regardless of their views on broader programmatic questions. The UDF as such has not, therefore, formally adopted the Freedom Charter. However, many of its affiliated groups have done so, and a number of the UDF's top leaders are commonly identified as supporters of the banned ANC.]

[The text of this declaration is taken from the Aug. 29, 1983, issue of the *Johannesburg Star*.]

* * *

Freedom-loving people of South Africa say with one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of a united democratic South Africa based on the will of the people, and will strive for the unity of all our people through united action against the evils of apartheid and economic and all other forms of exploitation, and in our march to a free and just South Africa we are guided by these noble ideals:

We stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country.

Since then so much has happened to change the form and content of our struggle. The Freedom Charter was adopted when we were still in the midst of generally passive mass struggles and had not yet adopted the strategy of revolutionary violence as an integral part of the struggle.

Even though the Freedom Charter was adopted in that kind of framework, it is remarkable, nevertheless, that today it continues to express the aspirations of more and more people. It has become the beacon around which people are gathering and showing that they are either part of the revolution or against it.

I have no doubt that in the struggles ahead, which are going to become more intense, the Freedom Charter will, even more so than today, become the programme around which all true patriots, all true nationalists, all true working-class radicals will gather in a common assault on a regime which is outmoded, anachronistic — a regime which is anathema in the world and which is in the biggest crisis that it has ever faced in its whole history.

And in the struggle to destroy that regime, there are few, if any, documents like the Freedom Charter which have such a solid, firm foundation on which to build the unity of the mass of our people. □

We stand for a single, non-racial, unfragmented South Africa, a South Africa free of Bantustans and Group Areas.¹

We say all forms of oppression and exploitation must end.

In accordance with these noble ideals we join hands as community, women's, students', religious, sporting, and other organisations and trade unions to say no to apartheid.

We say no to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill — a bill which will create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth.²

We say no to the Koornhof bills which will deprive more and more African people of their birthright.³

1. The Group Areas are the segregated urban townships set aside for the different sectors of the Black population: the Africans, Indians, and Coloureds (those of mixed ancestry).

2. In early 1983, the apartheid regime introduced a bill for a new constitution, empowering it to set up two new chambers of the parliament for Coloureds and Indians, alongside the existing white chamber. The Coloured and Indian chambers that were subsequently established are largely powerless and have been widely interpreted as an attempt to sow further divisions with the Black majority. In August 1984 the UDF launched a massive — and highly successful — boycott against the Indian and Coloured elections to those chambers.

3. A reference to a series of repressive bills introduced by government minister Pieter Koornhof.

We say yes to the birth of the United Democratic Front on this historic day.

We know that this government is determined to break the unity of our people, that our people will face greater hardships, that our people living in racially segregated and relocated areas will be cut off from the wealth they produce in the cities, that rents and other basic charges will increase and that our living standards will fall, that working people will be divided race from race, urban from rural, employed from unemployed, men from women.

Low wages, poor working conditions, attacks on our trade unions will continue; students will continue to suffer under unequal education created to supply a reservoir of cheap labour.

Ethnic control and unequal facilities will remain; apartheid will still be felt in our classrooms.

The religious and cultural life of our people will be harmed.

The sins of apartheid will continue to be stamped on the culture and religions of our people. The oppression and exploitation of women will continue.

Women will suffer greater hardships under the new pass laws; women will be divided from their children and families.

Poverty and malnutrition will continue to disrupt family life.

The brunt of apartheid will still be carried by our families, non-racial sport will suffer, there will be less money for the building of sports facilities, and forced separation will deal non-racial sport a further blow.

We know that apartheid will continue, that white domination and exploitation will continue, that forced removals, the Group Areas, and the Bantustans will remain.

We know that there will not be an end to the unequal distribution of land, wealth, and resources of the country, that the migratory labour system will live on to destroy family life.

We know that the government will always use false leaders to become its junior partners and to control us.

Our lives will still be filled with fears of harassment, bannings, detentions, and death.

Mindful of the fact that the new constitutional proposals and Koornhof measures will further entrench apartheid and white domination, we commit ourselves to uniting all our people wherever they may be in the cities and countryside, the factories and mines, schools, colleges, and universities, houses and sports fields, churches, mosques, and temples, to fight for our freedom.

We therefore resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder in our common struggle and commit

ourselves to work together to organise and mobilise all community, worker, student, women's, religious, and other organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front, consult our people regularly and honestly, and bravely strive to represent their views and aspirations, educate all about the coming dangers and the need for unity, build and strengthen all organisations of the people, and be united in actions against these bills and other day-to-day problems affecting our people.

And now therefore we pledge to come together in this United Democratic Front, and fight side by side against the government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof bills. □

Article from ANC's 'Sechaba'

[The following article by Mzala, entitled "The Freedom Charter Is Our Lodestar," is taken from the July 1985 issue of *Sechaba*, the official monthly organ of the ANC. It is the first of a four-part series taking up the differences between the perspective outlined in the Freedom Charter and that of the Manifesto of the Azanian People advanced by the National Forum Committee.]

Criticism of the Freedom Charter has lately been coming from a committee calling itself the "National Forum" and launched by certain individuals in South Africa as an organisational opposition to the United Democratic Front (UDF). At its founding conference, the National Forum adopted a number of resolutions as well as a Manifesto of the Azanian People, which is meant to be an alternative document to the Freedom Charter. As reported by the *Rand Daily Mail* of the 13th June 1983:

... a separate bid for unity has been started by the National Forum Committee, made up largely of Black Consciousness groups.... The National Forum, according to Mr. [Ishmael] Mkhabela of AZAPO, is not an organisation but only a committee intended to facilitate joint discussions among Black groups.

At the end of this National Forum Conference (there have been others ever since to ratify the manifesto) the conference adopted the Manifesto of the Azanian People (which we shall hereafter refer to as the Azanian Manifesto), identifying "racial capitalism" as the real enemy of the oppressed people of South Africa, and pledging to work for the establishment of an "anti-racist, socialist Republic."¹

Readers of the South African press will remember how even the *Pace* magazine issue of September 1983 (a magazine that does very well in promoting showbiz but which dismally fails to give one a good political portrait of South Africa) commented about the "historic" significance of the adoption of this Azanian Manifesto: "The oppressed people now have two documents setting out what the struggle is all about; the Charter on the one hand, and the Manifesto, which follows the Black Consciousness line, on the other." One cannot help marvelling at the inability of this magazine to comprehend the significance of the Freedom Charter in the history of South Africa.

After 30 years of the adoption of our Freedom Charter, it is timely to examine its relevance in South Africa, and equally to examine some aspects of its latest critics and to evaluate the worth of their "alternative" Azanian Manifesto.

Congress of the People

If the *Pace* magazine (which announced the adoption of this manifesto with the air of historical importance) imagines that the Congress

1. In the amended version of the Manifesto of the Azanian People reprinted following this document, the specific term "racial capitalism" has been changed to a "system of racism and capitalism."



Demonstration called by United Democratic Front.

of the People that adopted the Freedom Charter in 1955 was something similar to the National Forum Conference that was held in Hammanskraal from Saturday the 11th to Sunday the 12th June 1983, then it needs to research the historical facts thoroughly, and correct its distorted vision of history.

What were the circumstances, conditions, preparations, and level of mass participation in the adoption of the Freedom Charter as different from the adoption of the Azanian Manifesto?

Probably little is known today of the Congress of the People, and most certainly the vast majority of the leaders of the anti-Freedom Charter trend, who make up the advocates of this manifesto, either do not remember this historic event or have hardly worried themselves to assess its historic magnitude in the liberation struggle.

During the 1953 Queenstown conference of the African National Congress, the National Executive Committee was instructed to make immediate preparations for the organisation of a mass assembly of delegates elected by people of all races in every town, village, farm, factory, mine, and kraal [rural African settlement] — to be known as the Congress of the People, whose tasks should be to work out a Freedom Charter for all the people and groups of the country.

To this end the National Executive Committee was to invite the whole Congress movement [the ANC and allied organizations] as well as other democratic organisations to obtain their cooperative support in creating a truly representative convention of the people of South Africa.

According to the document entitled, Congress of the People, that was annexed to the report of the National Executive Committee at the Tongati conference of March 21st, 1954, (where Chief [Albert] Lutuli was banned and banished):

The South African peoples' movement can be proud of its long record of unbroken struggle for rights and liberty, but never before have the mass of South African citizens been summoned together to proclaim their desire and aspirations in a single declaration — a Charter of Freedom.

The drawing up and adopting of such a charter of freedom is the purpose for which the Congress of the People has been called. Never in South African history have the ordinary people of this country been enabled to take part in deciding their own fate and future. Elections have been restricted to a small minority of the population; franchise rights, particularly in recent times, have been threatened and curtailed. There is a need to hear the voice of the ordinary citizen of this land, proclaiming to the world his demand for freedom.

Indeed, the Congress of the People finally became the biggest single gathering of representatives of the people's grievances ever known in South Africa. But we are rushing an issue here. First, how was this Congress of the People organised?

The country made aware

Firstly, the whole country was made aware of the coming Congress of the People, and

various organisers were given the task to imbue the masses of the oppressed people with the feeling of the tremendous importance of such a gathering. A zealous campaign of printed propaganda was launched, side by side with hundreds of meetings and house-to-house canvasses, as well as group discussions. The main purpose of this activity was to get the people to speak for themselves, and to state what changes must be made in South Africa if they are to enjoy freedom.

"Let us speak together of freedom," said one popular leaflet:

And of the happiness that can come to men and women if they live in a land that is free. Let us speak together of freedom. And of how to get it for ourselves, and for our children. Let the voice of all the people be heard. And let the demands of all the people for the things that will make us free be recorded. Let the demands be gathered together in a great Charter of Freedom.

The leaflet called on all who loved liberty to pledge their lives to win the freedom that would be set out in the Freedom Charter.

Every demand made by the people at these gatherings, however small the matter, was recorded and collected for consideration by the Congress of the People for inclusion in the Freedom Charter. In this way, the Freedom Charter became, not only in principle but also in actuality, the charter of the people, the content of which has its source in their homes, in the factories, mines, and rural reserves.

The task of the organisers of the Congress of the People (who were called Freedom Volunteers) was not to write the demands on behalf of the people, as the Azanian Manifesto was manufactured in Hammanskraal, but to collect them and to enlighten the people on the radical changes that such a campaign could make in the South African situation.

By sneering at the Freedom Charter and calling it an ANC, or even a Kliptown, document, some people forget that the Charter was, in fact, produced not by the ANC but by the people of South Africa. The ANC only adopted this Charter as its policy document as advised in a presidential address by Professor Z.K. Matthews, then acting on behalf of Chief Lutuli, who was banned and confined to the Lower Tugela district:

I shall therefore not say anything about it [the Freedom Charter] at this stage except to remind you that the Freedom Charter was drawn up, not by the African National Congress but by the Congress of the People, and it is therefore necessary for you to ratify the Freedom Charter and to make it part, if you so desire, of the policy of the African National Congress.

Delegates to the Congress of the People subsequently came from all the four corners of our country. They came on foot, in buses, in trains — yes, the whole trip to Kliptown near Johannesburg took place in an atmosphere of a great political demonstration. Freedom processions greeted delegates in every town they passed through.

As the call of the National Action Council had said: "Where possible, Freedom trains

should be arranged to carry delegates, but where funds are not available for this, delegates should band together on a Freedom March, even though it may take some days for them to reach the Congress."

Our people gathered together in Kliptown to speak of freedom. Of the total of 2,848 delegates, 721 were women. There were 2,186 African delegates, 320 Indian delegates, 230 Coloured delegates, as well as 112 Whites. Hundreds of delegates were prevented from coming by the action of the police.

"There were several wonderful things about the Congress of the People," said Professor Z.K. Matthews:

The first is the fact that it was held at all. Here for the first time was a Congress which brought together people drawn from all sections of the population to consider and give expression to their vision of the South Africa of the future. The sponsoring organisations issue a challenge to any other group of organisations including the [ruling] Nationalist Party to convene a similar conference and see whether they could evoke an equal or better response from the people of South Africa.

It was not the National Forum Conference, but instead the founding of the United Democratic Front, that evoked in the decade of the eighties a response from the people of South Africa that was equal to the Congress of the People in 1955. As *Ukusa* reported (Vol. 2, No. 40, 1983):

The meeting on August 20th to launch the United Democratic Front (UDF) is being described as a day of unity. Over 15,000 people from all over the country and all races came together under the banner of the UDF in Rockford, Cape Town, to reject the Government's new apartheid policies. A national executive of the UDF was elected from amongst 2,000 delegates representing community, worker, student, religious, sporting and political organisations. The delegates represented hundreds of organisations from Natal, Transvaal, Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Orange Free State, and the Border region.

Was it not Karl Marx who wrote in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice? Indeed, even in South Africa, the dead of the Congress of the People rose up again in the eighties — as Marx correctly had remarked in the same work:

The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionising themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honoured disguise and this borrowed language.

Thus [UDF leader] Dr. Allan Boesak donned the mask of Professor Z.K. Matthews, for although the former could freely express himself on the recent conditions that prevail in our country and the necessity for change, his language was always translated back into the gathering in Kliptown, for in great historical events the new perform the tasks of the time in

the costumes and traditions of all dead generations.

On the other hand, no sooner had the National Forum Conference been announced to the press than it was rejected by four organisations that had been tricked into participation in it. This rejection of the National Forum came about immediately the participants started criticising the Freedom Charter and calling it all manner of derogatory names, even suggesting to the delegates that it was an antique piece ready to be deposited in a museum. The article in the *Pace* magazine spelt this out clearly (pp. 24-25):

... Since 1958 [sic] the Freedom Charter has generally been regarded in Black politics as the "Constitution of the People" although there has always been a measure of dissent... but this changed dramatically when in the fashion of the Congress of the People, the National Forum Committee called all the oppressed people to a meeting in Hammanskraal... There have been documents before, but none ever caused as much of a storm and threatened to widen the gap between two political schools of thought among Blacks as the Manifesto is doing... Even the rift between the student organisation AZASM [Azanian Students' Movement] on the one hand and AZASO and COSAS on the other seemed to widen further as they were forced to take sides. COSAS and AZASO declared their commitment to the Charter, while AZASM stood for the Manifesto. In fact, organisations which support the Manifesto do not even regard the Charter as an alternative. As far as they are concerned, it is already in the archives and not worth a debate.

This criticism of the Freedom Charter at this Conference (as already pointed out) led to the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU), the General and Allied Workers' Union (GAWU), the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), and the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) dissociating themselves from the National Forum and issuing to the press the following statement, which was printed in the *Sowetan* of the 24th June 1983:

We reiterate our uncompromising commitment to the historic Freedom Charter as the only democratic document drafted in the history of the liberation struggle. The Charter stands out from all other alternatives for change in South Africa, not only because of the manner in which it came into being, but also because of the demands reflected in it. It can, therefore, never be substituted without the will of the majority. Any attempt by an individual or group to discredit or undermine it can only be seen as an act of betrayal to the aspirations of all the people of South Africa.

