

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

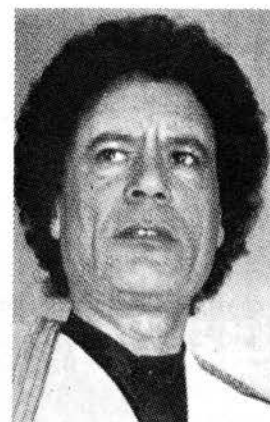
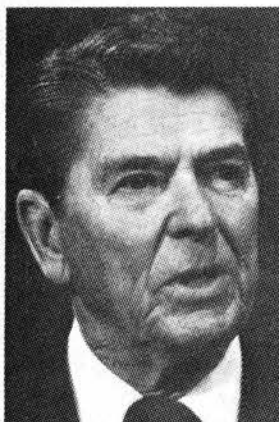
the Americas

Vol. 24, No. 2

January 27, 1986

USA \$1.25 UK £0.80

Libya: Target of U.S. Terrorism



Reagan ordered USS "Coral Sea" to move toward Libyan waters to threaten Qaddafi's government.

Philippines

**Poverty,
Repression
Spur CPP's
Growth**

**Resolutions of
South African
Trade Union
Federation**



Soviet Union From Lenin to Gorbachev
Two Programs of the Communist Party

Libya: target of U.S. terror

By Ernest Harsch

With U.S. warships poised off the Libyan coast, President Reagan announced in Washington January 7 that his administration was imposing a total economic embargo against that North African country.

As justification for this aggressive act Reagan cited a fictitious "threat to the national security" of the United States, along with an equally fictitious desire to combat "international terrorism," which Libya is accused of supporting.

The U.S. imperialists' latest moves against Libya are ultimately aimed at bringing down the government of Muammar el-Qaddafi. But they also seek to prepare the way for further U.S. military aggression elsewhere, including against Nicaragua, where U.S.-orchestrated terrorist bands are already waging a costly war. Likewise, the U.S. rulers are using the barrage of propaganda about "international terrorism" to further whittle away at democratic rights within the United States.

Warships and bombing targets

As a pretext for this latest escalation of anti-Libyan measures, Washington seized on the December 27 terrorist attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports, during which 19 people, including five U.S. citizens, were killed.

At his January 7 news conference, Reagan claimed to have "irrefutable evidence" of Libyan government involvement in these actions. But he put forward not one shred of concrete evidence to back up his claim.

Nevertheless, Reagan — who has resisted economic sanctions against the brutal South African apartheid regime — hypocritically maintained that "Qaddafi deserves to be treated as a pariah in the world community."

The new U.S. economic sanctions — coming on top of earlier ones — include a total ban on trade, commercial contracts, and other transactions with Libya, as well as a demand that all U.S. citizens now living or working there leave immediately or face possible prosecution. The day after Reagan's announcement, the U.S. government also froze all Libyan assets in the United States.

Washington has campaigned internationally, particularly among its imperialist allies in Western Europe, to get other governments to impose similar sanctions. But aside from a few minor measures by the Italian and Canadian governments, the Reagan administration has not had much success.

At this point, the greatest threat to Libya comes from Washington's direct military moves in the region. In early January, the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea*, carrying some 80 warplanes, was sent within easy striking distance of Libya. Other air and naval forces were put on alert as well.

The January 3 *Washington Post* reported that Reagan's military advisers were sifting through "a Defense Department contingency list of bombing targets in Libya ranging from a government facility to anti-aircraft sites."

The Israeli regime, which had bombed Palestinian offices in Tunisia in October, let it be known that it, too, was considering possible military action against Libya.

This most recent increase in U.S. military threats actually began before the airport attacks in Vienna and Rome.

In early November 1985, the U.S. press leaked a report that Reagan had formally approved a CIA plan of covert action to overthrow the Qaddafi government.

At the end of November, the U.S.-backed government of Egypt massed its troops along Libya's border, at the same time that U.S. naval forces in the Mediterranean were put on alert. According to an official Libyan radio broadcast, the Egyptian moves were part of preparations "to carry out aggression against Libya in full coordination with the U.S. forces concentrated off the Libyan shore."

During the first week of December, five U.S. reconnaissance planes carried out surveillance along the entire Libyan coast. A U.S. military plane buzzed a Libyan civilian airliner over the island of Crete. French news reports revealed that French radar installations in Tunisia, bordering Libya on the northwest, were monitoring Libyan military movements.

Then when the Libyan government received some new SAM-5 anti-aircraft missiles from the Soviet Union to help bolster its air defenses, Washington raised a hue and cry.

The Libyan Foreign Ministry responded: "America acts as if it had the right and means to attack others and protests against them if they possess means to defend themselves against its acts of aggression." It went on to condemn the U.S. government's fostering of "a constant atmosphere of terror."

Behind the 'terrorism' charges

Ever since Qaddafi led a coup against King Idris in 1969, successive U.S. administrations have sought to destabilize his government.

Washington and its West European allies have opposed the numerous progressive social and political reforms initiated in Libyan society. But they have been especially alarmed by the anti-imperialist stands of the Libyan government. Libya has given support to liberation movements and governments in conflict with imperialism, from Africa and the Middle East to other parts of the world.

When Reagan and his colleagues talk of Qaddafi's support for "international terrorism," it is this that they actually have in mind. Such accusations also seek to mask the real source of international terror — the world system of imperialist domination, headed by

Washington. It is the U.S. rulers who have caused untold suffering around the globe, through interventionist wars, support to right-wing coups, assassinations, and sponsorship of terrorist bands in Nicaragua, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Angola, and elsewhere.

Solidarity prompts U.S. hesitation

Washington has seriously weighed direct military intervention in Libya several times before, and in one case even engaged in open military conflict — when U.S. jet fighters shot down two Libyan planes over Libya's Gulf of Sidra in 1981.

These instances are in addition to a number of coup and assassination attempts sponsored by the CIA and other imperialist intelligence agencies. Moreover, the proimperialist regimes of some neighboring states, such as Egypt, Tunisia, and Chad, have been encouraged to take their own measures against Libya.

If Washington has not yet decided to launch a direct military intervention, it is because of concern over the likely political repercussions of such an attack. U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger commented that "we have to bear in mind also the international effects of our taking unilateral military actions." British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher warned January 10 that military strikes into Libya could produce "much greater chaos."

The breadth of solidarity Libya has received reflects the extent of popular opposition to U.S. intervention in the region and the political difficulties Washington faces. Expressions of support for Libya have come from a wide range of countries, from the Soviet Union and Iran to a number of proimperialist regimes. Even the Egyptian regime felt compelled, under the circumstances, to criticize the U.S. threats.

The 22-member Arab League has warned against "threats and troop movements." A meeting of the foreign ministers of the 45-member Islamic Conference Organization expressed its "firm solidarity" with Libya and condemned the "aggressive escalation on the part of international imperialism and the Zionist entity."

Yassir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, declared, "We stand with Libya against any aggression from either Israel or America, despite our differences with the Libyan government, because we cannot permit the Arab world to be swallowed one piece after another."

Another factor in Washington's caution has been Libya's military capacity, which includes a 73,000-member armed forces and a well-equipped air force and air defense system. According to the January 8 *New York Times*, "Aides said Mr. Reagan was concerned that American planes might be shot down by the newly acquired SAM-5's in Libya, which would turn the retaliation into a fiasco."

'So we assassinate him?'

But whatever momentary hesitations the U.S. imperialists may have, they remain committed to bringing down the Libyan govern-

ment, including through direct military means. Reagan, in his news conference, warned that "further steps will be taken" against Libya.

Secretary of State George Shultz, noting that Washington has now virtually exhausted the range of economic sanctions it can take, indicated that military moves were next on the agenda. "Force is not always the best means," he said, "but it may be necessary on occasion."

The repeated threats and provocations against Libya are designed to prepare the way for the actual use of military force. They accustom public opinion to the idea, both within the United States and internationally. They also bring constant pressure on the Libyan people, as Washington probes for weak points in Libyan society, the government, and officer corps that it can exploit.

In its anti-Libya drive, the White House enjoys the support of both capitalist parties, the Republicans and Democrats.

Senator Howard Metzenbaum, a liberal Democrat, has openly declared that Qaddafi should be assassinated. "Mr. Qaddafi has to be eliminated," he said during a television talk show January 8. "So we assassinate him?" asked the moderator. Metzenbaum replied: "It would not be the first time."

Targeting civil liberties

As a justification for its military preparations, the U.S. rulers are stepping up their anti-Libya propaganda. A key piece in this campaign has been a State Department "report" on Libya released the day after Reagan's sanctions announcement. The document recited an entire litany of charges of Libyan support for "international terrorism," from West Germany to New Caledonia.

Several sections — as unsubstantiated as the rest of the document — emphasized "Libyan terrorism against the United States," both within the country and against U.S. personnel and installations abroad.

Together with the current "spy scare" that is being fostered by the U.S. government and big-business news media, such accusations are being used to justify further violations of the civil liberties of U.S. citizens and residents. This has involved restrictions on travel to certain proscribed countries (Libya, Cuba, and others), greater controls over who may enter the United States, and stepped-up surveillance and other actions against anyone, citizen and noncitizen alike, deemed by the U.S. rulers to be a "security threat."

Terrorism against Nicaragua

The State Department dossier on Libya also drew attention to another target of Washington's offensive — Nicaragua.

"Tripoli views Nicaragua as its base in Central America and accordingly seeks to strengthen the Sandinista dictatorship in Managua," the document maintained. It charged that Libya has provided Nicaragua with anti-aircraft guns, surface-to-air missiles, and other weaponry. It claimed that "several dozen Libyan military personnel are in Nicaragua."

It is precisely in Nicaragua that the true face of Washington's "antiterrorism" drive is most evident. For several years, the White House, Pentagon, and CIA have been funding, arming, training, and directing a mercenary army of Nicaraguan *contras* (counterrevolutionaries). Operating out of bases in neighboring Honduras, these *contras* have kidnapped, raped, or murdered thousands of Nicaraguans, with the aim of bringing down the workers' and peasants' government and installing a proimperialist regime.

The U.S. Congress, with bipartisan support, is currently providing these butchers with \$27 million in "humanitarian" aid. The White House is pressing for an increase in this assistance to include direct military support.

In presenting the Reagan administration's argument, Elliott Abrams, the assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, declared December 31 that Congress had three choices: to "give the support" the Nicaraguan *contras* need, to "use American military force," or to "surrender." Implicitly underlying Abrams' three options was Washington's

real goal in Central America — not peace, but the military overthrow of the Sandinista government.

Who are the *contras* that Washington wants to install in Managua? In a letter to the editor in the January 9 *New York Times*, Edgar Chamorro, a former leader of the main *contra* group, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), provided some insight. Of the 48 positions in the FDN's military leadership, he said, 46 were held by former members of Somoza's National Guard.

"During my four years as a 'contra' director," Chamorro wrote, "It was premeditated policy to terrorize civilian noncombatants to prevent them from cooperating with the Government. Hundreds of civilian murders, mutilations, tortures and rapes were committed in pursuit of this policy, of which the 'contra' leaders and their C.I.A. superiors were well aware."

