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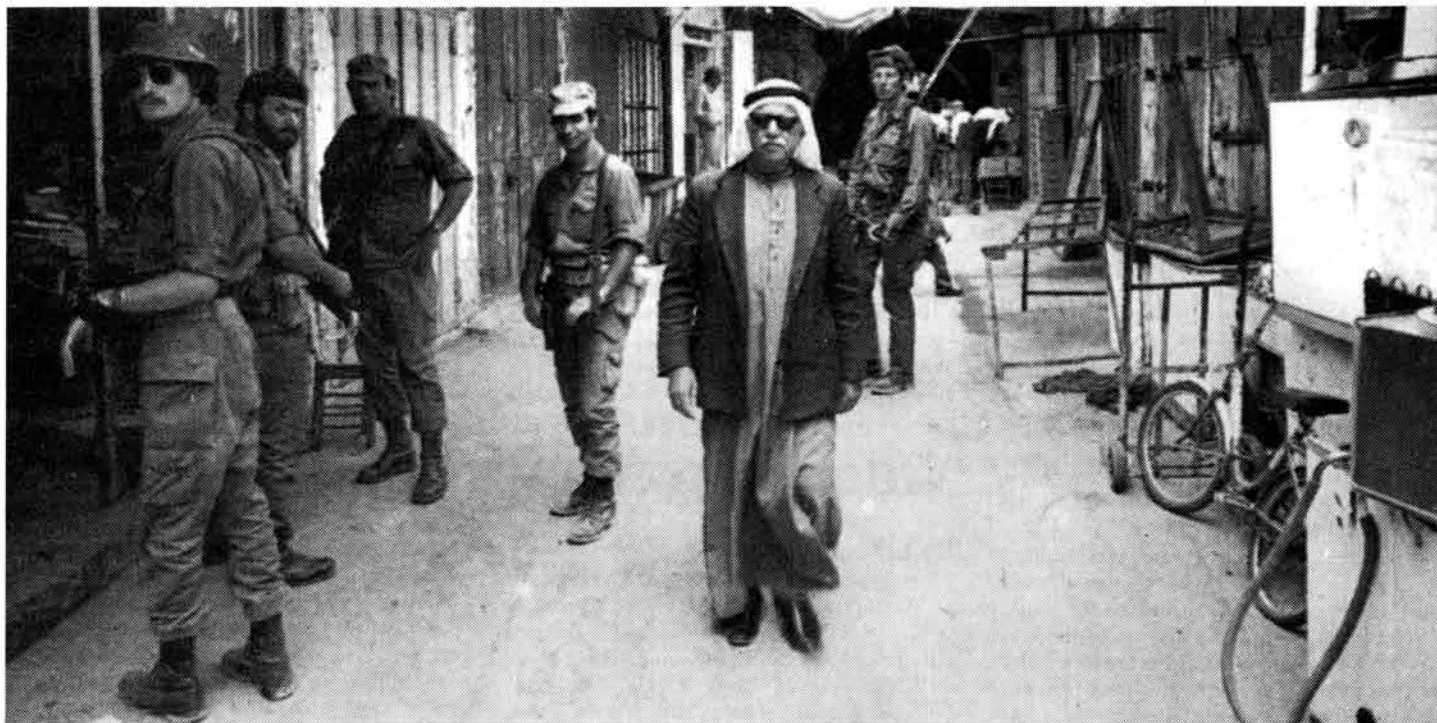
*the Americas*

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## **Palestinians Resist Israeli Crackdown in Occupied Territories**



Israeli troops patrol Hebron, in occupied West Bank.

**Fidel Castro Speaks  
on Southern Africa**

**The Ideological Offensive  
Against Women Today**

***The Split in the British  
Workers Revolutionary Party***

# Colombia's two massacres

By Steve Craine

Colombian President Belisario Betancur described the deaths of 20,000 people following a volcanic eruption November 13 as "one tragedy after another" for his country. He was attempting to portray his government's November 7 siege of the Palace of Justice in Bogotá, in which 100 people were killed, as an unavoidable tragedy similar to the natural disaster that struck some 55 miles from the capital the following week.

In both cases the president expressed his sympathy for the victims but absolved himself and his government of any responsibility. In both cases, however, the high death tolls were avoidable. Those who died were the victims of massacres, in one case through the government's negligence and in the other through its direct actions.

As molten lava burst from the top of the long-dormant Nevado del Ruiz volcano on the night of November 13, millions of tons of mud and melted snow hurtled down the sides of the 16,000-foot peak, inundating the valley below.

Most of the town of Armero, population 25,000, was buried, and much of Chinchiná, with 70,000 people, was destroyed.

While the government could not have prevented the actual eruption of Nevado del Ruiz, minimal preparations could have reduced the staggering loss of lives. Evacuation plans were not implemented even though geologists had warned that the volcano was becoming active again.

Even after the eruption began, government radio stations were advising residents of the valley that there was "no danger."

While the government bears responsibility for this horrendous death toll, the imperialists must also shoulder some of the blame, especially for the continued suffering of the survivors. Colombian relief efforts are limited by the poverty of the country, which has been exploited and oppressed by European and U.S. imperialism for centuries.

And pious statements of concern from Washington are being backed up with only insignificant amounts of real aid — 4,500 blankets and cots, 500 small tents, and some medical supplies — for the tens of thousands left homeless.

President Betancur's attempt to duck responsibility for the earlier massacre at the Palace of Justice was more difficult.

Nearly 100 people were killed when Betancur's troops assaulted the court building on November 6 and 7 with armored cars, cannon, dynamite, and small arms. In the Palace of Justice were dozens of members of the M-19 guerrilla organization, along with hundreds of employees of the court, including most of the country's highest judges.

Members of M-19 (the April 19 Movement)

had broken into the building the previous day and taken many of the court personnel hostage. They were demanding the publication of documents proving army responsibility for the collapse of a ceasefire Betancur had signed with M-19 and other rebel groups in 1984.

Despite the pleas of Supreme Court President Alfonso Reyes, Betancur refused to carry on any negotiations and ordered his troops to capture the court building without regard for the lives of any of the people inside.

Reyes and 10 other judges, and all the guerrillas, were among the 100 victims of the army's 28-hour siege. Some of the hostages were killed by government cannon or by the fire that resulted from the army's use of dynamite.

The excessive use of force and no-negotiations attitude of President Betancur were widely condemned in Colombia, including in ruling-class circles.

Surviving judges and most of the relatives of those who died boycotted the official funeral. The 30,000-member National Association of Judicial Workers went out on strike to protest the government's refusal to negotiate. A senator on the commission that deals with negotiations with M-19 and other rebel groups quit the committee in protest of the siege.

Betancur himself defended his action, saying it "fortified the principle of legality." While the president continued to call on guerrilla groups to participate in the government's

so-called peace process, the army launched an attack on an M-19 base in southern Colombia on November 10.

After the courthouse siege was over, Bernard Kalb, of the U.S. State Department, told the press that Washington supported Betancur's handling of the situation. The *New York Times* editors wrote on November 9, "To have negotiated under threat even about reasonable demands would have betrayed all that this wise and good President has accomplished."

The *Times* editors asserted that "Belisario Betancur has stood for a peaceful solution to his country's endemic guerrilla problem."

Betancur gained this reputation through the "peace process," which he has made the centerpiece of his presidency since he was elected in 1982. The process resulted in ceasefire agreements signed in March and August 1984 with most of the guerrilla groups that had been fighting the government.

In addition to the ceasefire itself, the armed opposition groups had won promises from the government to carry out a series of political and social reforms, including an agrarian reform, broader electoral and media access for opposition forces, and agreement to convene a "great national dialogue" to discuss the country's future. Betancur has reneged on these promises, as well as violating the ceasefire.

But neither a new ceasefire nor the brutal tactics of the government on November 7 will change the underlying causes of the decades of popular rebellion in Colombia. These are the same poverty, unequal distribution of land and income, and imperialist domination that ensured that thousands of poor Colombians would be the principal victims of a natural disaster like the eruption of Nevado del Ruiz. □

## Washington's war on Angola

By Ernest Harsch

On November 11, Angola marked the 10th anniversary of its independence from Portugal.

The working people of that poor, southern African country have much to celebrate: victory, after years of armed struggle, over brutal Portuguese colonial rule; advances in health care and education; agrarian reform; the growth of trade unions; and other social and political gains.

They achieved this in face of constant imperialist aggression.

As Angola first emerged as an independent state in 1975, it was confronted by a massive South African invasion, backed by Washington. It survived thanks to the timely assistance of thousands of Cuban internationalist volunteers, who helped Angolan troops drive out the South African invaders and defeat the apartheid regime's local counterrevolutionary allies.

Despite that victory, Angola's more than 7 million people have not known a day of peace over the past decade. The imperialists have waged an ongoing war to destabilize the government led by the People's Movement for the

Liberation of Angola (MPLA), to turn back the gains of the Angolan revolution, and to break the Angolan people's active solidarity with the South African and Namibian liberation fighters.

South African troops have repeatedly invaded southern Angola, laying waste to much of the region and setting back the efforts to rebuild and develop the country. Terrorist bands, known as the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), have been organized, armed, and trained by the apartheid regime in Pretoria. They have burned villages, blown up bridges, destroyed food stocks, and massacred peasants and workers.

Since 1975, these combined South African and UNITA attacks have claimed thousands of lives and more than \$10 billion in economic losses.

Now, on Angola's 10th anniversary, Washington is acting to extend the Angolan people's suffering through stepped-up U.S. support to the UNITA terrorists. This U.S. move runs parallel to a recent escalation of Pretoria's direct attacks, marked most dramatically by a large-scale South African troop invasion in

September.

The first indication of Washington's decision to increase its direct ties with and support to UNITA came in early June. Lewis Lehrman, a millionaire friend of President Ronald Reagan, flew U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary figures from Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and Laos into southern Angola to meet with UNITA's leader, Jonas Savimbi. They formed a new, reactionary "Democratic International." Reagan sent special greetings to the conference.

The next month, at the White House's urging, both parties in Congress agreed to repeal the Clark amendment, originally adopted in late 1975, which had formally barred U.S. funding to UNITA and other opponents of the Angolan government.

By the end of October, two separate bills had been introduced in Congress calling for the allocation of open, direct material support to UNITA. One bill, sponsored by representatives Claude Pepper (a Democrat) and Jack Kemp (a Republican), would provide UNITA with \$27 million in "non-lethal" and "humanitarian" aid. This is the same amount that was earlier voted by Congress for the Nicaraguan *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) based in Honduras. The second bill, sponsored by Republican Congressman Mark Siljander, would give UNITA an equivalent sum in military assistance.

Parallel to these congressional moves, the Defense Department and Central Intelligence Agency are drafting plans for the provision of covert military assistance to the Angolan *contras*. According to one official source quoted in the November 1 *Washington Post*, the proposed amount of such aid is in the range of \$200 million to \$300 million.

In a November 1 policy statement in support of the UNITA mercenaries, the Reagan administration stated, "We are at one with this feeling [of sympathy and support for] UNITA resistance to Soviet aggression." By "Soviet aggression," the White House was using its standard propaganda term for the Soviet and Cuban assistance to Angola's legitimate efforts at self-defense.

The same theme was sounded in Reagan's October 24 speech before the United Nations General Assembly. Reagan listed Angola — along with Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and Ethiopia — as one of the countries where "America's moral and material support for struggling resistance forces must not and shall not cease."

Reagan's portrayal of the UNITA terrorists as "struggling resistance forces" fighting against "Soviet aggression" is part of a broader U.S. smear campaign around Angola. Cuba's internationalist assistance to Angola, particularly that of Cuban troops in helping defend the country from South African aggression, is presented as "foreign intervention" and as a threat to neighboring Namibia, now governed as a direct colony of South Africa. Moreover, U.S. officials argue, Namibia cannot gain its independence unless Cuban troops first withdraw from Angola.

This U.S. propaganda campaign is nothing but a smoke screen for Washington and Pretoria's aggression against Angola and for their opposition to the Namibian liberation struggle, led by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

The Angolan and Cuban governments have time and again stressed that the role of Cuban troops in Angola is a defensive one and that their continued presence there is at the request of the sovereign government of Angola. (For comments by Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca on the Cuban role in Angola, see page 722.)

Shortly after the repeal of the Clark amendment, the Angolan Foreign Ministry declared that this move "is further evidence of the complicity which has always existed between the U.S. administration and the reactionary and racist Pretoria regime."

Speaking at the United Nations October 22, Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos criticized Washington's repeal of the Clark amendment and its policy of "constructive engagement" with the apartheid regime.

It is the policies of imperialism, dos Santos said, that are "the real causes of the local armed conflicts which proliferate in various parts of our world and threaten regional and international security and stability."

He said that in southern Africa, the Middle East, and Central America, "men and women are fighting and dying for their right to self-determination, to preserve their independence, or to gain their freedom." These "just struggles," dos Santos said, are being deliberately distorted by "certain Western political circles" in an effort to "hide the true nature of the conflict and continually to postpone its solution." □

## —IN THIS ISSUE—

Closing news date: November 18, 1985

FEATURES	725	The shattering of a British sect — by Doug Jenness
	734	Ideological offensive against women today — by Mary-Alice Waters
PHILIPPINES	716	Marcos calls presidential election — by Will Reissner
ISRAEL	718	Regime's "iron fist" hits West Bank, Gaza — by Steve Craine
CANADA	724	Forum marks Grenada invasion — by Joan Campana
AUSTRALIA	731	Meeting launches Castro book — by Dave Deutschmann
BRITAIN	733	Salvador unionists tour coalfields
PERU	744	Striking metalworkers seek solidarity
SUDAN	744	40,000 hail Arafat in Khartoum
DOCUMENTS	717	Melanesian governments back FLNKS
	721	Castro speaks on southern Africa
	722	Cuban foreign minister on Angola
	729	Healy is "heading for disaster" — by James P. Cannon
	732	Mexican PRT's proposals for reconstruction
	741	Interview with Tomás Borge

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# Marcos calls presidential election

*Dictator bows to U.S. political, financial pressures*

By Will Reissner

Bowing to intense pressure from the Reagan administration, Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos announced November 4 that a snap presidential election will take place January 17.

Marcos, who has ruled the Philippines since 1965, faces growing urban opposition, an increasingly powerful rural guerrilla movement, and labor unrest sparked by the worst economic crisis in the country since the end of World War II.

In recent months Washington has attempted to distance itself from Marcos' corrupt and dictatorial regime. Mass demonstrations regularly lambaste the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship."

Marcos' election announcement has triggered feverish jockeying for position among ruling-class opposition politicians in the Philippines.

The two leading capitalist contenders, either of whom would have Washington's support in a run against Marcos, are former senator Salvador Laurel and Corazon Aquino, widow of murdered opposition politician Benigno Aquino.

Laurel, from a family that has been politically prominent for four generations, was a founder and member of Marcos' New Society Movement (KBL) until he broke with Marcos in 1980. Laurel now heads the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO), a bourgeois anti-Marcos coalition.

Corazon Aquino, known widely in the Philippines as "Cory," played little role in politics until her husband's death. Benigno Aquino was gunned down at Manila's interna-

tional airport in August 1983 when he returned from exile in the United States.

Corazon Aquino is a member of the extremely wealthy and powerful landowning Cojuangco family, which is closely tied to the Marcos regime and owes much of its wealth to the dictator's special favors.

Aquino has stated that she will run for president only if the "Draft Cory Aquino for President Movement" is able to gather 1 million signatures on petitions urging her to enter the race.

The murder of Benigno Aquino on Aug. 21, 1983, triggered gigantic protests against the Marcos dictatorship, which is popularly believed to have organized the killing. Among the 26 men on trial for Aquino's murder is armed forces chief of staff Gen. Fabian Ver, a close Marcos associate. Marcos has vowed to reinstate Ver if, as is generally expected, Ver is acquitted.

Opposition politicians and the U.S. State Department are pressing Marcos to conduct the election without widespread vote fraud. Washington fears that an election stolen by Marcos could unleash a wave of protests that might topple the regime before an acceptable replacement is available.

The opposition is calling for Marcos to resign prior to the vote. The Philippine president has submitted his resignation, to take effect only after the results of the vote have been determined. This allows him to use the vast powers of the state apparatus and military in his election campaign.

The opposition is also demanding accreditation of the National Citizens' Movement for



Free Elections to serve as a watchdog over the elections. In 1984 the organization recruited 150,000 poll watchers for parliamentary elections.

Demands have also been made for an overhaul of the government Commission on Elections, which is made up of Marcos supporters, and for equal access to the news media, abolition of all preventive-detention orders by Marcos, and an end to the use of the military for election purposes.

Anti-Marcos politicians have also called for the election to be put back to March 17 to allow them time to prepare for a campaign.

## High stakes for Washington

Washington's stakes in the Philippines are very high. In addition to the more than US\$1 billion U.S. corporations have invested in the former U.S. colony, the Philippines is the site of the two largest American military bases outside the United States itself — Clark Air Base and the Subic Bay naval station. These facilities are key bases for projecting U.S. military power throughout Asia and the Indian Ocean.

Washington's lease on the bases expires in 1991. The growing anger over U.S. support to Marcos has swelled the ranks of those in the Philippines who oppose renewal of the leases.

The Reagan administration also fears the continued radicalization of the anti-Marcos movement. Particularly worrisome to Washington is the growing strength of the New People's Army guerrillas and the National Democratic Front, a coalition of mass organizations.

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) plays a leading role in the NPA and

## Imelda Marcos visits Moscow

"The Philippines nation is a happy one to have such a first lady, and we are happy to have such a friend in the Philippines as Imelda Romualdez Marcos," stated Yuri A. Sholmov, the Soviet ambassador to the Philippines at a November 7 reception in Manila.

Sholmov's comments came just after Imelda Marcos' return from her seventh visit to the Soviet Union since 1972.

While in the Soviet Union, Imelda Marcos, the country's acting foreign minister as well as first lady, met with President Andrei Gromyko for 90 minutes and discussed improved Soviet-Philippines economic relations.

Upon her return to Manila, Imelda Marcos reported that Soviet trade officials had told her "you let us know where we can help and support you. We will not tell you where we will support you because that is intervention."

Earlier this year, Ferdinand Marcos was awarded a Soviet medal.

Within the Philippines, the Philippine Communist Party (PKP), which looks to Moscow for political direction, has maintained a policy of critical and cautious collaboration with the Marcos regime. PKP leaders have attended functions in the presidential palace.

NDF. Although it developed as a Maoist split from the Philippine Communist Party (PKP), the CPP has in recent years broken its ties with the Chinese Communist Party.

By pressing for elections, Washington hopes to push proimperialist figures to the forefront of the anti-Marcos movement and divide the opposition to the dictator. In particular, the Reagan administration hopes to isolate the New People's Army and National Democratic Front.

#### Economic crisis

The catastrophic economic crisis hitting the 53 million people of the Philippines has provided fertile ground for the growth of the radical opposition. In 1984, the country's gross national product shrank by 5.5 percent, and a drop of 4 to 5 percent is projected for 1985.

Plummeting prices for the country's two major exports — coconuts and sugar — have caused widespread misery in rural areas, where 70 percent of the population lives.

Since October 1983 the Philippines has been unable to repay principal on its foreign debt of more than \$25 billion. But interest payments and a huge flight of capital as the country's wealthy ship their money out of the country have made it impossible for the Philippines to import the raw materials needed for its industries.

The Marcos family itself and many of its closest associates are believed to have invested huge sums of money outside the Philippines. The attitude of many of the country's wealthiest people is expressed by Enrique Zobel, one of the richest businessmen, who said, "If you had money to invest in Southeast Asia, the Philippines is the last place I would tell you to put it now."

#### Guerrilla movement

According to leaders of the New People's Army, there are now 30,000 full- and part-time NPA guerrillas operating in 59 of the country's 73 provinces, up from 20,000 at the end of 1983.

U.S. officials estimate the armed strength of the NPA at 16,500. Western diplomats in Manila report that the NPA politically leads one-fifth of the villages in the country. In some towns, "revolutionary councils" control 50 percent of the neighborhoods.

*New York Times* reporter Steve Lohr traveled with NPA guerrillas through an area of southern Luzon. In the August 11 issue, Lohr described the appeal of the guerrillas to the local peasants:

"In this predominately coconut-growing region, the big farms are typically worked by tenants, who are paid with a share of the crop. Traditionally, the sharecropping arrangement gives the landlord two-thirds of the yield and the tenant one-third.

"When the New People's Army controls an area, according to the rebels and residents, the shares are reversed and the tenant gets two-thirds of the crop."

A Western diplomat in Manila told Lohr: "The N.P.A. is winning — it's that simple."

They aren't about to overthrow the Government now. But if the tide is not turned over the next three to five years, the Communists could be unstoppable."

While the NPA continues to build its armed strength, the influence of the National Democratic Front, a coalition of trade unions and other mass organizations, is also growing. The NDF claims that it now has more than 50,000 full-time organizers working in two-thirds of the country's provinces. An estimated 1 million people are members of the constituent groups making up the NDF.

The growing strength of the anti-Marcos forces is the reason why Washington has taken

its distance from the Philippine dictator.

Since the murder of Aquino, a stream of U.S. emissaries has been sent to Manila to warn Marcos that he had better shape up. Among them were Senator Paul Laxalt, carrying a personal letter from Reagan to Marcos; former UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick; present UN ambassador Gen. Vernon Walters; and Central Intelligence Agency director William Casey.

The Reagan administration has also withheld U.S. economic aid and encouraged the International Monetary Fund to withhold new loans to the Philippines in an effort to boost the pressure on Marcos. □

## DOCUMENTS

# Melanesian states back FLNKS

## Reaffirm support for Kanak independence

[Foreign ministers and officials of the three independent Melanesian countries, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea, together with a representative of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front of New Caledonia [FLNKS], met in Honiara, the capital of the Solomon Islands, on October 3-4 to discuss developments in the French Pacific colony of New Caledonia.