It is noteworthy that the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress saw the need to address the people of South Africa and to warn against this anti-Freedom Charter trend, which poses as a superrevolutionary and "socialist" phenomenon. In the June 26th statement of the same year, the NEC said:

We further call on the struggling people of our country to be vigilant in the face of the determined efforts of those who, while posing as socialists, champions of the working class and defenders of Black pride, seek to divide the people and divert them from the



Delegates at 1955 Congress of the People.

Eli Weinberg

pursuit of the goals enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Through their activities, these elements show hatred for the Charter and for mass united action, no less virulent than that displayed by the Pretoria regime.

The organisers of the National Forum Conference will most probably tell us that they were organising a forum for discussion and to create unity of the oppressed people against the Botha Constitution and the Koornhof Genocide Bills.

There is not the slightest doubt that any attempt at unifying the oppressed people for a determined struggle against the fraudulent constitution and death bills is a good thing. No one is arguing against the fact that the building of unity is and remains the paramount task for all politically conscious South Africans irrespective of their ideological persuasion.

But the banner of "unity" must not be a false signboard; the cry for unity must not be made to conceal disuniting activities and intentions, which, it is hoped, the masses of our people will not be able to see.

Now, at the height of the efforts to form a united front of lovers of freedom and democracy to oppose the Botha constitutional fraud, when the masses of our people were rallying around the Freedom Charter, when everyone was moved by the desire to preserve people's unity against oppression and to demonstrate the political strength and the moral prestige of our freedom struggle in the formation of the United Democratic Front — at this very time, the National Forum Committee suddenly, without the slightest apparent need, called for a conference to adopt some "Manifesto of the

Azanian People." Can such an effort be called unity?

As for the critics of the Freedom Charter, for them to flout the decisions of a truly representative historic Congress of the People, which drew up the Freedom Charter, and equally to disregard the overwhelming democratic opinion of the mass movement at present taking shape in South Africa, for them to dissociate themselves from those solemn demands for people's democracy, is to advocate, at best, opportunism and, at worst, [factionalism].

The Freedom Charter, a unifying force

The Freedom Charter is a statement of aims, it is a definition of the goals of our liberation movement, it is the sum total of our national democratic aspirations and the new democratic life that we need. On the basis of the Freedom Charter are founded the corner-stones of our principles of freedom and democracy. The Freedom Charter attempts, as Chief Albert Lutuli said in his autobiography, *Let My People Go*:

to give flesh and blood meaning in the South African setting to such words as democracy, freedom, liberty. If the Charter is examined it will be seen that freedom means the opening up of the opportunity to all South Africans to live full and abundant lives in terms of country, community and individual.

The defeat of the racist regime of South Africa depends on every fighter for freedom grasping fully the meaning, significance, and purpose of the Freedom Charter. The charter is no patchwork collection of utopian demands, it is no jumble of reforms clothed in socialist

rhetoric, but a uniting force of all the people struggling for democracy and for their national rights; it is therefore a mirror of a South Africa yet to be won. Its 10 clauses expose our national oppression by a racist autocracy and our national exploitation by foreign imperialist interests. Since its adoption in 1955, the Freedom Charter has crystallised the ideological trend of the progressive movements in South Africa.

It is a revolutionary document indeed because its implementation is impossible without the complete dismantling of the whole state of White supremacy and the political and economic foundation on which it is founded. Approached in a proper spirit, the Freedom Charter is indeed a uniting force for those who want liberation in South Africa.

It is with this reason in mind that Nelson Mandela wrote in an article, "Freedom in Our Lifetime," in *Liberation* of June 1956:

Few people will deny, therefore, that the adoption of the Charter is an event of major political significance in the life of this country. . . . Never before has any document or conference been so widely acclaimed and discussed by the democratic movement in South Africa. Never before has any document or conference constituted such a serious and formidable challenge to the racial and anti-popular policies of the country. For the first time in the history of our country the democratic forces, irrespective of race, ideological conviction, party affiliation or religious belief, have renounced and discarded racialism in all its ramifications, clearly defined their aims and objects and united in a common programme of action. (my emphasis)

Yet for the advocates of the Azanian Manifesto this political stand of the Freedom Charter is not revolutionary enough, for they, as the masters of the theory of socialism, want to bring about a socialist workers' republic in "Azania"!² Says the general secretary of Azapo in the October issue of *Drum* magazine: "The problem with the Charter seems to be that it is co-optable by the capitalist structure. The Manifesto of the Azanian people is socialist. The Charterists have a block . . . they get into a dead end street."

Yes, it is true, as we shall demonstrate in greater detail later,³ unlike the Azanian Manifesto (which pretends to be socialist), the Freedom Charter is not a socialist document but a national democratic document. The Freedom Charter is based on the historic realities of our country, and one of those realities is that all Black people, workers and non-workers, are nationally oppressed and are consequently involved in a national democratic revolution. The Freedom Charter thus asserts the necessity

for the creation of a people's government as a principled alternative to racist apartheid rule.

Political struggle is not a game of rag dolls. What appear to be rag dolls to our anti-Freedom Charterists are actually people, men and women struggling against pass laws, Group Areas, Bantu Education, land dispossession, fascist brutality, low wages, super-exploitation, and so on; in short, fighting for national freedom and democracy. To ignore this, to favour only the production of slogans that correspond more with one's fancy than concrete reality, would be childish playing at politics and irresponsibility.

Manifesto of the Azanian People

[The Manifesto of the Azanian People was first adopted at a conference convened by the National Forum Committee in Hammanskraal, north of Pretoria, on June 11-12, 1983. At a second National Forum conference the following year, it was amended, with some minor alterations in terminology and a reordering of the "principles," "rights," and "pledges."

[The following amended version of the manifesto is taken from the August 1984 issue of *Azania Frontline*, published in London by the Azania Liberation Support Committee. The manifesto itself is preceded by an introduction drafted at the second National Forum conference.]

* * *

At the second summit of the National Forum, which met on the 21st-22nd July 1984 at the Patidar Hall in Lenasia, Johannesburg, the Manifesto of the Azanian People was adopted. This programme, which binds the organisations of the National Forum together, is the first document that places the struggle for national liberation in South Africa on a socialist course. Unlike any other alliance of organisations of the oppressed inside the country, it places the demands and interests of the working class in the forefront of the struggle on a principled basis.

Having taken careful cognisance of the growth in the industrial development of South Africa, the growth of the industrial proletariat, and the coming into being of a powerful workers movement, the leadership has attempted to narrow the gap between the consciousness of the masses and a maximum programme of socialist transformation.

Thus the Manifesto becomes a programme to guide the working masses forward in their historic role to end oppression and exploitation and usher in a socialist workers republic.

* * *

Our struggle for national liberation is directed against the historically evolved system of racism and capitalism which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of the population, i.e. the capitalists and their allies, the white workers, and the reactionary sections of the middle

Perhaps the protagonists of the Azanian Manifesto are sincere socialists and not "ideologically lost political bandits" as Zinzi Mandela called them — however, their probable sincerity is not the point. We know of a lot of socialists in South Africa who have great respect for our Freedom Charter, and equally (if not more than anybody else) who fight for its realisation. The point is, why do the "socialist" gentlemen of Azania scorn a democratic programme for a peoples republic? Why do they (for the sake of socialism) want to skip the national democratic revolution, skipping the political interests of the people as a whole? □

classes. The struggle against apartheid, therefore, is no more than the point of departure for our liberatory efforts.

The Black working class inspired by revolutionary consciousness is the driving-force of our struggle for national self-determination in a unitary Azania. They alone can end the system as it stands today because they alone have nothing at all to lose. They have a world to gain in a democratic, anti-racist, and socialist Azania, where the interests of the workers shall be paramount through worker control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. In the socialist republic of Azania, the land and all that belongs to it shall be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people. The usage of the land and all that accrues to it shall be aimed at ending all exploitation.

It is the historic task of the Black working class and its organisations to mobilise the oppressed people in order to put an end to the system of oppression and exploitation by the white ruling class.

Our principles

Successful conduct of the national liberation struggle depends on the firm basis of principle whereby we will ensure that the liberation struggle will not be turned against our people by treacherous and opportunistic "leaders" and liberal influences. The most important of these principles are:

Anti-racism, anti-imperialism, and anti-sexism.

Anti-collaboration with the ruling class and all its allies and political instruments.

Independent working-class organisation, free from bourgeois influences.

Our rights

In accordance with these principles the following rights shall be entrenched in Azania:

The right to work.

State provision of free and compulsory education for all. Education shall be geared towards liberating the Azanian people from all oppression, exploitation, and ignorance.

State provision of adequate and decent housing for all.

State provision for free health, legal, recreational, and other community services that will

2. The name "Azania," for South Africa, was first used by the Pan Africanist Congress, which emerged in the late 1950s out of a split in the ANC. It was subsequently put forward by sectors of the Black Consciousness movement. Other currents, including the ANC, oppose its use, however, since it is derived from an old Arabic slave-trading term for parts of East Africa.

3. In subsequent parts of Mzala's article published in later issues of *Sechaba*.

respond positively to the needs of the people.

Our pledges

In order to bring into effect these rights of the Azanian people, we pledge ourselves to struggle tirelessly for:

The abolition of all laws, institutions, and attitudes that discriminate against our people

Statement of Cape Action League

[The following is a statement by the Cape Action League (CAL), in which Neville Alexander, a key public spokesperson of the National Forum Committee, is a central leader. It is taken from the February 1984 issue of *Azania Frontline*.]

* * *

What we stand for

The CAL is an alliance of over 40 organisations of the exploited and oppressed people of the Western Cape. It was the very first alliance of organisations in South Africa to oppose the President's Council [constitutional] proposals and the Koornhof Bills. The organisations of the CAL understand that the cause of all worker problems is the system of racial capitalism. Under this system, a handful of bosses own the farms, the mines, and the factories and exploit the millions of workers who are forced to work for them.

The struggle of the workers is against this system. This difficult task needs the unity of the organisations of the exploited and the oppressed.

The CAL and UDF

The United Democratic Front (UDF) also claims to stand for unity.

What are the facts?

The organisations that formed the UDF (such as CAHAC and UWO) left the DBAC¹ (now known as CAL) to form the UDF. So it is the UDF that divided and the CAL that unites.

How does the CAL differ from the UDF?

Popular front

The CAL believes that the interests of bosses and workers can never be the same. Therefore, an alliance between workers and bosses (popular front) can only serve the interests of the bosses. The UDF is such a popular front. It includes workers' organisations such as CAHAC and organisations of the bosses, such as the middle-class Western Cape Traders' Association and the children and wives of factory and mine bosses (and Black Sash and the National Union of South African Students).²

1. CAHAC — Cape Area Housing Action Committee; UWO — United Women's Organisation; DBAC — Disorderly Bills Action Committee.

2. The Black Sash is a predominantly white, women's organization, and the National Union of

on the basis of color, sex, religion, language, or class.

The re-integration of the Bantustan human dumping grounds into a unitary Azania.

The formation of trade unions that will heighten revolutionary worker consciousness.

The development of one national culture informed by socialist values. □

Such an alliance will only oppose apartheid. They say "Let us build unity and oppose apartheid." (*UDF News*).

Independent worker organisations

The CAL also opposes apartheid. But we do not believe that it is possible to fight against apartheid without fighting the capitalist system which breeds it. We believe that only the working class can lead the struggle against economic exploitation. Thus the CAL believes that "Our primary task is the building of independent worker organisations, independent of bosses. . . ."

In the UDF, worker organisations have no independence. Point No. 3 of the Draft Principles of UDF states: "All meetings, publications, and activities in the name of the Front will be in accordance with the principles embodied in the Declaration. Reference to (party) political programmes will not be allowed."

Under these conditions the workers' organi-

South African Students is a group of white university students.

sations within the UDF will lose their voice and will not be able to fight for working-class demands. Instead they will simply be supporting voices for middle-class demands.

We, in the CAL, say "that our co-operation is based on *principled unity* by which all tendencies have the right to propagate their programme and the right to criticism. . . ."

In this way the workers' organisations cannot be hijacked by organisations opposed to the real interests of the working class.

Ethnic organisations

The UDF promises to fight against racial and ethnic divisions, yet ethnic organisations like the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress are part of the UDF.

CAL rejects any kind of ethnic organisation. Point 2 of the CAL principles states: "That non-racialism and anti-racialism will not only be an *aim* but a *method* of struggle."

National convention or constituent assembly?

Where is the UDF going? The UDF claims that it hopes to create a "united, non-racial, democratic South Africa." But they call on the apartheid state to convene a *national convention*. At this convention, representatives of the four "racial" groups are supposed to work out the new constitution for South Africa.

We in the CAL say this is *not* the way to solve our problems. We say that only a *constituent assembly* elected on the basis of one person, one vote *after the present system has been removed* will be able to create for our people and our country a constitution which will be acceptable to all. □

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The anti-apartheid fight

United Secretariat resolution on South Africa

[The following resolution was adopted by majority vote of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on October 5.]

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1. The new rise in struggles in South Africa falls into the framework of the general crisis of imperialist domination, opening a new front which could increase the difficulties of the imperialist counteroffensive including in Central America.

The South African mass movement had already been stimulated by the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique. Today the struggles against apartheid constitute the most advanced form of the anti-imperialist struggles in the whole of Black Africa.

The new wave of popular mobilizations in South Africa constitutes an element of first importance for all anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world. The imperialist governments and big capital have all recognized the danger and are each seeking to close the breach that is opening in South Africa.

The place of South Africa in the counterrevolutionary system of imperialism is considerable, as are imperialism's economic interests in this country. The South African regime remains the strong arm of imperialism in southern Africa, and has even contributed to arming the dictatorships in Latin America. The important place that a revolutionary upsurge in South Africa could hold in the future is the product of all these factors.

2. There has been an important change in the political situation in South Africa with the explosion of the present revolt. The process began over a year ago, with first the education boycotts by high school and university students, the boycott of the sham elections proposed by Botha for the Indian and Coloured communities, the miners' strike in September 1984, and then the stayaway (general strike) in the Transvaal in November 1984.

This period has been marked by many workplace conflicts, the workers going into struggle on wage demands, demands for improvement in working conditions, or in defense of trade union rights or against sackings.

The present upsurge of activity and radicalization is marked by a more and more direct link between a series of struggles that each involve different social sectors of the oppressed masses: youth, workers, township dwellers.

This same tendency toward unity is also noted at the level to which the struggle has broken through the ethnic compartmentalization that the regime has striven to establish through

the apartheid laws, introducing divisions among the oppressed by classifying them into distinct racial categories.

This desire for unity on the part of the oppressed population is not yet, however, sufficient to overcome all the racial and ethnic prejudices that the apartheid system has succeeded in introducing among the masses. This situation remains the product of a division of the population in social and working life, and in their place of residence.

But the process under way represents a considerable political advance and seriously destabilizes the organization of racial segregation, the basis of the present regime. In the framework of the new relationship of forces, the reform proposals put forward by Botha in the end satisfied neither the masses nor imperialism.