It is counterrevolutionary bands like the FDN that are the true international terrorists. And it is Washington, not Libya, that is directing them. □

—IN THIS ISSUE—

Closing news date: January 12, 1986

PHILIPPINES	28	Origins of Communist Party — by Will Reissner
BRITAIN	33	Witch-hunt in Labour Party — by Steve Craine
SOUTH AFRICA	35	Unionists defy regime, employers — by Ernest Harsch
SOVIET UNION	42	From Lenin to Gorbachev — by Doug Jenness
HAITI	56	Demonstrations sweep country — by Steve Craine
DOCUMENTS	36	Resolutions of South African union
	39	SACTU hails new South African union
	46	Lenin's program for Communist Party
	54	Message to French LCR — by Livio Maitan

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

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

Editor: Doug Jenness.

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

Managing Editor: Ernest Harsch.

Editorial Staff: Steve Craine, Will Reissner.

Business Manager: Patti Iiyama.

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

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

To Subscribe:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Background to origins of Communist Party

Deepening economic crisis, repression spur CPP's growth

By Will Reissner

In recent months constant warnings have been heard in the U.S. Congress and the mass media about the growing strength of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its New People's Army (NPA) guerrillas.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage told the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Oct. 30, 1985, that there are nearly 16,500 NPA guerrillas in the field. Their influence has spread throughout the Philippines.

Further expansion of the guerrilla forces at this point is limited by the NPA's chronic shortage of weapons, almost all of which must be captured from the Philippine armed forces before being distributed to the waiting list of potential guerrilla recruits.

U.S. intelligence agencies estimate that the New People's Army already has a presence in 8,000 of the 40,000 villages in the Philippines. The same agencies place the CPP's membership at 20,000 — double the level of five years earlier.

The CPP plays a leading role in the National Democratic Front, a coalition of mass organizations that was set up in April 1973.

The National Democratic Front, which is an illegal organization, is said to have more than 50,000 organizers at work in two-thirds of the country's provinces.

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

Membership in the mass organizations that make up the NDF is estimated at 1 million.

The CPP also has considerable influence in two legal coalitions — the National Alliance for Justice, Freedom, and Democracy, and the New Patriotic Alliance, known by the acronym Bayan (which means "nation" in the Tagalog language).

The National Alliance, which claims to have 500,000 followers, was formed by organizations sponsoring a Sept. 21, 1983, protest rally marking the 11th anniversary of the proclamation of martial law by Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos. That rally drew half a million participants.

Bayan, formed in April 1985, claims 1 million members and includes in its ranks the National Alliance for Justice, Freedom, and Democracy.

Writing in the Nov. 21, 1985, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Guy Sacerdoti and Philip

Bowring warned the weekly's business readers:

"Until recently, observers viewed the CPP or its military arm, the New People's Army (NPA), as merely an irritant. But its rapid growth and successful use of propaganda against Marcos and the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) suggest that it has a real chance of eventually controlling the central government, or more immediately influencing policies, for example, towards US bases through united front policies and personalities."

The journalists added that "the past year or so has seen the centre of gravity of the legal opposition shift leftward."

Founded in 1968

The CPP's existence dates back to an April 1967 meeting of the Central Committee of the already existing Communist Party of the Philippines (PKP). At that meeting, the PKP expelled a group of young activists who charged that the PKP leadership had in effect liquidated the organization a decade earlier.

The group of young expellees was led by Jose Maria Sison, who had begun criticizing the PKP leadership in 1964.

Sison and his supporters responded to their expulsion by setting up their own political bureau. They issued their first public statement on May Day 1967, hailing the Chinese Cultural Revolution, blasting the Soviet Communist Party, and condemning the old PKP leadership as "the bearers of modern revisionism in the Philippines."

On Dec. 26, 1968, 11 of the expellees gathered to form a new party, also called the Communist Party of the Philippines (but differentiated from the old party by use of the initials CPP).

The meeting described itself as a "Congress of Reestablishment," to press its claim that the old party had in fact been dissolved by its leadership in 1957.

The new CPP was "guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought" and set itself an ambitious goal, considering that only a handful of people had taken part in its formation.

That goal was to launch a "protracted people's war in which the revolutionary forces would gradually strangle the enemy-controlled cities from stable bases in the countryside."

The CPP's aim, stated a document ratified at the "Congress of Reestablishment," was "the overthrow of U.S. imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, the seizure of political power and its consolidation."

This task was laid out in "Philippine Society

and Revolution," written by Sison under the pen name Amado Guerrero, which remains the basic treatise of the CPP to this day.

Three months later, on March 29, 1969 — the 27th anniversary of the formation of the World War II Huk guerrillas — the CPP set up the New People's Army (NPA) to wage armed struggle under the party's leadership.

Point 1 of the "Basic Rules of the New People's Army" stated: "The New People's Army shall always follow the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and shall, therefore, be bound by the decisions, orders and directives of the Party National Congress, Central Committee and Military Commission."

The main focus of the NPA was to be the countryside. According to the Basic Rules, "while following the absolute leadership of the working class and the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army incorporates mainly the armed peasants fighting for agrarian revolution, which is the main content of the people's democratic revolution."

The document argued that "the people's democratic revolution is essentially a peasant war led by the working class."

"The New People's Army," the Basic Rules stated, "is highly conscious that by performing its revolutionary duty of overthrowing U.S. imperialism, the comprador bourgeoisie,¹ the landlord class, and the bureaucratic capitalists in the Philippines, it is performing a great and noble task for the broad masses of the Filipino people, especially for the exploited masses of workers and peasants, as well as for the oppressed people of the world."

The document added, "It is both a patriotic duty and an act of proletarian internationalism for the New People's Army to fight for a people's democratic revolution as the transitional stage towards socialism."

The CPP views this transitional stage as a long one. In an interview with *Intercontinental Press* (Nov. 12, 1984), Sison, who has been in prison since 1977, stated that the three key tasks in the Philippines today are achieving national independence, eliminating the Marcos dictatorship, and solving the land question.

"By national independence I mean the cutting off of the dependence on a superpower like the United States.

"To develop democracy we have to eliminate feudalism, to liberate the peasant from feudal and semi-feudal bondage. . . .

"We have to break up the feudalism so that the local forces of capitalism can be liberated,

1. Elements of the bourgeoisie who are engaged in trade as agents of foreign companies.

that is, the national entrepreneurs and smaller businessmen. The property owned by the multinationals and traitor elements will be taken over by the state. Our economy would be a combined one — of state and Filipino private ownership."

In order to achieve this goal, Sison argued, "the solution is a national democratic revolution of a new type. That is, with the class leadership of the proletariat." The liberal bourgeoisie, he stated, cannot lead the process because they "do not have the political, ideological, or organizational leadership necessary to cope with U.S. imperialism."

Another leader of the CPP, Satur Ocampo, who was imprisoned for nine years before escaping in May 1985, told the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Jan. 2, 1986) that the CPP's goal is "the emergence of a type of a society and economic system that would still develop the entrepreneurial capacity of the Filipinos."

Break with Chinese CP

Although the CPP was strongly Maoist at the time of its formation and was deeply affected by the ultraleftism of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the CPP broke with the Chinese Communist Party in 1975, when the People's Republic of China and the Marcos dictatorship established diplomatic ties.

The CPP, many of whose positions are in flux, remains deeply influenced by its Stalinist origins.

The CPP's newspaper *Ang Bayan*, for example, continues to prominently feature "Mao Tse-tung Thought" on its masthead.

And even after the break with the Chinese Communist Party, the CPP continued to endorse many of the same foreign policy views. When Vietnamese troops entered Kampuchea to help overthrow the murderous Pol Pot regime in late 1978, *Ang Bayan* saw in this the hand of "Soviet social imperialism" and chastised the Vietnamese leadership for "allowing itself to be used" by Moscow. *Ang Bayan* also justified the subsequent Chinese invasion of Vietnam.

More recently, however, some prominent leaders of the CPP have made statements less critical of Moscow.

When the CPP set itself the goal of launching a "protracted people's war" in 1968, it faced formidable obstacles in addition to the fact that the party was composed of only a handful of members.

The Philippines is, after all, a large country of 53 million people spread out over 7,000 islands. Moreover, the U.S. government and the Pentagon exert tremendous influence in the former U.S. colony. Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Station are the largest U.S. military installations outside the United States.

And yet in the 17 years since the CPP's founding, the organization has grown to be a major force throughout the Philippines, and the New People's Army has developed into an impressive fighting force, which is more than holding its own against a vastly expanded Armed Forces of the Philippines.

The roots of the CPP's growing influence lie



Communist Party leaders Satur Ocampo and Jose Maria Sison in Ft. Bonifacio courtroom, 1984. Ocampo has since escaped from prison.

in the staggering economic and social inequalities of Philippine society, which is dominated by an immensely wealthy landowning oligarchy, and in the long tradition of working-class organization and peasant rebellion.

In the two decades since he came to power in 1965, Ferdinand Marcos has amassed a huge personal fortune, as have the select group of close friends and supporters who have come to be known as the "crony capitalists."

But for the mass of Filipino peasants and workers, conditions are bleak and getting bleaker.

The Philippine countryside is characterized by a small number of immensely wealthy landowners and a huge mass of landless agricultural laborers and tenant farmers who must turn over as much as two-thirds of their crop to the landlords.

Under the best of conditions, the bulk of the rural Filipino population lives in abject poverty. But in recent years conditions have become even worse due to the sharp drop in international commodity prices.

For example, in 1980 the Philippines earned US\$624 million from sales of its 2.3 million ton sugar crop, but a similar-sized crop in 1984 brought in only \$246 million.

Urban Filipinos are also suffering. In the past two years, the gross national product has shrunk by 10 percent, and unemployment has doubled in the past year alone.

Meanwhile, the country is staggering under a foreign debt of more than \$24 billion, up from \$1.9 billion at the end of Marcos' first term in office in 1969.

While the workers and peasants have been radicalized by the drop in their already precarious living standards and by the repressive nature of the regime, sectors of the traditional oligarchy that has ruled the Philippines since independence in 1946 have turned against Marcos due to the favors and privileges he has showered on his cronies.

The alienation of sectors of the oligarchy from the Marcos regime exploded following the murder of Benigno Aquino at Manila air-

port on Aug. 21, 1983. Aquino, an opposition political figure from one of the Philippines' richest and most powerful families, was gunned down as he was returning from exile in the United States.

More cause for outrage was added when a Philippine court, hand-picked by Marcos, refused to consider evidence implicating armed forces chief of staff Gen. Fabian Ver and other military officers in the assassination. Ver is a cousin of Marcos.

Tradition of class struggle

The economic crisis and the repression have fueled the growth of the CPP and NPA. But both groups have also been able to build on the Philippines' long tradition of working-class organization and peasant rebellion.