[This was the third consultation meeting this year between the parties to coordinate support by the Melanesian governments for the Kanak independence struggle. Previous meetings were held in Vanuatu and Rarotonga in June and August respectively.

[The following communiqué was issued by the meeting. It is reprinted from the November 1 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.]

\* \* \*

During the meeting, the foreign ministers and officials:

a. Reaffirmed the legitimate right of the Kanak people to independence;

b. Noted with great satisfaction the results of the September 29 elections and expressed their sincere congratulations to the FLNKS for the effective manner in which it had organized itself, and for securing control over the three most economically important regions of New Caledonia;

c. Condemned unequivocally the bombings in Nouméa and the shooting and wounding of a 15-year-old Kanak girl during the period immediately preceding the election by anti-independentist forces;

d. Deplored unequivocally the undue harassment of Kanak villagers and brutal burning of their houses by the French armed forces on the east coast of New Caledonia during the period immediately before the elections;

e. Condemned unequivocally the present French military buildup in New Caledonia and called for the immediate removal of its military presence in New Caledonia;

f. Noted with great concern the undemocratic and provocative manner in which members of the right-wing parties in France had attempted to interfere with and influence the recent elections in New Caledonia;

g. While noting the present developments in the decolonisation process in New Caledonia, they also requested the French government to take further steps towards bringing about full independence for that country and to ensure that this is achieved in a speedy and peaceful manner;

h. Requested the French government to implement electoral reforms in New Caledonia in accordance with the wishes of the Kanak people;

i. Requested the French government to take positive steps to bring about devolution of powers and decentralisation of functions to all the regions of New Caledonia with a view to involving these regions more effectively in the running of their affairs in consonance with the wishes of the Kanaks;

j. Expressed their strong desire and urged all newly elected members of the Regional Councils and Congress in New Caledonia to allow these institutions a chance to develop in a way that would enable the Kanaks to achieve their desired goals;

k. Discussed further the question of reinscribing New Caledonia on the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories and without accepting the reinscription at this juncture, agreed on the involvement of the appropriate organs of the United Nations in the decolonisation process of that country as and when required.

The meeting ended with the understanding that further meetings may be convened on the question of independence for New Caledonia. □

# Regime's 'iron fist' hits West Bank, Gaza

*Palestinians fight back against shootings, deportations*

By Steve Craine

Since August the Israeli regime has reintroduced repressive measures against Arab residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip that it has not used in five years.

But the Palestinian people of these two areas have not been intimidated by this new "iron fist" policy. Instead, resistance to Israeli repression is deepening throughout the territories occupied by Tel Aviv since its 1967 war with Egypt, Jordan, and Syria.

The confrontation is growing between Palestinian people and Israeli efforts to permanently occupy their land. Young Palestinian activists have been inspired by the success of the Lebanese people in driving out the Israeli occupation army earlier this year. The struggle within the occupied territories is taking on a more important role in the overall movement for Palestinian self-determination.

The latest Israeli crackdown on the 1.3 million people of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has taken many forms.

Israeli military authorities in the occupied territories have reintroduced administrative detention without trial as well as political deportations, while individual soldiers and settlers have taken the anti-Arab campaign into their own hands in a rash of attacks and harassing incidents. Dozens of Palestinians have been shot in the past three months.

In early August the Israeli government, led by a coalition of the Labor and Likud parties, approved deportation of "persons who constitute a security risk" and indefinite "administrative detention" for Arabs suspected of security offenses. In the same meeting the government voted to expand prison capacity in the West Bank and to shut down Arab newspapers that publish materials considered inflammatory by the military authorities.

## First deportations in five years

On September 15 the first group of Palestinian deportees was expelled across the border into Jordan. The 18 deportees were former political prisoners who had been released only a few months earlier. They were among the total of 1,150 prisoners exchanged for three Israelis held by a faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Because they were unable to produce residency permits proving they had lived there before 1967, the 18 were accused of having "infiltrated" the West Bank.

Although such deportations had been suspended since 1980, the Israeli High Court ruled on September 12 that the practice could



be resumed. Many other Palestinians, including trade unionists, journalists, and other political activists, are now threatened with deportation (see box).

More than 100 were being held without charges or trials as of late October. Legal authority for such administrative detention is based on 1945 emergency regulations imposed by the British government when it controlled Palestine.

Legal harassment of the Arabic-language press and educational system has also been stepped up in recent months. Under the military law governing the occupied territories the press is strictly controlled.

On October 17 *Al-Bayader al-Siyassi* was suspended for two weeks for having printed an interview with PLO leader Yassir Arafat.

The government accused the recently established weekly *Al-Darb* of being financed by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a component of the PLO, and canceled its license, closing the paper as of October 1.

Later that month an investigating team from the International Federation of Journalists published a report on the status of the Palestinian press. It showed that about 25 percent of material submitted to Israeli censors by Arabic-language papers in East Jerusalem is excised. News of the report itself was also censored. On November 3 Israeli authorities declared several parts of the West Bank "closed military areas," prohibiting travel there by local or foreign

journalists.

Palestinian universities, traditionally centers of opposition to Israeli rule, have also been hit hard by repression. On August 2 an-Najah University, the largest in the occupied territories, was closed down for two months, just weeks before hundreds of its students were scheduled to graduate. Israeli military authorities claimed they had found inflammatory literature on the campus.

Since then 15 of the university's students have been placed in administrative detention, six are under town arrest, and two are scheduled to be deported. This is the sixth time the university, located in Nablus in the West Bank, has been closed since March 1983. In that two-and-a-half-year period the school has lost a total of 255 days of classes.

## New repressive legislation considered

The Knesset (parliament) is also considering new laws aimed at preventing Israeli citizens from supporting or even learning about the demands of the Palestinian people. One measure, introduced in early September, forbids Israelis to have any kind of contact with members of the PLO. The bill, which has the backing of both major parties in the coalition government, would strengthen existing provisions, which prohibit contact with "terrorist organizations" only if such contacts could be "harmful to state security."

In July the Knesset approved without dissent a measure that will bar certain parties from participation in Israeli politics. According to the minister of justice, any party or coalition that "in word or deed . . . negates the existence of Israel as the state of the Jewish people" will be banned from Knesset elections.

Some Israeli politicians are calling for still more repressive legislation. Geula Cohen, representing the right-wing Tehiya party in the Knesset, proposed a law that would deport the entire population of any Arab village after the third time a villager is involved in an attack on Israel.

## Soldiers, settlers join crackdown

These legal moves have encouraged an escalation of official and unofficial acts of violence against Arabs throughout Palestine, both inside Israel's pre-1967 borders and in the occupied territories. A few recent examples indicate the pattern of these attacks.

- On October 6 Israeli border police operating south of Hebron killed four Palestinians and wounded one other. They later claimed the five were responsible for a number of attacks on Israelis over the past two years. Three days later the army imposed curfews on the villages

of the five victims and moved in to demolish the homes of their families. In Surif village, where three of those killed had lived, hundreds of angry residents marched to protest the demolitions.

- In late September three Palestinians, including a six-year-old boy, were killed by Israeli troops in three separate incidents in a single week. Such killings by the occupation army have continued at similar levels for several months.

- The same month the army allowed a mob of Israeli settlers to rampage through the Arab town of Halhoul for three hours, setting fires and smashing windows in cars, houses, and a mosque. The army blockaded the town, preventing its residents from coming or going, while the settlers were allowed to take revenge on the population for an attack on an Israeli bus.

Writing about the Halhoul incident, the October 11 East Jerusalem weekly *Al-Fajr* commented, "Such government-settler conspiracies are becoming more the rule than the exception these days. Since it would not look good for a regular army to terrorise a defenceless population, the government brings in the settlers to do its dirty work. After the settlers go on a spree of vandalism for a few hours, the army appears out of nowhere as the 'good guys' to 'protect' the terrified population and 'force' the 'uncontrollable' settlers out of town."

- In August settlers from the right-wing Gush Emunim movement staged a provocative occupation of a house in the center of Hebron, the West Bank's second-largest city. They were joined by several members of the Knesset, who supported their claim for Israeli ownership of the building. Hebron has been a focus of the struggle to establish new Israeli footholds in previously all-Arab districts. The rabidly annexationist Gush Emunim is based at the Kiryat Arba settlement just outside the city.

- Cases of harassment and brutality by individual soldiers against Palestinians range from arbitrary searches to beatings and shootings without apparent reason. Several West Bank Palestinians have reported being humiliated by soldiers — forced to lower their pants in public or to kiss a donkey. The Israeli army acknowledged an increase in incidents of its soldiers shooting at Arab residents, but in all such cases it concluded that "the soldiers had acted according to their orders."

#### **Palestinians fight back**

As Israeli repression has stepped up in recent months, so has the resistance of the occupied people.

There has been a big increase in knifings, bombings, and other individual acts of resistance in the West Bank and Gaza. Often the targets of such attacks have been symbols of the Israeli occupation. This was the case, for instance, in the September 3 stabbing of a soldier who was guarding an apartment illegally occupied by Israelis in the old market area of Hebron.

On October 21 an unsuccessful attempt was

## **Solidarity with activists facing deportation**

International protests have temporarily stayed the hand of Israeli occupation authorities in the case of four Palestinian activists threatened with deportation.

On November 3 the Israeli High Court issued a temporary injunction halting the military's deportation proceedings against the four men, who were arrested October 27 on suspicion of engaging in "hostile and inciting activities."

The four prisoners are: Ali Abu Hilal, a leader of the Workers Unity Bloc in the West Bank; Hassan Abd al-Jawad, a journalist; Azmi Shuaibi, a dentist who had been elected to the town government of al-Bireh in 1976; and Zaki Statieh, a former political prisoner released in the May 1985 prisoner exchange.

Demonstrations demanding the release of the four men have been held at the Defense Ministry in Tel Aviv, at the West Bank universities of Bethlehem and Bir Zeit, and elsewhere. The university protests were broken up by Israeli troops using roadblocks and tear gas.

International protests have already been sent from organizations and prominent individuals in the United States, Greece, Kuwait, and other countries. More protest messages are urgently needed to force the release of these prisoners. They should be sent to Prime Minister Shimon Peres, the Knesset, Jerusalem, Israel, with copies to Attorney Lea Tsemel, 2 Abu Obeida, Jerusalem, Israel, and Amnesty International, 705 G St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20003, USA.

made to bomb a prison in the city of Gaza while the prison's director and the Israeli minister of police were touring the facility.

Such justifiable responses to repression — ranging from Arab youths throwing stones at Israeli buses to stabbings and bombings — are portrayed in Israel as excuses for further repression.

Other forms of struggle, involving mass participation, have been organized to oppose repression. Shopkeepers in Ramallah staged a general commercial strike on October 10 to protest the Israeli crackdown. Israeli soldiers drove through the city threatening merchants with severe reprisals if they did not reopen their shops. After a number of stores began to reopen, the army suddenly changed its position and declared the entire market area closed for the rest of the day.

The Ramallah commercial strike was coordinated with a student strike at Bir Zeit and Bethlehem universities the same day. An-Najah University had been on strike the previous day to protest the detention of 15 of its students. This strike was one of the first to be supported by all organizations among the students at the Nablus campus. The university had only recently been reopened following the two-month lock-out ordered by the occupation authorities.

With more than 100 new political detainees in Israeli jails, prisoner protests are a focus of opposition to the government's crackdown. Hunger strikes by inmates and supportive sit-ins by their relatives have been held in the West Bank, Gaza, and Israel itself following a September 11 attack by prison guards on detainees in the Ashqelon Prison near the Gaza Strip.

The prisoners there had refused to comply with new harassing regulations. After the tear-gas and bludgeon attack, prison authorities withheld food and water from the inmates for three days.

More than 50 mothers, sisters, and wives of the Ashqelon prisoners began a sit-in at the Gaza office of the International Committee of the Red Cross, demanding information about their imprisoned relatives. On September 24 they escalated their protest to a hunger strike.

The protests, both inside and outside the prisons, quickly spread and adopted more general, political demands. Prisoners in Beersheba and Nablus joined the hunger strike. Hundreds of students, relatives of prisoners, and others held a solidarity meeting at Bir Zeit University October 21. Red Cross offices in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron also saw sit-in protests.

Neither Israeli repression nor Palestinian resistance is new to the West Bank and Gaza. However several recent developments in Middle East politics have stimulated heightened combativity of the Arab masses living under occupation.

Most important of these is the setback suffered by the Tel Aviv regime at the hands of the workers and peasants of south Lebanon in 1984 and 1985. Massive popular resistance to the well-equipped and highly trained Israeli army forced Israel to withdraw after three years of occupation. And residents of the West Bank and Gaza were able to follow this heroic struggle of the Lebanese people every night on Israeli and Arab television broadcasts.

This victory for the Arab people of Lebanon was a tremendous inspiration to Palestinians suffering under occupation.

The resistance also got a boost with the prisoner swap in May. The release of 1,150 Palestinian prisoners in exchange for only three Israeli soldiers was seen as big victory for the PLO. In addition, more than 600 of the 1,150 released fighters returned to their homes in the West Bank, Gaza, and other parts of Palestine.

Although these former prisoners have been closely watched by Israeli military intelligence, and most sources acknowledge that

they have not played a direct role in the increase of attacks on Israeli soldiers and settlers, their return to Palestinian society has had an impact.

The returning prisoners were welcomed as heroes in many cities and villages. Although some have since been rearrested or deported, most are still relatively free to move about and share their experiences as resistance fighters with the people.

The Israeli retreat from Lebanon demonstrated that the Israeli state is not invincible. Tel Aviv's crushing victory over its Arab enemies in the 1967 war established a myth of Israeli might in the minds of many residents of the areas captured at that time.

But a new generation has grown up since then that has no direct memory of the 1967 war. It has seen Israeli governments negotiate the return of Sinai to Egypt and retreat from Lebanon. And it is ready to fight to force a similar retreat from any part of occupied Palestine.

But making the Israeli rulers give up the West Bank or Gaza will be far harder than forcing the retreat from Lebanon.

#### **18 years of land theft**

Unlike in Lebanon, the Israeli government has since 1967 tried to integrate the West Bank and Gaza economically and politically with the rest of Israel. It has spent millions of dollars to build permanent settlements for Israelis in these territories, both as military outposts and as Israeli-controlled economic enclaves. Using the settlements and other means, the government has stolen land from Palestinians and turned it over to government or private Israeli hands.

In the West Bank and Gaza, as in the rest of Palestine, which was incorporated into the Israeli state earlier, the key question is ownership of the land. Within Israel's pre-1967 borders, fully 93 percent of the land is now owned by the state. The portion of West Bank land under Israeli control now stands at 60 percent.

This land has been taken through a variety of legal and semilegal tactics. One million dunams (1 dunam = 0.25 acres) of West Bank land have been seized for "security purposes." Another 430,000 dunams were appropriated by the state because their owners were unable to return following the 1967 war. A similar amount of land on the West Bank that had belonged to the Jordanian government was automatically transferred to the occupying power at the end of the war.

The largest land transfer, however, was made in 1980. At that time some 1.5 million dunams were taken by the Israeli state on the authority of an 1885 Turkish law that granted all unregistered land to the sultan. Israeli lawyers simply claimed the law is still valid, with the Tel Aviv government taking the place of the sultan.

This massive land grab has left the majority of Palestinians without their traditional means of livelihood — farming. More than 700,000 of the occupied territories' 1.3 million people are refugees, and nearly 300,000 of them live

in refugee camps. In the Gaza Strip two-thirds of the residents are refugees and their descendants.

In the camps much of the housing was built in the 1950s as makeshift shelter. In Gaza, where the population density is among the highest in the world, nearly 3,000 homes were destroyed by Israeli troops in 1971 to clear the way for a system of "security" roads.

In addition to the theft of Arab land, Palestinian agriculture is crippled by government regulations designed to protect Israeli farm products. Before 1967 citrus fruit grown in Gaza competed with Israeli fruit on the European market. Now Palestinian exports are regulated by Israel, and Gazan citrus is not allowed in Western Europe. Since 1983 Palestinian farmers have been required to pay a 15 percent value-added tax on their crops. Israeli agricultural producers, in contrast, get substantial government subsidies.

Similar regulations stifle Palestinian industry as well. Goods manufactured in the occupied territories cannot be sold in Israel, while Israeli-made products flood the markets of the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian fishermen in the Mediterranean Sea are restricted for "security" considerations. For the past six months only 6 of Gaza's fleet of 100 fishing boats were allowed to go to sea.

#### **Palestinians seek jobs in Israel**

The strangulation of the Palestinian economy has forced more and more workers to look for jobs in Israel. The portion of Gazan workers employed in Israel jumped from 10 percent in 1970 to around 43 percent in 1980. It is estimated that between 100,000 and 150,000 Arab workers now commute to Israel from the West Bank and Gaza. Of these nearly half are unregistered, "illegal" day laborers.

These unregistered workers travel for hours every day to get to certain areas in Israeli cities known as "slave markets" in the hope of being chosen for a day of menial work. If their quest is unsuccessful, they have to return empty handed that night. As in South Africa, "foreign" workers cannot stay overnight in Israeli cities without a special work permit. Even during the day, unregistered workers can be arrested for soliciting jobs.

Legally sanctioned workers from the occupied territories do not fare much better. They, too, are forbidden to stay overnight in Israel, although many risk arrest to avoid paying for transportation, which can take as much as half a typical day's earnings. Palestinian workers can be fired for attempting to unionize or even for demanding better pay or working conditions.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that Arab workers earn far less and work longer hours and harder jobs than Israelis. Israeli journalist Gidon Levy reports typical pay in a Tel Aviv restaurant kitchen is US\$4 to \$5.50 for an 8 to 10-hour day.

At the same time that Palestinians are being forced to look for work in Israel, more and more Israelis are crossing the pre-1967 border to build commuter settlements, especially in

the West Bank.

Until recently most Israeli settlers in the occupied territories were aggressive Zionists, motivated to act as the shock troops of Israeli expansion. Their settlements were viewed mainly as military outposts and tried to survive as self-sufficient colonies in the midst of hostile territory.

Increasingly, however, new settlements are merely bedroom communities for Israelis working at well-paid professions in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem. These "new" settlers may be less anxious for confrontations with the Palestinians than the Gush Emunim settler movement, but their desire for Palestinian land is just as great and the expansion of these settlements is just as much an obstacle to the return of Palestine to its rightful owners.

There are now about 50,000 Israelis living in the West Bank and Gaza, and plans have been put forward to settle as many as 1 million in the next 35 years. Most of these new settlers would be of the "new" breed. In early 1984 the Israeli government added to the pressure for settlements by extending the guarantee of Israeli social security benefits to any Jew from anywhere in the world who wishes to immigrate to the West Bank or Gaza.

Since the coalition government, now headed by the Labor Party, took office in September 1984, the cabinet has approved six new settlements for the West Bank for 1985 and 21 more in the next four years.

A government-sponsored study of the occupied territories issued in April 1984 declared the de facto annexation of the West Bank and Gaza has passed the point of no return. "For the foreseeable future," the report concluded, "all of Palestine will be ruled by an Israeli government."

The author of the report, Meron Benvenisti, is a liberal Labor Party politician and former deputy mayor of Jerusalem. He claims that his original intention in conducting the study was to prove the opposite conclusion — that it would be possible to return the occupied territories to Palestinian sovereignty. But no significant current in Israeli bourgeois politics seriously proposes giving up the territories.

Even Prime Minister Shimon Peres' talk of negotiating a peace treaty with Jordan's King Hussein and the implication that some of the West Bank might be returned to Jordan have settlers' organizations and many other Israeli politicians up in arms.

The Council of Jewish Settlement in Judea and Samaria (the Zionist term for the West Bank) said the "handing over to the enemy all or part of the Land of Israel are an illegal action and must not be obeyed." It warned that "any Government that performs the aforementioned actions should be regarded as an illegal Government."

Former Likud Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's accusations that Peres has held secret negotiations with Hussein have threatened to break apart the ruling Labor-Likud coalition cabinet. But the real debate among the Zionist rulers is not over whether to hold onto the West Bank and Gaza, but only how to do it. □



# Castro speaks on southern Africa

'History has condemned apartheid to die'

[During the first two weeks of October, three presidents from countries in southern Africa visited Cuba: Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. Their governments — together with those of Angola, Botswana, and Mozambique — constitute the political grouping in southern Africa known as the Frontline States, which provide support and assistance to the liberation organizations fighting in South Africa and Namibia.

[Besides holding discussions with President Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders, Nyerere, Mugabe, and Kaunda were each taken to visit the Hendrik Witbooi school on the Isle of Youth, a part of Cuba where thousands of foreign students, particularly from Africa, are studying under Cuban scholarships. The Hendrik Witbooi school, named after an early Namibian freedom fighter, was originally set up for Namibian students who survived a 1978 South African massacre of Namibian refugees at Cassinga, in southern Angola.

[During their visits to the school, Fidel Castro and each of the three African presidents addressed rallies of students. The following are excerpts from Castro's speeches, which were broadcast over Havana Television on October 1, October 8, and October 15, respectively. We have taken the English translations from the October 3, October 11, and October 21 issues of the *Daily Report* of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service of the U.S. Department of Commerce. The footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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## At rally for Julius Nyerere

For us — for the Isle of Youth, for our country — it is a great honor to have Comrade Julius Nyerere in Cuba, in the island, and in this school. Today we have done something special. On other occasions when visitors came, cultural groups have always been present. But this time, 100 students of each nationality were invited. So, all nationalities on this island — including Nicaraguans, Saharans, all of them — are represented in this event, with over 2,500 students.

This has been done for the first time to honor our dear brother Julius Nyerere. You know him well. He has been struggling for many years. First he fought for the independence of his own country, and ever since he has been the most loyal, steady, and tenacious defender of the movement of struggle for the liberation of Africa. He has been struggling for over 25 years, since he began struggling for his own

country.