One of the key moments of this tendency toward unity in action was the stayaway in the Transvaal in November 1984, where among other things a united front was established including the independent trade unions and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

This strike particularly showed the growing importance of the workers' movement through its trade unions, without which no action of such scale would be possible. The imminent formation of a unitary federation bringing together the majority of the independent unions will be an event of considerable importance which can only encourage the activity of the Black working class.

All this illustrates the level of development already attained by the mass movement. Two main forms of organization have particularly developed since 1980 on complementary fronts: community associations organizing people in their place of residence; and non-racial independent trade unions which now organize a substantial section of the Black (non-white) working class.

It is the problem of combining these two forms of organization of the movement that must be resolved in order to pass to a higher stage in the confrontation with the regime. The real and effective unification of the different forms of organization in the popular movement has not been able to be realized either in the UDF or in the African National Congress (ANC).

The present level of popular struggle poses urgently the question of self-defense of the masses and initiatives taken on this question, so that the potential for offensive combat by the mass movement can emerge. The present lack of response to these questions is already a problem for the development of mass mobili-

zations.

The struggle for emancipation, which has just experienced a new upsurge, will therefore be a long and complex struggle. Its outcome will depend, among other things, on the result of the political orientations on tactical and strategic questions which will be adopted on the basis of the present experiences.

3. In fact, the radicalization of the mass movement and the political objectives that it is taking on have brought to the forefront the political differences and strategic debates that divide the different currents and organizations within it. On tactical questions, as on the long-term objectives, there are different orientations within the mass movement.

Among the currents existing, there is first of all the ANC, which has mass support in certain sectors of the mass movement, particularly in the civic associations, and which enjoys a wide audience beyond its organizational network.

There is also the Black Consciousness movement, and particularly the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo). Among the main organized currents one should also include certain churches, members of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, that have a specific political practice and have an active militant base.

Finally the leaderships of certain of the principal unions act independently in the mobilizations by following their own perspectives and appear as political forces in their own right in the present political diversity.

The South African workers' movement is the product of modifications in the social structure of the country following the industrialization process of the 1960s. The importance of the industrial proletariat in the struggles ahead is thus first of all the product of its numerical reality and its degree of concentration, that is, its social weight in South African society.

During the last period the Black working class has proved its capacity to introduce its own methods of action and organization into the struggle against the apartheid system, having forged its first weapons in the struggle around economic demands and for trade union rights.

4. The present struggle in many ways started on democratic and national demands, but not exclusively. The oppressed masses want to get out from under the yoke of the racist state, they want an egalitarian, democratic, and non-racial state. They demand universal suffrage without discrimination of any sort, under the slogan "one person, one vote."

The immense majority of the layers of the oppressed Black population is interested in the realization of these democratic and national demands. But already, at this stage of the mobilization, demands have come forward in the workers' struggles directed to the bosses and the state that clearly link the question of apartheid to that of capitalist domination.

The reason for this combination lies in the interwoven history of capitalism and racist institutions in this country. Apartheid is an instrument of racial domination but it is also a way of guaranteeing a specific exploitation of

the work force. Apartheid is the specific form that capitalist exploitation has taken in this country. And that has immediate consequences in the way in which the workers' movement identifies its class enemies, including in the democratic and national struggles.

It is true that from a certain point of view apartheid is full of contradictions for certain sectors of capitalism (limited domestic market, lack of qualified work forces, etc.). But today it is the direct danger of revolutionary explosion that has forced a section of the South African ruling class to try to introduce reforms.

The liberals, who are essentially supported by a section of South African finance and industrial capital, have thus embarked on the course of trying to find a political solution by meeting the ANC or trying to moderate the UDF.

But precisely because of the link between capitalism and apartheid they are incapable of proposing the abolition of all discriminatory laws and the introduction of universal suffrage. Their attempt at reform will not for the moment go beyond the federative proposals that deliberately ignore the popular hope for a single non-racial nation. In the last instance, the real compromise that the liberals will have to make will be that which they will make with the rest of their class, that is, the reactionary sectors today represented by the National Party.

The new situation in South Africa has a worldwide importance, given the strategic importance of this country for imperialism and the scope of the economic interests.

Up until now, imperialism had unflinchingly supported the racist regime. The new situation requires certain political rectifications in order to find a solution to the present crisis. Certain sectors of the banks and multinationals have undertaken to put pressure on the South African regime through a number of financial and commercial mechanisms.

The immediate scope of these sanctions should not hide the fact that the imperialist countries fundamentally seek the stability of the capitalist regime in South Africa and want to avoid a radicalization of the present movement. To achieve this, they rely more and more on the liberal currents and South African big capital.

5. For all these reasons, the South African revolutionary process will be in line with the social, economic, and political reality of the country, that is, the reality of its class structure, which gives the industrial proletariat a central role in unifying the oppressed masses in the struggle against apartheid.

The popular movement strives above everything else to liquidate the apartheid regime through the formation of a single, non-racial nation, through the question of equal civil and political rights, and through the land question.

While we must pay the greatest attention to the immediate struggle for these demands which are in the interests of all the oppressed, it is nevertheless decisive that the workers' movement should furnish the mass movement

with its leadership.

The strengthening of the workers' movement and the construction of a recognized revolutionary proletarian leadership are thus necessary tasks to prevent the present struggles ending in stalemate or dead end, without even having been able to meet the main democratic demands. A proletarian leadership will be the only guarantee that the democratic and national questions are fully resolved.

The real, complete solution to these ques-

tions can only be carried out by the dictatorship of the proletariat as the decisive point in a process of permanent revolution. Even if certain socialist tasks must wait for later, only the dictatorship of the proletariat is capable of fulfilling and defending the demands of the national democratic revolution. This is possible in South Africa because the social and political relations existing in the country are ready to bring the proletariat to power at the head of the oppressed and exploited masses. □

Solidarity campaign called for, participation of unions is key

[The following statement was adopted by majority vote of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International at its meeting in early October.]

* * *

The mounting revolutionary mass mobilizations of the people of South Africa against the apartheid regime demand the broadest possible support and active solidarity throughout the world. The Fourth International calls on all its sections to place a high priority on this work, helping to organize the most powerful united action against the brutal repression of the racist South African government, for the freedom of Nelson Mandela and all political and trade-union prisoners, and against the complicity of the imperialist governments with the apartheid regime.

The call to break all ties with the South African government, divestment campaigns aimed at companies doing business in South Africa, opposition to sales of the Krugerrand, boycott of all sporting events with South African teams, and the forging of direct links with and concrete support for the struggling civic associations, independent trade unions, student organizations, churches, and other organizations — these are the kind of solidarity actions that have already been taken. They must be broadened, deepened, and intensified, especially within the organized workers' movement in all countries.

The goal of this international campaign is the progressive isolation of the South African regime on all levels, and the growing active in-

volvement of working people the world over as they throw their weight behind the courageous and determined battle being waged by their sisters and brothers of South Africa to bring down the hated apartheid regime.

The South African mass movement is internally strongly differentiated on the political, trade union, or association front. The press of the International and its sections should take this differentiation into account.

Solidarity work should be undertaken in an identical fashion for all the components of the mass movement, without sectarianism or exclusion. In the solidarity campaigns or committees that our sections participate in we oppose all sectarian practices that consist of only really supporting one section of the organizations representative of a section of the oppressed and fighting against apartheid.

We propose that these different organizations be invited to attend and speak at mass actions. We also call on workers' organizations to send fact-finding and solidarity delegations to South Africa.

In the workplaces we call on the trade unions to participate in the solidarity structures. At the same time we aim to get them to take on specific solidarity tasks in relation to the independent South African trade unions (particularly those that correspond to their industrial sector) through appropriate trade union aid, the popularization of their struggles and press, and possibly "twinning."* □

*Twinning is the practice of a particular city or union developing solidarity with a corresponding city or union in South Africa. —IP

Anti-apartheid protests in Africa

In various African countries, numerous rallies, marches, and other actions have taken place to protest the racist apartheid regime and to express solidarity with the struggles of the South African and Namibian peoples.

In **Burkina** (formerly Upper Volta) in West Africa, hundreds of workers, students, and women turned out October 11 for a march down Nelson Mandela Avenue through the heart of Ouagadougou, the capital. "Free Man-

dela!" the marchers chanted, "Pieter Botha to the stake!"

Among the declarations read at the concluding rally was one by the mass-based Committees for the Defense of the Revolution of Kadiogo Province, proclaiming the CDR members' "firm support to the legitimate struggle of the peoples of southern Africa mobilized within the ANC and SWAPO" — the African National Congress of South Africa

and the South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia.

The featured speaker at the rally was Ahmed Qono, the ANC's representative for West Africa. Qono hailed the Burkinabè government's active support for the struggles in southern Africa. He also hailed a decision by Burkinabè gold miners to contribute one day's pay to support the struggle of Black South African miners.

DOCUMENTS

Nicaragua's 'state of emergency'

Borge explains measures to fight counterrevolutionary intrigue and terror

[Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega announced October 15 that the state of emergency already in effect was being extended. Thirteen articles of the Statute on Rights and Guarantees of the Nicaraguan People were suspended. These included the right to habeas corpus, to freedom of expression, to strike, and to travel.

[The state of emergency was first instituted in 1982, as part of the country's defense effort against the mercenary war organized and financed by the U.S. government. In mid-1984, the government lifted some of the restrictions temporarily during the country's presidential election campaign. The elections were held Nov. 4, 1984.

[A decree in April of this year continued that policy for another six months. The new decree reimposes the restrictions that had been lifted.

[Earlier on the same day that the measures were announced, the Ministry of the Interior seized the first issue of a newspaper that Monsignor Bismarck Carballo, a high-ranking Catholic prelate, attempted to publish without legal authorization. The publication was described as "highly political in openly attacking the policy of defense of the revolution, and especially in attacking the Patriotic Military Service." Carballo, who is also general manager of Radio Católica, is a spokesman for the Catholic hierarchy.

[Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo, head of the Nicaraguan Catholic Church, has spent most of the last five months since his elevation to cardinal traveling around the country preaching "reconciliation" with the mercenaries attacking Nicaragua. His position is identical to the line of the U.S. government, which demands dialogue between the government of Nicaragua and the counterrevolutionaries at war against the country.

[Closely linked to these forces are the capitalists of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP).

[Two days after Ortega announced the emergency measures, Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge spoke at an event commemorating the sixth anniversary of the Ministry of the Interior. Borge, as minister of the in-

In **Botswana**, which borders on South Africa to the north, hundreds of students of the University of Botswana and other higher education institutions marched through the streets of Gaborone, the capital, October 18. The demonstrators carried placards condemning apartheid and calling on foreign corporations to withdraw from South Africa. They observed a moment of silence in honor of Benjamin Moloise, an ANC member who was executed in South Africa that same morning.

In **Mauritius**, an island state in the Indian Ocean, off Africa's east coast, several dozen demonstrators turned out September 28 to protest a Mauritius-to-Durban, South Africa, yacht race. They gathered on the rocks just outside the Grand Baie Yacht Club with anti-apartheid signs and banners. Just before the race was to begin, a small boat with an anti-apartheid slogan on its sail slipped in among the competing yachts. □

terior, is responsible for state security, the police, and the administration of justice.

[The following is Borge's speech at that event. The translation from the Spanish text and the footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

There is no way to understand the challenging duties of the Ministry of the Interior without placing them in the dramatic context of our blood, our poverty, and the heroism of our people. There is no way to understand our complex task without seeing the treacherous daggers wielded by the preachers of submission, by the economic harassment, and by the diabolical traps of U.S. policy, which is more and more taking on an offensive character, offensive in every sense of the word.

It has always been an offensive policy, from the primitive Monroe Doctrine to the incredibly cruel and sophisticated Reagan Doctrine.

U.S. aggression against Nicaragua began before — long before — the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution. When Walker¹ seized control of Nicaragua, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's father was barely a teenager. When the U.S. Marines invaded Nicaragua in 1912, nobody was talking about the "East-West conflict." When they went after [Augusto] Sandino, there were those who tried to justify the criminal intervention by denouncing Mexico as "the Bolshevik threat."

The pretexts change. But today, as before, the purpose is the same: to dominate our people politically, economically, and culturally. This has become the rule: political change here, at times a simple readjustment within the ruling class, provokes the threat of intervention or intervention itself.

It was in the context of Yankee intervention that the reformist government of José Santos Zelaya in 1907 instinctively and futilely supported the Peace Treaty of the Central American Countries.

As it would today, the natural suspicion of

1. William Walker, a U.S. adventurer, established himself as president of Nicaragua in 1855.

that time gave rise to caution. So there was a demand that the treaty be countersigned by the United States.

The agreement guaranteed the self-determination of the Central American peoples. It prohibited the establishment of bases from which one country could attack another. Differences were to be resolved in the Central American Court of Justice. That magnificent document established the civilized concept of negotiation and excluded the use of force and war.

Three years later, with the treaty in full force, the U.S. Marines invaded Nicaragua.

What good did international law do? What good did the signatures at the bottom of the document do? What good did the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of the Central American Countries, countersigned by the United States, do? The peace treaty was signed in ink, and it was broken in blood by Yankee imperialism, whose essential nature is, unfortunately, historically unchangeable.

But today it would not be as easy as it was in the past to break a peace treaty, if it is a real peace treaty and not an act of capitulation. The watchful eyes of the world would make sure that it's respected, at least in the essentials. A just agreement would, of course, involve mutual concessions. The U.S. would inevitably have to end its direct or indirect military aggression against Nicaragua. Probably a certain coexistence would be achieved, although by no means an end to their hostile policies. As long as imperialism exists, the reason for its arrogance will exist.

This U.S. arrogance recalls that phrase of Cervantes: "Where force is the reality, all rights are lost." For the past, cannons were their principal diplomatic tool. Now it's the aircraft carriers, rapid deployment forces, and the nuclear arsenal.

It has been reported publicly — and the various sources of the ministries of the interior and exterior confirm — that at this point the U.S. is not interested in international tribunals, unless they're at their service. They're not interested in multilateral or bilateral treaties, except to break them. They're not interested in secret or public promises. They're not interested in

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world peace or regional peace. They're only interested in their hegemony, whatever the cost.

Imperialism is not interested in justice or democracy, freedom or human rights, economic development of the impoverished countries or fair trade. They're not interested in Contadora or Manzanillo² or the World Court, except to reject them. They're not interested in the Charter of the United Nations, except to violate it.

Imperialism is not moved by the plight of the debtor nations. It doesn't care about the cruelty of apartheid, except to support it. It doesn't mourn for the mass murders carried out by the Zionist brutality based in Israel, a country which we would never want to have for a neighbor. It's not concerned about the sadistic tyranny of Pinochet, except to side with him.

Imperialism doesn't even care about the respect of its own people. It isn't impressed by the risk of turning our planet, including the United States, into a desert of skulls under an insane policy that challenges, not the galaxies, but human life itself.