During three centuries of Spanish colonial rule, there were more than 200 recorded armed uprisings against the colonial power. When the 1896 revolution against Spain broke out, one of the key leaders was Andres Bonifacio, who developed a large following among workers and peasants. Since then, most working-class organizations in the Philippines have traced their heritage back to Bonifacio's organization, the Katipunan.

The 1896 revolution would have resulted in Philippine independence but for the intervention of U.S. troops, supposedly coming to aid the Filipino insurgents.

Under the treaty ending the Spanish-American War, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States.

When Filipino insurgents discovered that they had a new colonial ruler, they resumed their armed struggle against the U.S. colonizers.

Armed resistance to U.S. rule lasted from 1899 to 1913, although the resistance suffered a heavy defeat in 1901 with the capture of insurgent leader Emilio Aguinaldo. U.S. troops killed hundreds of thousands of Filipinos before resistance to U.S. rule was finally crushed.

The backbone of the resistance was made up

of peasants and workers. Most of the wealthy landowning families in the Philippines quickly made their peace with the new colonial masters.

Socialist ideas

The first socialist literature made its way to the Philippines in 1901, carried in the luggage of Isabelo de los Reyes, who had been a participant in the revolt against Spanish rule. De los Reyes had been arrested by the colonial authorities and sent to prison in Barcelona, Spain. While in prison he was introduced to anarchist and socialist ideas.

Upon his return from exile, de los Reyes also brought back a printing press, which proved invaluable in his work organizing the Democratic Workers Union (UOD), the colony's first labor federation.

From the beginning, the new labor movement strongly supported independence for the Philippines. On May 1, 1903, some 100,000 workers from Manila and its suburbs demonstrated in front of the colonial administration. Key chants at this first May Day demonstration in the Philippines were "Down with American imperialism!" "We want freedom!" and "We demand the eight-hour working day!"

Through the arrest and conviction of its leader on charges of "sedition and illegal association," the U.S. colonial authorities were able to destroy this first union federation.

In 1906 Crisanto Evangelista, who would play a dominant role in the workers' movement until his execution by the Japanese in 1944, organized the Philippine Union of Printers (UIF), which adopted the slogan "the emancipation of the workers must be achieved by the workers themselves."

The UIF played a key role in the formation of the Philippine Workers Congress (COF) on May Day 1913. Evangelista was director of the COF from its formation, and became the federation's national secretary in 1924.

The first major peasant organization, the Philippine Union of Sharecroppers (UAF), was established in 1919, and three years later it expanded its scope and changed its name to the Philippine Confederation of Sharecroppers and Agricultural Workers.

As the ranking leader of the Philippine Workers Congress, Evangelista was named labor representative in the first Philippine Independence Mission sent to the United States in 1919 to try to negotiate an end to U.S. colonial rule.

While in the United States, Evangelista met with U.S. trade unionists and revolutionary socialists. He returned to the Philippines a committed Marxist.

Workers Party formed

Back home, Evangelista began propagating Marxist ideas within the labor movement. In 1924 he was instrumental in forming the Workers Party (PO), the first working-class political organization in the colony.

That same year, Filipino trade union leaders first came in contact with the Communist International. A leader of the U.S. Communist Party traveled to the Philippines to interest

labor leaders in attending a conference in Canton, China, organized by the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat of the Communist International (Comintern).

Five delegates from the Philippines attended the Canton conference. There they met Ibrahim Datuk Tan Malaka, an Indonesian Communist leader who had been exiled from his homeland by the Dutch colonialists ruling that country, and invited him to visit the Philippines.

Tan Malaka, the chief Comintern representative for Southeast Asia, arrived in the Philippines in July 1925, and used it as his base of operations until 1927, when he was expelled from the U.S. colony following a sensational legal case.

In the Philippines, Tan Malaka developed close ties with Evangelista and other trade union leaders. Two months before Tan Malaka's expulsion from the Philippines,² the Philippine Workers Congress affiliated with the Comintern's Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

Contacts with U.S. Communist Party leaders continued, and in March 1928 Evangelista and two other union leaders traveled to Moscow to attend a conference of the Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern).

Soon after Evangelista's return to the Philippines, the first group of Filipino workers left for Moscow to study at the University of Toilers of the East, which had been established by the Communist International to provide Asian workers with a grounding in Marxist philosophy. In all, five groups of Filipinos attended the school between 1928 and 1935.

Formation of Communist Party

In 1929 a split took place in the Philippine Workers Congress, pitting supporters of class collaboration and cooperation with U.S. colonial authorities against advocates of class struggle and Filipino independence.

Evangelista led the second group, which set up a new labor federation, the Association of the Sons of Sweat (KAP). The provisional conference of the KAP, held on May 12, 1929, was attended by representatives of 27 unions with a total membership of 80,000.

The KAP conference set up a committee to draft a constitution and program for a proposed new workers' party.

That new party, the Communist Party of the Philippines (PKP), was established on August 26, 1930, the anniversary of Andres Bonifacio's call for independence from Spain. Sixty representatives of workers' and peasants'

2. Ibrahim Datuk Tan Malaka (1894-1949) broke with the Indonesian Communist Party in 1927, following the failure of the 1926 rebellion, which he had opposed as premature. He continued to organize Indonesians against Dutch colonialism while in exile from 1927 to 1944, when he returned to Indonesia during the Japanese occupation.

From 1946 to 1948, Tan Malaka was in prison in Indonesia. Upon his release he formed the Partai Murba (Proletarian Party) and played an important role in the armed struggle against the Dutch. Tan Malaka was assassinated in 1949.

organizations took part in the founding of the new party.

The founding of the PKP came at the start of the worldwide capitalist depression of the 1930s. In the Philippines, 1930 was marked by continuous working-class and peasant revolts and strikes.

Two months after the PKP's founding, a peasant uprising broke out in Tayug, as poor peasants struck out against oppression by landlords, moneylenders, and land-grabbers.

The new party opened a national headquarters in Manila and began publishing its official organ, *Titis* ("Spark").

From the start, the PKP faced repression from the U.S. colonial authorities. On Sept. 14, 1931, a Manila court declared the PKP and the KAP labor federation illegal. Twenty leaders of the PKP, including Evangelista, were sentenced to eight years' banishment in the provinces.

Most of them would not be released until Dec. 31, 1936, and received full pardons only two years after that.

Although the U.S. repression forced the PKP and the KAP union federation underground, the destitution caused by the depression continued to drive Filipinos to revolt.

During the early 1930s a peasant organization called the Sakdal Party began to gain influence in the countryside. The Sakdalistas combined vague ideas of socialism with fascist notions and pro-Japanese sentiments. But their main appeal to the peasantry flowed from their two basic demands: immediate independence for the Philippines and an end to landlordism.

In 1935, the Sakdalistas mobilized 65,000 peasants to surround Manila and fought three battles with troops of the Philippine Constabulary. When this did not spark the hoped-for general uprising against U.S. rule, the Sakdalista movement collapsed.

Peasant struggles, however, continued, did rural organizing by the underground PKP and the Socialist Party, founded in 1932 under the leadership of Pedro Abad Santos.

By 1935 the Communist International, dominated by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, had abandoned the ultraleft policy it adopted in 1928 of viewing Social Democrats as the main enemy (describing them as "social fascists"). Instead it began advocating a "popular front" with Socialist parties and bourgeois figures against fascism.

Under urging from representatives from the U.S. Communist Party, this "popular front" policy actually led to the merger of the PKP and the Socialist Party of Abad Santos in October 1938.

The new party, called the "Communist Party of the Philippines (Merger of Communist and Socialist Parties)," was officially proclaimed on November 7, with Evangelista as national chairman, Abad Santos as vice-chairman, and Guillermo Capadocia as general secretary.

Wartime resistance

All three remained in the leadership of the new organization until the Japanese invasion

of the Philippines during World War II.

With the June 1941 Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, the PKP began calling for cooperation with U.S. colonial authorities against the German-Italian-Japanese alliance.

A 12-point memorandum on resistance to Japan submitted by the PKP to U.S. High Commissioner Francis Sayre in early December 1941 called for a common resistance struggle and pledged the PKP's "loyalty to the government of the Philippines and the United States." This meant abandoning the struggle for independence.

When Japanese troops entered Manila on Jan. 2, 1942, the top leaders of the PKP remained in the city to organize resistance. But barely three weeks later, the Japanese secret police captured the entire first-line leadership of the party.

The arrest of Evangelista, Abad Santos, and Capadocia was a severe blow to the PKP. Evangelista was executed by the Japanese, and Abad Santos died in 1944 from the effects of his imprisonment.

A second-line leadership, headed by Dr. Vicente Lava, took over the reins of the PKP. Vicente was the first of three Lava brothers to lead the party.

Because the PKP had already experienced a decade of underground and semi-underground existence by 1942, it was well-placed to lead the resistance to Japanese occupation.

Formation of Huks

On March 29, 1942, the People's Army Against Japan, usually called the Huks after the Tagalog acronym Hukbalahap, was organized under the leadership of the PKP.

In keeping with its orientation toward an anti-Japanese alliance encompassing all classes and its desire for a wartime alliance with the U.S. imperialists, the PKP put forward the slogan "Anti-Japanese above all," and dissolved the mass peasant unions under its control in order to avoid alienating the Filipino landowners.

The bulk of the Filipino landowners, however, actively cooperated with the Japanese occupation, as they had with the Spanish colonialists and the U.S. imperialists before.

Because of landlord collaboration with the Japanese, a form of class struggle continued to take place in Huk-controlled areas of the countryside — peasants refused to pay rents to landlords who collaborated with the Japanese authorities.

The Huks also tried to cooperate with the guerrilla organizations set up by U.S. officers who had been left behind in the Philippines to organize resistance to the Japanese. But in many instances these U.S.-organized forces carried out military attacks against the Huks.

Despite the U.S. hostility, the PKP and the Huks grew rapidly in size and influence during the Japanese occupation.

For the first year of the struggle against the Japanese, the Huks waged a policy of continuous attacks. In March 1943, however, the Japanese launched a sustained military drive against Huk strongholds in central Luzon, the

Left groups urge vote boycott

Left-wing groups in the Philippines are calling for a boycott of the February 7 presidential election.

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) has issued a Central Committee statement describing the elections as "a meaningless but noisy electoral contest between local reactionaries."

Earlier, in a November interview, a CPP leader, Satur Ocampo, stated that his party "would only be interested in participating in an election that would be leading to the type of government where some basic changes can be attained, but not in a scheme like this, where you just change people."

Ocampo added, "We do not pin our hopes on the alternatives that are being offered now, but on the type of a political coalition that would have significant representation of the majority of the people, the workers and the peasants as represented by the mass organizations."

The National Alliance for Justice, Freedom, and Democracy, a coalition claiming 500,000 supporters, took out a full-page newspaper advertisement January 3 describing the poll as a "sham election" and urging Filipinos not to take part.

A call to boycott the vote was also issued by Bayan, a broad left-wing coalition that claims a following of 1 million Filipinos.

The chairman of Bayan's election commission, J. Virgilio Bautista, said on January 3 that the coalition would support the Corazon Aquino-Salvador Laurel ticket against incumbent Ferdinand Marcos if Aquino agreed to 16 changes in her platform, including a firm stand against keeping U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

These changes are unacceptable to Aquino.