But later Tanzania was a foundation and a firm support of great importance for the struggle of the former Portuguese colonies, countries which were ruled by Portugal. He was a firm supporter of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against racism and fascism in that country. He is an ardent and firm supporter of Namibia's independence and, at the same time, an untiring fighter against apartheid and for the liberation of South Africa's masses who are oppressed and exploited.

One cannot say Comrade Nyerere's efforts, tenacity, failed in his support to the liberation movement. This is why we have such a deep appreciation, admiration, respect, and affection for him.

He is visiting Cuba at a time progressive forces are making progress, and the revolutionary forces are advancing. I already explained in May<sup>1</sup> that South Africa is going through one of the most difficult times in its history. And since then you have seen the great crisis the racist and fascist South African regime is going through, not only because of the struggle of the Namibian people for their independence, not only because of the struggle of the Angolan people against South African aggression, but because of the active, growing, insurmountable participation of the South African people. [Applause]

Comrade Nyerere has said very kind and friendly words to our country.<sup>2</sup> He thanked us, but, in reality, we are the ones who have to thank him for all he did for his country, for Africa, for the Third World — because the liber-

1. A reference to a speech Castro gave at the same school on May 29, 1985, during a visit by United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. For the text of that speech, see the July 22 *Intercontinental Press*.

2. In his speech, Nyerere declared, "I have come to Cuba to say thank you to the people of Cuba, to say thank you to them for helping us in the struggle to liberate our continent. In 1975, after the freedom fighters of Mozambique and Angola had helped to liberate Portugal from fascism and to liberate their own countries, South Africa, assisted by the CIA, tried to prevent the MPLA [People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola] from taking over the government of Angola. They would have succeeded but for the support the MPLA got from Cuba. Since then, since 1975, Angola has been under constant attack. Angola would have lost its independence, even after 1975. What has saved Angola has been the commitment of our friends in Cuba to the liberation of our countries.

"So the one reason why I am here is to say thank you to Comrade Fidel, his colleagues, and the people of Cuba for the help they have given us, for the help they are giving us, and I am here also to ask them to continue to give us that assistance."

ation of the African countries contributes to the liberation of Latin American countries. It contributes to the liberation of Third World countries, contributes to the liberation of all oppressed countries.

We fulfill a basic duty. We do it with great pleasure. We have said before that to be internationalist is to pay our own debt we have to humankind. [Applause]

## At rally for Robert Mugabe

In its desperation South Africa attacks all countries, threatens all southern African countries, trains, arms, directs, and supports the mercenary bands that carry out the dirty war against Angola. When the puppets are very worried, they send their troops and their planes to try and save them. South Africa arms, organizes, and directs the mercenary bands that carry out the dirty war in Mozambique. South Africa carries out destabilizing and subversive acts against all Frontline countries.

South Africa illegally occupies Namibia. It oppresses the Namibian people without any reason or justification and against global public opinion.

During these years the Namibian people have not weakened. They have grown, multiplied. Now there are thousands and thousands of combatants from Namibia and more than 1,000 youth prepare themselves in our country or elsewhere for Namibia's future, so that they can serve their country in any area, anywhere. Namibia's future is being constructed now. From the time you are studying now, preparing yourselves, you are constructing the new Namibia.

Racism will not be able to sustain itself even in South Africa. Because of racism and fascism, South Africa is experiencing the worst crisis in all its history as a result of the heroic and growing struggle of the South African people. Apartheid cannot be saved. History has condemned apartheid to die. Sooner or later, apartheid will disappear. [Applause] I am sure! [Crowd chants, "Viva!"]

I am sure that the day is not far off when apartheid will disappear. Because it is not enough for Namibia to be independent. It is not enough that the mercenaries who serve South Africa be defeated and eradicated in Angola and Mozambique. As long as apartheid exists in South Africa, it will be a danger to all the peoples of southern Africa and to all the African peoples.

As long as racism and fascism exist — although Namibia becomes independent, as it will — there will be no security for Namibia,

Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, or any other country in the front line, or for any country in Black Africa, as long as racism exists, as long as apartheid exists!

For this reason, we must not rest in our struggle, which is not only for the consolidation of the independence of the revolutions in Angola and in Mozambique, and not only for the independence of Namibia, but rather for the disappearance of apartheid in South Africa. [Applause, shouts] As long as apartheid exists, there will be no peace.

History teaches us that the peoples achieve victory sooner or later. Here we are having a living example, in Comrade Mugabe and in the delegation from Zimbabwe.

When they began the struggle more than 25 years ago, many must have thought, when will

the day come? How many sacrifices, how many tens of thousands of lives did the independence of Zimbabwe cost? But the Zimbabwean people were strengthened in the struggle, their army was developed in the struggle, its combatants became experienced. They became, simply, invincible.

And today Zimbabwe is not only an independent, sovereign country, it is one of the countries of greatest privilege in Africa and the Third World. As you know, at the ministerial meeting in Luanda of the Nonaligned Movement, the unanimous decision was taken to hold the eighth Nonaligned summit next year in Harare, capital of Zimbabwe.

So, in the middle of this struggle that is so transcendent, in the middle of this great battle of the South African peoples against apartheid

and against racism, more than 100 Third World states will meet in Zimbabwe — the chiefs of government and state of more than 100 countries — and this will be a considerable contribution that will provide extraordinary encouragement for the struggle of the heroic people of Angola, for the struggle of the heroic people of Mozambique, for the struggle of the heroic people of Namibia and of the heroic people of South Africa against racism, fascism, and apartheid.

That is, in the middle of this battle, this transcendent meeting will take place next year in Zimbabwe, and our dear, respected, and admired friend Robert Mugabe will be the president of the Nonaligned Movement in the near future.

We cannot forget that, among the representatives present here of students from fraternal countries who are here on the Isle of Youth, heroic Nicaragua is also represented. They have participated here in these activities. They are one more example that imperialism's attitude is the same everywhere. It is the same in Mozambique, in Angola, in Nicaragua, anywhere — dirty wars, unjust wars, criminal wars.

If, before, the imperialists were able to go anywhere, arrive, and conquer, today they cannot do that, because everywhere they are finding resistance, a patriotic consciousness, a revolutionary consciousness.

When I see you in the schools, when I see you participate in cultural events, the cultural groups, when I see your energy, your intelligence, your revolutionary spirit, I think that those days when the colonialists and imperialists were invading your territories, were oppressing our peoples, were looting our countries are far behind. Those days when tens of millions of Africans were uprooted from their lands and transported to the other side of the ocean by the exploiters to put them to work are gone. It was tens and tens of millions of our forefathers who lived that tragedy.

That history will never again be repeated. I am fully convinced of that when I see you, the representatives of Africa, of the Third World countries, when I see the youths from Nicaragua, when I see the Cuban youths, armed with revolutionary ideas, armed with patriotic ideas, armed with anti-imperialist ideas, armed with internationalist ideas, armed with progressive ideas, all those ideas called one thing or another, such as Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism, summing up revolutionary ideas.

One thing is common in all of you, the revolutionary spirit, revolutionary ideas, the decision to struggle, faith in the future, confidence in yourselves. The imperialists tremble when they see all this. They tremble.

I know that this example of the Isle of Youth is of great concern to them. It makes them worry to know that the youths are studying, that the youths from the Third World learn. Your revolutionary spirit makes them worry, and they are right to worry. They should worry about what is going on everywhere, because the peoples have gained awareness, the

## Malmierca discusses Cuban role in Angola

While attending a ministerial conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries held in Luanda, Angola, in early September, Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca was interviewed by the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*. The interview was published in the September 8 issue of that paper.

The interview focused on the Cuban role in Angola. Asked about the Cuban assistance to African countries, Malmierca noted that Cuba's military assistance to Angola was most often cited in the international press. "Little is said of the collaboration and the contribution to development," he said, referring to Cuba's aid to various countries. "The contribution of Cuban doctors is greater than that offered by WHO [World Health Organization]. Additionally, those doctors go to places where medical attention was never available before."

Malmierca said that in addition to Angola, Cuba provides assistance to Ethiopia, Mozambique, Libya, Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Algeria, Libya, and other African countries, involving aid in more than 25 different kinds of civil, economic, and social activities.

Asked why Cuban internationalist fighters remained in Angola, he replied, "Because it is evident that the racist South African regime has continued its aggressive actions against Angola as well as other neighboring Frontline States. A part of Angolan territory is still being occupied by racist South African forces."

Noting that earlier Cuban-Angolan agreements to begin withdrawing Cuban troops from Angola were halted because of renewed South African aggression, Malmierca outlined the conditions under which such a withdrawal could resume:

"They would be, fundamentally, first for

Namibia to receive its independence according to [United Nations] Security Council Resolution No. 435 of 1978 — real independence for Namibia — which would mean the withdrawal of the South African troops that are illegally occupying Namibian territory to beyond the Orange River. South African aid to UNITA counterrevolutionary troops must cease. Those troops are trying to stop Angola's normal revolutionary development.

"Threats and aggressions from other parts must cease as well, and there must be an international guarantee of respect for the territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty of Angola. Then Angola and Cuba will redefine the reduction of the Cuban military presence in Angola."

In the meantime, Malmierca said, "we have reiterated on several occasions, in joint declarations of the governments of Angola and Cuba, and also in separate declarations of our governments, our intention to extend the Cuban military presence in Angola as long as necessary to fulfill our pledge to defend Angola."

Malmierca continued, "All countries, according to the UN Charter, have the right to give and receive help to and from other states. We are in Angola at the will of the Angolan government, and, at the will of the government and people of Cuba, we extend this military aid. . . ."

"It is our duty. We feel an obligation to be at the side of the Angolan people. We would not want this collaboration to be eternal, or for Angola to suffer aggression for a long time. We want peace and security to be guaranteed so that our troops can return to our homeland. However, we are not intimidated or worried by the criticism of the enemies of peace and independence, who use such adjectives [as "interventionist"] to refer to the Cuban military presence."



Angolans turn out to greet Castro during his visit to that country in March 1977.

peoples have rebelled, and the peoples have decided to die before being oppressed. They have chosen death before slavery. That is why I see in these Isle of Youth schools a symbol of the new times.

I explained to Comrade Mugabe that in these schools the Cuban professors teach physics, mathematics, chemistry, biology, but their country's history classes, the history of each of your countries, are taught by professors from those countries. The political classes of each of the schools are taught by professors from those countries.

We are not the ones who teach political classes. They are taught by the representatives of your countries. The representatives of the parties from the countries you come from are the ones who guide and teach your political and ideological training.

We supply the schools, buildings, laboratories, and classrooms. We cooperate in everything we can, but the political training is given by your own leaders from your countries. In the same manner you maintain the traditions and culture of the countries you come from, you are given political training.

So, imperialism is correct in being worried by these schools on the Isle of Youth. Not that Cuba is disseminating or spreading subversive ideas. No. The ideas do not go from Cuba to Africa; it is the other way around. They come from Africa to Cuba together with you. When they reach Cuba, we find that our and your ideas are the same, that our and your feelings are the same, that our and your internationalist spirit are the same.

Here you have had contact with many youth from other countries who one day will have responsibilities in their homeland. Here the ties that will some day help African unity are also multiplied. Those are the things that we pursue. Ideas are everywhere. Your presence here, your songs, your instructions, your words, demonstrate that revolutionary ideas

have spread everywhere, and that threatens colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism, and racism. [*Crowd chants, "Down with imperialism! Viva Cuba! Viva Fidel!"*]

When speaking of Cuba's internationalist spirit, we say it is the same internationalist spirit belonging to you. When speaking of Cubans who have struggled and are ready to struggle with the African peoples, that is nothing extraordinary. We know that if the imperialists would one day decide to invade Cuba, you would struggle here with our people in defense of this bulwark of the revolution, which is the Isle of Youth and Cuba. [*Applause*]

Internationalism is true both ways, from Cuba to Africa and Africa to Cuba. Despite any other considerations, we are brothers in ideas and in blood. Do not forget that many of your ancestors came to Cuba and are a part of our people and our blood. We are Africans and Cubans, brothers in ideas and brothers in blood. [*Applause*]

Homeland or death, we shall win! [*Applause, shouts*]

Now that I am hearing the slogans being chanted by our Saharan brothers, I want to express in the name of our people, our sympathy, our admiration for their heroism, our faith in the victory of the heroic Saharan people, our support, and our complete solidarity.

## At rally for Kenneth Kaunda

Dear Comrade Kaunda, dear comrades of the Zambian delegation, dear African students — that includes Angolans, Mozambicans, Namibians, Congolese, Western Saharans, who are also Africans, and dear Nicaraguan comrades whom I have not mentioned:

Now we do have a record. In less than two weeks, in 13 days, we have had the privilege of visiting this location, first with Comrade Nyerere. Do you remember him? [*Shouts of "Yes!"*] Now we are visiting with Comrade Kaunda.

See what important personalities and what great friends have visited you these days? That demonstrates that they do not forget even for one minute the liberation movement and the struggle of the African people to consolidate their independence, their social progress, and above all Namibia's struggle for independence, and the struggle of the African people against apartheid. Do not forget that for even a moment.

This very school was founded almost seven years ago, and the foreign schools on the Isle of Youth are more than seven years old. It is now consolidated by practice and has produced extraordinary results. There is no other location in the world where this kind of experience exists. Here you have what signifies the future of your peoples, the opportunity to relate with students of other African countries, and not just from Africa, but also from Asia, like the comrades from Yemen, or the Nicaraguans who also study on this island.

As you will remember, the first students from Namibia were in the lower grades, and there are now Namibian students studying at the university. That's right. There are some, a group, I do not know how many, but there is a group of these first students studying at the university. A large number of university scholarships have been granted for students from Namibia, taking into account that Namibia is not yet independent.

You will leave this school prepared for life, prepared for a useful job in your own countries. In addition, you are developing your love for your countries. You are developing your customs, your traditions, your culture and above all you are developing a great revolutionary conscience.

The visitors are impressed by this, even visitors who are not Africans — visitors from the United States, legislators, representatives, journalists — are impressed by these schools because these schools are teaching them an important lesson.

They cannot forget that a relatively short time ago they took men and women from Africa to make them into slaves. During almost four centuries they kept tens of millions of African men and women enslaved. That era is becoming very distant. The era of slavery and colonialism is becoming very distant.

Today, the great majority of African peoples are independent. Only a few have not achieved independence, including Western Sahara, Namibia, and the people of South Africa, who live under brutal oppression.

The fact that the era of slavery and colonialism is being left behind does not mean that justice has triumphed in this world, although independence has triumphed.

You know that the developed capitalist countries continue to exploit us. They continue to pay very low prices for your products. They continue to sell us what they produce at very high prices.

What is more, it was our countries that financed the development of the industrialized capitalist world, with the sweat and blood of tens of millions of men who worked as slaves. The development of Europe and the United States was financed with the sweat and blood of tens of millions of men from Latin America and the Third World. Historically, those who enslaved us, those who colonized us, are responsible for our underdevelopment and backwardness and poverty. [*Applause*]

For this reason we demand that the economic crisis be resolved, that the foreign debt of Third World countries be canceled, and that the new international economic order be established because our peoples have a right to live and because it is only fair that tens of millions of human beings cease one day to die of hunger every year in the Third World.

We aspire to a world in which there will not be hundreds of millions of illiterate men and women. We hope that one day there will not be billions of persons without medical care. We hope that one day there will not be hundreds of millions of unemployed men and women.

For this reason, we must continue to fight

very hard for a world that is different from today's, for a more just world, for a world in which all men and women have a right to work, to eat, to well-being, and to justice. [Applause]

We have achieved independence but many forms of exploitation still exist. And some peoples such as those of Namibia and Western Sahara are still not independent. And the people of South Africa have not achieved independence or the most elementary human rights either.

Comrade Kaunda thanked us for our hospitality, when really we should thank Comrade Kaunda and his delegation for their visit, which is the culmination of a historic period for this island, this island on which one breathes a revolutionary spirit, which is why I said our visitors are impressed. Our friends are pleased.

Today we can rejoice because of the great progress and great success these schools have shown. Presently, there are 37 schools in the island — almost half, not half yet — that are used by students from other brother countries.

I imagine that if things continue as they do — because for one reason or another more schools keep opening — undoubtedly the time will come when there will be more schools with students of brother countries than the number of schools with Cuban students. The time will come when the Isle of Youth will mainly be the African Isle of Youth. [Applause]

I was joking with Comrade Kaunda and was telling him that surely one day the special municipality of the Isle of Youth will request its membership in the OAU [Organization of African Unity]. [Applause] But although we are not officially in the OAU, there is an organization presided over by Comrade Kaunda of which we are a part.

Which organization? [Inaudible response from crowd] Which? [Inaudible response] No, another one. [Inaudible response] No, another one. [Inaudible response]

We claim the right and honor to be part of the Frontline States.

Homeland or death, we shall win! [Applause, chants]

achieve their power: you can kill our leaders, but you truly can't kill the spirit of our people."

#### Grenada under U.S. occupation

Following the film, Lennie Fleary spoke. Fleary was Grenada's honorary vice-consul in Toronto during the revolution. He is currently the coordinator of the Organization of Grenada Nationals in Toronto. Fleary expressed his "warmest thanks to the members of the Revolutionary Workers League for commemorating Maurice Bishop and keeping the spirit of the Grenada revolution alive."

Are the Grenadian people better off now after the overturn of the revolution? he asked.

Price controls on basic food items like bread, eggs, and milk have been removed. The house improvement program introduced by the revolution has been dropped and land reform turned back. Police brutality has risen, with several killings reported.

The U.S. imperialists' promise that they would bring jobs to Grenada has been proved a fraud. "When the Americans came, unemployment was down to 12 percent from 49 percent before the revolution. It is now back to 40 percent and still rising," he said.

The new government cannot manage the economy and "it is a shambles." This situation, Fleary continued, has been seized upon by the former demagogic dictator Eric Gairy. Using tactics similar to those that provided a base for his initial rise to power in the early 1950s, Gairy is currently organizing a series of strikes.

#### Invasion or 'rescue mission'?

The current prime minister, Herbert Blaize, installed in the wake of the U.S. invasion, has described that operation as an "intervention" or "rescue mission," Fleary explained. "For Mr. Blaize it was an 'intervention.' For those who had their licenses renewed to exploit people, those who get high profits now, it was a rescue mission."

But to those people who had their homes bombed and burned out by the U.S. marines, to the residents of the mental hospital that was bombed, and still not rebuilt, it was an invasion. To the "girls gainfully employed under the revolution and now having to sell their bodies to get food, it was an invasion. So it all depends which side you're on," Fleary added.

The struggle in Grenada is continuing, Fleary reported. Members of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM) are continuing the work of the Bishop-led wing of the NJM. They are building a youth group and publishing a paper, *Indies Times*. "They are moving forward," said Fleary, citing a rally organized by the MBPM "of thousands of people" held on October 20 in Grenada.

It was an inspiring evening of tribute to a great revolution and an outstanding revolutionary leader. The spirit was well captured by Nadia Bishop's closing remarks: "Hope, struggle, and fight, and victory will be yours. In the spirit of my father, 'Forward Ever, Backward Never!'" □

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## Canada

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# Forum marks Grenada invasion

## Maurice Bishop's daughter speaks in Toronto

### By Joan Campana

TORONTO — An inspiring meeting to commemorate the Grenada revolution was held here October 25, two years to the day after the invasion of that Caribbean island by U.S. marines. The U.S. invasion and military occupation put a definitive end to the people's revolution begun in March 1979 under the leadership of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) and its central leader Maurice Bishop.

A highlight of the evening was a talk by Nadia Bishop, the 16-year-old daughter of Maurice and Angela Bishop. Angela and her son John were also present at the forum, which was organized by the Toronto chapter of the Revolutionary Workers League (the section of the Fourth International in Canada) and the Young Socialist Organizing Committee.

Nadia Bishop described the "love, compassion, and dedication, the bond between my father and our people."

Under the workers' and farmers' government headed by Prime Minister Bishop, the toiling Black workers and farmers of Grenada made important gains, from a radical expansion of democratic rights to lowered unemployment, land reform, and protection of women's rights.

"Dad had great commitment to his beliefs and he stood by them and his principles to his death," Nadia Bishop said. "And like my mother says, this is what separates the men from the boys. It's all well and good to say you believe in something, but to live your beliefs,

to put them into action — that is the hard part. That is what made Maurice Bishop great."

The audience of 70 also viewed the film *Maurice*, which explains how, under the pressures of imperialism, an impatient, ultra-left clique in the NJM, led by Bernard Coard, carried out a counterrevolutionary coup against Maurice Bishop and the revolutionary government, overthrowing it and opening the door to the U.S. invasion. The Coard grouping had Maurice Bishop placed under house arrest and then executed him along with several other central NJM leaders on Oct. 19, 1983.

#### 'Cannot kill the spirit of our people'

In introducing the film, Nadia Bishop explained, "In each era there are many great men and women murdered. . . . But we in this room, people who stand for freedom and justice" will win in the end. "You see, they kill our leaders, our heroes, but for every person exploited in Grenada, for every man murdered in South Africa, for every child missing in Nicaragua, we get stronger.

"They do not understand the one fundamental thing that will defeat them in the end. They don't understand that [our] pain does not defeat us, it strengthens our commitment to the principles our people were killed for.

"So we say to them that if and when they do assassinate our leaders, we won't stick our heads in the ground. . . . From the strength we have gained we will get another leader. Those people who exploit, suppress, and murder to

# The shattering of a British sect

*The politics behind the Workers Revolutionary Party's degeneration*

By Doug Jenness

For the past few weeks the British press has been filled with lurid headlines about what has been dubbed the "reds in the beds scandal." With blazing front-page banners such as "Sex scandals claim splits Trotskyites," "Girls lured to Red Gerry's casting couch," and "Sex storm rocks Vanessa's party," big-business dailies have been creating quite a stir.