Their ruling class doesn't care about the people they're using at any particular moment, whom they will discard like a tissue when they no longer need them. They're not interested in the dignity or sovereignty of other people. They're only interested in subjugation and degeneration, voices that plead, knees on the earth, war, and the enslavement of nations.

Imperialism is not interested in Central America, except as its own property. It's not interested in Nicaragua, except as a conquered possession, with the light of its example extinguished.

The only possible option to confront this apocalyptic monster is firmness, political maturity, patriotism, the dignity of the people and the political leaders of the world, the decency of at least some Latin American governments, and U.S. public opinion. The latter is just now on the threshold of its adolescence, sadly misinformed and assailed by illogic.

We repeat: it would not be easy for the United States to break a real peace treaty. That's why the Reagan administration opposed the Contadora Act in September 1984, even without any serious arguments. That's why they're doing everything possible to have it transformed into an act of surrender and not a peace treaty.

We are convinced that it is necessary to continue to encourage negotiations based on mutual concessions. Nicaragua's views have been presented in the Contadora discussions by officers of the Foreign Ministry, and they will be laid out explicitly next Monday in the United Nations by brother Daniel Ortega.

Our task in the Ministry of the Interior is to continue to confront boldly all of the activities — diplomacy, international intrigue, and inter-

nal activity — of the enemy's special intelligence services, which carry out critical activities to complement their policy of intimidation, extortion, subversion, and distraction.

We Nicaraguans today, as in the time of Zelaya, are fighting to safeguard our borders and to live in peace. That's why we agreed to sign the Contadora peace treaty of 1984.

Our desire for peace is counterposed to the specific acts carried out by the U.S. government. Between 1967 and 1981, the Honduran government received \$14 million worth of military aid. In 1982 alone they received twice as much as they had received in the previous 14 years. During the last two years they have received on the average 20 times as much per year as they received in 1980. Direct military aid to El Salvador has increased by an even greater amount.

Honduras has been converted into an incredible military launching pad. Today it is not only the logistical center for the counterrevolutionaries, but also a base to spread U.S. intervention through the region.

The extent of the Honduran military power, their almost unlimited aid to the counterrevolutionaries, their U.S. backing, and the fragile thread of a border in a region engulfed in conflict, make that country a growing, objective danger to Central American stability.

The government of Honduras is without doubt a Reagan government. But it lacks prestige in world public opinion. That explains, in part, the effort to transfer the conflicts to the border with Costa Rica, whose democratic tradition gives it a certain prestige, in order to weaken the unity of the people and their solidarity with the Sandinista People's Revolution, and to find a more or less acceptable pretext for a direct aggression.

Nevertheless, it has not been easy for the United States to drag Costa Rica into its insane policy of contrived pretexts. The desire for peace by the Costa Rican people and the obvious nature of the U.S. maneuver put objective

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limits on the criminal scheme of confrontation between Nicaragua and Costa Rica, a country with which we are proud to be neighbors. The recent statements by President [Alberto] Monge about normalizing relations with Nicaragua are encouraging.

The Yankee strategy includes unlimited support for Honduras and unlimited financing and encouragement for the counterrevolutionary war of the Somozaist [National] Guard. The scheme for us to smoke the peace pipe with the Guard is in no way separate from the plan to put them in power, to inflict on us a disease that would be more deadly for the revolution than cancer or even AIDS.

If they're interested in peace talks, why don't they support the cease-fire that we have achieved, with so much difficulty, with the armed groups of MISURA and MISURA-

SATA,³ instead of trying to block those talks. We're looking for peace with those who propose an end to the war, not with those who demand an impossible capitulation.

Just as they did in the past, but now with more resources and with their arrogance full-grown, with the same aim with which they liquidated the progressive government of [Jacobo] Arbenz in Guatemala [in 1954], and smashed the Constitutionalist movement in the Dominican Republic [1965], they now want to wipe the Sandinista revolution off the map, using first the counterrevolutionary forces or, if circumstances permit, direct intervention.

But to carry out their plan to liquidate us, they have to have internal allies. They did in 1856 with Walker, giving rise to the National War; they did in 1912, when Benjamín Zeledón challenged them; they did in 1927, and they broke their teeth on the iron fist of Augusto C. Sandino.

The ghosts of Díaz, Chamorro, and Moncada⁴ are still alive. Today their names are Robelo, Cruz, Pastora, Bolaños,⁵ and others, who today travel throughout the country asking Abel to pardon Cain, praying to the heavens for forgiveness for Judas Iscariot, and insulting the whip that drove the money-changers out of the temple. Through speeches, sermons, editorials, and their incredible support for intervention — the 30 pieces of silver again — they shamelessly submit to the CIA, which is in charge of the counterrevolutionary plan internally and abroad.

The U.S. government's plan is acquiring extremely dangerous dimensions in its efforts to liquidate the revolution.

Although it's true that we have made important advances in the military confrontation, the Nicaraguan people are giving, not a small sacrifice, but a veritable river of blood and tears. Neutralization of the counterrevolutionary military forces, in the present stage of the war, as was recently explained by Commander Joaquín Cuadra, has led the enemy to develop desperate plans, including the use of mercenaries from various countries and pressure to get the Honduran army into a confrontation.

At the same time they make a priority of the terrorist plan for the cities, especially Managua, first trying to establish an atmosphere of disorientation and discontent based on the economic limitations and on manipulation of religious sentiments.

The sacrifice of the Nicaraguan people is enormous. We have been brought to the extremes of economic crisis and poverty. There are shortages of products, and the speculators, who objectively are playing imperialism's

3. Two organizations based among the Miskito Indians on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast that had taken up arms against the Sandinista government.

4. Adolfo Díaz, Emiliano Chamorro, and José María Moncada were Nicaraguan presidents of the 1920s and '30s who collaborated with U.S. forces of intervention.

5. Alfonso Robelo, Arturo Cruz, and Edén Pastora initially participated in the revolutionary government, but later defected to join counterrevolution. Enrique Bolaños, a wealthy cotton grower, is currently president of COSEP.

2. The Contadora Group, comprising the governments of Panama, Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela, has made several proposals to reduce conflict in Central America. In early 1985 the U.S. government broke off talks with Nicaraguan representatives at Manzanillo, Mexico.

game, are profiting, challenging the limits of the people's patience.

They have adopted new and very dangerous forms of terrorist aggression, in the military, political, and ideological fields.

Some foreigners without respect for the dignity of the nation are playing a very active role — defying the laws of the revolution, copying remarks by the president of the United States, rejecting the Patriotic Military Service, and pressuring for an inconceivable dialogue with the counterrevolution.

With brazen lies or half-truths adjusted to fit their counterrevolutionary doctrine, they want to undermine the revolutionary power. They challenge the authorities and the laws of the country with unheard of boldness, and when the government calls them to order they accuse us of being totalitarian. They make false statements to the international press, distorting the facts. And with resources obtained from international groups, they contribute to finance a reactionary political party.

Glory, sadness, and joy march in close order in the difficult transition from a society which is superficially for the majority to a society where production and consumption are based on the needs of the majority, not a small privileged sector. This is a society that will unstintingly give the land to the peasants, as is

It's a state of emergency to defend the workers, not to repress them . . .

now being done; that will overcome discrimination against women; that will unequivocally defend equality; that will convert solidarity into a two-way street, given without restrictions or conditions; that will organize the future as if the future were the only utopia possible on earth.

Constructing a new society is a right that we defend tooth and nail, with our hearts and minds, even with our lives. "Not to do so," as Commander Luis Carrión said at the fifth anniversary of the Sandinista police, "would be for the revolution to commit suicide."

"Could anyone imagine the revolution in Nicaragua with the National Guard and the Office of National Security still intact, even if Somoza were gone. Would it have been possible," Commander Carrión asked at that time, "to have the agrarian reform and the free organization of trade unions, if the big capitalists continued to control the banks, the land, the laws, and the ministries involved."

No, none of that would have been possible if we had not created a revolutionary state, committed to defending the interests of the people.

This firmness underlies the measures announced recently by the revolutionary government: the expansion of the state of emergency as an expression of the determination of the revolution to block destabilization efforts led by the U.S. government. Anything that harms the stability of the revolution is tied to the goal of liquidating the Nicaraguan nation and is, objectively, unpatriotic.

We knew that this decision by the revolutionary government would be manipulated around the world. The [U.S. radio station] Voice of America says in an editorial this morning that "the Sandinista regime has taken off the mask and now appears before the world for what it is: a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship." And it goes on to say that in Nicaragua "it's forbidden to move from one city to another without prior authorization, freedom of speech has been officially abolished, etc., etc."

The BBC of London reports that "even the right of asylum was suspended." The reporter for a Belgian radio station, echoing these biased interpretations, says that Nicaragua "is in a virtual state of siege." Others talk of "martial law," and there are some who have reported a curfew.

These campaigns of misinformation will undoubtedly continue, but sooner or later they have to run up against the truth. The whole world is witness to the fact that, even with the state of emergency, there is complete freedom to enter and leave the country.

Common sense shows that nobody could prohibit the right of asylum, which is part of international law.

They have to be truly shameless to say that there is a state of siege or martial law here.

They have to be blind to say that the state of emergency denies religious freedom, in a country where the revolution has demonstrated in a thousand ways that there is no religious persecution, and never will be.

We emphatically affirm that freedom of religion is a right that will be respected in Nicaragua. Our people can be assured that they can go on, as always, exercising their religious views.

The activities of the National Assembly, the life of the political parties that have legal standing, the autonomy process for the Atlantic Coast, these will be in no way restricted by the state of emergency. If anything, the decree will facilitate their development. All legal political activity is permitted, as well as any public activity with prior authorization from the appropriate authority.

Despite the inevitable lies and slanders, it was necessary to take this action to avoid subversion of the revolutionary authority and lawlessness aimed at destabilization and at deepening the aggression and the war.

The more violent and contagious a war is — and I am not referring only to the military war — the broader the state of emergency will have to be. This is obvious, here or in any other part of the world. And if anyone wants to end the emergency measures, they must also aspire to achieve peace, maintaining, of course, the conquests of the people, not canceling the future and bringing back the nightmare of the past.

This is a state of emergency without a curfew, or martial law, or tear gas, or restrictions on normal travel, despite the mercenary armies, the assassination attempts, and the sabotage organized from abroad.

It's a state of emergency to defend the workers, not to repress them; to defend the aspira-

tions of the peasants, artisans, women, students, and professionals, not to deny them.

It's a state of emergency designed not to violate the law and the rights of the Nicaraguan people, but rather to protect the existence of those rights.

It's a state of emergency designed to smash the ugly head of destabilization.

It's a state of emergency that will in no way become a shortcut to allow incompetence, bureaucracy, and abuses, but on the contrary will be used to confront them more energetically.

It's a state of emergency to defend the nation, not to hand it over.

It's a state of emergency only to tie the hands of the enemies of the people.

We would be seriously irresponsible as revolutionary leaders if we did not take the necessary steps, one by one, to block the efforts of imperialism to undermine the economy, sabotage production, and cause hunger, fear, apathy, distrust, insecurity, and confusion.

Nobody can doubt that the U.S. government is determined to reestablish the old order in Nicaragua, just as no one can doubt that there are minority sectors of Nicaraguan society who share this goal. This plan of destruction seeks to separate the people from their vanguard, weaken their confidence in the future, and create anxiety.

There are now close to 2,500 counterrevolutionaries in Honduras, as you already know, completely equipped and ready to infiltrate the country, to join those who are now in Nicaragua causing terror and death. As you also know, they have begun the distribution of the \$27 million for the counterrevolution.

In the midst of the economic crisis and the war, we are compelled to make all the sacrifices necessary to ensure the harvests of coffee and cotton in the coming months. There is still speculation with some products, which affects the people economically. Some countries in the area are openly joining the aggression

The only goal of these attacks is to create the conditions for foreign intervention . . .

against Nicaragua, a step which has been reinforced by the insolent attitude of the government of Ecuador.⁶

Both the statements of the U.S. government and an evaluation of the political conjuncture of the United States and the Contadora process confirm what our intelligence and counterintelligence sources have found: in the coming weeks the counterrevolution and its mercenary army will begin a new offensive to stop, as far as possible, the process — which many specialists consider irreversible — of their strategic military defeat.

They have to strike some blows to revive their sinking morale, looking for some victory to halt the syndrome of defeat and to justify the

6. On October 11 the government of Ecuador announced its decision to break diplomatic relations with Nicaragua.

aid that the Yankees give them.

Just today we received from the head of State Security the following report:

TO: Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge
Minister of the Interior
FROM: Guerrilla and Brigade Commander
Lenín Cerna Juárez
Chief of the General Directorate of State Security
RE: Termination of Terrorist Group in Managua
DATE: Oct. 17, 1985
Compañero Commander:

Fraternal Revolutionary Greetings. This report is to inform you that the "Scorpion" case has now been completely clarified, with the termination of the terrorist unit that had infiltrated into Managua.

The following persons have been detained in Managua:

1. Alberto Stulzer
2. Alfonso Chavarría
3. Guillermo Moreno
4. Alejandro Castillo
5. Digna Peralta

This terrorist unit had as its objective to blow up the following places.

- the National Bus Authority (ENABUS)
- the National Interurban Bus Authority (ENABIN)
- the office of Aeroflot
- the electrical substation in the Ciudad Sandino neighborhood
- the Belo Horizonte supermarket.

These activities had been planned by the former National Guard Colonel Enrique Bermúdez, head of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN),⁷ and Carlos Acevedo, a former member of the Nicaraguan Workers Federation (CTN)⁸ in charge of terrorist activities for the FDN.

They planned to carry out these activities in October to coincide with the offensive that the mercenaries would launch in the northern part of the country. Explosives, detailed in the attached document, were seized from them, along with plans of some of the institutions they intended to sabotage.

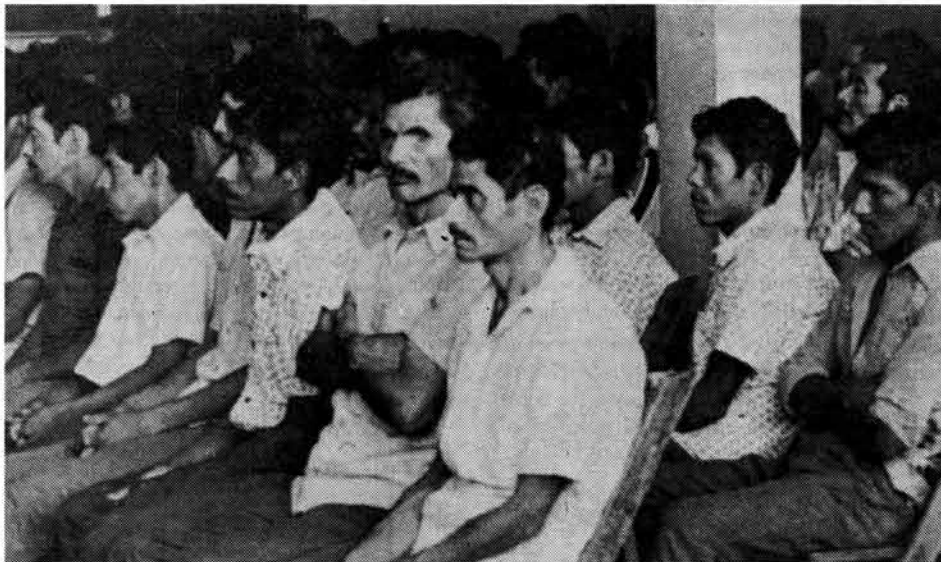
Ten days ago these elements received the order to begin operations, through a radio message broadcast in code by the counterrevolutionary "15th of September" radio station, which did not know that they had already been detained.