The February 7 election was called under strong pressure from the Reagan administration, which fears that dictator Ferdinand Marcos is losing control of the political situation. Washington is worried about the growing strength of opposition forces

led by the CPP.

The Reagan administration hopes that the elections will help to solidify a proimperialist opposition as a safe alternative to Marcos' rule.

Corazon Aquino and Salvador Laurel are both members of ruling-class families that have dominated the Philippines for generations.

Aquino, widow of slain opposition politician Benigno Aquino, comes from the immensely wealthy landowning Cojuangco family.

Her marriage to Benigno Aquino was a merger of two powerful ruling-class dynasties. The Aquinos have played a key role in the Philippines under Spanish and U.S. colonial rule, during the Japanese occupation in World War II, and under the postwar independent government.

Benigno Aquino's father was vice-president of the Japanese puppet government installed during World War II.

After the war, Benigno Aquino worked closely with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in crushing the postwar Huk insurrection. He also took part in CIA operations in other areas in Asia.

In 1981 Aquino boasted: "I've worked with the CIA on many operations . . . and once upon a time I headed our own equivalent of the CIA. We had joint operations in Indonesia, we had joint operations in Laos, we were in Cambodia."

Salvador Laurel's family has also been prominent since Spanish colonial times and owns vast estates. Laurel's father served as president of the wartime Japanese-sponsored government in which Benigno Aquino's father was vice-president.

A founder of Marcos' New Society Movement (KBL), Laurel strongly backed the imposition of martial law in 1972. He broke with the dictator only in 1980.

Laurel heads an eight-party coalition, the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO), under whose auspices the Aquino-Laurel campaign is being waged.

largest island in the Philippines.

The Huk leadership responded by breaking into small units and trying to slip through the Japanese encirclement. This policy, called "retreat for defense," was a disaster and led to the capture of many Huk troops and cadres.

In 1944, a PKP Central Committee meeting sharply criticized the "retreat for defense" policy and removed Vicente Lava from the leadership. His place was taken by Pedro Castro, a leader of the tobacco workers' union.

During the war the Huks fought 1,200 engagements with Japanese and Filipino puppet troops and inflicted 25,000 casualties. By 1945 the Huks had grown to 20,000 regulars

and 50,000 reservists.

The PKP leadership's policy of collaboration with U.S. forces against the Japanese occupation had not prepared the ranks of the Huk guerrilla movement for the hostility with which they were treated by the returning U.S. military.

William Pomeroy, an American with long ties to the PKP, who subsequently took part in the Huk postwar uprising, points out that "as soon as U.S. armed forces had begun the reconquest of Luzon, in early 1945, they arrested, on orders of General MacArthur, many top PKP and Huk leaders, sought to disarm Huk units, engineered the massacre of others,

ousted provisional governments set up by the movement, and began terrorizing the organized masses."

This U.S. assault disoriented the Huks. As Huk leader Luis Taruc noted in his 1953 autobiography *Born of the People*, "throughout the war we had nothing but praise for the Americans, and had done everything possible to bring about a pro-American feeling. . . . We had always referred to the Americans as our allies and had sincerely believed that under the leadership of Roosevelt the American nation would help usher in a new era of world peace and democracy."

Recalling reassessments made later in prison, Taruc concluded that the biggest shortcoming "had been our failure to emphasize and to clarify the true meaning of imperialism to the people. We had neglected to point out that imperialism was the same whether Japanese, American, British or Dutch. In so doing we had narrowed down and weakened the basic issue of World War II."

Because of this class-collaborationist policy, even in the wartime Huk strongholds the peasant masses looked to the returning U.S. Army as liberators and were unprepared for the repression that soon followed.

The PKP and the Huks emerged from World War II with greater influence than when they entered it. In 1945 the PKP organized a powerful National Peasants Union (PKM) as well as a Congress of Labor Organizations (CLO), which controlled the unions in most of the industries in Manila.

In April 1946, the PKP-controlled Democratic Alliance elected six congressmen from Luzon to the first post-independence legislature.

The Democratic Alliance candidates, however, were not allowed to take their seats. They were excluded in order to insure passage by the Philippine Congress of the Parity Amendment to the Philippine Constitution, which gave U.S. citizens identical rights with Philippine citizens in all spheres of the country's economic life.

In addition to robbing the Democratic Alliance of its seats in congress, the new Filipino government launched an offensive against the Huk strongholds of central Luzon. During the war, many of the landlords had fled to Manila and collaborated with the Japanese occupation. Now they wanted their land back and were determined to roll back Huk agrarian reforms limiting rents.

The Pedro Castro leadership of the PKP favored focusing on legal and parliamentary struggle. But by 1946 many Huk veterans had already taken up arms to defend themselves from the army and landlords.

At a January 1947 meeting of the PKP Political Bureau, Pedro Castro was removed from the leadership. Jose Lava, who favored more emphasis on armed struggle, soon became de facto head of the party.

In 1948, the PKP decided that armed struggle should be the central focus, and the old Huk forces were reorganized into the National Liberation Army (HMB).

The HMB guerrillas scored many early successes against the undisciplined and demoralized government troops, who were no match for the Huk veterans.

In January 1950, the PKP leadership announced that the next two years "would be decisive for the preparations for the seizure of power." On March 29 of that year — the eighth anniversary of the founding of the Huks — the HMB launched simultaneous attacks on 15 points on the island of Luzon.

On August 26, the 54th anniversary of the start of the war for independence was marked by attacks on 11 towns.

With this new orientation, the PKP virtually abandoned all legal work and pulled its cadres out of the mass organizations in order to bolster the guerrilla struggle.

Jose Lava called for a massive recruitment drive to the PKP and HMB. Through "geometric expansion" the PKP was predicted to grow from 3,500 members in July 1950 to 50,000 members by September 1951, while the HMB would expand from 10,800 fighters to 172,000.

The PKP's plans, however, suffered a grievous setback on October 18, 1950, when raids on 22 places in Manila resulted in the capture of the entire Political Bureau as well as five truckloads of documents outlining plans for the military campaigns.

The capture of the Political Bureau, together with expanded U.S. participation in the anti-Huk struggle, reversed the tide of the fighting. A combination of military and political campaigns designed by the CIA's Edward Lansdale, who later tried to duplicate his success in South Vietnam, dealt the HMB and PKP severe blows.

By 1954, the counterinsurgency campaign had broken the back of the HMB struggle although a few units would hold out until 1968 when they formed the nucleus of the CPP's New People's Army.

Dr. Jesus Lava, who had replaced his brother Jose as leader of the PKP after Jose's arrest in the Manila raids, called for a shift from armed struggle to parliamentary struggle.

That shift to parliamentary struggle, however, was cut short by the outlawing of the PKP in 1957. The law contained a one-month grace period during which PKP and HMB members could register and avoid prosecution.

Jesus Lava urged party members to take advantage of the grace period to "return to civilian life."

Lava also disbanded the PKP's cell structure, a move that led the CPP a decade later to charge that the PKP had in effect been liquidated in 1957.

With the party structure disbanded, all individual members were urged to act on their own initiative on the basis of "political transmissions" issued by Jesus Lava.

These "transmissions" were passed along from individual party member to party member under what was described as a new "single-file policy."

Jesus Lava himself was captured by the authorities in 1964. He remained in prison for

more than a decade.

While the PKP had largely drifted into inactivity following 1957, a new generation of activists came to the fore in the early 1960s, mainly around the University of the Philippines in Manila. They were inspired by international events such as the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, the rise of the Sukarno government in Indonesia, and the growing revolutionary struggle in Vietnam.

Some joined the PKP. One of them, Jose Maria Sison, an English literature instructor at the University of the Philippines, was commissioned by the PKP to write a history of the party and guide for future activity.

Sison's draft sharply criticized Vicente Lava for the wartime strategy of "retreat for defense," Jose Lava for the 1950 "early seizure of power" strategy, and Jesus Lava for his "single-file" policy and liquidation of party cell structures.

Sison's criticisms of "the Lava clique" led to his expulsion from the PKP in April 1967 and the subsequent formation of the CPP by those who agreed with his criticisms.

PKP makes peace with Marcos

When Ferdinand Marcos imposed martial law in 1972, the reactions of the PKP and CPP were fundamentally different.

Two months after martial law was imposed, Jesus Lava, at that time still in prison, issued a "political transmission" indicating that on balance martial law was not so bad because its main targets were Maoists and CIA-linked politicians like Benigno Aquino.

The PKP took a further step toward making peace with Marcos in October 1974, when members of its Political Bureau met with him at the presidential palace.

Felicisimo Macapagal, the PKP general secretary, told the Philippine dictator: "Your excellency, you have called for national unity and we are here today in response to your call. We do so with an offer of patriotic and socially conscious participation in nation-building which has long been denied us."

The PKP Political Bureau members symbolically turned over 19 weapons to Marcos to mark their commitment not to take up armed struggle.

Since that time, PKP leaders have continued to be invited to affairs at the presidential palace.

The CPP's reaction to martial law was very different. CPP activists from the Manila student network took to the mountains to join the small group of NPA members already waging armed struggle. The addition of these cadres enabled the CPP and NPA to build bases in a number of regions.

In fact, as the *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted on Nov. 21, 1985, "they have succeeded in forging a nationwide cell structure, something no previous revolt had been able to accomplish."

Although a number of central leaders of the CPP, including Sison, were captured in 1976 and 1977, this loss has not stemmed the growth of the CPP-led insurgency. □

Witch-hunt in Labour Party

Investigation of Liverpool party committee threatens entire left

By Steve Craine

After months in battle against Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government, the Labour Party majority of the Liverpool City Council has been hit by a new attack, this time coming from within its own party.

The right wing of the national Labour Party leadership has targeted the Liverpool Labour Party district committee and several members of the city council there in its witch-hunt against all leftist opposition in the party.

This witch-hunt not only weakens Liverpool in its struggle against Thatcher's cutbacks of social services, but is a threat to the entire Labour Party and to the British working-class movement as a whole.

Since coming to office in 1979, Thatcher's Tory party has led a relentless offensive against the rights and living standards of working people in Britain. This offensive has shaken and polarized working-class politics in the country.

This was reflected in the 1984-85 strike of the National Union of Mineworkers against government plans to close mines and eliminate thousands of jobs. That strike won considerable solidarity in Britain and around the world. But it also exposed the unwillingness of many Labour Party leaders and union officials to stand by a section of the working class in struggle with the bosses and their government. The revolt of Britain's oppressed Black communities has met with a similar response.

The Labour Party's National Executive Committee (NEC), under party leader Neil Kinnock, has reacted to the sharpening class polarization by avoiding struggles with the bosses and retreating further into electoralism.

Primarily concerned with the party's showing in the latest opinion polls, the majority of the Labour Party leadership has adopted a strategy of appealing to the middle class by increasingly moderating its policies and trying to avoid confrontations with the employing class. They claim this is the only way the party can win voters away from the capitalist parties.