What triggered this latest flush of yellow journalism is a split in the central leadership of the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), one of the main organizations in Britain claiming adherence to Trotskyism.

On October 19 the WRP central committee expelled Gerry Healy, for many years the cult figure of the WRP and its predecessor, the Socialist Labour League (SLL).<sup>1</sup>

The stated reason for the expulsion was that Healy abused his authority for "personal gratification" by using party facilities for "sexual liaisons with female members" of the party's staff. This charge was based on the contents of a letter sent to the WRP's political committee by Aileen Jennings, Healy's secretary for 19 years. Jennings named 26 young women with whom Healy is alleged to have organized "liaisons." This pattern of behavior, Jennings asserted, had been going on for more than 20 years.

The leadership majority that expelled Healy is headed by Michael Banda and Cliff Slaughter, colleagues of Healy's for many years. Banda, who succeeded Healy as the party's general secretary in 1976, now makes the implausible declaration that prior to Jennings' letter he knew nothing about the sex "affairs" that Healy has now been charged with and expelled for.

At least 13 WRP central committee members, including the well-known actress Vanessa Redgrave and her brother Corin Redgrave, are sticking with Healy. Also backing the expelled WRP chief is Alex Mitchell, for many years a leading writer for *News Line*, the party's daily newspaper, and several other members of the paper's staff.

The Healy supporters have publicly announced that they represent the true continuity of the WRP and have begun publishing their own newspaper twice weekly, with the same name and appearance as Banda's *News Line*. They are also putting out a youth paper, *Young Socialist*, that looks virtually identical to the publication of the same name published by Banda's youth supporters.

Vanessa Redgrave has taken court action



Gerry Healy, expelled from WRP.

against Banda and seven other WRP leaders demanding they return property she claims is hers.

The split, which ruptured the long-time leadership core of the WRP, apparently came as a surprise to many party members. There are reports of representatives of both Healy and Banda giving orders to confused party bookstore managers about what literature they should and should not carry. The Banda adherents have announced that they plan to reregister the WRP's entire membership to determine who is with them.

The WRP is also the kingpin in an international outfit called the International Committee of the Fourth International. The U.S. and Sri Lankan affiliates of this London-oriented body are backing Banda, and the Greek and Spanish groups are supporting Healy.

The big-business press is having a field day with this split. Not only has it seized an opportunity to peddle more papers by sporting sensational headlines about the latest "sex scandal," it is also attempting to smear the entire left. The media barons are depicting "reds" as corrupt, bureaucratic, and bizarre, in order to discourage people from having anything to do with communists or the causes they support or participate in.

#### Not over politics?

The editors of the big dailies are also trying to convince their readers that there is nothing political involved with the crisis in the WRP.

"Splits in far-left parties are not uncommon," a reporter for the *London Observer*

wrote November 3. "What is unprecedented in Britain, however, is for differences to develop over sexual rather than ideological deviance."

This misestimation might at first appear correct to many in the workers' movement, as well. The WRP's behavior is so bizarre that some radicals may think it best to ignore the whole affair, lest some of the mud that's being slung end up on them.

This is an error, however. The shattering of the WRP is the most recent stage in the political degeneration of an organization afflicted with the fatal *political* disease of sectarianism. The immense pressures on relatively small formations in the workers' movement tend to make them susceptible to this virus, so a clear understanding of the origins and evolution of the WRP's political policies and practices can help clarify the road forward for working-class revolutionists.

Two things in particular have characterized the political degeneration of the Healy-Banda organization since the 1950s.

First is an elevation of dogmatic schemas — falsely labeled "theory" — above the application, adjustment, and enrichment of true Marxist theory through the unfolding of the actual class struggle. This first became clear around the SLL's refusal to recognize that a revolution of enormous political importance and progressive results had occurred in Cuba in 1959.

Second is an elevation of apparatus-building above active involvement in the labor movement and in real politics. This is the inevitable organizational consequence of the SLL's retreat from an objective approach to politics, and it has transformed the organization into a bureaucratic swamp.

#### Origins of political degeneration

To trace the origins of the political degeneration of the WRP and its predecessor, the SLL, we have to go back more than 20 years. Healy, Banda, and other WRP leaders split from the Fourth International in 1963, while falsely claiming to represent the political continuity of that international organization and to stand on its founding programmatic documents.

New Park, the WRP's publishing house, remains the biggest British publisher of the writings of Russian communist Leon Trotsky, one of the founding leaders of the Fourth International.

The political degeneration of the SLL became most obvious shortly after the Cuban victory in 1959. The Healy-Banda leadership refused to recognize that the revolution in Cuba had led to the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government and then to a workers' state in that country. Moreover, it persistently denied the revolutionary capacities of the leadership headed by Fidel Castro and its

1. The Socialist Labour League was formed in 1959. In 1973 it changed its name to Workers Revolutionary Party.



Union.)

The document adds that the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments "are Bonapartist regimes where a section of the bourgeoisie leans upon the working class and peasantry in order to carry out certain economic reforms but, at the same time, makes absolutely sure that the working class cannot politically organise itself independently of the bourgeois state apparatus."

These struggles, the WRP declared, point indisputably "towards the building of independent revolutionary parties of the International Committee of the Fourth International based not on bourgeois nationalism — but on international socialism and, with it, an irreconcilable struggle against Stalinism and revisionism."

The document concludes that "Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution today assumes the most critical relevance in the building of the International Committee of the Fourth International and in organising the victory of the world socialist revolution."

The WRP has also adopted a sectarian approach to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

A May 3, 1985, statement issued by the International Committee declared: "Smash apartheid with socialist revolution. Fight for the dictatorship of black Azanian workers." The document urged a "Fight for a socialist government based on workers and poor farmers' councils."

The African National Congress (ANC) — which is fighting to lead the national, democratic revolution to bring down the apartheid state — is slandered as "an agency of compromise and reformist treachery." Moreover, the WRP echoes the red-baiting attacks of the capitalist rulers by repeatedly referring to the ANC as "Stalinist-dominated."

It is clear from the charges and countercharges that both the Banda and Healy supporters still hold tightly to the basic articles of faith that have characterized their sect for more than two decades.

For example, one Healy supporter told a *London Observer* reporter that Banda wants to forge links with other left-wing groups, including the Labour Party. This "would be a total betrayal of Trotsky's own doctrine of the 'permanent revolution,'" he charged.

Each group is also accusing the other of abandoning "dialectical materialism" and becoming "empiricists." One of the peculiar crotchets of this sect from its beginning has been the elevation of dialectical materialism to a principle of faith, totally severing it from its scientific moorings.

#### Fourth International's reorientation

The Healyites' sectarian position on Cuba was in sharp contrast to the stand of the big majority of forces in the Fourth International.

In 1953 the International had split, with one wing calling itself the International Secretariat and the other the International Committee. Although the political differences behind the split were receding by 1956, it was above all the

victory of the Cuban revolution that demonstrated that the two formations stood on common political positions.

The majority on both sides championed the revolution, welcomed the emergence of a new revolutionary leadership, and agreed that a workers' state had been established in Cuba by the end of 1960. The Fourth International placed itself in the front ranks of the defenders of the Cuban revolution.

When reunification took place in 1963, a minority of the International Committee, headed by Healy and Pierre Lambert, a French Trotskyist leader, refused to take part.

Unlike Healy and Lambert, who stubbornly held to their sterile schemas, the big majority of forces in the Fourth International began a fundamental political reorientation in response to the Cuban revolution — a reorientation that continues today.

The historic conquests of the Cuban workers and peasants helped clarify several important features of the revolutionary process. This included a more accurate appreciation of the revolutionary and weighty role of the peasantry in the struggle against imperialist oppression and for land, and of the decisive importance of forging an alliance of the exploited producers in taking state power and establishing a workers' and peasants' government.

Moreover, the character and tasks of the workers' and farmers' government that emerges as a result of a successful anti-capitalist revolution became clearer. This included recognizing the relationship between this government and the transition to establishing a workers' state based on new property relations.

The lessons of the Cuban experience helped us better understand the Algerian revolution between 1962 and 1965. The Fourth International recognized that the victorious struggle for independence under the leadership of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) led to the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government.

In contrast, within days after Algeria won its independence from France in 1962, the SLL's newspaper carried an article with the following headline: "Algeria — situation unchanged — No gains for workers and peasants."

The emergence of the Cuban leadership confirmed the most fundamental perspective of the Fourth International. It showed that revolutionary currents would arise independent of Stalinist and Social Democratic organizations. It advanced the struggle to construct a new revolutionary world movement in continuity with the internationalist program and strategy of the Communist International of Lenin's time.

#### Building an apparatus

Disastrous organizational consequences accompanied the SLL's abandonment of its Marxist bearings. When a political party no longer takes facts into account in determining its political policies, its organizational methods become separated from the actual class struggle. In the SLL this bred a preoccupation with constructing a bloated apparatus to

demonstrate the party's alleged strength. This process began in the Healyite organization even before its break with the Fourth International over Cuba.

The SLL, a relatively small propaganda group, built up a full-time staff grossly disproportionate in size to its overall membership. In 1969 it began publishing a daily newspaper. All of this was erroneously equated with "party building."

A professional full-time staff is an invaluable asset to a revolutionary workers' party. But its size and character must be governed by the size and experience of the party and the tempo of the class struggle.

The Healyites, however, substituted their big apparatus for pursuing those avenues in the class struggle where relatively small political groups can participate and win new members and political influence in the working class. The SLL abandoned a *political* approach to party organization in favor of an administrative one.

Such organizational practices are always accompanied by bureaucratism. A huge apparatus such as the one the Healyites created develops its own momentum and needs. Party activity more and more centers on servicing the apparatus. Its financial and personnel appetite must be fed regardless of what is happening in the class struggle.

Party democracy is also gutted. When the needs of the apparatus are placed ahead of serious political work in the labor movement and other struggles, democratic functioning is no longer a priority. Democratic discussion and decision making are only necessary when political policy is being tested in the living class struggle and discussion and adjustments based on the experience of an active membership are required.

Bureaucratism also spawns hooligan methods and paranoia. The Healy-Banda apparatus has used heavy-handed methods for dealing with dissidents inside the organization. It also has resorted to gangster attacks, reminiscent of the Stalinist movement, against political opponents.

One of the most notorious cases occurred in 1966 when six SLL goons under the personal supervision of Healy brutally beat British revolutionist Ernest Tate. They smashed his glasses and kicked him until passersby pulled them off. Tate had to be hospitalized.

Tate at the time was a leading British Fourth Internationalist and a prominent activist in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

This shameful and cowardly act was widely condemned in left circles and unions in London. It is documented in *Marxism vs. Ultraleftism* referred to earlier.

A bureaucratic sect also has a tendency to develop a cult around its central leader. When objective evaluation of the unfolding class struggle is dumped, then interpreting the true faith becomes decisive. This is the role of the cult figure. Moreover, this mode of leadership is suited to arbitrating differences that develop in the apparatus itself.

Now that the Banda gang has parted com-

pany with Healy, it has suddenly discovered that he had functioned as a cult leader. An article in the November 7 *News Line* published by the Banda group declared that Healy's supporters "have no need to analyse the objective situation for one simple reason. It corresponds exactly to the divine thoughts of the leader of their cult, G. Healy."

But, so far, Banda's supporters haven't explained how for many years they were among the most loyal cult followers. Perhaps as long-time cultists, they have now transferred their devotion to Banda.

#### Nationally oriented 'international'

Substituting building an apparatus for building a party inevitably leads increasingly to a narrow, nationalist approach to politics, as well. In 1963 when the majority of the former International Committee participated in the reunification of the Fourth International, the Healyite minority in a few countries maintained a rump organization retaining the same name.

But this outfit had nothing in common with a proletarian international. Its so-called national sections soon became little more than branch offices of the London-based apparatus. They raised funds for the center, while carrying out the most atrocious policies of the British organization in their countries.

The apparatus approach of the WRP can only be sustained around a national orientation. A revolutionary communist international cannot be built that way. A real revolutionary international has to be based on political parties that are actively engaged in the class struggle in their own countries, where they can test their positions, make mistakes, correct them, and make their own decisions. It cannot be built by groups that are water carriers for a national apparatus in another country or that subordinate their own democratic decision-making process to the ruminations of a high priest.

In the past 20 years the so-called International Committee of the Fourth International has suffered some erosion. In 1971 its French affiliate, led by Pierre Lambert, defected to establish its own nationally oriented international group to "reconstruct" the Fourth International. The Bolivian "section" of the International Committee went with Lambert.

In 1974, nearly 200 members of the WRP in Britain were purged by the Healy-Banda leadership. Prominent among them was Alan Thornett, a central committee member and an active leader in the union movement in Oxford. Thornett's followers later established the Workers Socialist League.

Around the same time Tim Wohlforth, the national secretary and founding leader of the Workers League, Healy's U.S. affiliate, was purged.

In 1976 a major split occurred in the one remaining group with significance in the IC, the Workers Internationalist League in Greece.

#### Agent-baiting

Totally connected with its political and or-

ganizational degeneration, the Healyite organization mounted a vitriolic slander campaign against the Fourth International and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

The WRP employed violently factional rhetoric and concocted falsifications to cover up its rapid retreat from Marxism. As this campaign reached a fever pitch, another element began to be introduced — agent-baiting, one of the worst curses in the workers' movement.

In 1972 the SLL had attempted to smear Bala Tampoe, a prominent Sri Lankan Fourth Internationalist, for allegedly having "associated with the CIA."

Then in 1974 the Healy-Banda gang charged Nancy Fields, a leader of the U.S. Workers League and companion of WL National Secretary Wohlforth, with being a CIA agent. They were both purged when Wohlforth refused to submit to these baseless charges against Fields.

Shortly after he was driven out of the Workers League, Wohlforth wrote a long account about the treatment Healy and his cohorts dished out to him and Fields. Joseph Hansen, the editor of *Intercontinental Press* at the time, published this account in early 1975.<sup>5</sup>

Shortly following the publication of these articles, the Healyite agent-baiting campaign took an insidious new turn. Hansen, a long-time leader of the SWP and Fourth International, was charged with complicity in the 1940 assassination of Leon Trotsky. Hansen was the author of many of the SWP's principal resolutions and articles on the Cuban revolution and played a central role in exposing Healy's sectarian political degeneration and bureaucratic organizational methods.

He was serving as a secretary for Trotsky in Mexico at the time of the assassination, which was incontestably proven to be the work of Joseph Stalin's secret police.

The Healyite charge paralleled the accusation that the Stalinists made at the time of the assassination. In order to direct attention away from their own guilt, they asserted that Trotsky had been killed by one of his own followers.

When George Novack, another long-time SWP leader, wrote an article defending Hansen, he was also labeled an "accomplice" of the Soviet police.

The Healyites later added to their campaign of lies that Hansen was an FBI agent.

The Healyite presses rolled out article after article and pamphlet after pamphlet presenting "documents" and "evidence" to bolster their frame-up. But there was not one bit of truth to any of it. It was a concoction of lies.

The WRP's operation is based on the notion that if a lie is repeated often enough and broadcast widely enough, some people will be persuaded that there must be something to it.

From the beginning, the SWP waged a counteroffensive against this slander crusade. Hansen wrote several major articles refuting each lie and exposing the entire frame-up na-

ture of the operation.

These articles, as well as many statements and articles by other leaders and sympathizers of the Fourth International and by leaders of other groups considering themselves Trotskyist, were published as a pamphlet.<sup>6</sup>

A meeting of 1,200 was organized in London in January 1977, where Fourth International leaders and other speakers condemned the Healyite slander.

When Hansen died in early 1979, the Healyites proceeded to charge that Hansen had recruited and trained a younger group of government agents and had "elevated" them into positions of leadership responsibility in the SWP. With this frame-up, the Healyites have been able to keep up their calumny against the SWP and the Fourth International.

A major part of this disruption operation against the SWP and the Fourth International involves a lawsuit filed in July 1979 against the SWP. The suit was filed by Alan Gelfand, a lawyer for Los Angeles County in California. Gelfand entered the SWP in 1976 to disrupt it from within and was expelled from the party in January 1979 after he filed a legal brief in federal court charging that the SWP is a front for the FBI.

Gelfand's lawsuit, which was proven to have been filed in direct collaboration with the WRP and the Workers League, asks the U.S. courts to remove the SWP leadership and reinstate Gelfand into membership. The spurious grounds for this demand is the claim that Gelfand was expelled by U.S. government agents who had taken over the SWP.

For four years U.S. District Court Judge Mariana Pfaelzer rejected every effort by the SWP to have the case thrown out of court.

The case finally came to trial in March 1983. Pfaelzer admitted at the conclusion of the trial that Gelfand had produced not one shred of evidence that the SWP leaders are government agents. But she has still made no ruling on the Gelfand suit, nor on the SWP's motion for legal fees and expenses to cover the large costs of defending the party against this disruption.

Since the split in the WRP, neither Banda's nor Healy's group appears to have said anything about the WRP's agent-baiting campaign against the SWP. Judging from the highly charged invectives they have been slinging at each other, however, it's clear that both sides are holding fast to the WRP's traditional smear tactics.

The split, however, has shed some light on the way agent-baiting was used inside the organization to attack political opponents. One of the charges the Banda gang brought against Healy in expelling him was that he accused the current Workers League national secretary, David North, of being a CIA agent.

Thus, it's possible that the fallout over the next few months from the party's breakup will

5. This document was published by *Intercontinental Press* in four installments in the issues of February 24 to March 17, 1975.

6. *Healy's Big Lie: The Slander Campaign Against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the Fourth International*, Education for Socialists Publication. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 for \$4.00 plus \$ .75 postage.



produce a few bits and pieces about the slander campaign against the SWP and other organizations.

For years the WRP has religiously stuck to its shibboleths, refusing to be deterred from its sectarian course by the concrete facts of the world class struggle. This was shown once again by its sectarian response to the challenge presented by the big revolutionary developments in Central America and the Caribbean — events that are testing all currents in the workers' movement.

But the hammerblows of the class struggle, above all in its home base of Britain, have not ignored the WRP.

The British employers' drive to alter the re-

lationship of class forces more in its favor, shown most clearly in the recent miners' strike, is challenging the entire labor movement. Big differentiations are taking place in the unions and the Labour Party as various forces respond to this challenge in different ways. The entire left is also being shaken up by this ferment, resulting in splits and new realignments.

This shake-up in the British labor movement, generated by the concrete reality of the class struggle, has also penetrated the brittle sectarian shell in which the WRP is enclosed and torn it asunder.

Facts are stubborn things, and can be very vengeful ones for those who ignore them. □

## DOCUMENTS

# 1961 James P. Cannon letters

## Healy is 'heading toward disaster'

[The following are excerpts from two letters by James P. Cannon on the Cuban revolution and the implications of the sectarian stand taken by Gerry Healy and his supporters toward it.

[The first letter, dated May 12, 1961, was addressed to Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. The second letter was sent to the SWP Political Committee on May 22, 1961.

[At the time the letters were written, the SWP was conducting an internal discussion in preparation for its national convention in June. Cannon's letters, along with other correspondence by him, appeared in the SWP *Discussion Bulletin* in June.

[The big majority of delegates at the convention adopted the position, already reached by the party's national committee, that the Cuban revolution opened the socialist revolution in Latin America.

[Cannon, a founder and long-time leader of the Fourth International and the SWP, was living in Los Angeles at the time he wrote these letters.

[Deletions are indicated with ellipses.]

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### Letter to Dobbs

The breach between us and Gerry is obviously widening. It is easier to recognize that than to see how the recent trend can be reversed. In my opinion, Gerry is heading toward disaster and taking his whole organization with him. The position they have taken on Cuba is much worse than a political mistake. Their approach to the question is not revolutionary, but scholastic, as is the case also with the position of our own minority. And what is worse, if that is possible, it is not objectively motivated. . . .

It is clear beyond dispute now that what began as a national democratic revolution, under the leadership of middle-class intellectuals, has developed into a thoroughgoing

socialist revolution. And even this momentous and indisputable fact is only half the story. In the process, the middle-class intellectuals at the head of the movement, who began as national democrats, have themselves developed into socialist revolutionists, proclaiming themselves as such and acting accordingly. And they must be supported as such.

From now on, discussion of the next necessary steps in the Cuban revolutionary process — the formal organization of a revolutionary socialist party and the formal construction of a representative workers' government, based on workers' organizations, must be discussed from these premises, which are not merely assumptions but realities. We must state frankly that the Cuban revolution is our revolution. We must identify ourselves with it, and work with it, and offer our criticisms, suggestions, and proposals for the next steps — as part of the revolution as it is, with the leadership as it is. Anything else would be wiseacre scholasticism, or worse.

This is a fundamental question — the question of a socialist revolution. All other considerations must be subordinated to the adoption of a clear and definite position on the Cuban revolution by the convention.

More than that, I don't think we should take the formal negative arguments on the "Cuban question" at face value. That appears to be only a peg designed to serve other purposes not frankly disclosed. But the simple fact that people should take the most burning, the most actual problem of revolutionary policy at the present moment as a peg in a factional maneuver for undisclosed aims is in itself a merciless condemnation of their whole approach, their whole method. The hysterical hue and cry about Pabloism<sup>1</sup> is in reality aimed at us and designed to scare us away from the objective consideration of new realities in Cuba. The Oehlerite<sup>2</sup> chatter about the independent revolutionary socialist party is in reality designed

to imply that we have abandoned the central purpose of our existence and our work and struggles all these years, and to scare us away from an objective consideration of realities and relations of forces in each particular country and how to work within them to build the cadres of the future party.