We want to point out that the directors, officers, and combatants of the General Directorate of State Security want to dedicate this effort to the sixth anniversary of our Ministry of the Interior.

Fraternally,
(signed) Lenín Cerna

The real dimensions of this plan will be reported soon by the compañeros of State Security.

Who can doubt that we are at war? This is not a war of tin soldiers. This is a real war, with automatic rifles, mortars, RPG-7's, and explosives in the hands of the enemy. This is not a war with John Wayne firing warning



Barricada

Part of a group of 129 Nicaraguans arrested for being part of a "support network" for the U.S.-organized mercenary group FDN. They were presented to the media in the northern city of Matagalpa by the Ministry of the Interior on October 18.

shots. This is a war with thousands of men, led by officers of the National Guard, dying and killing. It is not a war with "Rambo." It is a war that is turning this country into a nation riddled with bullet wounds, impoverished, and in a permanent state of alert.

This is a country at war. It's a war with thousands of dead, a destructive war where the killing of children, fires, and sabotage are clear for all to see.

In the midst of this war and the economic crisis caused by the aggression, should we permit the formation of a political and ideological internal front of terrorism? That is, should we invite the scorpion into our shirt to sting us?

The defense of our power, the moral obligation to defend the only possible plan to safeguard the future of the nation, the construction of a new, strong, and abundant society, compels us to make use of this law; to be as forceful as necessary. It compels us to make rational use of the authority, which was not taken in a coup or given to us by anyone, but was earned through enormous sacrifices, a flowing river of blood.

Not to take on this task would be to fall into the ridicule of history, to allow ourselves to be overcome, as Sandinistas never have, by cowardice; it would be a crime against the people.

To strain every nerve and muscle in defense of the revolution is the task we must face up to in order to combat all the attacks against the stability of the nation. The only goal of these attacks is to create the conditions for foreign intervention.

Revolutionary energy is nothing but the strengthening of our lines of defense in the context of a war which also requires economic trenches and ideological combatants.

Whoever violates revolutionary legality — the legality now in effect in Nicaragua — will have to accept the consequences within the judicial context that has been laid out.

The markings, color, location, or size of these transgressors doesn't matter. Our combat against the enemies who are organized from outside the country should be matched by our struggle against the internal enemies — those who openly plan to become a fifth column for

The Ministry of the Interior belongs to the people, and it acts against the enemies of the people . . .

imperialism, as well as those who, disguised as saints or whatever, block or divert the course of this flowing river that is the revolution.

The Ministry of the Interior is responsible for confronting every illegal act of sabotage, terror, or deliberate falsehood. We have done so and we will continue to do so, with clenched fists, calm gaze, and steady hands, faithful until the end to the interests of the people, the strategic interests of the revolution.

We will carry out to the letter the unswerving will of our National Directorate — in the tasks we have been assigned — to defend the revolution; just as our beloved brothers and sisters of the Sandinista People's Army are doing daily in epic feats of heroism; with the same generosity as our cadre who struggle at the head of the masses; with the same enthusiasm as the cadre of the party structures of the FSLN; and with the same willingness to sacrifice and confidence in victory of those who gave their lives for the country.

I mean by this to say that the confrontation is to the death. Each and every one of us has a vital role to play in a struggle in which there will necessarily be victors and vanquished.

Immersed in this battle for survival as a na-

7. The FDN is the largest mercenary group and the most closely tied to the CIA. Its leaders are former members of Somoza's National Guard.

8. The CTN is a right-wing union federation that was formed in the early 1960s by the Social Christian Party (PSC). Shortly after the victory of the revolution it grew to include 98 affiliated unions. By mid-1984 only 17 remained, split into two factions. One supports the Social Democratic Party, which did not participate in the elections. The other (CTN-Autonomous) supports the People's Social Christian Party (PPSC), which did.

tion, like a doorway opening onto a society of equality, today we commemorate the sixth anniversary of the Ministry of the Interior under the clear and penetrating gaze of Pedro Arauz.⁹ Each of us, combatants of the people, makes it our purpose to advance in this struggle in which we will neither ask for nor give quarter, in a battle where we are and will be in the front lines of defense, not only in the traditional fields, but also in firmness, solidarity, steadfastness, collective participation, and in tempering the steel of a new human being.

We are going to turn every internal structure into a work of creativity. Together with all the Sandinistas, with all the people, we are going to storm the earthly paradise, to give better answers to the great, daily problems of our society.

Our active participation will be a contribution to guarantee the life of the society that we are going to build with calluses, with sweat, and with blood.

Yesterday, granting promotions and military ranks to officers of the Ministry of the Interior, we wanted to recognize their self-sacrificing labors in a way that goes beyond verbal expressions. But that doesn't mean that we are ignoring those who were not promoted within the chain of command, but who continue ascending day by day in our recognition and in the respect earned through their work.

This recognition is for the men and women who — with moving self-sacrifice, committed, inured to hardships, faithful to their principles,

Since the triumph of the revolution there has not been an important act of sabotage carried out by an internally organized group . . .

and experienced — are indeed the sentinels of the people's happiness who do their full share on the ramparts to defend our rights to history, to survival, and to progress.

The officers promoted yesterday have a relatively high degree of professionalism, and many have received technical courses in Nicaragua and other countries. But they were really promoted in the harsh encounters with delinquency, counterrevolution, and imperialism.

These men and women are the ones responsible for the fact that the counterrevolution has not created an internal front in the cities. It is they who have neutralized terrorism, sabotage, and the plans to assassinate leaders of the revolutionary process. Since the triumph of the revolution there has not been an important act of sabotage or terror carried out by an internally organized group, as Commander Manuel Calderón pointed out recently. The fire in Corinto, the attack on the airport, and the mining of the ports were all, without exception, or-

ganized by the CIA from abroad.

To a large degree the state of emergency has contributed and will contribute in the future to neutralizing terror and death.

These men and women are responsible for the fact that delinquency has been reduced from more than 34,000 crimes in 1980 to fewer than 9,000 in 1985. Thanks to them the prisoners — delinquents and counterrevolutionaries — have the opportunity to be reeducated and reintegrated into society, through a humane and clear policy. There are more than 600 prisoners on open or semiopen farms, and more than 4,000 who are engaged in socially useful jobs.

It's the young combatants of the Ministry of the Interior who control entry into and exit from the country, who prevent and fight fires, who are the heroic commandos of the "Pablo Ubeda"¹⁰ detachments, crouching in the cold of ambushes inevitably fatal for the enemy.

It's the men and women like those who have penetrated into the ranks of the enemy to discover their sinister plans, with strength — the most heroic of all — with conviction — the most resolute of all — they are men and women who disguise themselves as enemies of the people, being in fact their most loyal stewards. They are the anonymous soldiers of silence, to whom in their perilous battle stations we send our recognition, our admiration and respect.

In the Ministry of the Interior the stature of women's participation has been raised, reaffirming, as we already knew, their clarity, efficiency, and capacity for work and leadership.

Commandante Doris María Tijerino, the world's only woman police chief on a national level; Assistant Commander María Leticia Valle, chief of the rearguard, from the General Directorate of Services and Finances; Captain María Lourdes Casco, chief of the High Command; Captain Ana Isabel Morales, chief of the Directorate of Immigration and Naturalization; Assistant Commander Eleanora Rocha, second in command of the General Directorate of State Security, for political work; Captain Nelba Blandón, from the Directorate of Communications Media; and an impressive number of assistant chiefs and department and section heads testify to the role that women are playing in the Ministry of the Interior.

Dozens of *compañeros* from the Ministry of the Interior, actually hundreds of *compañeros* from the Ministry of the Interior, have fallen in the conflict, and surely others will fall, because this struggle is like childbirth with blood. We have to pay a price in death to gain the life of the nation. The people of Nicaragua and the *compañeros* of the National Directorate should know that this group has offered, and will offer, without haggling, its quota of blood in the common effort. We are constituted as part of the people, we are the people, the tireless eyes of the masses.

The Ministry of the Interior belongs to the

people, like all of the organs of the revolution, and it acts against the enemies of the people. It belongs to the working people, in other words to the revolution, and it confronts those sectors who favor the exploitation of man by man. Some of them are armed bandits, some are politicians of the COSEP, some are preachers. All of them are on the side of a class in decay that has misadjusted, if they haven't actually broken, the strings of their guitar.

Our work would be pointless if there were not a close relationship and solidarity with our brothers and sisters of the Sandinista People's Army, with an ever closer and deeper collaboration and combative solidarity.

The confrontation is everywhere, in the farthest corners of our geography. That compels us to improve in quality, in technical skill, in planning and control, and in our ability to inform and be informed.

But what is our goal? One day, to close the doors of the Ministry of the Interior. For all of our combatants to be integrated into production, or academic study, or cultural tasks. On the day when we erase from our history the actions of the counterrevolutionary enemy, the levels of economic and moral development will be our most efficient police force. Some of those services which we now perform will be covered by the community organizations. Then we will have small groups specializing in the work of crime prevention and neutralization of possible recalcitrant counterrevolutionaries. Some day imperialism will be less aggressive because the people of the United States will be stronger and more conscious, and their odious intelligence services will be less virulent and aggressive, or will have disappeared.

This hope is present in our dreams, no matter how prolonged the conflict or how difficult the war. When there is no counterrevolution and no imperialism, the rifles will be put back in their place. That will be the reign of abundance, the paradise of the swings, the simple answer to the enigma, the republic of tractors and seeds, the study of perfect poetry, the blank space for the unnecessary tears, the abundance of sound and color. It will be the dominion of equality and the distribution of justice, the dream of milk and honey realized.

On that day, distant but real, the Ministry of the Interior will have no reason to exist. But for now, chiefs, officers, and combatants, eyes and ears mobilized for action, we will stand as sentinels on the horizon, inalterable and firm, defending the first fruits of the harvest, impeccable and implacable, obliterating the weeds, together with our brothers and sisters from the army and from the different institutions of the revolutionary state and the party — a flame just lit in the present, to be a fire in the future — the party of Carlos Fonseca which unites us and inspires us all, the immortal Sandinista National Liberation Front, the only one which has the right and the duty to lead the decision of the Nicaraguan people to shout from life through till death, for life:

Free Homeland . . . [Audience responds, "or Death!"]

9. Pedro Arauz, a member of FSLN National Directorate, was killed before revolutionary government came to power.

10. Pablo Ubeda, nom de guerre of Rigoberto Cruz, a member of National Directorate, was killed in combat in Pancasán, Aug. 27, 1967.

Daniel Ortega addresses UN Assembly

Hits U.S. drive to overthrow Nicaragua's revolutionary government

[The following speech by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega was presented to the United Nations General Assembly on October 21. The translation by *Intercontinental Press* is from the Spanish-language text provided by the Nicaraguan Ministry of Information and Press.]

* * *

The United Nations Organization came into existence 40 years ago, after the horrors of the war. The organization assumed humanity's aspirations, dreams, and hopes to reach a lasting peace.

The imprints of fascist brutality were still fresh; the blood shed by the millions of civilians and soldiers, victims of the war imposed by fascism on humanity, was still fresh also. The world was then being shaken by tears, pain, suffering, and indignation, and in October 1945, through its governing representatives, it solemnly pledged to abstain from resorting to the threat or use of force against any other state; not to interfere in the internal affairs that are the national concern of each state; to resolve international disputes through peaceful means without endangering peace, security, and justice. The charter of the organization, in force as of October 1945, was signed on the basis of these moral and legal principles.

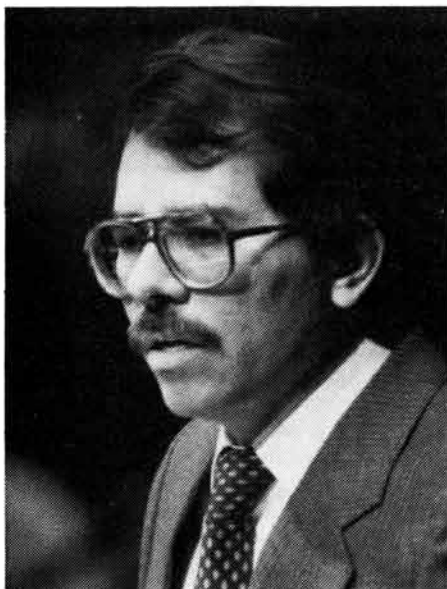
After 40 years, the violations of these principles would make up an endless list. But even more serious is the warmongering escalation, now of a nuclear nature, that threatens all of humanity with extinction.

The nuclear threat must be eliminated. Hegemonistic attitudes must be put aside. The arms race must be stopped. The development of space weapons must cease. This is the universal outcry.

Nicaragua, as part of this outcry for good sense, backs the just and sincere peace proposals that have been made public and the talks to be held between the Soviet Union and the United States, confident that they will constitute a constructive effort that paves the way for international détente.

World peace must necessarily mean the peaceful solution of the conflicts today being kindled in different regions of the earth. There will never be peace on earth while people are oppressed by the brutal policy of apartheid in South Africa. There will never be peace as long as colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism, racism, and any other form of exploitation and domination exist on earth; as long as attempts are made to legitimize the practice of state terrorism.

On this 40th anniversary, in reviewing the basic principles of the UN Constituent Charter, we ratify our adherence to these principles that



Daniel Ortega speaking to UN General Assembly, October 21.

are today being systematically violated and disregarded in various regions of the earth by the present U.S. rulers.

Nicaragua is specially concerned about the fact that U.S. military might has, through its administration and Congress, ignored the basic principles of international coexistence, thus promoting a policy of state terrorism against the people of Nicaragua.

The U.S. rulers, who backed regimes of injustice and terror in Central America, like that of Somoza in Nicaragua, today refuse to recognize the democratic regime that was established on July 19, 1979, through the heroic and fighting will of the people of Sandino, ratified in free and direct elections in November 1984.

Since 1981, the government of the United States of America has attempted to destroy Nicaragua's democratic process and has tried to deny the existence of nonaligned Nicaragua in the Central American region.

Consequently, in 1981, the U.S. rulers suspended food credits to Nicaragua. They adopted a 10-point program and earmarked \$19 million to set up a mercenary force and, in the Intelligence Committees of the House and Senate, reported that the CIA had started its efforts to set up a highly trained commando force to attack targets in Nicaragua.

In line with these terrorist policies, in 1982, the U.S. government authorized covert operations against Nicaragua and vetoed a UN Security Council resolution banning the use of force or interference in the affairs of other nations. Meanwhile, the CIA officers confirmed to the

House Intelligence Committee that Nicaraguan targets had been destroyed by a CIA-trained and -equipped demolition team.