As Kinnock put it at the party's 1985 conference in September and October, the party must "get the support of those who are not poor, those who are not unemployed, those who are not victimized."

An essential part of this approach is to purge the party of its left wing. The Liverpool City Council's defiance of Thatcher is an obstacle to Kinnock's strategy of accommodation to the capitalists.

Liverpool has become a symbol of resistance to the Tories' anti-working-class policies and of opposition to the rightward retreat of the Labour Party national leadership.

The political center of the new campaign against the Liverpool Labour Party committee is the charge that some of its leaders and some elected city councillors are supporters of a Labour Party tendency around the *Militant* newspaper. Additional charges of "corruption" and "intimidation" have been added to make this *political* attack sound more legitimate.

The *Militant*, which describes itself as "the Marxist paper for labour and youth," has been published for 21 years. Its central figures came out of the British section of the Fourth International in the 1960s and still consider themselves Trotskyists. Supporters of the paper dominate the leadership of the Labour Party's youth group, the Labour Party Young Socialists.

Kinnock's attacks on *Militant* supporters and other leftist dissidents have divided the party between supporters and opponents of the anti-left witch-hunt. While most of the NEC has endorsed an "investigation" of the Liverpool left-wingers, and even collaborated with the Conservative Party, police, and capitalist media, a campaign against these divisive actions is growing within the party.

Liverpool's fight with Thatcher

The confrontation between the Liverpool City Council and Prime Minister Thatcher is the result of a nationwide attack by the Conservative Party government on the social gains won over the years by the British trade union movement and its party, the Labour Party.

In addition to busting unions, selling off nationalized industries to private capitalists, and raising taxes on working people, Thatcher's plans have called for the dismantling of social welfare programs. Since many of these programs are administered by local government, city councils like Liverpool's have come under direct fire.

For more than two years the Tory government has been trying to limit the revenue-raising authority of local governments it considers to be spending too much. It has also opened a campaign to abolish altogether the seven metropolitan councils that govern Britain's largest urban concentrations.

Initially 24 city and metropolitan councils refused to accept budgets dictated by the central government. These included the council in Liverpool and the Greater London Council, the biggest and most important local government body in the country.

Now nearly all these councils have knuckled under to the high-pressure tactics of the Tory government. Liverpool and Lambeth, a borough of London, have been the last to hold out against Thatcher's budgets.

Liverpool, located on the Mersey River in northwest England, had long been one of Britain's most important seaports. It was also a center for ship repairing, sugar refining, marine engineering, and rope making. But as these industries died and the port of Liverpool was supplanted by ports on the island's east coast, half of the city's manufacturing jobs were lost.

Unemployment is now estimated at about 25 percent, compared with the nationwide average of nearly 14 percent — itself a record high. In some public housing projects as many as 9 out of 10 people are without work. The city council itself is now the largest employer in the metropolitan area, with 31,000 workers on its payroll.

The Liverpool City Council has initiated projects to provide employment, revitalize the decaying port and industrial districts of the city, and provide housing. These programs have been opposed by the Conservative central government.

Like other local governments in Britain, Liverpool gets a substantial portion of its operating funds in the form of grants from the central government. The rest of its budget is raised through local property taxes. In the case of Liverpool, these two sources have provided about equal amounts of revenue in recent years.

In 1985, however, the Thatcher government imposed a limit of £222 million (about US\$310 million), which it claimed was a "reasonable" budget for the city of Liverpool — some 16 percent less than the budget drawn up by the city council. Furthermore, the government declared that if the city spent over the £222 million limit its grant would be cut £2 for every £1 of the excess.

Since there was already a deficit in the city's proposed budget because the council refused last June to raise taxes by as much as the government proposed, this punitive action drove the deficit up to at least £100 million. The council faces fines for setting the local tax rate too low to meet expenses, yet it cannot legally raise taxes now in the middle of the tax year.

In late September the Liverpool City Council voted 46 to 35 to lay off all 31,000 municipal workers for 90 days beginning December 31, as the only way to save enough money to make ends meet. The city council asserted that it had only enough cash on hand to last to "the end of next week."

Bankruptcy was averted in November when a £130 million, two-year loan package was negotiated with a group of Swiss banks.

The controversy over the state of Liverpool's finances opened the way for investiga-

tions of the city's books and of the Labour Party members of the council. The first investigation was requested by the city council itself. It was conducted by a team of financial experts from the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, a Labour Party-controlled body that has helped other city governments scrape through financial hard times.

But less friendly forces were also gearing up investigations of the radical leaders in Liverpool. While the councillors face court actions threatening stiff fines and suspension from office for their "illegal" tax rate, the top leadership of the Labour Party took the opportunity to deal with a troublesome opposition.

Kinnock and other Labour Party leaders had been waiting to pounce on *Militant* supporters in Liverpool for some time. Since 1983 some 32 supporters of the opposition newspaper have been expelled from the Labour Party, and about 30 more expulsions are in the works.

Kinnock attacks 'maggots'

In an October 1 speech at the party's annual conference at Bournemouth, Kinnock called for throwing radicals out of the party. He ridiculed class-struggle fighters, whose "implausible resolutions" become "pickled into rigid dogma." Later he called the tendency around the *Militant* "a maggot in the body of the Labour Party."

In late November the Labour Party's National Executive Committee voted to conduct its own investigation of the Liverpool committee. Charges of corruption, misuse of public funds, providing jobs for supporters, and intimidation were leveled against leaders of the party in Liverpool.

The outcome of this investigation, which is to be presented to the next NEC meeting January 18, is a foregone conclusion. Only NEC members who support Kinnock's vendetta against the *Militant* were put on the investigating committee.

Kinnock himself admitted that the inquiry would proceed from the assumption that offenses had been committed. "It has been clear from a number of allegations," he said, "that there is impropriety . . . our inquiry team will be to discover why these occurrences have taken place."

As Derek Hatton, deputy leader in the Liverpool council and a central target of the frame-up, commented, the Liverpool district committee "has been hanged even before it has been tried."

The witch-hunting committee of the NEC took testimony December 8 and 9. Those accused of misconduct received no specific charges and were not assured the right to face and reply to their accusers. Individuals and Labour Party committees wishing to testify in favor of the Liverpool frame-up victims were not informed of when the hearings would be held or were given unreasonable deadlines for applications to be heard.

Liverpool Member of Parliament Eric Heffer was one of five NEC members who opposed the witch-hunt against *Militant* supporters. He charged in an open letter to Labour



Liverpool Member of Parliament Eric Heffer is one of the many Labour Party leaders to speak out against the witch-hunt.

Party General Secretary Larry Whitty that the investigation was undemocratic in other respects as well. "It is also suggested," he wrote, "that hearings could be held in 'safe houses,' that people giving evidence will be 'guaranteed anonymity,' and that evidence could be 'forwarded to the police.'"

In this context, right-wingers in the party pushed their witch-hunt against the left further.

Some called for making any association with the *Militant* newspaper grounds for expulsion from the party. Members of the Labour Party leadership in Parliament indicated they would not oppose a possible move by the Tory government to put the city of Liverpool under receivership, enforced by troops if necessary.

Black activists in the Labour Party have also been victimized by the rising tide of witch-hunting fervor. The party's national conference refused to give official recognition to the Black sections that have been organized recently as vehicles for greater Black involvement in the party. In several cases Black section activists have been expelled for "bringing the party into disrepute."

Tories and press welcome purge

The Conservative Party has welcomed the divisions in the Labour Party caused by Kinnock's campaign against supporters of the *Militant*. Conservative Party leader Norman Tebbit has said that, after Liverpool, the Manchester Labour Party should be the next target. "They are the same sort of people pursuing the same extreme policies," he stated.

Some in the Labour Party right wing have risen to Tebbit's bait and asked him to supply "evidence" against the Manchester district committee.

The *Times* of London has also called for expansion of the Labour Party witch-hunt. It wrote of "ideological cabals passing themselves off as general management commit-

tees," and singled out Black leaders such as Diane Abbott and Bernie Grant.

The *Guardian*, a major capitalist daily, advised the Labour Party to outlaw any participation in any activity of the *Militant* and to reintroduce a comprehensive list of organizations, newspapers, and factions incompatible with party membership.

The *Daily Mirror*, which generally supports Labour in the elections, said the quicker the *Militant* supporters are kicked out, the better it will be for Liverpool, the Labour Party, and Britain. "The extremists are Mrs Thatcher's best friends," it claimed.

Defense campaign needed

A defense campaign that can unite the entire left of the Labour Party against this witch-hunt is beginning to develop. In the first three weeks after the announcement of the Liverpool inquiry, some 20,000 people signed a petition protesting the campaign.

An article by Carol Turner and Redmond O'Neill in *Socialist Action*, a weekly paper put out in London, explained the stakes in this fight: "The witch-hunt is directed precisely against those who fight to defend the working class against the Thatcher government. Liverpool city council is a target not because of its mistakes, but because it stood and fought when other councils ran away."

The article continued, "The black section is a target because it stood by the black communities of Handsworth, Brixton, and Tottenham against police repression. Arthur Scargill [president of the miners' union] is a target because he led the greatest mass strike in British history. . . ."

"The present enquiry and threatened expulsions are directed against *Militant* solely because they provide the most exposed target at this point. If they are not stopped, others will follow."

The Labour Left Coordination is circulating a model resolution for adoption by working-class organizations. It reads in part: "In no case should internal political differences be used as a pretext for the expulsion of individuals and the suspension of pressure groups holding views which do not find favour with the present party leadership. We therefore deplore the recent expulsions of members of the Labour Committee on Ireland, the Labour Party black sections, supporters of *Militant* and other socialists within the party."

The Greater London Labour Party, the largest local component of the Labour Party, denounced the inquiry. It called on the NEC to "use their energies to attack the Tories rather than socialists."

A number of Labour MPs and union leaders have condemned the witch-hunt. Members of Parliament speaking out include Tony Benn, Eric Heffer, Joan Maynard, Dennis Skinner, and others.

As miners' leader Arthur Scargill put it, "The leaders of the Labour Party, rather than conducting witch-hunts within the party, should lead the real witch-hunt against Margaret Thatcher and the Tory government." □

South Africa

Unionists defy regime, employers

COSATU presses organizing drives

By Ernest Harsch

South Africa's capitalist rulers have directed a major challenge at the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) just a month after the half-million-member union federation was launched.

On January 6, one of the largest mining companies in South Africa, the General Mining Union Corp. (Gencor), fired some 20,000 Black workers at several platinum mines in an effort to break a week-long strike. The workers support COSATU's largest affiliate, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

The strike began on January 1 over wages and working conditions at four platinum mines and a processing plant owned by Impala Platinum Holdings, a Gencor subsidiary. Miners there currently earn top wages of \$100 to \$120 a month.

Company officials claimed that the workers' pay demands were "far too high" and said their calls for improved working conditions and stricter safety standards were "expensive and unreasonable in current circumstances."