We are informed that the building of new revolutionary parties and a new international is the central problem of our epoch. We know that. Those who don't know that we know it, should be reminded that we joined with Trotsky and other cothinkers in proclaiming that very idea in 1933 after the German debacle.<sup>3</sup> The same idea was made the central point in the Transitional Program written by Trotsky and introduced in our name at the Founding Congress of the Fourth International in 1938. But the proclamation of the need of the revolutionary party didn't create it; it only created the preliminary cadres. And these cadres can thrive and expand only if they know how to take the real situation in each country as they find it and adapt their *tactics* accordingly. . . .

The trouble with taking a false position on great questions in order to serve some factional local or national momentary interest, real or imagined, is not only that it eventually weakens the authority of the leaders who play this self-defeating game. Another result is that whole cadres become miseducated and dis-

1. In 1953 the Fourth International split into two public factions organized by the International Secretariat and the International Committee. Michel Pablo was a central leader of the IS, and the policies and positions of the IS were often characterized as "Pabloism" by the IC. Both the Healy-led Socialist Labour League and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party supported the IC.

When unity began to be discussed in the late 1950s, which led to reunification in 1963, both Healy and Pablo opposed it. As reunification drew near, Healy baited the SWP for succumbing to "Pabloism." After reunification Pablo soon left the Fourth International, but this didn't deter the SLL, which refused to participate in reunification, from continuing to label the Fourth International as "Pabloist."

2. Hugo Oehler led an opposition inside the Workers Party, a predecessor of the SWP, in 1935 against a proposal by the majority to enter the Socialist Party in order to win leftward moving forces. He asserted that this would mean abandoning the perspective of building an independent revolutionary workers' party.

Oehler's sectarian position was rejected by the party. He and his supporters began violating party discipline, including distributing their own publications at public meetings. They were expelled in late 1935.

3. Following Adolph Hitler's appointment as chancellor of Germany in January 1933 and the failure of the German Communist Party and the Stalin-led Communist International to mobilize resistance against the Nazi takeover, the communists who had been fighting to regenerate the Comintern recognized that it was dead as a revolutionary organization. These proletarian internationalists, who continued to carry out the Leninist program, founded the Fourth International in 1938.

oriented while the sly factional game is being played and they are unable to turn around when the leaders recognize the consequences of their own folly, if they do.

From reading the *Newsletter* in the recent period, I get the definite impression that the SLL [Socialist Labour League] is off on an Oehlerite binge. This can lead to an impatient demand from the ranks for the Trotskyist cadre in Great Britain to cut loose from the Labour Party and its left wing, and to form an independent Trotskyist party and be done with it. I cannot imagine a better way to put the Trotskyist cadres in Great Britain in a corner.

I hope I am reading the ominous signs in the British movement wrongly. But in any case a sectarian-factional policy shall not be imposed on the SWP under any circumstances whatever. If we face this problem squarely and call it by its right name, I have no doubt that the convention will be as nearly unanimous in its decision as was the recent [National Committee] plenum.

## Letter to SWP Political Committee

The "fragmentation" of the international movement . . . is in my opinion, not entirely, nor even mainly, a negative manifestation. It appears to me that the whole international movement, in all its branches and affiliations and independent sectors, is in a process of fermentation and reexamination of the problems of party building. That puts a serious discussion on the agenda. And that, in turn, can lead to a broader eventual unification of the international Trotskyist forces, and others who do not yet recognize themselves as Trotskyists.

Unification is definitely not on the agenda now, and it would be unrealistic to talk about it in concrete terms. But the perspective of a broader unification than we have ever known before has to be kept in mind all the time as the goal toward which the discussion is aimed. The unification we foresee and aim at must not be simply the unification of those organizations and groups formally affiliated to the International Committee and the International Secretariat, and those other Trotskyist groups which at present remain independent.

New revolutionary forces are emerging, notably at present in Cuba, and probably throughout Latin America, which have never had any previous international affiliation or even formal organization on national grounds. . . .

If our movement should fail to foresee and consciously aim at collaboration and eventual unification with new people who are actually engaged in carrying through a socialist revolution, or striving toward it, it would brand itself as a futile sect and not a living, expanding revolutionary movement, as Trotsky envisaged it. . . .

The real problem . . . is not to recognize the

necessity of new parties and a new international — we have known that for a long time — but rather how to build them and broaden them into a strong revolutionary force.

Fortunately, the problem now under discussion is not academic. It centers, at the moment, on Cuba and the Cuban revolution and the leaders of this revolution. In exceptional circumstances, these people have changed Cuba and changed themselves. They have carried through a genuine socialist revolution, and armed the working population, and defended the revolution successfully against an imperialist-backed invasion. And now they openly proclaim themselves socialist, and say the 1940 constitution is out of date and that a new constitution is needed.

## Pathfinder expands sales in Ireland

By Pete Clifford

LONDON — Pathfinder Press's recent expansion has enabled sales to be developed in Ireland out of the socialist publishing house's London distribution outlet.

A sales promotion tour in mid-October opened up 17 new accounts with major as well as radical booksellers in Derry, Dublin, and Belfast. Initial orders came to over 400 books and 600 pamphlets. Among those new accounts were two shops linked to Sinn Féin, the main Irish republican organization.

The best sellers were *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution* (featuring speeches by the Sandinista leaders) and *Fidel Castro Speeches 1984-85: War and Crisis in the Americas*, both recently published by Pathfinder in New York, as well as publications on Ireland.

In an October 12 review, the Irish nationalist *Andersonstown News*, a weekly mass circulation paper in West Belfast, recommended the Nicaragua book to those who "are interested in Nicaragua . . . a country politically and economically controlled by the working class and peasants." It argued that "schools would be improved if such a book was added to the curriculum."

*An Phoblacht/Republican News*, the weekly paper of Sinn Féin, in a review on September 5 focused on the Nicaragua book's emphasis on the struggle for national sovereignty as a precondition for progress. "Nothing is possible without it," the reviewer said, sharply adding "some of our Irish 'socialists' might care to reflect on this."

The review concluded that the book "shows that the task of consolidating a revolution is as important and as difficult as its initial triumph. The Sandinistas have a saying, 'Words move you, but deeds sweep you away.' This book in which three hard years of revolutionary effort is documented is a testament to deeds."

Many activists and booksellers thought there would be considerable interest in the new Castro book for its coverage of the Cuban leadership's response to the debt crisis. Attention is

In my opinion, that's pretty good for a start — and I am talking here about the leaders as well as the masses who support them. If such people are not considered as rightful participants in a discussion, and possible collaborators in a new party and a new international — where will we find better candidates?

Trotsky, in the middle Thirties, initiated extensive discussion and collaboration with left-centrists who only talked about the revolution, and even that not very convincingly. The Cuban revolutionists have done more than talk, and they are not the only ones on trial from now on. We are also on trial. What would our talk about revolution be worth if we couldn't recognize a revolution when we see it? □

drawn to Irish people of the importance of this issue in a centerspread article in *An Phoblacht/Republican News* appearing the week of the Latin America day of action on the debt crisis.

It pointed to the crippling impact of Ireland's £20 billion foreign debt, "placing the South [of Ireland] in a more serious position — relative to its population and 'national' income — than any of those major states whose debt problems have been making headlines over the past few years." It argued that republicans need to "look at the question of the debt with a view to linking up with the other exploited debtor nations to force real changes in the world economic order."

To aid promotion of the Nicaragua book, People's Democracy (PD), Irish section of the Fourth International, held launching meetings and receptions in Belfast and Dublin. Among the 35 or more people who attended were members and supporters of the Nicaragua Solidarity Group (Ireland), Connolly Youth Movement (linked to the Communist Party of Ireland), and Sinn Féin, as well as PD.

Speakers included John Meehan, general secretary of PD; Brian Pelan, representing Belfast PD; Des Austin of the Connolly Youth Movement, and a representative from Pathfinder Press.

Again, many speakers and contributors to the meetings pointed to the significance of Nicaragua for Irish people. For example, John McNulty, a long-time leader of PD and a former West Belfast councillor, explained that in Ireland people are not "just fighting loyalist bigotry and British oppression — we're fighting imperialism. And so our political lessons come more from the Third World than Britain and Europe."

Brian Pelan stated that the book gives Irish people an idea of "the sort of force we're going to have to create, of workers and small farmers, that can break British imperialism."

People's Democracy itself stocks a wide range of Pathfinder publications in its Horizon Bookshop in Andersonstown and the Plough bookservice based in Dublin. □

# Meeting launches Castro book

## Labor Party parliamentarian hails book's contribution

By Dave Deutschmann

MELBOURNE — "It's well worth catching up with what Fidel Castro has got to say. As a historian who has been watching and studying Cuba since the first days of the revolution, I can say that in the past several years I've been reassessing the Cuban revolution. This new book has helped stimulate further this reassessment."

Steve Niblo, a lecturer in the Latin American studies department at La Trobe University in Melbourne, was speaking at the Melbourne launching of *Fidel Castro Speeches 1984-85: War and Crisis in the Americas*, which was recently published in New York by Pathfinder Press.

The Melbourne meeting was part of a series being held in four of Australia's major cities by the Australian distributors of the book, Pathfinder Press (Sydney), formerly New International Publications.

The Melbourne event, held on November 1, was the largest so far, with 90 people in attendance. It was one of the most successful meetings on Cuba held in Melbourne for some time. At least 30 Latin Americans attended.

The meeting was cosponsored by the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society (ACFS), the Latin American Information Centre, the Trade Union Committee on Central America, and the Committee in Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean.

A guest at the Melbourne launch was John Peu, the representative in Australia of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) of New Caledonia.

As with the other meetings to introduce the new book in Australia, the theme of the meeting was the campaign against the Latin American debt. Featured in *War and Crisis in the Americas* are a number of interviews with Castro on the debt crisis.

Niblo addressed his remarks to this part of the new book, calling the book "not only important as a means of keeping abreast of Castro's analysis of the world situation, but also as a way to follow what Castro and the Cubans propose as a solution to the debt crisis. The book not only gives an analysis of the debt but also reflects the political life that the debt and the campaign against it generate in Latin America."

The principal speaker at the Melbourne meeting was a prominent Labor Party parliamentarian, Peter Milton, who began by referring to "the very great political contribution of not only this book but also this book launch itself."

Milton has visited Cuba and Nicaragua and is an active supporter of the ACFS. He stressed throughout his contribution the need for active

solidarity with both Cuba and Nicaragua against the ongoing threat of U.S. military intervention.

"The thirteen speeches and interviews in Fidel Castro's book *War and Crisis in the Americas*," said Milton, "deal in great detail with varying aspects of the silent war against Latin America — the war of the debt. Although one has to say that it is not so silent for the Nicaraguan people who at the present time are losing their lives as a result of the murderous onslaught of the United States-backed *contra* mercenaries."

Milton concluded by saying: "In this book Fidel Castro, in his speeches and interviews, provides answers to the problems of Latin America in an objective and analytical manner. I urge you all to buy it and read it and tell as many people as possible about the ideas it contains, because the realization of those ideas could mean peace and prosperity for the peoples of Latin America."

The chairperson of the meeting, Deb Shnookal of Pathfinder Press, spoke of the international character of the debt crisis. She referred to attempts by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to impose austerity measures that have already led to revolts in countries as diverse as Egypt, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica.

"The continent of Africa," she said, "has a

total debt of US\$200 billion. Julius Nyerere, president of Tanzania, while visiting Cuba recently, explained that given Africa's greater underdevelopment the foreign debt is an unbearable burden and called for an African debtors' club to combat the IMF.

"The world's sixth-largest debtor nation is the Philippines, with a foreign debt that has climbed to US\$26 billion. Last year the Philippines was the only Southeast Asian country unable to meet its interest payments.

"Filipino workers and farmers are suffering today not just from the huge debt crisis but also because of the collapse of the sugar market. The links and identity of the Philippines with Central America and Cuba are very strong. It is ironic that the Philippines inherited Cuba's U.S. sugar quota after the revolution and the imperialist blockade of Cuba. Now the Filipinos are facing the same crisis Cuba would have faced today if there had not been a revolution. Moreover, the effects of the sugar crisis, being seen most graphically in the island of Negros, may well hasten the victory of the Philippine revolution."

Shnookal went on to announce that *War and Crisis in the Americas* has been successfully promoted and distributed in the Philippines. "Since many people there speak English," she said, "such a book makes accessible the ideas of Castro to a wide audience. And there is no doubt about the intense interest among Filipinos in the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean."

Other speakers were David Groves, secretary of the Trade Union Committee on Central America and a national official of the Food Preservers Union; Adolfo Marcovich, a Latin American activist; and Bill Davis, an execu-

## Messages to book launchings

[The following are from messages sent to the Australian launchings of *Fidel Castro Speeches 1984-1985: War and Crisis in the Americas*. The first is a telegram sent to the Sydney launching on October 23 by Rene Rodríguez, president of the Cuban Institute for the Friendship of the Peoples (ICAP), read to the meeting by Aníbal Arrarte, secretary of the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society. The second is from a message by Brian Gore, a Roman Catholic priest from Australia who was imprisoned for two years in the Philippines and then expelled from the country in early 1984 by the Marcos dictatorship.]

\* \* \*

**Rene Rodríguez**

Please pass on greetings for the launching of the book of 1984-85 speeches of the commander-in-chief on the occasion of the continental day of action against the foreign debt October 23. Congratulations to New International publications and the friend-

ship societies for the initiative of spreading the only real alternative, independence.

**Brian Gore**

During my 15 years in the Philippines I became increasingly aware of the damage that the ever-growing foreign debt was doing to the local economy. The influx of foreign money and the strain placed upon the local currency by the effort to repay this debt both served to upset radically, and to the disadvantage of the poor, the natural economy of many areas. . . .

Fidel Castro, in his appearances on American television, is able to give a valuable insight into some of the effects that American foreign policy has on his native Cuba. He presents an alternative viewpoint which at least challenges us to rethink some of our presumptions. . . .

I recommend this book to anyone wishing to deepen their understanding of the relationship between rich and poor nations.

tive member of ACFS and assistant state secretary of the plumbers' union.

In opening the meeting Shnookal spoke of the Cuban-sponsored campaign around the debt that had been building up in recent months.

"In its own way," Shnookal continued, "this series of meetings to launch the new Fidel Castro book *War and Crisis in the Americas* is a

contribution to this campaign.

"The breadth of the sponsorship as well as the broad political representation at the launchings in Sydney, Brisbane, and tonight in Melbourne can only help us in the campaign to widely promote this new book."

Shnookal announced the several bookshops in Melbourne that have taken orders for the book. □

## DOCUMENTS

# Mexico after the earthquake

## PRT offers proposals for reconstruction

[The following editorial appeared in the September 27–October 3 issue of *Bandera Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International. The translation from Spanish and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The earthquake that hit the Federal District and various states on September 19 and 20 left in its wake serious damage to buildings and homes, and thousands of dead, injured, trapped, and suffering people. Our people are experiencing one of the most intense dramas in their history.

In the face of this situation, there has been an exemplary response of solidarity on the part of the people. Everyone has jumped in to carry out the most urgent tasks. The volunteer brigades have made a decisive contribution to the rescue of hundreds of the injured.

From the first moment, our party has been part of this tidal wave of solidarity. Our membership has been mobilized in solidarity brigades, and our resources have been placed at the disposal of those who have suffered. The rescue tasks continue, and the need for food, housing, water, medical attention, and work stand out as priority questions to resolve for those affected.

All Mexicans are obliged to reflect on the reasons for the tragedy and to offer alternative solutions to the problems posed, because in one way or another we are all affected.

The earthquake, like every natural or social catastrophe, has cast a light on the social and political contradictions of capitalism and the regime representing it in our country.

The government has constantly issued contradictory reports, creating a sense of bewilderment among the population. The people see what is happening and do not believe the official versions. Great disorganization and lack of control mark the handling of the official aid. On many occasions the authorities have hindered rather than helped in the labors. Participation by the people is hailed, but at the same time orders are given to arrest and repress the volunteers.

This disaster cannot be blamed solely on na-

ture. Those who issued licenses to build defective and poor quality housing bear concrete responsibility. A clear example is the Nuevo León building, in Tlatelolco, where for five years the residents were demanding that repairs be made. An investigation of the destroyed buildings and homes by parliament and the people will make it possible to determine who bears responsibility.

Today the country needs a great quantity of financial resources for a national reconstruction plan. Yet this year millions of dollars will be allocated for payment of interest on the foreign debt. We believe that one urgent measure that must be taken is to declare a two-year moratorium on the debt in order to be able to begin the reconstruction of this city and this country.

A priority for any plan of national reconstruction must be to provide housing for the thousands who have suffered losses. In the Chamber of Deputies our party<sup>1</sup> has presented a draft decree to freeze rents, to invoke the right of eminent domain over use of idle and non-idle land, and to build government-subsidized housing on it, as well as to suspend evictions and attachments against those who have suffered losses. The buildings and housing units must be occupied by those affected by the earthquake. Criminal speculation in urban land and housing must be prevented.

According to government announcements, the reconstruction fund created by Nacional Financiera [a financial consortium] will focus on schools and hospitals, without addressing the need to build housing. Meanwhile the mayor has stated that green areas will be created where buildings collapsed.

This has given rise to many doubts. The PRT feels that the reconstruction fund should be administered by a multiparty commission of the Chamber of Deputies, which should also

1. In the July 7, 1985, legislative elections, the PRT received more than 300,000 votes (1.7 percent of the total votes cast), which entitled it to six representatives in the Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber of Deputies has 400 members, 100 of them elected by proportional representation from the minority parties, and 300 from single-member districts by a plurality system. The deputies are elected for three-year terms.

oversee the foreign aid and its distribution. The green areas can be established in the places where the buildings stood, but those who suffered in the neighborhoods like Morelos, Roma, Tlatelolco, and others have the right to rebuild in the same area, without being arbitrarily dislocated. The PRT urges that the construction materials industry be expropriated to prevent speculation in these materials.

Class solidarity is vital at these times. We must prevent at all costs the layoff of workers in the factories that are in danger of collapsing. Labor rights are not annulled, as the bosses claim. In case of layoffs, the workers must be compensated in line with the Federal Labor Law.

We cannot confront the national disaster in an antidemocratic and corrupt manner. The toll of deaths and injuries from such practices has been too high. We must prevent a new round of wheeling and dealing over the reconstruction of the Federal District. In order for there to be a democratic reconstruction of the city, the inhabitants of the Federal District and the damaged areas in the provinces must be able to make decisions.

Those who suffered losses must directly participate in the decisions aimed at solving the problems they face. This requires their organization and united coordination.

The people have mobilized, showing their solidarity. This people, however, have not elected the mayor of the city nor do they feel represented by him<sup>2</sup> which is why it is fundamental that attention be paid to the call for the people to decide democratically.

The PRT has thrown itself into and will continue to participate in enormous tasks facing the people in overcoming the tragedy's consequences through a real and thoroughgoing transformation of the society in which we live. □

2. The mayor of Mexico City, who is also governor of the Federal District, is not popularly elected, but appointed by the president of the country.

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# Salvador unionists tour coalfields

*Speak to thousands of miners*

[The following article is compiled from two reports to *Intercontinental Press*, one from John Smith in Sheffield and the other from Graham Barnetson, Christiane Matthews, and John Truscott in Nottinghamshire.]

\* \* \*

Since the beginning of the 1970s, the Power Workers Union of El Salvador (STECEL) has played a key leadership role within the Salvadoran trade union movement. Two exiled leaders of this union, Arturo Valencia and Alfredo Hernández Represa, recently toured the coalfields of South Yorkshire and the Midlands, meeting with thousands of miners.

Their tour October 5–18 covered the towns of Sheffield, Nottingham, Doncaster, Barnsley, Mansfield, Leicester, Chesterfield, Wakefield, and Rotherham, as well as a number of smaller pit villages.

Highlights included a public meeting with Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), attended by nearly 1,000 miners at the Hatfield Main colliery, near Doncaster; an underground visit at High Moor Drift Mine south of Sheffield; and a canteen meeting at Silverwood colliery, near Rotherham, with 250 miners who delayed the start of their afternoon shift to hear the Salvadorans. The regular meeting of the Silverwood NUM branch voted, a few days later, to make a regular monthly contribution to the Salvadoran union federation FENASTRAS, to which STECEL is affiliated.

In Nottingham, Valencia and Hernández addressed a social evening jointly organized by the Nottingham Anti-Apartheid Movement and the local Women Against Pit Closures (WAPC). Other speakers included Maria, a representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU); and Mick McGinty, leader of the Nottinghamshire NUM.

"As an Irishman," McGinty declared, "I know that, as James Connolly said, a nation that oppresses another nation will never itself be free." In those terms, he summed up the need for British miners to involve themselves in the solidarity movements and support the struggles in South Africa and Central America.

Valencia and Hernández talked of their experiences as union leaders in El Salvador and related these to the experiences of miners in Britain, in particular the tactics used by imperialism to split the unions and the struggle for unity. They discussed the need to win over workers who, in the past, have not supported union action. This is particularly relevant in

the Nottingham coalfield, where most miners did not support the year-long coal strike of 1984–85.

The two Salvadoran unionists saluted the "heroic struggle of the miners' wives," without whom there would have been no strike. They also stressed the importance of supporting workers' struggles worldwide, especially now in South Africa and Central America. Maria, of SACTU, gave "revolutionary greetings to the miners and women of the Notts coalfield from all those involved in the liberation struggle in South Africa."

Gwen McLeod, chairperson of the WAPC, voiced the feelings of many miners and women from the Notts coalfield who were present when she said, "We went through 12 months of struggle with tremendous support from people up and down the country and from abroad. Now it is our turn to give support to other struggles." The WAPC donated £200 each to SACTU and FENASTRAS; in addition, it took a collection.

The previous evening, the Salvadoran unionists spoke at a social organized by the Nottingham Central America Solidarity Campaign to welcome them to the country. Labour Party members, a city councillor, and local union leaders attended this event, along with activists from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. In his speech, Hernández stressed that to support the miners in their struggle in Britain was the best way of supporting the struggle in El Salvador.