In this context, the Contadora Group was established in order to curb tensions in the area, characterized by U.S. aggressions against the people of Nicaragua. But this has not stopped the warmongering escalation nor the economic aggressions. In 1983 President Reagan described the mercenaries as his "brothers," as "freedom fighters," and ordered a reduction of Nicaragua's sugar quota, an illegal act that was condemned by GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade]. James Conrow, of the U.S. Treasury Department, reported that the United States would oppose any loan by the World Bank or the Inter-American Development Bank to Nicaragua.

That same year, the CIA drew up plans to establish a terrorist force of some 12 to 15 thousand mercenaries, and the U.S. government canceled the cargo flights of Nicaragua's airline. Meanwhile, the CIA ordered an air raid against Managua's international airport and launched terrorist attacks against fuel depots in Corinto, Nicaragua's main port.

In 1984, when world public opinion demanded a peaceful solution of the conflict, the mercenary forces started using the military bases and infrastructure that the U.S. Army had built in Honduras to prepare to invade Nicaragua, and the CIA mined sea access to all ports of Nicaragua.

That same year, due to the serious situation provoked by U.S. policies, Nicaragua filed a petition before the International Court of Justice accusing the U.S. government of carrying out military and paramilitary activities against its sovereignty and territorial integrity, asking the court to order the United States to cease its aggression and to compensate Nicaragua for the damages incurred.

In violation of the law, the United States informed the court it did not acknowledge its jurisdiction over Nicaragua's petition. But the high court issued a provisional decision, demanding an end to the mining of Nicaraguan ports and military and paramilitary activities damaging Nicaragua's sovereignty and independence. The court declared the petition pertinent and rejected the U.S. request to rule the petition out of order.

The U.S. government rejected the court's decision regarding interim protective measures, once again violating international law.

Two U.S. military personnel died in Nicaraguan territory, operating helicopters in direct actions against the people of Nicaragua. And Secretary of State [George] Shultz referred to the Revised Contradora Declaration of September 7 of that year as a "simple piece

of paper."

But the struggle for international law and legal order went on, and the International Court of Justice unanimously decided it had competence to hear the case and that Nicaragua had the right to file its petition in view of U.S. aggressions.

The reaction of the United States was to abruptly and precipitously withdraw from the proceedings, thus placing itself outside the law.

This year, aggressive actions were stepped up in the political, military, and economic fields. In a letter to the president of the Inter-American Development Bank, Secretary of State Shultz threatened reprisals against this institution if it approved funds for Nicaragua.

The United States unilaterally suspended the talks that were being held in Manzanillo [Mexico]; the president of the United States publicly declared that his goal was to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. And it has been confirmed that the Psychological War Operations Manual, instructing mercenaries in political assassinations and all kinds of terrorist activities, was edited, published, and distributed by the CIA.

This year, the U.S. government declared a trade embargo on all goods and services imported from Nicaragua, as well as on all U.S. exports to Nicaragua, and prohibited the entry of Nicaraguan aircraft and vessels. It also allocated \$27 million to the mercenary forces, bringing total U.S. government financing of its terrorist policies against Nicaragua to more than \$100 million. Moreover, the U.S. government made known its objective of recruiting up to 30,000 mercenaries to continue attacking Nicaragua.

In these four years, 11 U.S. military maneuvers have been carried out, openly threatening Nicaragua's sovereignty and as part of the military preparations the U.S. government has begun carrying out to launch a direct military invasion against my country.

In October of this year, the U.S. government started to disburse the \$27 million earmarked for terrorist actions, while Under Secretary of State [Elliott] Abrams declared that pressures at all levels against Nicaragua had to be stepped up, including the suspension of any international aid to Nicaragua.

This is just a brief outline of what four years of a war of aggression, organized and financed by the present U.S. administration against Nicaragua, has meant, in violation of international law and morality.

From 1980 to Sept. 4, 1985, the forces organized and directed by the CIA have murdered 3,652 people, 146 of whom were women and 210 children under 12. Four thousand thirty-nine have been wounded and 5,232 have been kidnapped. Over 240,000 Nicaraguans have been made homeless, and 7,582 children are now war orphans. Moreover, thousands of peasants — kidnapped, confused, and deceived by the CIA — have fallen while in the ranks of the counterrevolutionary forces. They too are Nicaraguans who have been victims of the aggression: 7,599 dead and 1,326 wounded.

Therefore, the Nicaraguans who have been victims of U.S. terrorist policies amount to 11,000 dead, 5,000 wounded, 5,000 kidnapped, and a quarter of a million displaced. This represents an incalculable toll in human losses and suffering for a small country such as ours, with a population of barely 3.5 million.

If the country attacking us were to face today a proportional cost in victims, it would have a total of 723,000 dead, that is, almost three times the number of Americans killed during World War II, or the entire population of Boston; it would have 373,000 wounded, and 17.55 million families displaced, the equivalent of the entire population of the state of New York. And 9,000 women and 15,000 children under 12 would have been murdered.

The terrorist actions of U.S. rulers have caused the destruction of 321 schools and 50 health centers, as well as machinery and construction equipment. CIA mercenaries have leveled peasant cooperatives and even entire villages. The pressures and blackmail exerted by the U.S. government in blatant violation of the statutes of multilateral organizations have led to the freezing of loans worth \$423 million. The total losses caused by direct and indirect actions of U.S. aggression surpass the figure of \$1.5 billion.

We have taken this evidence to the highest court in the world and to the highest legal body of the United Nations, that is, the International Court of Justice at The Hague. In a tacit admission of its own guilt, the United States declared that it will not accept the court's jurisdiction nor abide by its verdict. On the other hand, our presence in the court constitutes a historic milestone in the defense of the sovereignty and self-determination of small nations.

We bring this evidence to this assembly because we are concerned with the defense of this organization which, on its 40th anniversary, is being seriously threatened by those who, disregarding respect for the peoples' self-determination and sovereignty — as they did in Maurice Bishop's small island of Grenada — presently threaten Nicaragua with destruction.

We have brought this evidence to this august assembly, encouraged by the understanding we have found when we state that no solution or document will be effective in Central America until the U.S. rulers totally cease to attack the people of Nicaragua, directly or indirectly, in a covert manner or by other means.

The main and only obstacle to the peace efforts of the Contadora group continues to be the policy of state terrorism that is inspired, directed, and financed by the U.S. government against Nicaragua. The peace efforts of the Contadora Group and the appeals for a peaceful solution to the conflict made by the international community continue to be rejected by the U.S. administration, which has stepped up aggression against Nicaragua and rejects negotiated solution in El Salvador. Thus, U.S. aggression must cease in order to be able to create conditions that can lead to a peaceful settlement in Central America.

We cannot but refer to the economic prob-

lem and the problem of the debt, which are shaking the very foundations of an unjust international economic order that resembles the Rome of the Caesars, where the oppressed peoples were forced to pay tribute. No one doubts that it is not possible for Latin America to pay its debt or that it is necessary to find new formulas for the debt to stop being the burden that curbs our peoples' development possibilities.

All this is indispensably linked to the establishment of new trade relations with the industrialized countries and bold forms of trade among the developing countries.

Under these circumstances, Nicaragua will continue defending the right of peoples to have economic relations with any country of the world, regardless of its political regime.

Despite the profound economic crisis our country has been suffering due to the aggressions of the U.S. rulers, Nicaragua has made great sacrifices to comply with financial obligations of the debt we inherited from the Somoza regime with the international banks and multilateral organizations, and with the debt we have contracted with friendly countries since 1979.

With the blood and sweat of the Nicaraguan people, we have paid \$621 million in debt servicing. That means that in five years we have invested the total of two years of exports to fulfill part of our financial obligations.

Due to the protraction of the aggressions of the U.S. government against our country, the situation has worsened to such a degree that although, according to a study carried out by the World Bank, we should be exporting \$1 billion worth per year, we are only exporting \$300 million annually.

As may be observed, we are facing an extreme situation that not only limits, but eliminates our possibility to pay. Under these dramatic circumstances, Nicaragua demands urgent and concerted international solidarity, decisive support from the countries with which Nicaragua has bilateral financial relations, and a change in attitude of the creditor institutions.

On this 40th anniversary of the United Nations, Nicaragua is a living example of a small nation that decided to be free and is consequently resisting blows of an irrational policy that tries to snatch away that right from us.

Nicaragua shall never kneel before the policy of state terrorism being practiced by the U.S. rulers. The strategy of terror cannot lead to peace and coexistence among nations.

Nicaragua is no enemy of the United States. There is no reason for the United States to consider Nicaragua an enemy. Nicaragua respects the principles of the United Nations Charter, and we wish to live in peace with all nations of the earth, including the United States. Nothing in our revolutionary perspective is incompatible with normal and friendly relations with the United States.

From this high rostrum, therefore, Nicaragua appeals to the government of the United States to faithfully abide by the norms of peaceful coexistence among states, enshrined in the Charter, to cease its policies of aggres-

sion against Nicaragua, and to declare on this anniversary commemoration whether it is willing to respect the sovereignty and the right of self-determination of a small country; whether it is prepared to abide by the May 10, 1984, provisional decision of the International Court of Justice and acknowledge the jurisdiction of said UN body; and whether it is ready to stop the war against Nicaragua and declare peace.

For our part, the very moment when the aggressions effectively cease, we will suspend the state of emergency we have been forced to impose due to the aggression.

Thus, the president of the United States now has the floor. Let him respond on October 24, when he addresses this assembly, whether his government, in honor of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, is willing to normalize relations with Nicaragua, in conformity with

the principles of the Charter and of international law. This is Nicaragua's challenge for peace. The peace of Central America depends on his answer.

The people of Nicaragua are shedding their blood to defend and demand the peoples' right to self-determination and sovereignty. With the blood of our workers and peasants, of our young people, our elderly, our women, and even our children, we are defending international law.

We are defending the rights of the peoples and are waging this battle with the militant solidarity of the peoples of the world. Nicaragua expects a more forceful and determined action from the international community to contribute to stop the genocide being practiced against my people by the present U.S. government.

By demanding respect for international law,

respect for the principle of the UN Charter, and the urgency of a New International Economic Order, we are fighting for peace and justice. And therefore, we are demanding respect for the memory of the millions of human beings who in Auschwitz, Birkenau, Treblinka, Maidanek, Chelmno, Monowitz, Bitburg, Dachau, and in dozens of concentration camps and crematories, died as victims of fascism.

The United Nations Organization emerged as a hope after the holocaust. Let us not permit fascism to revive.

Let us not allow any violation of the UN Charter, and then there will be hope of peace on earth and the sacrifice made by those who died in the war will not have been in vain!

Justice and peace are the future of humanity. Nicaragua shall survive!

DOCUMENTS

Castro explains 'new economic order'

Answers charge that Cuba is hypocritical for not canceling its debt

[One of the most-repeated arguments that the big-business press in many countries has been using to try to discredit Cuban President Fidel Castro's call for the cancellation of Latin America's gigantic foreign debt is to accuse him of hypocrisy for not canceling Cuba's foreign debt.

[Castro took up this provocation during the question-and-answer period at the closing session of the Latin American and Caribbean Youth and Student Dialogue on the Foreign Debt held in Havana, September 11-14. Some 600 youths from 32 countries attended the conference.

[Castro's answer was in response to several questions from Clara López, a participant from Colombia. She asked Castro to explain "the operation of the new international economic order that Cuba has proposed with the socialist countries, and if during the 20 years following the revolution relations with those countries

have improved, remained the same, or deteriorated. . . ."

[López added that in Colombia she had often heard the argument that if Cuba has a complaint concerning Latin America's foreign debt it should apply this to its own foreign debt.

[Castro noted that this was an important question because it "is what the enemy is saying, and we must be informed of what we are going to do, how we think, how we handle all this."

[The following is an excerpt from the four-hour question-and-answer period in which Castro dealt with these questions. This translation was made from a live broadcast on Havana radio by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) of the U.S. Department of Commerce. It was published in the October 2 issue of *FBIS Daily Report*.]

* * *
food, medicine, everything.

That is how our relations with the socialist countries began.

We had had relations with them before because we had a sugar surplus and we wanted the socialist countries to buy some of our sugar. However, we had 500,000 tons of sugar. We sold most of our sugar to the United States and the world market.

Then the United States took away our quota of nearly 3.5 million tons. Where were we going to place that sugar? At that time, the socialist countries did not have the degree of development they now have, naturally. I want you to know that at that time we consumed 4.5 million tons of petroleum, but the USSR barely produced 100 million tons, practically

one-fifth of what it produces now.

I think we received very important support because we were ready and willing to fight and die, just like the Nicaraguans and the Salvadorans are ready to do. We were not going to give up.

But we would have to see how all this ended. We probably would have ended up dead. Or perhaps we would not have been able to do what we have done concerning markets and fuels. Maybe we would still be riding horses as a means of transportation and using candles or torches to see in the dark.

The solidarity of the socialist countries, particularly that of the Soviet Union which has the greatest economic resources, was a decisive factor for us. Then they started buying our sugar and supplying us with petroleum at world market prices, and with raw materials and food, and they granted us some loans.

This is how our relations started. These gradually developed, increasing according to petroleum consumption. Our needs then increased. Then, during a certain period, our relations with them were based on the world market prices.

Then, reality changed. It was impossible to develop the country based on world market prices. They gave us credit, and we started to receive better prices. At that time, when the world market was at about three and a half or four centavos, we received six centavos.

However, guess what we discovered at that time? There was the law of unequal trade. A five-year plan began, and our sugar was worth six centavos. The products we were buying from the socialist countries were based on the world market. We then found out that while our sugar was worth six centavos for six years, the articles we were importing were increasing

We have good exchange with the USSR. We have good relations with the socialist countries now, and these ties were not made overnight. Our trade relations with the socialist countries resulted after the U.S. aggressions and blockade, when they took away our petroleum supply and our sugar quota and adopted measures that sought to kill us — a country that had developed an economic relation with the United States for 100 years, even before its independence.

We supplied them with sugar, tobacco, a long list of products. Suddenly, the market is cut off. It withdrew the quota, and then we were receiving a price slightly better than the world market price. We were suddenly deprived of our fuel, raw material, equipment,

in price every year because these were the world market prices that ruled the socialist countries' foreign trade. They sold and purchased at world market prices.

That is how we started to advance. In the first place, we obtained a preferential price, as a developing country. That is the type of relationship that should exist between a developed socialist country and a developing socialist country. We have defended that principle for the socialist countries of the Third World, for example Mongolia, Vietnam, and other CMEA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] countries. We have defended this principle, and it has been applied.

Then a balanced price was established. A certain price was established for sugar. And since this was the main export product, if the prices of imported products increased, then the price of our export product — sugar — increased. Thus, even before the energy crisis, we had obtained a reasonable, satisfactory price. We had obtained 19 centavos per pound of sugar. That was a profitable price for us, a satisfactory price, and it was a balanced price.