The company has also refused to recognize the NUM. Its intransigence has been aided by the antiunion policies of the administration of BophuthaTswana, where the Impala mines are located. Staffed by Black collaborators with the apartheid regime, BophuthaTswana is one of South Africa's 10 Bantustans, the largely rural reserves to which millions of Africans are confined. Claiming to be an "independent government," the BophuthaTswana administration makes it virtually illegal for "outside" unions to operate within the Bantustan.

The NUM, however, has vowed to press its fight to represent the Impala miners, to get the fired strikers rehired, and to reopen wage talks with the management.

Rejection of Bantustans

The conflict in BophuthaTswana is but one front in a broader battle that is shaping up between COSATU and Pretoria's various Bantustan administrations. At COSATU's inaugural conference, the union federation adopted a resolution blasting the restrictions on union rights in BophuthaTswana, Ciskei, and other Bantustans. It likewise rejected the entire Bantustan system, pledging instead to fight for "the creation of a democratic and unitary South Africa" (see following documents).

Bantustan officials have also been sharply denounced in public speeches by COSATU President Elijah Barayi. In one speech he implicitly criticized Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the head of the KwaZulu Bantustan. Buthelezi frequently travels abroad to campaign against economic sanctions, arguing that such sanctions would only hurt Blacks. "Instead of giv-

ing money to the pensioners and the poor," Barayi said, "the puppet leaders of the Bantustans fly around the world saying Blacks will suffer. . . . There is nothing more tragic than a man who believes he is a leader while he is a slave."

Just days after COSATU's formation, Buthelezi made clear his bitter opposition to the union federation, calling it a "new front" for the outlawed African National Congress (ANC). Oscar Dhlomo, a leader of Buthelezi's Inkatha political formation, warned that Inkatha members who also belong to COSATU may be ordered to split from the union.

Buthelezi's threats are serious. In recent months, armed goon squads organized by Inkatha leaders have attacked and murdered dozens of political activists in the Durban area, in particular supporters of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the mass anti-apartheid coalition.

Government threats, killings

In trying to portray COSATU as an ANC front, Buthelezi is simply parroting charges that Pretoria itself has made. A broadcast over the government-run radio network, for example, claimed that COSATU was "intent on furthering the aims of a banned organisation, namely to make the country ungovernable." It is illegal in South Africa to further the aims of a banned organization, and such charges against COSATU constitute a direct threat of repressive action.

"These accusations have no substance," Barayi responded. "On what basis do they make these accusations? . . . COSATU is an independent trade union federation and represents over half a million members. We have no

links with any organisation. Our relationship with progressive organisations will be decided when we discuss our political policy."

One of COSATU's affiliates, the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU), has already suffered from considerable direct state repression because of its outspoken opposition to the apartheid system and its involvement in the political campaigns organized by the UDF. In December, when treason charges were dropped against 12 of 16 UDF leaders, they were maintained against the remaining four, all of whom are also SAAWU leaders: Sisa Njikelana, Thozamile Gqweta, Sam Kikine, and Isaac Ngcobo.

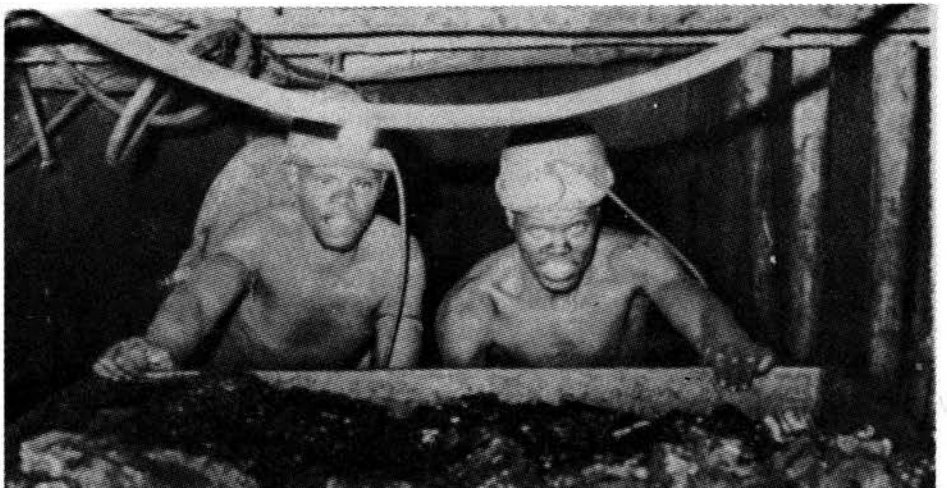
Around the same time, Ian Zamisa, a prominent SAAWU organizer, was assassinated in the township of Chesterville, near Durban. The Johannesburg *City Press* reported that "leading Durban activists fear that the hit squad known as the 'A-Team,' which has killed many UDF activists, has resumed its reign of terror."

COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo condemned Zamisa's murder. "In future such attacks will get a definite response," Naidoo said.

Strengthening the union

Despite the hostility of the government and employers, COSATU has moved ahead to consolidate itself and advance its aims. One of the key tasks facing COSATU, as outlined at its founding conference, is the formation of strong, industry-wide unions, especially in industries where more than one affiliate is now active. Union mergers are already under way among affiliates in the metal, transport, and food industries.

COSATU is also seeking to unionize workers who are as yet unorganized — and not only within South Africa's own borders. The NUM has been trying to organize mine workers in Namibia, a territory now governed as a direct South African colony. In response, the South African-dominated puppet administration in Namibia passed a law in November (similar to



Black miners in BophuthaTswana, Namibia, and elsewhere are flocking to National Union of Mineworkers.

the one in BophuthaTswana) barring "nonresident" unionists from the territory. Nevertheless, the NUM is continuing its efforts and has so far received requests for organizing assistance from workers at Namibian diamond and uranium mines.

Unemployed workers are likewise beginning to organize, and are being attracted to the new federation. In the Cape Town area, several such groups have emerged in recent months. Wilson Sedina, an organizer for the Jobs for All campaign, which works closely with the UDF, explained, "Our work is not

separate from that of the community organisations and the trade unions. We complement each other. Our members must learn not to scab and to work with the trade unions during strikes." The Unemployed Workers Movement (UWM) has hailed COSATU's formation. A spokesperson, Shaheed Mohamad, declared, "The UWM salutes the spirit of the COSATU resolution on unemployment. With millions out of jobs and underemployed it is imperative that the trade union movement and all unemployed cooperate with one another."

COSATU has also taken part in some of the

ongoing political protests around the country. Just a week after its formation, Barayi spoke in Queenstown at a mass funeral for Blacks slain by the police. COSATU unions in Springs, southeast of Johannesburg, have declared their support for a Black consumer boycott called to protest apartheid policies and police repression.

"One thing is clear," Barayi explained in an interview. "We as trade unions are directly affected by the political system in South Africa. So we cannot divorce ourselves from the political struggle." □

DOCUMENTS

Resolutions of South African union

COSATU fights for 'a united, democratic South Africa'

[The following are the texts of all the resolutions adopted at the inaugural convention of the half-million-member Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), held in Durban Nov. 29–Dec. 1, 1985, as well as the preamble to the new union federation's constitution. They are taken from COSATU's official bulletin on the convention, entitled *Congress News*, published in Cape Town. The footnotes and bracketed insertions are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Migrant labour

This federation noting:

1. That pass laws were legislated by the apartheid regime to control and dehumanise the lives of the working class in SA [South Africa].

2. That pass laws and influx control served to strengthen the hand of capital to exploit and oppress the working class in its endeavour to generate super-profits.

3. That the economic and social hardships of the migrant labour system include the break-up of family life and relationships.

4. That the migrant labour system seeks to further divide the oppressed and exploited workers into permanent residents and migrants.

5. That if the apartheid regime persists in threatening to repatriate migrant workers to the homelands [Bantustans] and neighboring countries.

Resolves to:

1. Fight for the scrapping of the migrant labour system, including pass laws and influx control.

2. Fight for the right of workers to seek work wherever they wish and to reside with their families wherever they wish and that proper housing will be provided for them.

3. Call for a national strike should the apartheid regime carry out its threat to repatriate any migrant workers.

(Proposed by the National Union of Mine-

workers [NUM])

Unemployment

Believing:

That all able-bodied men and women have a right to work.

Noting:

1. That under capitalist conditions of exploitation, unemployment is a reality facing every worker at all times.

2. That these unemployed workers are used as a reserve pool of labour by the bosses to keep wages low and to provide a source of scab labour in the event of strikes.

3. That the interests of all workers, whether employed or unemployed, are the same — the right to a job at a decent living wage.

4. That the unity of employed and unemployed workers is essential in the struggle against scabbing and to advance the struggle for the right to work at a living wage.

5. That under capitalist conditions of exploitation, unemployment is a reality facing workers at all times and is a waste of the human resources of this country.

And further noting:

1. That in SA there are millions of unemployed — a number that is increasing daily through retrenchments.

2. That the introduction of new technology for profiteering purposes is making the whole unemployment situation even worse. This is further aggravated by pressure from employers for higher productivity.

3. That many are abandoning all hope of finding suitable employment in the immediate future.

4. That for thousands of school leavers there is virtually no prospect of getting employment and therefore no possibility of drawing UIF [Unemployment Insurance Fund] benefits.

5. That unemployed workers are not organised in SA.

Congress therefore resolves to:

1. Fight as one united force to defend all jobs threatened by retrenchments; fight the closing of the factories; and fight for participation in and control over — right from the planning stage — the implementation of any new technology. And fight all attempts by employers to make workers work harder and attempts to rationalise production, because in the present system this always leads to unemployment.

2. Campaign for a 40-hour week at full pay and a ban on overtime.

3. Fight for free and increased unemployment benefits and that these benefits be paid in SA.¹

4. Fight for a subsistence fund, in addition to unemployed benefits, supplemented by rent, transport, and medical concessions for all unemployed workers.

5. Demand that the state initiate a national programme of public works to provide jobs for the unemployed and to improve services and facilities in working-class communities.

6. Fight for work-sharing on full pay whenever workers face retrenchments.

7. Establish a national unemployed workers' union as a full affiliate of the new federation to struggle for the realisation of the right of all to work and security.

8. Struggle for a fair, democratic, and rational political and economic system which can guarantee full employment for all people in Southern Africa at a living wage.

9. To give full support to efforts by retrenched and dismissed workers to establish cooperatives based on the principles of COSATU.

(Composite resolution)

National minimum living wage

Seeing that:

1. Under the migrant labor system, unemployment payments for a worker from outside South Africa are paid to the government of the worker's origin.

1. The majority of workers in SA are earning starvation wages because of the present economic system; constantly rising prices (inflation) is making what little money workers have worth less and less every day.

2. Employers in SA continue to make massive and completely unrealistic profits when compared with employers in other capitalist countries.

3. Many millions of workers do not have any minimum wage protection whatsoever.

4. The issue of a living wage is one of the strongest points for organising the unorganised.

We hereby resolve:

1. That the Central Executive Committee establish as soon as possible what workers regard as a minimum living wage.

2. To initiate and conduct — in alliance with other progressive organisations and trade unions in the country — an ongoing national campaign for a legally enforced national minimum living wage for all workers in SA, by amongst other things fighting in every industry through worker action and negotiation for that minimum living wage to be paid by all employers.