In Loughborough, Valencia and Hernández spoke at a meeting organized by the Coalville rail guards and the "Dirty Thirty," a group of militant NUM activists. Roy Butlin, a National Union of Railworkers guard who led his depot in its support of the miners' strike, said that the repression in the miners' strike was only the beginning of the kind of repression that is now taking place in El Salvador.

The tour of Valencia and Hernández also included presentations to 100 Sheffield District Labour Party delegates and to delegate meetings of Trades Councils in four towns. Meetings also took place with NUM General Secretary Peter Heathfield, Derbyshire NUM President Gordon Butler, Yorkshire NUM Vice-president Sammy Thompson, and local Labour Party members of Parliament and members of the European Parliament.

The two unionists noted many similarities between their experiences and the miners' strike. "In El Salvador," they said, "the working class learned the need for unity the hard way. At first the most militant unions were isolated by repression and witch-hunts. But just as we have overcome this, so we are sure that the rest of the British working class will come to realize — and sooner rather than later — that the miners' strike was just, was necessary."

Valencia and Hernández heard from many miners and miners' wives of their experiences of brutal police violence during the strike. They commented, "This repression reminds us of how it was in El Salvador at the beginning of our struggle. Our experience parallels that of the NUM. As the most combative and politically conscious union we have paid more than our fair share of blood. And so the NUM has been and will continue to be a special target for repression, slander, and blackmail."

They went on to explain, in many discussions with NUM and WAPC activists, how STECEL itself met the challenge of intensifying repression and deepening social crisis. One theme of the discussions was how the struggle itself — in El Salvador and Britain — teaches that the trade union struggle is only a part of a much bigger political struggle, a revolutionary struggle whose objective must be the establishment of "a government that respects and defends the interests and rights of working people." Therefore, they said, worker militants must learn to go beyond trade unionism and to lead the political struggle to establish such a government.

Their visit to the coalfields has helped create new openings for building working-class solidarity with the revolutions in Central America. □



Alfredo Hernández (left) and Arturo Valencia (right), flanking Silverwood NUM President Grenville Richardson.

# Ideological offensive against women

## Introduction to new book on capitalist exploitation of women

By Mary-Alice Waters

[The following is the introduction to the forthcoming book, *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*, by Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed. The book will be published in December by Pathfinder Press in New York. This introduction is © 1985 by Pathfinder Press and is reprinted by permission.]

\* \* \*

In 1954 a sharp debate broke out in the pages of the *Militant*, the weekly newspaper that reflects the views of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. The controversy, surprisingly enough, was over the relation of the marketing of cosmetics and fashions to the oppression of women. *Militant* editor Joseph Hansen, using the pen name Jack Bustelo, wrote an item headlined "Sagging Cosmetic Lines Try a Face Lift." This book opens with Bustelo's article. It is a lively, short exposé of the ways in which the owners of the big cosmetics companies try to manipulate women's insecurities and fears to sell commodities and rake in massive profits.

The article prompted a rapid letter of protest to the editor, charging that Bustelo was ridiculing women. The reader said Bustelo was challenging the right of working-class women to strive for "some loveliness and beauty in their lives." Bustelo's response in the *Militant* letters column evoked a further round of protests.

It soon became clear that the substantive political questions emerging from this at-first seemingly minor controversy merited a more extensive discussion than could be aired in the pages of the *Militant*. Since many of the contributors to the letters column were also members of the Socialist Workers Party, the SWP's Political Committee decided to open an organized debate in the party's internal *Discussion Bulletin*.

This book, *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*, is drawn from the record of this debate, which came to be known in the history of the Socialist Workers Party as the "Bustelo controversy."

While the expanding production and marketing of cosmetics hardly seems to be a topic of great importance, this discussion was neither frivolous, nor an academic sociological dispute. It was one expression of the struggle to maintain a proletarian party and Marxist program throughout the cold war and anticommunist witch-hunt of the early 1950s.

Three decades later, women will recognize that most of the questions discussed here — and the social pressures they reflect — are still with us. Radical-minded working people, male and female, will find the material collected in this book of particular interest; it will aid them

in understanding the political situation in the United States in the 1980s, which is marked by a reactionary and brutal economic, social, political, and ideological offensive by the employers and their government. The letters and articles that make up this collection provide an instructive example of how the class values and norms of the wealthy are foisted on working people and find expression even within the most conscious layers of the working-class movement, especially during periods of political reaction and retreat.

The record of this discussion is also an education in leadership methods in the workers' movement. It shows how the SWP leadership, in an objective and pedagogical way, sought to clarify the underlying issues, thus helping party members and supporters to be more conscious of and arm themselves against the prevailing pressures.

### Post-World War II reaction

At the end of World War II, the U.S. rulers came out on top of the imperialist heap, with their main capitalist rivals devastated. The postwar workers' upsurge in Western Europe was crushed. The 1945-46 strike wave in the United States ended in a stalemate. These factors established the preconditions for a quarter century of capitalist economic expansion during which broad layers of U.S. working people were able to wrest significant concessions from the bosses.

At the same time, however, the world system of imperialist domination was weakened. While the imperial masters were fighting each other, the masses of colonial slaves rebelled. Revolutionary struggles for independence exploded throughout Asia and Africa. Despite enormous losses and devastation, the Soviet Union emerged victorious over German imperialism. The workers and peasants of Eastern Europe and China put an end to landlord-capitalist rule in vast new areas of the globe.

The response of the imperialist powers to these mortal blows was to launch and then expand the cold war against the Soviet Union and its new allies. The imperialists attempted to militarily crush the national liberation forces in Korea and Vietnam. Some individuals at top levels of the U.S. government gave serious consideration to using nuclear weapons against the people of those two countries and thus to repeating the horrors inflicted on the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki a few years earlier.

In the United States, the domestic side of the cold war was an anticommunist witch-hunt. It was aimed at destroying the unity and combativity of the industrial unions born in the great labor upsurge of the 1930s. It sought to

turn back the postwar surge in the fight for Black civil rights. It was intended to sow fear, division, and demoralization among all those fighting for social progress. Through the witch-hunt, the employers sought to assure the conditions of labor "peace" and political passivity necessary for an extended period of intensified exploitation of working people and accelerated capitalist accumulation.

The witch-hunt was at its peak as the 1950s began to unfold. The depoliticization of working-class fighters in the unions deepened. There was less and less motion in the labor movement around social questions and no extensive political life independent of the employers' parties. As a result of these conditions, the membership of the Socialist Workers Party — as well as that of the Communist Party and other organizations on the left — declined sharply and rapidly. Socialists became more and more isolated politically. The SWP was forced into a largely semisectarian existence; its activity could no longer be based on an organized political life as part of a working-class vanguard within the industrial unions.

That was the political context in which the debate over cosmetics, fashions, and the exploitation of women broke out in the SWP. It registered the impact of the U.S. rulers' political offensive to divide workers and weaken their class consciousness.

During World War II women had been incorporated into the labor force in larger numbers than ever before. Even more importantly, they were hired to perform many jobs from which women had previously been excluded. This broadened the social and political horizons of tens of millions of women who had formerly been trapped in the stultifying confines of the home or employed only in jobs traditionally hiring female labor. This brought irreversible changes also in the way that both women and men thought about women's place in society. When the war was over, there were millions of women, and men, who wanted to maintain these newly conquered social and economic relations.

For the employing class, however, increasing economic independence and social equality for women is incompatible with intensified superexploitation of female labor power. Hence the deliberate promotion during postwar years of the "feminine mystique," as it later came to be known. This extensive political and ideological campaign was aimed at rolling back the changes in attitudes about women's proper role. It was promoted in order to reinforce the idea that women — whether or not they are part of the labor force — should first and foremost be wives, mothers, and housekeepers. Thus women should accept employ-

ment at lower wages and under worse conditions. Women should spend less time on union activity or political concerns and should take less interest in them.

Women were not the only target of the rulers' ideological campaign. This reactionary assault, waged through the mass media, schools, and churches, was directed toward reversing the attitudes of both sexes concerning women's social role. But its impact on women was different. To a large extent women, like other oppressed layers of capitalist society, internalize the pressures on them. They place limitations on themselves, often unconsciously. They accept the socially prescribed roles, and, in fact, often promote their own oppression.

Through the "cosmetics" debate that took place among members of the Socialist Workers Party, we get a glimpse of the diverse, if not-so-subtle, ways in which the postwar period of reaction affected even women and men who were socialists and conscious champions of women's liberation. We see how the pressures affected the way people thought about themselves.

#### Changes in women's social conditions since 1950

Since the early 1950s, of course, there have been extensive changes in the economic and social conditions facing women in the United States. The domestic and international political situation has been vastly altered, as well.

Most importantly, the accelerated expansion of capitalism in the postwar years brought with it an even greater incorporation of women into the labor market than during World War II. In 1950, 33.9 percent of women 16 years of age and over were in the labor force. By 1960 that figure had risen to 37.7 percent. In 1970 it was 43.3 percent. And by 1983, more than half of all working-age women — 52.9 percent — were in the labor force. During that 33-year period, the percentage increase of women who were in the labor market was slightly more than the percentage increase during the 70 years between 1890 and 1960!

Women today account for 43 percent of the labor force, as compared with 29 percent in 1950. This marks a qualitative advance in the economic independence of women and consequently a change in their social status.

It is also important, however, to take a look at the changes in *where* women are employed. Two of the most carefully promoted myths are the notions that working women have generally "escaped" from industrial jobs and that this represents a rising economic and social status for women. The reality is far more complex. The most important advances for women — although directly involving only a small percentage of women — have been precisely those that have integrated them more deeply into the most strongly organized, predominantly male, sectors of the industrial working class.

The expansion of the labor market in general since 1950 has been marked by an increase in clerical, commercial, and other nonindustrial



Woman welder. Growing number of women in industrial jobs marks important social advance since end of World War II.

jobs relative to those in industrial production. Since the influx of women into the labor market has been much more rapid than that of men, the percentage of employed women working industrial jobs has declined.

Over this same thirty-five-year period, however, there has also been a much greater incorporation of women into industrial production. *In fact, the percentage of industrial workers who are women has significantly risen since World War II.* Moreover, since the early 1970s women have fought their way into many types of jobs from which they had previously been excluded. The categories used by government statistical bureaus make it difficult to obtain fully reliable figures, but the trend is nonetheless clear.

For example, while the total number of men categorized as "blue-collar workers" increased by 29 percent between 1950 and 1981, the number of women in such jobs went up by some 61.5 percent; this increased the percentage of workers who are women in such job categories from 15.4 percent to 18.6 percent over that 31-year period.

The increase is even more noticeable in the subcategories of "operatives" (assemblers, punch- and stamping-press operators, welders, sewing-machine operators, truck drivers, forklift operators, etc.) and "craft" workers (carpenters, electricians, sheet-metal workers, tool-and-die makers, mechanics, etc.).

In craft positions, the gains for women are especially striking, since they had been largely frozen out of these jobs until recently. The number of men holding such jobs went up by 58.5 percent between 1950 and 1981; the number of women leaped by 327 percent. The percentage of women in the crafts is still small, but it has grown from 2.5 percent in 1950 to 6.3 percent in 1981.

Among operatives, the number of men went up by 8 percent between 1950 and 1981, while the number of women grew by 35 percent; this increased the proportion of women in such production jobs from 27.4 percent to 32.3 percent.

The number of women mine workers grew from 0.7 percent of miners in 1972 to 2.2 per-

cent in 1981.<sup>1</sup> Among underground miners, the percentage of women hired went from almost none in 1973-74 to between 8 and 10 percent in the first five years of the 1980s.

#### Women in the industrial unions

If we look at the position of women as part of the organized labor movement, a similarly complex picture emerges.

The level of unionization of women workers has declined over the past several decades as part of the overall sharp decline in union membership. This fact tells only part of the story, however.

The gains for women in industrial production jobs previously off limits to them — whether in mining, steel, auto, or whatever — have usually meant integration into the industrial unions in a qualitatively new way. Probably the best example is the employment of women in coal mining and the growing role of women in the United Mine Workers union. Women have been fighting their way into jobs like coal mining precisely because unions such as the UMWA have won contracts that guarantee higher average wages and better benefits than women can find in traditional "female" occupations. Moreover, women are guaranteed wages and conditions equal to male co-workers in the same job categories. Women who have busted through in these industries are often among the most conscious unionists. Many have learned through their own experiences why class solidarity and organization are so indispensable. They know that without union protection they would not stand a chance against the bosses' attempts to divide the work force and turn other workers against them.

Women in the industrial unions, of course, still have to fight discrimination, prejudice, sexual harassment on the job, and "reclassification" schemes to downgrade their wages and conditions and those of other more recently hired workers. Women often have to help their union brothers learn that sex discrimination weakens the entire labor movement.

But it is precisely by fighting their way into such jobs that women can have an impact on the social conditions that keep the value of their labor power substantially lower than that of men. It is in such industrial union jobs that women are in the best position to establish relations of mutual respect and confidence with male co-workers, gain self-confidence and class consciousness, and affect the attitudes of both men and women about women's role in society.

A woman who works on an assembly line has a different relationship to the men around her than a woman who works as a secretary. And both are in a qualitatively different economic and social situation vis-à-vis men than a woman who remains outside the labor market altogether.

Thus, the percentage changes in the employment statistics for women over the last thirty-

1. The above figures are from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1985* (105th edition.) Washington D.C., 1984.

five years, and the changes in where they work, codify *social* advances affecting tens of millions of women and men.

### Science and education

Other changes important to women's social position also occurred during the postwar period. For the first time ever, advances in medical science gave women access to birth control methods that were relatively safe and certain, and that were under their own control.

Educational levels rose in general, and women won broader access to job training programs and higher education.

Increasing labor productivity and capitalism's competitive expansion into new sectors of commodity production and distribution created a mass market in the imperialist countries for household appliances and prepared foods. While women have hardly escaped from their domestic slavery, their work load has been eased. A wide range of such commodities have now become incorporated into the historically determined — and changing — value of labor power, to that extent raising the living standards of workers and their families.

The development of capitalism creates real — and ultimately insoluble — contradictions for the exploiting class.

Since the beginning of the industrial revolution in the eighteenth century, capitalist expansion and the lash of competition have dictated the incorporation of larger and larger numbers of women into the labor force. This is so because capital always seeks to incorporate into the work force large numbers of workers in oppressed social categories (in this case women), the value of whose labor power under capitalism is less than that of others. This is a key way in which the employers drive down the overall average value of labor power by heightening competition among workers for jobs.

The capitalists' increasing purchase of women's capacities as wage laborers, however, inevitably brings in its wake greater economic independence for women. It contributes to further disintegration of the family and expands the need for the household appliances and prepared foods noted above. These factors, in turn, tend to raise the value of women's labor power, to raise the wages they can command in the labor market on average, other things being equal.<sup>2</sup>

2. In the first volume of *Capital*, Karl Marx explained the factors that determine the value of workers' labor power in the following terms:

"The value of labour-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labour-time necessary for the production, and consequently also the reproduction, of this specific article. In so far as it has value, it represents no more than a definite quantity of the average social labour objectified in it. Labour-power exists only as a capacity of the living individual. Its production consequently presupposes his existence. Given the existence of the individual, the production of labour-power consists in his reproduction of himself or his maintenance. For his maintenance he requires a certain quantity of the

Through their experiences in the work force and the unions, women in growing numbers also begin to think in broader social terms and to act as political beings. They become increasingly class conscious. They play an expanding role in struggles by the labor movement that can wrest higher wages from the employers and social programs from the capitalist government, thus pushing up the value of labor power for the entire working class.

These were the kinds of economic and social developments that took place in the decades of the post-World War II capitalist expansion, weakening the foundations on which the entire edifice of women's oppression is built. As these objective preconditions combined with the political changes of the 1950s and 1960s — above all, the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements — the "second wave" of feminism exploded onto the scene. As a result of the women's liberation struggles since the end of the 1960s, further broad advances have taken place in women's attitudes toward themselves and their place in society, as well as in the views of men on these matters.

### Rulers' reaction against gains by women

The period of accelerated post-World War II capitalist expansion came to an end in the mid-1970s. As this took place, the shifts in the economic and social conditions of women, and the changing attitudes and expectations accompanying them, increasingly clashed with the economic interests — that is, the profits — of the U.S. ruling class. This conflict lies beneath the political and ideological campaign directed against women's rights that we are now living through, just as a similar conflict led to the reactionary promotion of the "feminine mystique" in the late 1940s and 1950s.

Today the employers are once again making a concerted political effort to roll back, or at

least slow down, some of the changes in consciousness about women's place in society. They are taking aim at concrete gains won through hard struggle in the 1960s and 1970s, such as abortion rights and affirmative action programs.

The goal of the bosses and their government is not to drive women out of the labor force, but to undermine their class consciousness and political self-confidence. The goal is to make women more willing to acquiesce in attacks on wages, working conditions, social services, affirmative action programs, and equality on the job. In this way, the employers are attempting to hold back the increase in the value of women's labor power (and thereby that of the class as a whole), and to enforce greater discipline and "productivity" by imposing speedup and more dangerous working conditions.

These attacks on women's rights are part of a broader offensive that the U.S. capitalist class has been waging for more than a decade. The target is all working people, and all those whose race, sex, language, or national origin is used by the ruling class to single them out for superexploitation and special oppression. The employers are determined to fundamentally shift to their favor the relationship of forces between capital and labor that was established following the post-World War II strike wave.

This intensifying capitalist offensive began with the 1974-75 world recession and picked up steam with the 1980-82 recession. It is directed against the wages, job conditions, democratic rights, and organizations of the working class. It is aimed at heading off progress toward political independence by the working class — toward any notion that labor should develop and fight for its own positions on social and political questions, independent of and opposed to those of the bosses and bosses' par-

means of subsistence. Therefore the labour-time necessary for the production of labour-power is the same as that necessary for the production of those means of subsistence; in other words, the value of labour-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of its owner. However, labour-power becomes a reality only by being expressed; it is activated only through labour. But in the course of this activity, i.e., labour, a definite quantity of human muscle, nerve, brain, etc. is expended, and these things have to be replaced. Since more is expended, more must be received. If the owner of labour-power works today, tomorrow he must again be able to repeat the same process in the same conditions as regards health and strength. His means of subsistence must therefore be sufficient to maintain him in his normal state as a working individual. His natural needs, such as food, clothing, fuel and housing vary according to the climatic and other physical peculiarities of his country. On the other hand, the number and extent of his so-called necessary requirements, as also the manner in which they are satisfied, are themselves products of history, and depend therefore to a great extent on the level of civilization attained by a country; in particular they depend on the conditions in which, and consequently on the habits and expectations with which, the class of free workers has been formed. In contrast, therefore, with the case of other com-

modities, the determination of the value of labour-power contains a historical and moral element. Nevertheless, in a given country at a given period, the average amount of the means of subsistence necessary for the worker is a known *datum*." (Karl Marx, *Capital* [New York: Random House, 1977], vol. 1, pp. 274-75.)

To this we can add the observation that the value of women's labor power under capitalism is invariably less than that of men. In the United States this is reflected in the fact that full-time female workers, taken as a whole, receive 59 cents for every dollar earned by full-time male workers. This inequality is part of the "historical and moral element" that Marx refers to in the determination of the value of labor power. It is due to the legacy of women's oppression throughout the history of class society, which is based on women's economic dependence on men. This dependence begins to break down as soon as women begin to be incorporated into the capitalist labor market. But eliminating the historic legacy and creating the social and economic conditions for real equality between men and women can only be accomplished through conscious working-class struggle that leads to the complete incorporation of women into the labor movement and the socialization of domestic work. These goals cannot be completely achieved short of the overturn of capitalist property relations on a world scale.





Lipstick advertisement promotes ruling class's "feminine mystique" ideological campaign.

ties.

This offensive has been registered in a rightward shift of the entire bipartisan structure of capitalist politics in the United States. It has been accompanied by a sustained ideological offensive aimed at dividing the working class more deeply along the lines of employed and unemployed, race, sex, age, "skill levels," language, and national origin. A special goal has been to reverse gains won by Blacks and women, who over the previous period fought their way through some of the barriers that keep them confined to second-class status in capitalist society in general, and within the labor force in particular.

Parallel to this domestic offensive has been an escalation of U.S. aggression abroad, especially in Central America and the Caribbean. As part of the preparations for war, there has been an enormous increase in U.S. military spending. We have seen a constant barrage of anticommunist propaganda, directed above all against Nicaragua, Cuba, and the Salvadoran freedom fighters, but also against Angola, Vietnam, the South African and Palestinian peoples. This has been accompanied by a domestic spy hunt and antiunion "industrial security" campaign. Through the concerted political drive on all these fronts, Wall Street and Washington are trying to bludgeon and con the U.S. working class into believing that *their* foreign policy is in *our* interests.

One result of this sustained economic and political offensive, with all its reactionary ideological offshoots, has been a deepening class polarization in the United States. Not everyone is suffering from the policies that the employers are putting into effect. To the contrary, tens of millions of individuals in middle-class and professional layers are *benefiting* from these policies. Some layers of the working class have also improved their situation — even if the insecurities and pressures that are common to their class also bear down on them. To varying degrees, all these social layers are being pulled to the right politically.

On the other hand, the big majority of workers and working farmers are taking stiffer and stiffer blows. The bosses' offensive has run into resistance, however. There has been op-

position to two-tier wage scales, bank foreclosures on struggling farmers, and U.S. military intervention in Central America. Working people have mobilized in defense of Black rights both in the United States and in South Africa. Struggles have been fought around women's rights and immigrants' rights.

All of these are labor issues — issues on which the labor movement must have its own policies and defend its own class interests and those of its allies. All are questions on which there is reflection, concern, and a growing willingness to take action on the part of workers. Broad and growing sectors of working people — on the farms and in the factories — are becoming aware that there are interconnections among these many battlefronts.