If the prices of the merchandise we imported increased, we increased the price of our sugar.

This happened before the petroleum crisis. One of our main import products was petroleum. Then our consumption increased tremendously and prices soared. By virtue of the clause that protected us, we were guaranteed the purchasing power of our sugar. We applied that same concept to our main export products with the USSR and the socialist countries, that is, with the USSR and the developed socialist countries.

This is not the case with Vietnam, Mongolia, Laos, Kampuchea, and other countries of the Third World that are less developed than we are. We received many benefits from the solidarity of the developed socialist countries, and in turn we offered this solidarity to other countries according to our possibilities.

For example, we have over 1,500 doctors working abroad, most of them working free of charge. We cooperate in this respect with over 30 countries.

We have scholarship students here in Cuba from over 80 countries. We have over 22,000

We have just, profitable prices for our products, which are also protected from increasing prices on the world market . . .

students here on scholarship, and all that is free. On one hand, we receive solidarity, and on the other, we apply solidarity.

However, with the developed socialist countries, we have achieved this new international economic order. We have just, satisfactory, profitable prices for our products, which are also protected from the unequal trade trend with regard to the increasing prices on the world market. This means that our sugar,

nickel, citrus fruits, and our exports to the developed socialist world have a large purchasing power. This gives us a considerable revenue which improves our economy.

However, we also contracted debts. We had a similar problem, and we had to start paying these debts. We discussed that, and we decided to apply the following principle: to postpone payment of the debt for a long period — 10, 15, or 20 years — without paying any interest.

I also think this is a magnificent principle to apply in relations between the Third World and the developed capitalist countries. They should say: Payments are postponed for 15 years, in theory. At the end of 10 or 15 years, this has to be postponed for another 10, 15, or 20 years, without ever adding any interest. Then, this is clearly a matter of principle. This is clearly understood. This is the way it has been.

With the socialist countries, the formula is not the same with all of them. With other countries, we have a certain price, which is satisfactory for our products, and they maintain a stable price for the products we import, that is, they maintain a fixed price. There are fixed, stable prices for our export and import products.

They give us all the conditions and rates so we can plan our economy, and they allow us — in the midst of this huge crisis — to increase our economy's growth by 6.8 percent, which was the case last year. This year it is growing approximately by 5 percent. We can guarantee conditions for stable development, despite this huge crisis.

This helps us in our education, health, culture, housing construction, sports, and development budgets. Last year we invested 4 billion pesos, equivalent to the [U.S.] dollar. We have an investment and development plan, and I think we have created the conditions for an economic development program. Those are our achievements, our successes in the struggle for a new international economic order between the developed socialist countries and ourselves. What we propose is to apply these principles throughout the world.

When we speak of a new international economic order, and to begin with when we speak of paying debts, we should erase them from our minds, or leave them to the history books, if that is what they want. [Laughter, applause] This is applicable to all of the developed countries and all debts, those of the Third World countries with capitalist countries, as well as with socialist countries.

When we discuss payments we refer to all countries. When we discuss disarmament and the reduction of military expenses, it is equal for all countries. As we know perfectly well, the socialist countries are not interested in the madness of the arms race or the arms involved.

A socialist country knows what to do with money and how many homes, schools, theaters, or recreation fields they can construct. Why spend the money on fortifications, tanks, cannons, and airplanes? Capitalist economies are designed for any type of business, and the best business for capitalism is weapons.

The socialist economies are designed for planned investments. They have no reason to throw money away. I could say how much we have spent on defense, forced by the United States to build fortifications. How many children's centers we could have created every year, how many schools, homes, so many things.

If we were at peace we could cease to construct fortifications — real and not false peace, because those who err in this do not survive. [Laughter, applause]

There are so many things we want to do. We want to do all kinds of things: sports fields,

It is more just to share poverty than to leave it to the immense majority of the population, exploiting them to give privileges to the minority . . .

schools, sports complexes, housing, art schools, theater, all types of things. Aquariums — we have an aquarium, the poor thing is very old. We have plans and we are trying to fulfill them. For the past 15 years we have been working on a new zoo, we have done this patiently and with a great deal of volunteer work. This is how we have done many things. We know what we can do with money.

Those of us who have planned economies try to ration our resources; this does not mean that we use our resources to perfection. We are far from that. However, we try to make the best of our resources, and nothing prevents this except our limitations and capabilities of administration. It [the obstacle] is not a system; the system helps us.

If only we were capable of using all our resources to their fullest; this is what we are trying to do. However, you can see how our budget grows year after year, more in every sector, for culture.

Someone spoke here who said that — I believe he was French or Dominican — a French writer said that art or culture is the poor relative of capitalism. Nevertheless, if socialism is not careful, it will be the poor relative of culture. [Laughter] I can say that in 1984 [Applause] the culture budget not only grew by 24 percent in three years, but at this time culture expenses have grown by 70 percent. I had to protest at the National Assembly and tell them to hold up a little and to spend less on culture or the socialist state would be ruined. [Laughter]

So that all of you cannot only see how development investments have grown year by year during these past years but also education, culture, sports, and public health investments. Yesterday you saw the experimental [public health system]. We are not the only country with this system. Other socialist countries also have it. Of course capitalist countries cannot have this because they have family doctors.

In the next 15 years we will have 20,000

new doctors of the 50,000 students who will graduate because we do not have unemployed doctors or teachers; every year we graduate more [teaching] students. In these years of revolution we have graduated almost 300,000 students, and we have 256,000 employed. Many teachers have helped us with our mass organizations, parties, the state, and they are highly qualified people.

We have had 256,000 professors and teachers in our country, and we have a reserve that can be put to work or to study at a higher level. We will do the same with the doctors. After we have 65,000 we will graduate 10,000 more as reserves, so that every seven years the doctors can have a one-year sabbatical.

We do not have excess people, but when it looks as if there is a surplus, we put them to work, and those who work for five, six, or seven years receive a whole year to study and improve themselves.

Socialism has all of these possibilities, and this is what we are doing in the midst of this crisis. Of course, we could not do this without the new economic order which we have established with the socialist countries.

This is why I was explaining to the *compañero* that despite our deep revolution, nationalizing everything, and we socialize everything, even if there is no oil, investments, or resources, we will advance. I believe we could even go back to primitive communism, which I believe is better than capitalism. [Laughter, applause]

There are some who to excuse themselves from applying socialism say they do not want to share poverty. Of course, this is very logical. They share poverty among the masses, and a privileged minority receives no poverty. They have all their income, privileges, and expenses ensured. They do not face hunger, sickness, or need medicines.

To this I say: It is more just to share poverty than to leave it to the immense majority of the population, exploiting them to give privileges to a minority of the population.

I have heard some here who say they do not want to share poverty. I would advocate sharing poverty among all of us. This is why I say that without this new order, perhaps our socialism would have ended up as primitive communism. However, I repeat that it existed and we prefer it.

We understand very well what underdevelopment and conditions of development mean because if there is no development how can we sustain 75,000 doctors? How could we have 256,000 teachers without an increase in production and productivity? We could not release teachers; we would have to have everyone cutting cane if we had no sugar cane combines. There would be no development without increased production and productivity.

I think this new order we have established helps a lot in reaching our goals. This new order is precisely what we are proposing, that is, new relations between the developed and underdeveloped countries, in other words, between the developed world and the underdeveloped countries, not the developing coun-

tries, as it is euphemistically said at the United Nations. We are underdeveloped countries.

When one compares the per capita income of Colombia with that of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, England, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, the United States, and so forth, you will see that the distance between your income and theirs is greater all the time. The same happens to the Cubans and everyone else, even the Venezuelans, who have petroleum and great resources.

This is how we can explain this exchange. I believe that with this new economic order we would have to establish obligations concerning all products, for all the capitalist and socialist countries on an equal basis.

One cannot ask the socialist countries who are having their own problems and struggling with certain difficulties to enforce a policy when they do not have resources. It simply does not work out. Perhaps they could do it with a few countries. However, the resources are not exaggerated. They also have their needs.

I think that the same policy that is applied to us should also be applied at least to all the socialist countries of the Third World, of CMEA, that is, within the socialist sphere.

However, when we propose a new international economic order, we are proposing universal principles for everyone. When we talk about canceling, erasing the debt from memory, we are going to erase all debts from memory, the debts of the Third World countries, regardless of who are the creditors, as long as they are developed countries. That is the principle we defend.

I believe the socialist countries have a certain capacity for helping one, two, or three countries that are blockaded. If as a result of



Classroom at a Cuban teacher-training school. "How could we have 256,000 teachers without an increase in production and productivity?"

desperation some countries were forced to do this, they should be helped. That is how I feel. I do not decide this for the socialist countries, but I know them well.

I am completely convinced they would support any country that was in a difficult situation as a result of having taken a step out of despair.

Some countries have taken the wrong step, such as Bolivia, but it has a small debt; it does not have any influence. I do not wish to mention any countries, because there are a few that have taken the step and they are going to have a big squabble. I swear. [Castro laughs] I am sure. [Applause] I am sure they would have the support of the socialist countries, of the entire Third World, and of even many capitalist countries.

The United States can establish its blockade, but I doubt it will do so. That is my opinion. I doubt it because the situation is so critical that it is affecting over 100 countries. It is affecting entire continents.

To adopt measures such as imposing a blockade on a country because it is suspending payments, because despair forces it to do so, is like putting out a fire with gasoline. It will only spread the fire. I am sure what they would do would be to negotiate quickly, trying to put out the fire in another way and not through coercive measures.

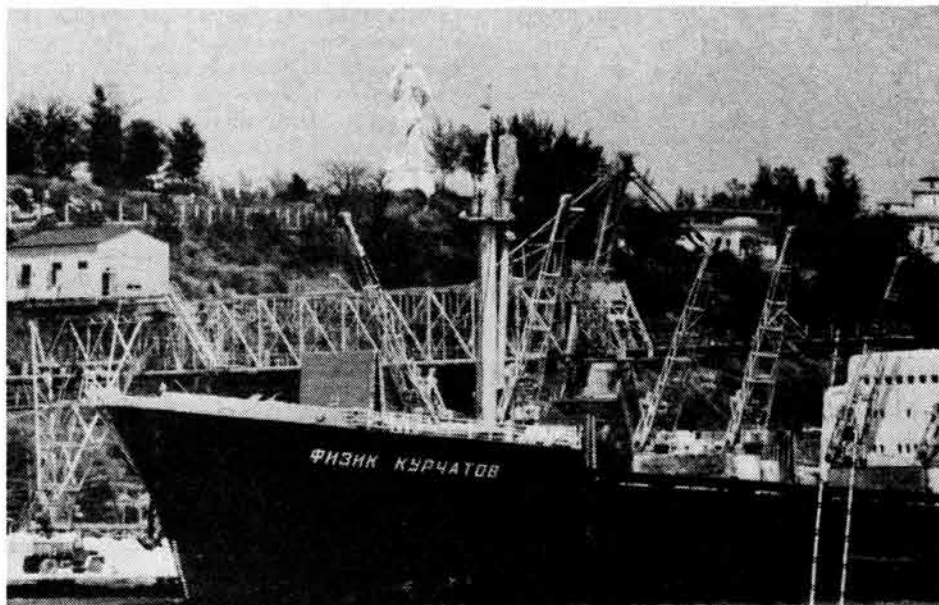
This is no longer a matter for just Cuba alone. Socialism is such a horrible thing, such a diabolic thing. It has committed such a big sin and therefore it deserves excommunication, hell, and so on. Therefore, all of those measures must be adopted.

But this [will] happen to a country which is not socialist, nor has it proclaimed socialism, or let us say, it has just proclaimed nonpayment of the debt out of despair rather than doing it quietly.

This is not what we are proposing. We are proposing a common action by all the countries. Now, I also think that perhaps it might be too difficult to reach this action, reach this consensus. This crisis which is affecting so many countries might force two or three countries to adopt this measure out of despair and unleash a mechanism of international solidarity, for which we have been working, forecasting that this might happen.

We have been in contact with countries from Asia, Africa, many countries. We have the idea that someone might start this. But if someone jumps in alone, I think they will negotiate quickly rather than adopt measures, trying to put out the fire and not pour gasoline on it.

Nevertheless, I believe that a small percentage of countries that might be the target of a blockade and that imperialism might be so stupid as to impose a blockade on — we must always allow for the stupidities of the imperialists and sometimes this stupidity is good because it helps to defeat imperialism itself — would unleash such a show of solidarity that it would make the solidarity over the Malvinas issue look like child's play. The Malvinas issue had emotional and moral bases. However, this is now a matter of life or death. The Third World has enough instincts to



Soviet freighter in Havana harbor. "We received many benefits from the solidarity of the developed socialist countries."

not abandon anyone.

I am sure we could counter a blockade very well. If everyone united in an action and the entire Third World adopted a common stand, what could the industrialized world do? It cannot blockade anyone, because to do so would be to blockade themselves.

This is why we have made this analysis — for the sake of those who claim this is insane. They think that what happened to us cannot happen to anyone else.

When they imposed the super blockade, the total blockade on us, trucks, locomotives, and everything that moved here had U.S. parts. All factory equipment had U.S. parts. We did not have a mechanical industry, but we started to manufacture parts out of anything.

We made spare parts for textile machinery even out of wood. It was like wartime. Sometimes, we even had to manufacture a small part out of wood for rifles because we did not have steel. It was difficult, but our rifles worked. Thus we also began moving our trucks, not with wood, but we developed a steel industry. We were manufacturing the spare parts here with our lathes.

Those were difficult years, perhaps the most difficult years of all. We were alone; we had no solidarity. Only the socialist countries helped us. However, those who will wage this battle today will have tremendous solidarity from everyone, because they know this is everyone's battle.

If there were a case of some desperate countries who would move in these directions, I think we have enough resources. This would be the 50th blockade for us. I doubt if they would commit the stupidity — if they are smart and have some thinking people — of adopting measures against the countries which are forced to adopt measures out of despair. That is how I think and how I am clearly explaining this.

Cuba is a good paying customer. This is a

new category [*Laughter*] that has come up after we unleashed this battle of the debt. In order to wage this battle, you must begin to discuss the debt in Chile, which does exist.

When you get some free time, examine the speeches at the close of the continental meeting on the debt. You probably know more about that than I do. You looked it up, didn't you? [*Laughter*]

This is a new category, since the battle has been unleashed. For those who have become active in this struggle this category is new. Imperialism never would have said that we are good paying customers. On the contrary, the imperialists would tell the banks: They do not pay well, do not lend them money. Look, the price of sugar dropped; do not do that. They have spent all of their lives sabotaging Cuba's credit. [*Applause*]

Suddenly, imperialism raises us up to the ranks of the best payers in the world. Such credit! Because they must now increase Cuba's credit, the United States says we are the best payers in the world. Imagine that! And why? Because we are little orphans. [*Laughter*] Poor little things, we are indigent for being such big-mouths. They have no idea. They do not know how to counter all of these arguments. They are trying to do anything, making up stories.