3. To fight for this minimum living wage to be automatically linked to the rate of inflation.

4. To struggle for the abolition of GST [General Sales Tax] on all essential items, and worker control over all deductions like pensions and UIF, which are being financed by workers but used against workers by the racist and antiworker government.

5. To fight to open all the books of every organised company so that workers can see exactly how the wealth they have produced is being wasted and misused by the employers' profit system, and on that basis can demand their full share of the wealth they have produced. Should the wealth not be there, then it will only prove the inefficiency of employer management and strengthen the case for worker control and management of production.

(Proposed by the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa [CCAWUSA])

Women

This federation noting:

1. That women workers experience both exploitation as workers and oppression as women and that black women are further discriminated against on the basis of race;

2. That women are employed in a limited range of occupations, doing boring and repetitive work with low and often unequal pay;

3. That due to overtime and night work, women workers are subjected to many dangers while commuting;

4. That women workers often suffer sexual harassment in recruitment and employment;

5. That most women workers in South Africa lose their jobs when they become pregnant;

6. That pregnant women often have to work under conditions harmful to themselves and their unborn child.

Resolves to fight:

1. Against all unequal and discriminatory treatment of women at work, in society, and in the federation;

2. For the equal right of women and men to paid work as an important part of the broader aim to achieve full and freely chosen employment;

3. For equal pay for all work of equal value — the value of work must be determined by organised women and men workers themselves;

4. For the restructuring of employment so as to allow women and men the opportunity of qualifying for jobs of equal value;

5. For child care and family facilities to meet workers' needs and make it easier for workers to combine work and family responsibilities;

6. For full maternity rights, including paid maternity and paternity leave and job security;

7. For the protection of women and men from all types of work proved to be harmful to them, including work which interferes with their ability to have children;

8. Against sexual harassment in whatever form it occurs;

9. For adequate and safe transport for workers doing overtime and night work.

Now commits itself:

1. To actively campaign in support of these resolutions;

2. To negotiate agreements with companies wherever possible as part of this campaign;

3. To actively promote within its education programme a greater understanding of the specific discriminations suffered by women workers and ways in which these can be overcome;

4. To establish a worker-controlled subcommittee within its education programme to monitor progress made in implementing this resolution and to make representations to the education committee;

5. To budget for the workings of such a subcommittee;

6. To actively promote the necessary confidence and experience amongst women workers so that they can participate fully at all levels of the federation.

(Proposed by CCAWUSA)

Centenary celebrations

This federation noting:

1. That capital and the local state are spending millions of rand to celebrate the centenary of Johannesburg;

2. That they are planning the celebrations next year without consulting the workers who have built Johannesburg, the gold mines, and the industrial complexes we have today;

Therefore resolves:

1. To organise a boycott of all centenary celebrations;

2. To ensure that all unions under the banner of COSATU organise an alternative programme to highlight 100 years of exploitation and oppression in Johannesburg and in particu-

lar the mining industry.

(Proposed by NUM)

Federalism

This congress noting that:

1. South Africa's bitter history of industrialisation and exploitation has forged one nation.

2. The attempts by the apartheid regime to create and reconstruct separate states and nations which will be combined into some federal system² are fraudulent and undemocratic.

3. That the intention of the proposed federal system is to maintain power and control in the hands of the present minority and perpetuate an oppressive and exploitative system.

4. That the demand of all progressive and democratic forces in South Africa is for a unitary state based on One Person, One Vote.

Resolves to:

1. Reject as a total fraud the new proposed federal solution.

2. Reaffirm our belief in a unitary state based on One Person, One Vote.

3. Work towards the destruction of all barriers and divisions so that we are united irrespective of language, race, or creed.

And further believes that:

Only with the total unification of all people into South Africa will we be able to rebuild our rich land and make a real contribution to breaking the chains of poverty and economic exploitation that bind Africa.

(Proposed by the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers Union)

Disinvestment

This congress:

1. Believes that all forms of international pressure on the South African government — including disinvestment or the threat of disinvestment — is an essential and effective form of pressure on the South African regime and we support it.

2. Further believes that if this government remains intransigent in its racist, antidemocratic, and antiworker practices, then this pressure will have to increase as an act of solidarity with our struggle for liberation from exploitation and oppression.

3. Commits ourselves to ensure that the social wealth of South Africa remains the property of the people of South Africa for the benefit of all, and further commits ourselves to the principle of international working-class solidarity action as the most powerful form of sol-

2. The chief proponent of restructuring South Africa along federal lines is the main bourgeois opposition party, the Progressive Federal Party. Under such a system, the country would be divided into a complex array of political units, including the existing apartheid-created Bantustans for Africans, and various provinces, cantons, and municipalities segregated along racial and language lines, with the aim of keeping the Black majority divided. Aspects of this proposal are now being echoed within the governing National Party itself.

identity action with our struggle.
(Proposed by CCAWUSA)

State of Emergency

This inaugural conference believing:

1. That the declaration of a State of Emergency has been used to wage a war of repression against all sections of the oppressed communities and to try to crush democratic organisations.

2. That the cause of all violence in South Africa is the existence of the apartheid system, and that there can be no peace while it exists.

Calls:

1. For the immediate lifting of the State of Emergency.

2. For the withdrawal of the SADF [South African Defence Force] and all apartheid security forces from the townships.

3. For the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, the unbanning of banned individuals and organisations, as a prelude to the creation of a democratic South Africa where all shall live in peace and prosperity.

(Proposed by the General and Allied Workers Union)

Right to strike

This federation noting:

1. That the strike is a legitimate right and necessary weapon of the working class in their struggle against bad working conditions and low wages.

2. That the strike is internationally accepted as an essential element of collective bargaining.

3. That freedom of association, assembly, and picketing for strike action are also fundamental rights, internationally, in industrial struggle.

4. That the infringement or curbing of these rights is detrimental to the social and economic interests of the workers.

5. That the right to strike is severely curtailed in SA.

6. That a strike involves a democratic form of struggle.

7. That picketing is an integral part of a strike and of morally persuading fellow workers not to break a strike.

8. That essential service workers are not allowed to take industrial action in pursuing their demands.

Therefore resolves:

1. To continue a relentless campaign which will allow workers full freedom of association, assembly, and picketing for strike action. This requires that all forms of security legislation that denies these rights be removed.

2. To ensure that where workers have followed mutually agreed dispute procedures with employers, there will be full job security during such strikes. This requires that eviction from accommodation and other such measures be outlawed.

3. To campaign and respond vigorously against police and state intervention in strikes

or industrial disputes.

4. To fight for the right of trade unions to establish strike funds.

5. To ensure that strikers are free to establish and control strike committees.

6. To fight for the removal of the designation of essential services and that all workers be allowed to share equal rights.

(Composite resolution)

Bantustans

The congress noting:

1. That the bantustan system was imposed on the African people, against their will, with a view to thwarting the just struggle for One Person, One Vote in a unitary South Africa.

2. That various bantustan administrations have practised extreme forms of oppression against the oppressed people — including trade unions.

Noting in particular:

The banning of SAAWU [South African Allied Workers Union] in the Ciskei, the banning of all unions in the BophuthaTswana bantustan, and the killing of trade unionists and other democrats by tribally based organisations.

Hereby resolves that:

1. The bantustan system be totally rejected and that the federation struggle — together with other democratic forces — for the creation of a democratic and unitary South Africa.

2. We shall not hesitate to exercise our right to organise in plants based within the bantustans and that we are fully prepared to defend ourselves against repression by whatever effective means at our disposal.

3. That we are completely and absolutely opposed to the super-exploitation occurring in these areas and declare our commitment to reject the idea and practice of workers receiving less wages and worse conditions of work.

4. That we express our solidarity with those communities around Durban and elsewhere who are struggling against being incorporated into the bantustans.

(Composite resolution)

Southern African union cooperation

This federation noting:

1. That foreign and South African multinational corporations (MNCs) have for years exploited workers in Southern Africa by reaping huge profits and exporting them to Europe and America.

2. That workers in Southern Africa are employed by the same MNCs and subjected to similar conditions of control, exploitation, and oppression.

3. That many of them are union-bashers and have undermined the legitimate right of workers to organise trade unions.

4. That these MNCs, as the major agencies of imperialism, have cooperated with reactionary regimes in pursuit of super-profits.

5. That MNCs can only be resisted if there is unity and worker-to-worker contact in various countries of Southern Africa.

6. That the problems faced by the workers

of Southern Africa are integrally linked, and that their futures are tied together.

Therefore resolves:

1. That unions affiliated to COSATU should actively pursue links with progressive unions in Southern Africa so as to strengthen worker unity.

2. That COSATU should form constructive relationships with fraternal federations in Southern Africa.

3. That every effort be made to unite workers of Southern Africa and improve solidarity work.

(Proposed by NUM)

National industrial unions

Noting:

1. That all affiliates have previously committed themselves to the establishment of one national union in each sector of industry.

2. That the structures of the federation are less effective with so many affiliates.

3. That we will be unable to protect worker interests and advance their rights unless we build large, broadly based industrial unions capable of dealing with the highly centralised structures of capital.

Therefore resolves:

1. To confirm its commitment to the establishment of one national affiliate in each industry and to national cooperation between such affiliates as a matter of great urgency.

2. That should such developments not have materialised by the end of March 1986, a Special National Congress be convened in June or July 1986 to assess such failure.

3. That in order to facilitate the establishment of national industrial unions, affiliates are urged to establish a single union in each of the following sectors:

Food and drink;

Textile, clothing, and leather;

Paper, wood, and printing;

Mining, electrical energy;

Metal, motor assembly, and components;

Chemical and petroleum;

Commercial and catering;

Transport, SA Transport Services;

Cleaning and security;

Local government and public administration, including education, health, posts, and telecommunications;

Domestic workers.

4. That all structures of the federation be used to encourage mergers of affiliates operating in the same industry.

5. That the Central Executive Committee establish priorities in relation to resources available, with a view to the establishment of national affiliates in the construction and agriculture sectors.

6. That the Central Executive Committee be directed to facilitate the implementation of this resolution and to this end take such action as may be necessary. Further, that the Central Executive Committee may also evaluate the viability of the sectors outlined above, with particular reference to problems which may exist in all sectors.

(Proposed by the Chemical Workers Industrial

Union and the National Union of Textile Workers)

Regional areas of the federation

That this congress resolves:

1. That the regional areas of the federation be:

Northern Transvaal
Witwatersrand/Vaal
Highveld
Western Transvaal
Northern Natal
Southern Natal
Orange Free State
Northern Cape
Western Cape
Eastern Cape

2. That the Central Executive Committee be instructed that, immediately when feasible as provided for in clause 9.1. of the constitution of the federation, regional structures be established in such regional areas.

(Proposed by the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union)

Education

This federation noting:

1. That the present education system in South Africa is designed to maintain the working class in ideological bondage.

2. That the present education system is designed to continue and reinforce the values, ideas, and practises of the ruling classes.