So far, defeats and setbacks for working people continue to outnumber victories, and the bosses and their politicians retain the initiative. But that has not put a stop to resistance. To the contrary, the willingness and desire of working people to fight back continues to assert itself.

The class polarization and the experiences that are generating it give an impulse to the politicization and radicalization of the most combative workers. But these same developments also embolden rightist proponents of national-chauvinist, racist, anti-Semitic, antiwoman, and antiunion prejudices, as well as other reactionary ideas.

This is the political context in which we need to place the current attacks on women's rights by the employers and their government.

#### **Bosses reinforce antiwoman prejudices**

When the bosses go on a stepped-up offensive to shift the relationship of forces in their favor, they play every card in the deck — war and the threat of military aggression abroad; more naked use of the cops and courts at home (whether against Blacks, immigrant workers, farmers, or strikers); massive cuts in social services; tax hikes; union busting and concession contracts. At the same time, they wage a political campaign to justify their course as being in the interests of "all of us." They talk about "equality of sacrifice," the "national interest,"

"labor-management cooperation," and "common cultural values."

Within this framework, the rulers single out special targets as part of their broad frontal assault. One of these is always the progressive changes taking place in women's social status. The employers are aiming at the advances of working-class women especially, but the barrage is necessarily directed against all women. The second sex must be taught to know its place.

The attack on women's rights is fundamental to the success of the capitalist offensive. Discrimination against women is one of the most important ways in which the rulers work to deepen divisions within the working class. Its acceptance helps the bosses keep the labor movement shackled to a narrow trade union perspective, instead of thinking in broader social terms and acting politically to advance the interests of the oppressed and exploited. The perpetuation of women's subordinate status is one more obstacle along the road to independent working-class political action.

The employers aim to undermine working-class women's consciousness of themselves *as workers, as part of the working class*, and instead to heighten their consciousness of themselves as women — not in the feminist sense, but in all the retrograde ways that are drummed into women from childhood. The employing class seeks to reinforce the prejudices about women's proper place and domestic role. It seeks to convince women that they *want* to be dependent on a man, with the second-class status that entails.

Such prejudices, and the ways women internalize them, go back millennia. But the rise and development of capitalism progressively undermines them, as it forces women out of the home and off the farm and pushes them as individuals into the labor market — with all the brutality inherent in the capitalist mode of production.

The capitalists' offensive against women's rights is not aimed at driving women out of the work force. That is historically precluded. The percentage of wage and salaried workers who are female has been rising, from one plateau to another, ever since the beginning of the industrial revolution. Instead, the aim is to make women more vulnerable to increased exploitation. The goal is not to push women *out* of the labor market but to push them *down* — to jobs at lower wages, more piece work, less safety, shorter lunch breaks, less union protection, fewer paid holidays.

Women have always made up an important component of the pool of unemployed workers that Marx called the industrial reserve army of labor. This reserve army never disappears under capitalism, even in the best of times. But in a period of capitalist stagnation such as we have lived through over the last decade, the owners of capital need to expand this army of the unemployed in order to intensify competition among workers and thus drive down wages. Hundreds of thousands of women workers were temporarily forced into its ranks during the 1980-82 recession, eroding some of

the employment gains they had previously won.

The bosses' ideological campaign seeks to reinforce the idea among both sexes that women are "natural" recruits to this reserve army. They are "normally" only marginal workers, temporary workers, part-time workers, home workers. Women are only a "second" wage earner in the family. In periods of rising joblessness, there are always assertions by ruling-class "opinion molders" that unemployment statistics are artificially high, since women should not really be counted as unemployed in the same way as men, who are considered the main breadwinners. This propaganda is aimed at convincing women to accept, with less resistance and resentment, temporary unemployment, or new jobs at lower wages. All this is true despite the increase in female heads of household, a trend that will continue as the evolution of capitalism continues to disintegrate the family.

The capitalists want women to blame themselves, not the social relations of production, for the economic and social problems they confront every day. The goal is to make women feel guilty that their children are being permanently damaged by "abandonment" in child-care facilities (if they exist), or are being turned into lonely latch-key delinquents. Rather than demanding — as a *right* — both child-care facilities and equal access to high-paying jobs previously barred to them, women are pushed toward being grateful for any job, at any wage.

Part of the rulers' strategy is also to deepen race divisions. They seek to break down solidarity and intensify competition between women workers who are fighting their way into nontraditional jobs and Black workers, who constitute a large proportion of the politically more conscious, vanguard layers of the working class. Since women are getting jobs that men "ought" to have, they are alleged to be responsible for the high rate of unemployment of Black males. The employers also attempt to pit white women and Black women against each other along similar lines.

Even the notion that backward, prejudiced men are the source of women's problems is accorded a favored niche in the employment propaganda arsenal as an alternative to the truth that the capitalist system is responsible for perpetuating the oppression of women.

Because the advances in women's status in the 1960s and 1970s were so broad, and the changes in consciousness so sweeping, the counteroffensive against women's rights in the last few years has been all the more concerted. It has taken numerous forms.

- The defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment.

- The onslaught against abortion rights — from the withholding of government funds; to the bombing of clinics; to the propaganda, day in and day out, that abortion is murder, murder, murder. State, local, and federal legislation and court rulings have placed more and more restrictions on abortion rights, and government officials are seeking to make even

deeper inroads.

- The concerted drive to roll back affirmative action gains, to foster the "white-male" backlash against Blacks and women.

- Glorification of the family, built around the theme of a woman's special fulfillment of herself as a mother. Supermom is in. She often works a full-time job. That is accepted. But it's only when she comes home, we are told, that her real responsibilities, and her true possibilities for fulfillment, begin. Supermom makes sure her kids — and husband — don't suffer too much for her selfish absorption in her own life. And, deep down, she has a lot of doubts about whether she's doing the right thing. Isn't this "new woman" wonderful? How many guilt-tripping articles with that reactionary message have been published in the last few years?

#### Decline of the women's movement

The counteroffensive to roll back the gains women have made has been registered in a decline of the women's movement. Since 1977 the National Organization for Women (NOW) has been turned more and more into an electoralist appendage of the capitalist two-party system. The thousands of small circles of feminist activists that sprang up in the early 1970s have disappeared. The few groups that have survived concentrate largely on specific interests such as women's health clinics or art. Others have been drawn into reactionary campaigns demanding more cops as an answer to the continuing reality of rape, or calling for censorship laws as the way to deal with pornography.

The last time a sizable women's rights action occurred in the United States was 1978. That was the 100,000-strong July 9, 1978, march on Washington called by NOW to demand an extension of the deadline for ERA ratification. There has been no women's liberation action of similar size or impact since then. This is true despite the potential that existed for ongoing mass mobilizations around the ERA and the growing desire of women to act in defense of abortion rights.

That situation will not continue indefinitely. There is growing pressure for a change. There are already indications of a pickup in organized protests responding to the escalating attacks on women's right to abortion.

But the fact remains that there has been no mass fighting women's movement in the streets or anywhere else for some years. The kind of mass action movement from which women gain self-confidence as they fight to change things that vitally affect their lives; the kind of action movement through which women learn how to mobilize millions to fight for their rights — that kind of movement does not exist today. The women's liberation forces are on the defensive, not the offensive.

This situation is not unique to the United States. It is a phenomenon that, to varying degrees, marks virtually all capitalist countries where the women's liberation movement had a significant impact in the 1970s. The reasons for this decline are fundamentally the same ev-

erywhere. It is one of the fruits of the incapacity of the labor officialdom to mount an effective fightback against the capitalist austerity drive that began with the 1974-75 worldwide recession. Prospects for advancing the fight for women's liberation are not independent of the historic course of the working-class movement, even if women's rights battles can and do surge ahead on occasion — as they did in the early 1970s — and help show the way forward.

All the conservatizing pressures described above have been mounting for nearly a decade now. And they have borne down with a special weight on women. This is not an argument for pessimism about the future; to the contrary, there are some small signs of new struggles on the horizon. It is merely a statement of fact about the past ten years. Moreover, it explains a number of significant and well-documented phenomena that mirror the enforced social and political retreat of women: the sharp increase in childbearing among women in their thirties; the rise in teenage pregnancy rates; the flight by many liberals, including prominent feminists, from an active and outspoken defense of affirmative action quotas for women and Blacks.

#### Women in industry

Women who are full-time industrial workers and part of the organized labor movement are in the best position to resist the conservatizing pressures that all women are subjected to by the economic, political, and ideological offensive of the ruling class. The reason is simple. The fundamental line of division, of deepening cleavage, is a *class polarization*. Not all women — and not all women who work — are hit by the offensive with equal force and in the same ways. Not only the economic squeeze, but also the necessity to fight back weigh more heavily among working-class women. The reactionary ideological and political offensive of the employers has less fertile ground in which to take root in the working class in general than among middle-class layers.

Women who are industrial workers and union members have a degree of self-confidence that comes from knowing that they can sell their labor power and survive. They are not so economically dependent on a man, and this gives them a greater element of independence in making important decisions that affect their lives. Moreover, they have acquired at least the beginning of working-class consciousness through understanding that they have a better chance at improving wages and working conditions by joining together with fellow workers to defend themselves against the employer. Moreover, despite the bosses' attempts to foster animosities toward them by male workers, women in industry frequently work alongside men in job situations where each depends on the other and relations of mutual respect and confidence can develop.

If women who are industrial workers are less susceptible to right-wing demagoguery and reactionary "solutions" to their problems, however, they are nonetheless not immune.

They are constantly fighting the bosses' attempts to convince them and their male co-workers that they are not really workers; that being part of the labor force is only a passing moment in women's lives; that the really important thing for them is that they will leave the labor force to raise a family; or that, having already left the labor market to raise a family, they are now past their prime and should be glad to find a boss "willing" to employ them.

This kind of reactionary propaganda — in a period of working-class political retreat — affects even the most politically conscious women and men. That is why it is helpful to look back at the 1950s and learn from history. It is useful to see how the reactionary offensive against women's rights in that period found an echo inside the Socialist Workers Party. It helps in understanding some of the pressures today and arms us to deal with them more consciously.

### The 'Bustelo controversy'

At the end of 1953 the Socialist Workers Party — under the pressure of the cold war witch-hunt conditions — suffered one of the deepest splits in its history. The split cut through the basic cadre of the party, taking 25 percent of the National Committee and some 20 percent of the membership.

The "Bustelo controversy" erupted in the SWP a few months later. In the *Militant* article referred to at the beginning of this introduction, Bustelo noted that a recession was cutting into the cosmetics industry's profits, since women who were unemployed were buying fewer of its products. The merchants of "beauty," he explained, had announced their plans to revive profits through a calculated campaign to con and terrify women into buying more cosmetics.

Bustelo wrote: "The Toilets Goods Association reports that after thirteen years of steady gains, cosmetics manufacturers' sales had suddenly plunged in the first quarter of 1954 — right when unemployment took a steep jump." In response, he explained, the big cosmetics dealers were projecting "Operation Big Push." "Toni, for example, has announced its third new cosmetic in three months, a face cream that no words can describe except Deep Magic."

Bustelo went on to explain how the owners of these capitalist enterprises exploit women's insecurities to try to make them buy cosmetics.

The letters of outrage and indignation began to arrive on the *Militant* editor's desk. "Beauty is predominantly monopolized by the wealthy," one reader said. "The wealthy are beautiful because the workers are wretched." Working-class women strive for beauty, this reader argued, and this "has a progressive aspect" because "it is part of the rebellion of women against a position which denies to them part of their rights as human beings."

Bustelo replied with a short, to-the-point letter on beauty, class society, and historical materialism. "I do not believe," he wrote, "that 'beauty is predominantly monopolized by the wealthy,' and the 'wealthy are beautiful

because the workers are wretched.'

"It appears to me that you might just as well say that 'morality is predominantly monopolized by the wealthy,' and that the 'wealthy are moral because the workers are immoral.'" The standards of beauty, Bustelo pointed out, like the standards of morality, are determined in the final analysis by the ruling class. And, he added, "I think most of the customs and norms of capitalist society are ridiculous and even vicious, including the customs and norms of wealthy bourgeois women."

Bustelo's reply provoked further outraged responses, which are reprinted in this collection. Several readers argued that the use of cosmetics was a basic economic necessity for a working woman to get a job and keep a man. Thus, the SWP should concentrate on defending the right of women to use cosmetics.

Another reader argued, "Of course, these standards are bourgeois standards, but they are the norms the women have to meet. . . . If the women want these things, they should have them, and we have to support them in their struggle to get them. It is part of the struggle of the women to emancipate themselves from the status of household drudges and to acquire an individuality of their own."

### Political implications of differences

In order to organize the debate and let it unfold further, the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, in October 1954, published a *Discussion Bulletin* containing other letters and critical articles that had been submitted, along with major replies by Evelyn Reed and Joseph Hansen, again using the name Jack Bustelo. The full scope of the reactionary pressure of that period is even clearer in some of this material, which was circulated to SWP members in mimeographed form.

Marjorie McGowan, a member of the Los Angeles branch, extolled "the revolution in technology and science" that, according to her, had "reached its highest development under capitalism in the last forty years" and had "wrought a partial revolution in all phases of life."

A revolution had occurred, McGowan argued, "in the relation between the sexes, in sexual morality, in medicine, in nutrition and health, in architecture, in art, in beauty, in hobbies for leisure, in city planning, in child rearing, in methods of education, in psychology. . . ."

"These new, progressive and highly creative developments in all phases of life," she continued, as if for the record, can only finally be realized by socialism. In the meantime, however, this "revolution" is changing everything for the better. That, she argued, is the proper context for the discussion on the marketing and use of cosmetics, because "what holds true for the rest of life also relates to beauty in the female form. . . ."

The revolutionary changes "in the standards of beauty," McGowan stated, "flow out of and parallel the concurrent revolution in sexual morality of the last thirty-five years or so. The long-stemmed American beauty," she raved

on, "full of natural vitality and physical grace, with shining hair, clear eyes, smooth skin, and natural cosmetics with a trace of accent here and there, is no fiction but an American commonplace. This type of beauty is the American social standard. . . ."

It is "an inherent part of every normal female ego to strive toward the preservation" of this kind of beauty, she argued, and "this is a proper female goal worthy of the considered attention of a revolutionist."

McGowan contemptuously eliminated any ambiguity about the class she looked to for leadership of the "revolution" whose praises she sang: "There is nothing beautiful in the dishpan hands, the premature wrinkles, the scraggly hair, the dumpy figures in the dumpy housedresses, the ugly furniture, and the hodge-podge accessories of the working-class woman and her home."

Not surprisingly, McGowan left the SWP a short time later.

### Materialism abandoned

McGowan's espousal of the racist standards of "beauty" of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie, and her contempt for working-class women, were accompanied by an open rejection of the historical discoveries of materialists concerning the origin of women's oppression.

The Spring 1954 issue of the magazine *Fourth International*, also edited by Joseph Hansen, included an article by Evelyn Reed entitled "The Myth of Women's Inferiority." This was followed by the publication of "Sex and Labor in Primitive Society" by Reed in the Summer 1954 issue of the magazine. Both articles dealt with the evolution of human society through definite stages of economic and social development and explained that primitive communism, which was matriarchal in kinship structure, came first in this historical sequence.<sup>3</sup>

McGowan submitted a long article for the SWP internal bulletin attempting to refute the positions expressed by Reed, which, McGowan said, were "scholastically irresponsible" and made the SWP "look ridiculous in the eyes of informed individuals in the bourgeois academic world." McGowan demanded that the editors of *Fourth International* magazine and the SWP leadership repudiate these views.

In a cover letter addressed to the Political Committee, McGowan made it clear that she knew that her argument was with Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, not just with Evelyn Reed. She stated her "firm inner conviction that such interpretations of primitive society and primitive social forms as are current in the party today, and have been for the last seventy-five years or so, are not just accidentally false

3. "The Myth of Women's Inferiority" is available in *Problems of Women's Liberation* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970). For a later and more thorough treatment of the views advanced in "Sex and Labor in Primitive Society," see Evelyn Reed's *Women's Evolution* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1975).

or innocently misguided."

As Reed noted in her reply, "I know of only one interpretation of primitive society which has been current in the party for the last seventy-five years or so, and which, indeed, we have openly embraced. This is the *Marxist* interpretation, as it was set down by Engels in his *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*."

The Political Committee rejected McGowan's request that the magazine's editors dissociate themselves from Reed's positions.

"The Political Committee felt it unnecessary to take a position either for or against Comrade Reed's articles," SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs wrote in an October 13, 1954, letter to McGowan. "On such subjects the feeling was that considerable latitude is permissible so long as the author defends the materialist viewpoint, advocates and tries to apply the dialectic method, and seeks to supply material of an educational character. . . . From this standpoint, the editors were entirely correct in publishing the Reed articles."

McGowan's criticism of Reed, as well as Reed's reply, are reproduced in the final section of this book. Although dated, these pieces remain of interest today because they present the two fundamentally counterposed schools of thought in the great "hundred-year debate" on the origins of class-divided society and women's oppression.

As with the rest of the material published here, no attempt has been made to edit this exchange in light of later information or clarification. It is sufficient to note that throughout the subsequent twenty-five years of her life, Reed continued her research, kept abreast of new developments in the field, and published extensively on all the questions touched on in this exchange with McGowan on historical materialism and the origins of women's oppression. She never returned to this particular piece to correct errors or prepare it for broader circulation.

#### **A movement of opposition, not adaptation**

Both Reed and Hansen (still using the pen name of Bustelo) also wrote major articles for the internal bulletin taking up the issues raised directly by the "cosmetics" debate. The polemical tone and language of their contributions reflect their origin and purpose, which was to advance political clarification within the SWP. No editorial attempt has been made to change the author's original style. Readers will find in these pages all the rich flavor of a real debate, the product of the political conditions and social pressures of the time.

Bustelo's article, entitled "The Fetish of Cosmetics," is a basic piece of Marxist education on capitalism and commodity fetishism. It explains the controversy in the context of economic and social conditions of post-World War II U.S. society. The author's sense of humor, moreover, makes for enjoyable reading.

Reed's reply takes up the issues from a materialist standpoint, as well: that norms of beauty, like humanity itself, are the historical

and changing product of social labor and cannot be dissociated from the development of the productive forces or from the class struggle.

Reed also comments on the social and political context of the debate. The "past fourteen years of war boom and prosperity have produced a conservatizing effect upon the working class which we describe as a 'bourgeoisification,'" she states. "One of the forms this takes is the readiness of the workers to accept bourgeois opinions and propaganda as scientific truth and adapt themselves to it.

"Like the whole working class," Reed emphasized, "the Socialist Workers Party is under constant pressure and bombardment from this massive bourgeois propaganda machine." Some of the discussions taking place in the SWP indicate that "a certain amount of adaptation to bourgeois propaganda has arisen which, although probably unwitting, is a signal that should alert us to the danger."

That is what the cosmetics controversy clearly revealed. "When the comrades defend the *right* of women to use cosmetics, fashions, etc.," Reed stated, "without clearly distin-

guishing between such a right and the *capitalist social compulsion* to use them, they have fallen into the trap of bourgeois propaganda."

It is true, she went on, that "so long as capitalism prevails, we must abide by these cosmetic and fashion decrees. . . . We must give at least a token recognition of the harsh reality. But this does not mean that we must accept these edicts and compulsions complacently, or without protest. The workers in the plants are often obliged to accept speedups, paycuts, and attacks on their unions. But they always and invariably accept them under protest, under continuing struggle against them, and in a constant movement to *oppose* their needs and will against their exploiters.

"The class struggle is a movement of *opposition*, not *adaptation*," Reed said, "and this holds true not only of the workers in the plants, but of the women as well."

That conclusion, we could add, holds equally true for today. And in that spirit, the following book has been prepared.

October 1985.

## 10 AND 20 YEARS AGO

### Intercontinental Press

Africa Asia Europe Oceania The Americas

November 24, 1975

Is Zionism a form of racism?

On November 10 the United Nations General Assembly answered yes, voting 72 to 35 in favor of a resolution to that effect. Two other resolutions, calling for the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in all Mideast peace negotiations, and setting up a UN committee concerned with the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, were also passed overwhelmingly.

The imperialist response was swift and unequivocal. Washington's position, U.S. chief delegate Daniel P. Moynihan said, is "that it does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act."

The resolution on Zionism and racism was "an appalling thing," one British delegate told *New York Times* reporter Kathleen Teltsch. In her November 12 article Teltsch also quoted a diplomat from the Netherlands, who called the resolution an attack "on the existence of a people. . . ."

"Folly at the UN," the lead editorial in the November 12 *Christian Science Monitor* declared. The following day the *New York Times* ran an editorial on the "Shame of the U.N."

In Washington, both houses of Congress passed unanimous resolutions condemning the UN vote, and the Senate called for hearings to begin "immediately to reassess the United States' further participation in the United Nations General Assembly." . . .

The essence of the Zionist program was the establishment of a Jewish state on the land of

another people. This was accomplished through the colonization of Palestine by Jewish settlers and the eventual expulsion of the majority of the Arab population. Thus, the very foundation of the Israeli state is laid on discrimination and injustice practiced against the Palestinian people.

## 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 20, 1964

The November 7 issue of *The Newsletter*, weekly journal of the Socialist Labour League published in London, carries an article offering a curious criticism of the stand taken by *World Outlook* on the British elections.

To be condemned, it appears, is the strong hope expressed by *World Outlook* for a Labour victory. "We think it will make a difference which side wins," *World Outlook* declared in a short article in the issue dated October 16, which was published before the country went to the polls October 15.

In Britain, said *World Outlook*, a victory would be of prime importance. "This is not due to any loyalty to the principles of socialism on the part of Harold Wilson — he has none. It is because a Labour victory is the most favorable way for the British working class to learn the limitations of the Labour movement, as it stands today, and the need to break through these limitations."