They say that while Cuba tells others not to renegotiate, Cuba renegotiates. I am not telling others not to renegotiate. We are not referring to an isolated country. We are planning meetings with them. We are negotiating how to erase the debt, which is something else: to sit down to discuss the cancellation of the debt, to erase the debt. That is the issue, but they do not understand that.

We should be elegantly discussing that issue on a friendly basis with the Latin American and the Third World countries, because this is a problem of the entire Third World. This is a

problem involving the entire hemisphere, the area, the region, but the area which is in the best condition for leading this battle is Latin America. Why? Because it has the greatest political power, is more developed, is in better condition than the others.

I am sure all of the other countries would accept it if Latin America were in the vanguard. Besides, the others have no choice, as they are in very critical, explosive situations. This situation is not exactly the same in our countries, but in Latin America there is a situation where we can discuss it. I say that they are not going to discuss until the crisis explodes, until they do not see a willingness to adopt a decision concerning this problem. That is what we have proposed and we propose they meet.

Now, we say that some countries do not agree because some will take measures and unleash the crisis. We are trying to prevent this; we are trying to prevent the battle from being unleashed a little bit here today, then tomorrow somewhere else. They are trying to postpone the problem. They can postpone the problem, but they cannot avoid it. It is impossible; the figures say it is impossible.

We are reading here a report on Mexico, and this situation worsens. It will worsen and not improve. The conditions exist for waging a battle with all possibilities of winning.

Now, the situation which prevailed in Cuba with its debt is totally different from the rest of Latin America. I will explain; it is very simple. In the first place, no one stole a cent in this country. There are very few countries that can claim no one stole a cent. No one stole a cent from our loans that were invested in development. As a result of the U.S. blockade, we sold our nickel and sugar at very low prices on the world market, and thus it was necessary for us to obtain credits at a certain time.

For the first 10 years, we did not obtain any credits, not a cent during the first 10 years. Nevertheless, we advanced. Then we received the first short-term credits, credits for invest-

**Not a single cent borrowed
by us was stolen or lost.
Not a single cent
went out of the country . . .**

ments, some credits for business transactions. That is how we created our foreign debt in convertible currencies. We do so because there is no new economic order, and since we have not said that we are going to postpone it for 10, 15, 20 years without interest.

We have been affected by our trade with the Western world, but that amounts to 15 percent. Eighty-five percent of our trade is with the socialist world. In other words, this catastrophe and all of the criminal prices which are paid for products affect 15 percent of our exports. The other 85 percent, which is under good commercial conditions, is what helps us to subsist.

Our debt is not large. Part of it is with Third World countries: Argentine credit — that is

part of our convertible debt — which is part of our direct commercial debt; credits with other Third World countries.

Well, we are not proposing to not pay anyone or not pay our debts with the Third World countries. We are even thinking that once we erase the debts, our policy with regard to the Third World countries — as creditors — would be different, and we would pay those debts.

Our Argentine brothers would be unable to sleep [Laughter] if we did not pay our debt to them. I am not saying this. [Castro laughs] It would not be fair, considering all the problems they have and all they are going to have. [Laughter].

If they want to pardon the debt, that is something else. [Laughter] We are struggling so they can pardon your debt, not for you to pardon ours. [Laughter, applause]

More than pardon, we are struggling for them to forget it. There is nothing to pardon, conforming to the ethical and philosophical nature of the problem.

Now then, part of that debt and convertible currency we owe to the Western banks. Correct. But we do not owe a cent to U.S. banks. We do not owe a cent to the World Bank or the IMF. They are cynics. They lack valid arguments.

Their political influence and lack of scruples is so great that they dare speak on these terms and use such arguments, knowing we owe them nothing.

They would not use that argument with Brazil. They would not be advising them not to pay the debt; or with Argentina, or Venezuela, or any of the other countries.

Not a single cent borrowed by us was stolen or lost. Not a single cent of that money went out of the country. Every cent was invested in development projects and services to the people. Can any other country in Latin America say this? None can say this.

We could not say our investments were optimum, but we invested the money the best way possible and the projects are all there. In 25 years not a single dollar has left the country. That is essential for development because if you sell all the merchandise and in the end the money disappears, then how can there be development?

It has disappeared everywhere else, and you know that well. [Laughter] There are dollars circulating from various sources, [Laughter] which have helped in some ways, like the invisible balance of payment. [Laughter] That is why the debt has not been so large. It is big, but not gigantic. And the invisible help came one way or another. [Laughter, applause]

Who loaned us money? A few banks, not many, and in open disobedience of U.S. pressure. Those banks that loaned us money during the blockade years had to resist U.S. pressure. They invested that money by lending it to us.

Then, it is easy [for the U.S. government] to say: Give an example and do not pay those banks. Naturally it is a trap, like slipping on a banana peel, and we are not going to let them pull our leg and lead us into provoking emotional decisions or anything of the sort. Then, logically, it is with those banks that we have

renegotiated the debt.

While the United States has tried in every way to extend the boycott — they are cynical, saying that they have boycotted this country for 26 years — we resisted the boycott, developed certain relations, which helped fight the boycott, with some Western nations, even some banks. It helped in the struggle against the U.S. boycott.

As long as these institutions do not join the U.S. boycott, we shall continue to renegotiate with them.

There are not many banks, but we cannot facilitate the United States extending its boycott against Cuba to the rest of the Western world. We cannot forget that we are a nation that has been completely boycotted by the United States, a huge economic and financial power, for the past 26 years, and that we created these mechanisms against the boycott in the defense of the country.

Now, we have already said that we are not waging a battle for Cuba. If we have 85 percent of our trade with the socialist nations

under existing conditions, it is easy to understand that we are not in a desperate, critical situation.

The cost of the interest of our debt in convertible currency is less than 5 percent of the total of our exports. The cost of the servicing of the debt in convertible currency, which includes some amortizations, is less than 9 percent of the total exports of the country.

Our situation is not overabundant or free from difficulties, but it cannot possibly be compared to a desperate situation.

What shall we do? We are recommending the formula that is applicable to all countries, not to us. We are not recommending an isolated nation adopt measures, much less if the measures are not going to help them in any way and instead help the imperialists. The Yankees can rest assured that we are not going to help in any way.

It is not easy for them to fool us. They show great cynicism and lack of argument when they cannot debate this, and have turned us into the best payers in the world overnight. □

10 AND 20 YEARS AGO



November 17, 1975

WELLINGTON [New Zealand] — About 10,000 Maoris gathered in Parliament grounds here October 13. The demonstration concluded a historic march for land rights that began one month earlier when several dozen marchers set out from Te Hapua, at the northern tip of the North Island, 700 miles away. Tens of thousands of Maoris in total participated in the march at some stage.

The march, which passed through the central city streets of Wellington before reaching Parliament, was made up almost entirely of Maoris. Many had walked off jobs. Construction sites were silent with the workers all out on the march; truck drivers left their vehicles beside the road to join in.

The Wellington demonstration, one of the largest ever seen in the capital city, presented the demand that all legislation having the power to "take Maori land, alienate Maori land, designate Maori land, or confiscate Maori land" be repealed, and that this should be reversible only by a national referendum of Maoris.

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

(*"World Outlook," the predecessor of "Intercontinental Press," was not published from Oct. 29, 1965, to Feb. 4, 1966, due to the illness of its editor, Joseph Hansen. Until February 1986, we will be reprinting selections from 21 years ago.*)

November 13, 1964

The regime of Víctor Paz Estenssoro came to an inglorious end November 4 when the would-be dictator, who altered the constitution of Bolivia in order to extend his term as president, was escorted to a plane and fled to Lima, where, it was reported, he intended to move on to exile in Argentina. In his place a military junta assumed power. It was headed by a figure who has risen to prominence in the past year, General René Barrientos Ortuño.

Paz Estenssoro was toppled by an army revolt following several weeks of violent repression of protesting miners and students.

Paz Estenssoro fell victim to his own policy of relying on U.S. aid and advice. Bolivia's reactionary armed forces were destroyed by a popular revolution in 1952 and replaced by a workers and peasants militia. In 1954 Paz Estenssoro began rebuilding a regular army. Bit by bit he sought to cut down the militia and to divide the workers and peasants, seeking to build a base among the peasantry by granting them some reforms.

Finally he and his American backers considered his position strong enough to begin economic measures that stirred great unrest among the populace. Moves were begun to disarm the workers. Their voice in the regime was cut down. All this led up to the rigged election last May in which Paz Estenssoro, bowing to army pressure, named Barrientos vice-president.

But at the very moment Paz Estenssoro sought to convert his rule into a naked military dictatorship, he lost all working-class support and thus became a prisoner of the officer caste. This was symbolized by his breaking off diplomatic relations with Cuba. The only thing that is really novel is the speed with which Barrientos moved to take over.

Meetings hail new Castro book

Labor Party, solidarity activists help launch sales

By Dave Deutschmann

SYDNEY — Public meetings in two of Australia's largest cities have launched Australian distribution of *Fidel Castro Speeches 1984-85: War and Crisis in the Americas*, which was recently published in New York by Pathfinder Press.

The meetings — held in Sydney and Brisbane, with others scheduled for Melbourne and Canberra — highlighted a theme of the book, the campaign against the Latin American debt.

Pathfinder Press (Sydney) [formerly New International Publications] has joined with local branches of the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society (ACFS) to disseminate the views of the Cuban leadership on the debt crisis, by circulating both the new book and other speeches and interviews by Cuban leaders.

Local branches of the ACFS sponsored and built the meetings.

The meeting in Sydney on October 23 was attended by 70 people and coincided with the Continental Day of Protest and Action Against the Debt, called by a Latin American trade union conference in Havana in July.

The Sydney meeting was also sponsored by the Resource and Action Committee on Latin America, the Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador, the Committee in Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean, the Chile Solidarity Committee, and the Latin American Trade Union Defence Committee.

Special guests at the Sydney launching included Luis Gómez, Cuba's consul general in Australia, and Mexican ambassador Hugo Díaz.

In welcoming remarks, Ron Poulsen of Pathfinder Press spoke of the two themes of this book: "war and crisis in the Americas."

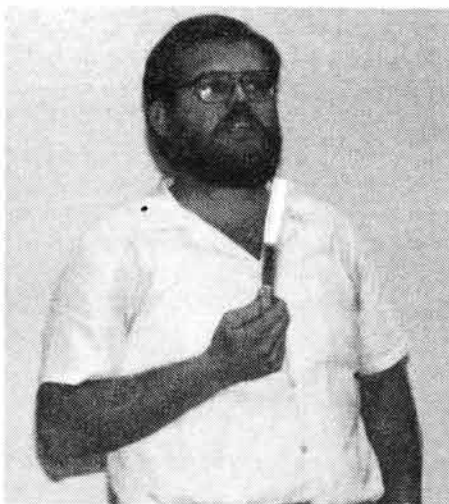
"War, insofar as Fidel deals with the current conflicts in Central America: the U.S.-backed *contra* aggression against the Nicaraguan revolution, the civil war in El Salvador against the U.S.-backed dictatorship, and the continued threats against Cuba itself.

"And crisis: the crisis of the Latin American debt and the proposals that the Cuban leadership have made to overcome that crisis."

Poulsen noted that the debt crisis confronts not just Latin America but all countries oppressed by imperialism. In addition, it "increasingly confronts working people in advanced capitalist countries like Australia."

Poulsen quoted a call addressed to Latin American and Caribbean trade unionists by the Cuban Workers Federation:

"We Latin American workers and peoples in general are now facing an unprecedented challenge. An increasingly unbearable economic and social crisis is threatening to lower an already precarious standard of living, do away



Bill Dawson, secretary of local branch of Australia-Cuba Friendship Society, speaking at Brisbane meeting for new book of Castro speeches.

with the political and labor movement victories scored by some countries after long years of struggle, bring on instability and ruin, and doom our peoples to a future of even greater stagnation, hunger, and poverty."

The attempt to repay Latin America's \$360 billion foreign debt, the statement noted, "deprives us of the minimal funds required for education, health care, and other vital needs. As a result, we are condemned to a future of much higher rates of unemployment, disease, social neglect, and illiteracy."

Referring to the recent earthquake in Mexico, Poulsen said, "I can speak on behalf of all those present tonight in passing on our condolences and solidarity with the Mexican people through the Mexican ambassador, whom we are honored to have with us.

"Mexico has the second-highest foreign debt of all Latin America, a debt of US\$100 billion," Poulsen continued. "Despite its oil resources it faces a deepening economic crisis.

"Yet the International Monetary Fund . . . announced the suspension of loans some four hours after the first earthquake had struck.

"Fidel Castro's response, however, was to propose the immediate cancellation of the whole of Mexico's foreign debt."

Dr. Jim Levy of the Latin American Studies Department of the University of New South Wales, one of the leading Australian scholars of the debt crisis, told the Sydney audience that the new book had "evoked contradictory feelings.

"The first is a sense of despair at the scope of the debt crisis in Latin America. And yet at the same time the other feeling is one of exhilaration and hope, stimulated yet again by the

Cuban revolution and its very real accomplishments."

Levy pointed out that "in 1984 Latin America was decapitalized by US\$45 billion. Of this, \$20 billion went in adverse terms of trade, \$10 billion in interest payments, \$10 billion in fleeing capital, and a further \$5 billion in compensating for an overvalued dollar.

"With the Latin American share of world trade having declined constantly since World War II," he said, IMF demands to "grow out of their indebtedness cannot be seen as a solution to the debt crisis."

The debts, said Levy, are "a symptom of a profound crisis of capitalism."

He noted that Cuba's example provides "a solution to the crisis."

"From 1981 to 1984, Cuba's gross social product per capita — and in Cuba that really means something! — had increased by 22.6 percent, whereas Chile's gross domestic product per capita decreased by 11.2 percent, and Uruguay's by 16.2 percent."

A representative of the Chile Solidarity Committee described how the fight against the debt in Chile was also a fight against the Pinochet military dictatorship. The Chilean working class, he said, "cannot pay the debt. We do not want to pay. And we won't pay!"

The acting president of the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society, Michael Gleave, encouraged the audience to join a forthcoming work brigade to Cuba from Australia and New Zealand.

ACFS secretary Anibal Arrarte read a message to the meeting from Rene Rodríguez, the president of the Cuban Institute for Friendship With the Peoples (ICAP).

Labor Party Senator Nick Bolkus was unable to address the Sydney meeting because his flight was delayed by bad weather. Bolkus will, however, speak at the Canberra launching.

In Brisbane, *War and Crisis in the Americas* was launched on October 30. Chaired by Anne Warner, a prominent left-wing Labor Party member of the Queensland parliament, the meeting heard from Bob Leach, a lecturer at a local college; Alberto Revelo, migrant workers' rights officer for the Miscellaneous Workers Union; Ron Poulsen from Pathfinder Press; and Bill Dawson, secretary of the local branch of the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society.

Leach explained that there is "no way out of the crushing burden of the debt except Fidel's proposal to cancel the debt."

Dawson noted that "the more copies of this book that are read, the better the understanding in Australia" of Cuba and the Latin American foreign debt. □

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