# Interview with Tomás Borge

## Sandinista leader discusses complexities of Nicaragua's revolution

[The following interview with Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge, Nicaragua's minister of the interior and a national leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), is taken from the June-July 1985 issue of *Pensamiento Propio*. This magazine is published in Managua by the Institute of Economic and Social Research (INIES) and the Regional Coordinating Committee of Economic and Social Research (CRIES).

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

\* \* \*

*Question.* How would you characterize the level of people's participation in the revolutionary process?

*Answer.* I think we have to turn that question around. The revolution is not something that the people participate in from outside to a greater or lesser degree. Rather the revolution is what it is because that is what the people made it.

If the people have not been integrally involved in the whole revolutionary process, they are not the ones who bear the responsibility for that. It is the responsibility of their vanguard, their leadership bodies, who perhaps have not had the sensitivity needed to insert themselves into the people's movement, to implement the goals of the great majority of society.

In this regard, we must keep in mind that at the time of the triumph [of the revolution] the Sandinista Front had no experience with power. It had not even been set up as a political party.

It was just a grouping with a political-military character that initially was not able to get into the middle of and lead the broad masses. At the start the masses reflected expectations that were narrowly limited to specific protests. That is normal. The masses can overcome this type of limited, sectoral focus only with political guidance.

In any event, the errors or shortcomings that have, to a certain extent, led to an ebb in people's participation in certain aspects must be attributed to the revolutionary leadership. But we must also understand that these errors are almost inevitable in a situation like the one our revolution is going through, in which it is hounded by an especially aggressive U.S. government, whose aggressiveness stems not only from the very nature of imperialism, but also from President Reagan's particular deep-seated hatred toward Nicaragua.

*Q.* On various occasions it has been said that the basic principles of the Sandinista Rev-

olution — the mixed economy, political pluralism — are tactical principles. Is this true? How does this framework influence the development of people's participation?

A. The Sandinista Revolution came into being in a geopolitical area of the continental mainland — in the United States' "backyard." Nicaragua is not an island like Cuba, and our process is influenced to a much greater degree by the situation in the region.

This geopolitical factor has obliged us, whatever our wishes, to develop political pluralism and the mixed economy. The development of this tactic has been transformed into a strategy, and today the mixed economy, for example, is not an operational choice we make or a camouflage. It is a strategy.

This perspective renders the role of revolutionary leadership among the masses much more difficult. The political pluralism, the mixed economy, and the more general features of the revolution tend to cause confusion among the masses.

We don't have, nor can we have, an ideological vision that is as clearly defined as what existed in Cuba.

Our ideological perspective is tangled and complicated. And tangled perspectives confuse the masses. We have not been able, thus far, and possibly are still not sufficiently able, to get the people to understand this complexity. Sometimes we have also not been sufficiently receptive to tuning into the things that worry the people. Other times we ourselves have not been sufficiently clear in understanding the extremely complicated nature of this process.

*Q.* Could you give a concrete example showing the contradiction between the popular character of the revolutionary process and the framework of political pluralism and mixed economy, that is, of National Unity?

A. One clear case is freedom of expression. We have had to coexist with this principle, without however being able to sufficiently explain what it means. So what has been institutionalized in this country is the meaning usually given to it in Latin America and in the rest of the capitalist countries. And to some extent we have accepted this way of viewing it.

However, if we analyze the question more deeply, what freedom of expression are we talking about? *La Prensa* is subjected not just to our censorship. It also practices self-censorship, meaning it censors the revolution, it does not report it, because it is tied to a certain class interest.

Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan people, the

masses, have never had as much freedom of expression as they do now: in public places, in the "Face the People" programs with the leaders, as well as freedom of expression in writing, on radio, and on television.

For the first time the people can express what they are thinking. Of course there are limitations, primarily for bureaucratic reasons and because we don't have a completely clear idea in our minds about the role of the communications media.

But despite these limitations, the people express themselves. There is real freedom of expression in Nicaragua.

However, we must also coexist with this other freedom of expression, which the daily *La Prensa* uses to attack the revolution. And we even have to defend and justify this freedom of expression before members of the U.S. Congress, our European friends, and the governments of Latin America.

And we do that, even though we know that there is an almost insoluble contradiction between this freedom of expression and the defense of a political strategy, the revolutionary vision, which needs to survive, to maintain its space, and to respond to the concrete demands of the masses.

*Q.* To what extent can defense of the revolutionary process be used to justify the lack of criticism and self-criticism within the revolutionary process? Where do you find the balance? Also, what effect does the reactionary propaganda have among the masses?

A. First of all we would have to look at what kind of criticism we are talking about. Would we perhaps say that the daily *La Prensa* engages in criticism? That is not what being critical means. We must not confuse freedom of criticism with the freedom that *La Prensa* or Radio Católica have for expressing their opposition to the revolution.

When we pose this question, we must ask ourselves: what kind of criticism do the [pro-revolution] newspapers *Barricada* or *Nuevo Diario*, or the Sandinista Television Network, Radio Sandino, or the Voice of Nicaragua express? And then we should point out the errors we commit, because we do commit them.

The criticism must aim to build. But the aim of the criticism from *La Prensa* and Radio Católica, and from all the propaganda that descends upon us from outside the country, is to destroy. Criticism that is constructive is the only kind that is acceptable within a revolutionary process.

Nevertheless, in our country, although the criticism from the opposition parties does not succeed in drawing the masses around them or-

ganizationally, it does succeed in influencing the consciousness of the masses. In other words, this propaganda does not influence the masses enough to attract them, but it does influence them enough to confuse them.

The propaganda by the reactionaries regarding supplies, the war, or the Patriotic Military Service, will not end up converting the masses into Social Christians, for example, but it will cause confusion.

I think that at present there is an intermediary sector of people who are not with anybody, in terms of political parties. They are capable of accompanying the revolutionary process in specific aspects and questioning it in many others.

There are, for example, sectors of the population who honestly think that you should have a dialogue with the counterrevolutionaries. We have tried to explain why we should not have that dialogue. We have explained that a dialogue of that type means denying the very existence of the revolution, and I think that we have provided the arguments, but sometimes we have not pushed them home forcefully enough.

The fact is that the reactionary propaganda, which is identical in many aspects to the actual counterrevolutionary propaganda, has caused a sector, not a majority but an important sector, of the population to view a dialogue with the counterrevolutionaries in a positive light. Some say it would improve the situation. Others say that it would bring peace. Still others limit themselves to saying that the government should decide.

*Q. Would you say that the fundamental problem of people's participation resulting from this ideological confusion is seen in the cities? Isn't it more difficult to fool people in the war zones, where the people have more opportunity to contrast the message with reality?*

A. There are confused sections of the population in the urban areas. But the religious and reactionary propaganda, as well as the direct counterrevolutionary propaganda, also reach into the rural areas. We should not underestimate the work that the church is carrying out in the rural areas of the Pacific Coast.

I would say that just as the armed counter-revolution has prioritized the north and center of the country, the reactionary religious sector has prioritized Region IV, adjacent to Managua, and especially Masaya. They are there. They don't bring machine guns. They don't fire bullets; they fire ideas. But it is a powerful arsenal.

In the rural areas, the war does indeed clarify things. But there is also a great deal of backwardness. We must keep in mind that, in the war zones, force and the symbol of military force are very important. That means that an enemy unit that shows up well-armed and with a demagogic speech can seriously confuse the population.

On the other hand, if our units do not keep this factor in mind, they can commit serious errors. If our people arrive a bit ideologically

washed out, in the sense that the boys arrive convinced that their cause is just and assuming that obviously the peasants should recognize this, they act more like soldiers defending this just cause than like its political messengers. It must not be done like that. And it isn't like that.

*Q. In the three months of training that the young men get as part of their military service, do they get at least a minimum of political education and orientation about how they should deal with the population?*

A. I think that in the beginning this aspect was not emphasized at the military academy. Since then, experience has shown us the importance of educating people in this regard. However, I think that three months is very little time. More emphasis is still placed on military training than on political preparation.

I think that education in human relations should be included in this political preparation. Often a smile at the right time is worth more than a scientific manual.

*Q. Would you say that the FSLN has slowly begun to be more conscious of and to take steps to strengthen the struggle on the ideological front, for example the "house-by-house" campaign carried out throughout the country during the election campaign and the establishment of special brigades like the Fifth Anniversary Brigade, which go to the most backward areas to carry out political work?*

A. Yes, but our problem is more basic. The fact of the matter is that the enemy's ideological organization is both structurally and technically better than ours.

We have to be involved in everything: carrying out the war, resolving the economic problem, waging the struggle on the international level. We have to place our cadres in the infrastructure, in administrative areas, in the army or the ministry of the interior, and in party structures, where they must carry out organizational functions.

The enemy, on the other hand, keeps its eye exclusively on the ideological confrontation. That is where it places its best cadres.

The church is a strong organization. Its generals, its task force chiefs, its best cadres — theological scholars, experts in the use of words — are assigned to the ideological struggle.

We have few cadres available for the ideological confrontation, and they are not the best ones. We have had to carry out the house-by-house campaign and that type of thing with compañeros who are themselves still learning.

Just imagine that commanders Joaquín Cuadra, Omar Cabezas, Hugo Torres, William Ramírez, Mónica Baltodano, Lenín Cerna, or Father Miguel D'Escoto were going house to house, because that is what the church is doing.

Why do you think that the church hierarchy is so insistent on our allowing the return of the 10 priests, their 10 ideological task force

chiefs who we expelled from the country?<sup>1</sup>

Can you imagine what would happen here if 10 of our commanders were killed overnight? Well that is the magnitude of the blow they were dealt.

It is logical, therefore, that they put forward the return of these priests as a precondition for renewing a dialogue with the government. And in the meantime, what do you think they are doing? They are quickly setting up seminars to produce new cadres.

To carry out the house-by-house campaign, we have available only the young people of the Sandinista Youth and some workers organized in the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS). They do carry it out, but their arguments are influenced by the *contra* propaganda. They are not fully developed cadres. They have their own doubts.

Our big advantage is that we sit astride the horse of history. This is the great advantage. And the horse of history has one eye that looks ahead while it gallops at full speed. Sometimes it gets tired. Sometimes it gets confused. But it never goes backward. The enemy, on the other hand, has the great disadvantage of going against the flow of history.

In addition to this, we have governmental power, and this also gives us greater resources to confront the enemy's influence over the masses.

If we had an ideological army, it would be very easy for us to battle the enemy in that arena. But because we do not have strong cadres in this sphere, we have to use state coercion to compensate for our weakness in this confrontation.

Everything is not lost. Far from it. The fundamental task at this time is to win the military war, to prevent direct U.S. invasion. Then we will be able to allocate all our efforts to the ideological struggle which, strategically speaking, is the most important one.

*Q. Couldn't we lose the military war by not winning the ideological war?*

A. Yes, if we abandoned the ideological war. It is simply that at this time we are giving priority to the military war without abandoning the ideological war. We have forces allocated to containing the enemy's ideological offensive while our main force is aimed at beating the military enemy. Once we can allocate better cadres to this ideological front the situation will shift qualitatively.

At present we are striking at the logistical rearward, all sorts of enemy supply centers. This can change the character of the war qualitatively, and in the short term. The counter-revolutionary war is historically destined to failure in the historical short term. I am speaking about one or two years.

*Q. Within this time frame, what are the perspectives for the war of attrition? What possibilities do the counterrevolutionary forces*

1. Ten foreign priests were expelled from Nicaragua in July 1984 after another priest had been caught collaborating with CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries.



Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge speaking in January 1985.

*have for being able to increase internal instability and create an internal front?*

A. Imperialism has wanted to bleed us. Imperialism thinks that the coercive-type economic measures and the counterrevolutionary war can cause the internal situation to deteriorate.

But this shows a lack of understanding of the reality. It is a strategic, historic error on the U.S. government's part, because it should know that real revolutions, those that have succeeded in changing the character of the government through a change in the classes leading the state, are irreversible.

Not even errors by the revolutionaries make them reversible, except when the revolutionaries begin to fight among themselves over the government, because the structures of government are weakened in the internal dispute, as happened in Grenada.

It was the revolutionaries who killed the Grenada revolution. By no means did imperialism destroy it. The only way what happened in Grenada could happen here is if the revolutionaries began to tear themselves apart, to fight among themselves over shares of power or to seek individual power.

That would be a dream come true for the enemies of the revolution.

*Q. We understand that you are in charge of Special Zones I and II, and are chairman of the National Commission on Autonomy of the Atlantic Coast. Could you tell us what this plan means for Nicaragua?*

A. The autonomy plan is not some conjunctural response. It is a response of great import. It is a contribution by Nicaragua to humanity.

The plan expresses in legal terms the revolution's recognition of the marginalization and oppression that the aboriginal communities and ethnic groups have suffered for ages. The revolution has adopted these historic demands as its own, and promises to respond to them on all levels.

The Republic of Nicaragua's autonomy plan

is not an academic discussion about the Indian problem. It does not try to create a welfare state for people. The plan has academic cadres who are carrying out field work in the region, in all economic, political, cultural, and social spheres.

The government ministries are discussing their work plans that directly concern the Atlantic Coast. Thought is being given to regionalizing the enterprises.

All this is taking place simultaneously with the meeting of the regional and national autonomy commissions. These commissions will work out the principles that will apply to autonomy, and above all they carefully monitor the people's participation.

The autonomy plan has a nationwide scope. The whole nation is enriched by it. The Atlantic region is enriched because it is the direct beneficiary of autonomy. The Pacific region is enriched because it receives the cultural heritage of the Atlantic. Both are enriched through the elimination of prejudices and misunderstandings.

*Q. Commander, how does the autonomy plan fit into the unfolding of military actions in the Atlantic region?*

A. The autonomy plan is a political plan. The problem of the Atlantic Coast needs a political solution. We have never thought in terms of a military solution, and we have corrected errors we made in this regard.

We do not think that the demands of the Nicaraguan Indians and the Nicaraguan ethnic communities are unjust. We distinguish between the just demands of the dispossessed and the unjust demands of the homeland's enemies. We have drawn a line in the dust. We see the Indians as being on our side of that line.

Nicaragua is the first Latin American country to give recognition to the multi-ethnic character of our nations.

*Q. Facing the perspective of a prolongation of the war and the economic crisis, what do you think will be the political drift of the people, the population?*

A. In the first place, as I noted, I do not think that the war will go on that much longer or indefinitely.

But in the event there is no U.S. invasion, ideological war and conspiracies will assume fundamental importance. At that point we will have to place emphasis on efforts to develop our counterintelligence organs and base ourselves even more on the masses to confront the situation.

In any event, I think that there are basically three political tendencies developing within the masses.

There are two active sectors — the counterrevolutionary sector and the revolution. The second is the stronger one because the sector that supports the internal reactionaries and the counterrevolution has always been a minority.

Then, as I already said, there is a third, intermediary, sector that tends either to remain confused or to be attracted by the revolution. Sometimes this will depend on things as simple as a small social program, a child-care center or similar things, which make it possible to regain the support of these more backward sectors.

*Q. Do you think that the [U.S.] economic boycott is going to cause important changes in Nicaragua's international economic relations? Greater alignment with the socialist countries? With Latin America?*

A. I think there is going to be significant aid from many countries, especially the socialist countries, but that this aid will not resolve our economic problem. However, for the present this is not going to have a big impact on the Nicaraguan model.

Perhaps with the passage of time there will be a natural change, not a forced one, in the development of the process, when we reach a new political stage, which we are not going to determine by decree. It must take place naturally, such as when trees flower following the rains.

Our political desire is to link ourselves more closely with Latin America, but this will depend on the changes that have taken place and continue taking place in those countries; the Nicaraguan revolution has an impact on them.

The Latin American elites have a feeling of horror about revolutionary changes, and therefore they prefer to opt for democratic transformations. These countries have an interest in seeing that the Nicaraguan revolution is not crushed, but for them it is also necessary that our revolution not go beyond certain limits.

What would happen if they were to destroy the revolution? The reign of the "gorillas" would return in Latin America; the military would come back in Uruguay, in Brazil. If that happened, the next stage of changes could only take place through revolutionary struggles.

That is why all these governments have an interest in seeing that Contadora<sup>2</sup> remains

2. The Contadora group comprises the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela. Its proposal to demilitarize Central America was accepted by the Nicaraguan government in September 1984.

alive, because Contadora is both an obstacle to the direct intervention as well as a tool to exert political influence on Nicaragua.

In fact, when we signed the Contadora Act, this involved specific, necessary concessions for peace, but concessions nonetheless.

Contadora, therefore, is a weapon for political influence in favor of a democratic model as understood by the Contadora governments and most of the rulers of Latin America.

However, even if at times Contadora may have a more belligerent attitude toward the United States, we must be clear that Contadora's contradiction with the United States is

nonantagonistic. The development of revolutionary processes in Latin America constitutes an antagonistic contradiction with imperialism.

Despite not being antagonistic, the Contadora-U.S. contradiction continues to exist because it is based on objective causes. Contadora is trying to find a nonviolent solution to the Central American crisis, but that also extends to each and every Latin American country, although this is not specified in its speeches or its legal norms. Contadora is not going to be dissolved. It reflects an objective need, and therefore it won't be dissolved. □

which the commission is viewed is illustrated in the fact that Etramsa's general manager, Sinecio Jarama Dávila, has not even bothered to participate. What has happened instead is that the army and police attacked the occupied COFIDE factory on September 26, using tear gas, at the very moment that the workers were protesting against the uselessness of the commission by blocking the streets of Lima.

The Moraveco workers are maintaining their mobilization, for they do not intend to give in on such basic demands. On September 30 they reaffirmed their determination to pursue their hunger strike until they got a satisfactory result.

In the appeal for solidarity addressed to trade unionists and activists around the world, they stated, "We are aware that the attacks that the bourgeoisie is making on us are political, and we will respond with the same weapon until we reach victory in our struggle. But our strike and occupation require international support from other workers in the metal and car industries, so that we can continue this fight and at the same time forge greater class consciousness among the workers of our country which will lead us, in the not-too-distant future, to the socialist revolution in Peru."

Letters and telegrams demanding trade union rights and adherence to collective agreements at the Moraveco factory should be addressed to: Alan García, Presidente de la Republica, Palacio de Gobierno, Lima; and to: Señor Ministro de Trabajo, Ministerio de Trabajo, Lima, Peru. Copies of such protests and financial contributions for the strikers should be sent to: Enrique Heriz, Ave. Alfonso Ugarte 1228-308, Lima 5, Peru. □

## Peru

# Metalworkers seek solidarity

## Strike against militarization of factory

[The following article is taken from the November 11 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly review published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

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Workers at the Peruvian metal factory of Moraveco have been on strike against the militarization of their factory since Aug. 1, 1985. They have issued an appeal for international solidarity, and it is essential that this appeal should not go unanswered.

Last year the industry and investment bank, COFIDE, handed over one of the Moraveco units which makes arms and military transports to the Peruvian army. The new company was called the Etramsa (Enterprise for Military Transport and Equipment) and it began business on July 30. The company's first act was to instruct the 456 workers in the unit concerned to sign new, individual work contracts in order to bypass gains made through previous collective agreements and codes of practice.

As one of the secretaries of the metalworkers' union, Wilfredo Sánchez, underlined: "with the transfer of ownership of Moraveco, they are trying to impose working conditions on the employees which have nothing to do with our status as civilians." He explained that it represented a real negation "of basic rights which we had gained during the 23 years in which our union existed, and which are also enshrined in the bourgeois constitution of the state."

The workers at the Moraveco factory, whose union is affiliated to the Federation of Metallurgical Workers of Peru (FETIMP-CGTP), responded to this attack with an all-out strike and an occupation of the militarized production unit. It was their military bosses who intervened, with the aid of the police.

In order to force the armed forces, and thus the new government of Alan García, to negotiate, the workers have decided to occupy

another unit of the company which still belongs to COFIDE, and on September 23 they began a hunger strike. This strike comes at a bad time for the Alan García government and for the liberal and popular image which he is trying to project compared to previous rulers.

In an attempt to wear out and discourage the workers, who, of course, have very little means of survival, the president of the chamber of deputies, Luis Negreiros, has appointed a commission of congress whose main objective will be to drag things out as much as possible in order to force the Moraveco workers to give up their fight.

A measure of the lack of seriousness with

## 40,000 hail Arafat in Khartoum

Dozens of political and trade union groups convened a massive rally in Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, October 15 to greet Yassir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). An estimated 40,000 people filled Martyrs' Square in front of the Presidential Palace, where Arafat was staying during his visit.

Demonstrators chanted "Down U.S.A.!" and "Long live the struggle of the Palestinian people!"

Speaking to the crowd, Arafat condemned the U.S. and British policies in the Middle East and told the demonstrators, "You have reiterated that the Arab nation is capable of confronting imperialism and Zionism at the same time."

The rally was organized by the National Alliance for the Salvation of the Homeland, the coalition of unions and political parties that led the massive upsurge earlier this year against the U.S.-backed regime of Gaafar al-Nimeiry. In the context of that upsurge, the military hierarchy ousted Nimeiry in April and established a new military-dominated government.

The National Alliance for the Salvation of

the Homeland had originally planned to hold a protest march to the U.S. embassy in Khartoum. But the march was canceled on the orders of Attorney General and acting Interior Minister Umar Abd al-Ati.

Nevertheless, the alliance sent a delegation to the U.S. embassy to present a protest message. It condemned the Israeli bombing of the PLO headquarters in Tunisia, the U.S. interception of an Egyptian plane carrying the accused hijackers of the *Achille Lauro*, and the terrorist murder in California of Alex Odeh of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. "The United States has been accusing the PLO of being a terrorist organization," the statement said, "yet it has itself proved to be the leader of international terrorism."

The message called on Washington to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. □

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