3. That the present education system is aimed at fostering divisions and antidemocratic values within the working class.

4. That education is vital in the liberation struggle of the working class.

5. That education must serve the interests of the vast majority of the people of the country.

Therefore resolves:

1. To establish a national, regional, and

local education programme for the federation to:

a) ensure that this education programme politicises, mobilises, and organises the working class so that they play the leading role in the liberation of our society and its transformation into an economic, social, and political system that will serve the needs of those who are now oppressed and exploited.

b) develop an understanding and capacity to wage our struggle by democratic means that will allow maximum participation decision-making power for workers both now and in the future society we wish to build.

c) develop the human potential to the fullest and to create and transform skills and the abilities so that they are accessible to the oppressed and exploited.

d) develop the understanding among the working class that their struggle forms part of the world struggle against oppression and exploitation.

2. To establish a federation newspaper which will:

a) express the views and policies of the federation and its affiliates.

b) record the struggles of the federation and its affiliates.

c) counter the dominance of the bosses' media by popularising democratic ideas, values, and traditions among the working class.

3. To organise and commemorate the important cultural events and resistance days in the working-class calendar, for example, May Day and June 16³ and Federation Day.

4. To recommend to the Central Executive Committee of the federation that they appoint an education officer and newspaper editor.

5. To establish a National Coordinating Education Committee made up of:

a) regional and local committees of workers.

3. June 16 was the first day of the uprising in the Black township of Soweto in 1976.

b) union representatives.
(Proposed by NUM)

Preamble to constitution

We the trade union representatives here present firmly commit ourselves to a united, democratic South Africa, free of oppression and economic exploitation.

We believe that this can only be achieved under the leadership of a united working class. Our history has taught us that to achieve this goal we will have to carry out the following tasks:

- To organise the unorganised workers and build effective trade unions based on the democratic organisation of workers in the factories, mines, shops, farms, and other workplaces.

- Organise national industrial unions, financed and controlled by their worker members through democratically elected committees.

- Unify these industrial unions into a national, worker-controlled federation.

- Combat the divisions amongst the workers of South Africa and unite them into a strong and confident working class.

- Encourage democratic worker organisations and leadership in all spheres of our society together with other progressive sectors of the community.

- Reinforce and encourage progressive international worker contact and solidarity so as to assist one another in our struggles.

We call on all those who identify with this commitment to join us and the workers whom we represent as comrades in the struggle ahead. We call on all trade unions to strive and unite their members in their ranks without discrimination and prejudice, and therefore resolve that this federation shall determinedly seek to further and protect the interests of all workers and that its guiding motto shall be the universal slogan of working class solidarity: "An injury to one is an injury to all." □

SACTU hails new union in South Africa

'Long live the Congress of South African Trade Unions!'

[At a congress in Durban, South Africa, over the weekend of Nov. 29–Dec. 1, 1985, unionists from throughout the country formed the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest union federation South Africa has ever seen, with a membership of more than half a million workers, the bulk of them Black.

[The following are two documents on COSATU's formation issued in London by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). Originally formed in 1955, SACTU is allied with the African National Congress (ANC), South Africa's vanguard liberation organization. Because of the repression within South Africa, SACTU is not able today to

function openly in that country. Some of its leaders, however, are active in exile, while SACTU activists within South Africa function clandestinely.

[The first of these documents is a press statement issued on Nov. 28, 1985, by SACTU President Steven Dlamini. The second is a SACTU position paper, entitled, "Trade Union Unity: The Formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions," issued in December 1985. Both are being distributed in Britain and other countries. The press statement urged that messages of support be sent to COSATU, c/o 2 Goodhope Street, Belleville South, 7530 Cape, South Africa, with copies to: SACTU, 8 Flowers Mews, Off Archway Close, Upper

Holloway, London N19 3TB, Britain.

[The footnotes to the documents are by *Intercontinental Press.*]

* * *

Press statement

No better time could be found to cement the ties of working-class unity achieved through struggle against apartheid and the class enemy. The tide of revolt is rising. The racists are divided and confused. South Africa's future lies in the hands of its workers. Only they, together with progressive people of all races, can liberate us from racial hatred, inequality, class ex-

ploitation, and national oppression.

Our revolution requires a united and strong trade union movement, determined to satisfy demands for higher wages, good working conditions, removal of colour bars, equal opportunities to work, and the achievement of complete emancipation. The new federation, COSATU, can and will fulfill these aims. It must become a truly democratic centre of organised activity for all workers who are determined to liberate our country from its existing oppressive and exploitative social system.

All democratic unions, including those that have rejected TUCSA's policy of collaboration,¹ should take part in the creation of the COSATU with the following aims:

- To organise workers in all areas and occupations into industrial unions, one for each industry and division of labour.
- Lead a campaign for improved wages, conditions of work, health, and safety.
- Support the struggle against victimisation, detention, torture, and murder of trade union activists and militant fighters for freedom.
- Plan and carry out a struggle against pass laws and other forms of discrimination.
- Demand equal work opportunities, the removal of discriminatory labour laws and all apartheid measures.
- Demand the right to vote in a united, undivided, and democratic South Africa.

The immediate concern of the founding conference of COSATU is to:

- Find ways and means of putting an end to the state of emergency;
- Compel the regime to lift the censorship on reporting;
- Force the withdrawal of racist police and army troops from the townships;
- Undertake the task of ensuring the destruction of the apartheid regime without delay.

Our oppressed people, men and women, are conducting a brave and determined struggle against white supremacy, racial tyranny, discrimination, capitalist exploitation, and national oppression. The federation, in unison with the national liberation movement and its allies, is called upon to perform a historic task by calling on its members and the organised workers to participate fully in the struggle for liberation, social justice, and equality.

All power to the South African revolution!
Long live the Congress of South African Trade Unions!

An injury to one is an injury to all!

Position paper

The search for the organisational unity of the progressive trade union movement has long

1. The Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) is a white-dominated union federation. It seeks to present a "liberal" image, while following a class-collaborationist course and opposing the independent, predominantly Black unions. TUCSA also organizes some Black workers, but in segregated "parallel" union branches that are subordinate to the white branches.

been a priority of SACTU's work. In the November 1984 statement of the SACTU National Executive Committee, our executive stated, "We believe that no stone must be left unturned to solve this question within the shortest possible time, since the unity of all antiracist, antifascist, and democratic forces has become an indispensable condition for the advancement of our movement." To this end SACTU has sought to persuade all those progressive trade unions to enter into the discussions of the Feasibility Committee on Trade Union Unity.

With the formation of the United Democratic Front² in August 1983, SACTU urged all the progressive trade unions to affiliate to it. SACTU has, however, never made affiliation to the UDF a condition for trade union unity. On the other hand one must realise that the struggle in South Africa is a national liberation struggle. The class struggle takes place within the framework of our struggle for political rights.

SACTU at its formation in 1955 committed itself and its affiliated unions and workers to struggle on both economic and political fronts against all forms of oppression and exploitation. Today SACTU maintains this position, that for the workers to achieve their long-term objectives, they have to fight for their political rights. They should be engaged in a determined struggle for the total eradication of racialism and apartheid.

SACTU welcomed the affiliation of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU); the General and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (GAWU); the Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union of SA (MACWUSA); the Media Workers Association of SA (MWASA)—Western Cape, and 13 other unions to the UDF.

At the time of the launch of the UDF, there were many debates in the progressive trade unions on the question of affiliation. Much of the argument against affiliation was centred around the multiclass base of the UDF and the different way in which the UDF was structured, compared with that of the trade unions. It was held that trade unions are based on direct membership and worker control, whereas the UDF was a broadly based structure with affiliate organisations and no individual membership.

At the time of the UDF launch, for example, it was argued by some unions that they could not affiliate because of the diversity of their membership, many of whom supported other political groupings. These unions did indicate that they would cooperate with the UDF in areas of mutual concern. The concerted action by all the progressive unions in support of the UDF's successful campaign against Botha's

2. The United Democratic Front (UDF) is a national anti-apartheid coalition with some 600 affiliated organizations and a membership of nearly 2 million. It has been in the forefront of the current mass mobilizations against the apartheid system.

sham constitutional proposals³ was clear evidence of this.

With the coordination of the regional, two-day stayaways⁴ in protest at the increased repression by the regime, and the occupation of the townships by the racist police and armed forces, a new phenomenon in joint trade union/community organisations' struggle emerged. The stayaways in the Witwatersrand and Eastern Cape during September and November 1984 were almost 100 percent successful and had the full cooperation of both the UDF-affiliated and all other progressive unions. Tensions, however, developed in March 1985, when some union leaderships refused to back a similar stayaway in the Eastern Cape called for the 9th, 10th, and 11th of March. Despite the leaderships' call on workers to ignore the stayaway, the stayaway was total, the trade union membership in the region backing the call.

SACTU has always held that because of the oppressive nature of the apartheid state it is naive and dangerous to attempt separating out the workers' shop-floor struggle from the political struggle. Simplistic arguments which fail to recognise that it is the workers who are the most oppressed under the apartheid system and that they should therefore be at the forefront of the national liberation struggle, do not help to promote the unity of all the progressive forces in challenging apartheid. Neither do many of these arguments take into account the particular nature of the economic crisis faced by the apartheid regime and the direct bearing this has on the nature of our struggle.

Most of the original sticking points on trade union unity, i.e., registration, participation in Industrial Councils, demarcation, industrial relations, and involvement in community actions, were no longer regarded as obstacles to unity.⁵

Despite over four years of debate and the periodic crises which befell the unity talks, the overall realisation that unity is of crucial importance has resulted in the formation of the *Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)*, on the 1st of December 1985 in

3. In 1983, President Pieter Botha introduced a revised constitution for South Africa, providing for the creation of a tricameral parliament, with one chamber for whites and two largely powerless chambers for collaborators from the Coloured and Indian sectors of the Black population. The UDF, as well as most independent unions in the country, organized mass opposition to the implementation of this new constitution.

4. In South Africa, a "stayaway" is a form of a general strike.

5. These refer to various questions of dispute among the different trade unions over whether or not unions should register for official government recognition; over whether they can effectively participate in the employer- and state-dominated Industrial Councils that set wage and other guidelines for particular industries; over how the unions should demarcate themselves by trade and industry; and over how and to what extent the unions should participate in protest actions called by other groups in the Black communities.

Durban. The new federation has over 500,000 members.

COSATU elected Elijah Barayi, of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM-SA), as president; Chris Dlamini, of the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union (SFAWU), as first vice-president; Makhulu Ledwaba, of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA (CCAWUSA), as second vice-president; Jay Naidoo, of the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union, as general secretary; Sydney Mafumadi, of the General and Allied Workers' Union (GAWU), as assistant general secretary; and Maxwell Xulu, of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), as treasurer.

The new federation made clear at its launch that it would contribute to the liberation struggle. Political involvement would not be at the expense of building up support at the factory floor level.

Among the demands made by the COSATU launch conference were:

- The repeal of the pass laws. (Should the regime fail to comply, COSATU will start a defiance campaign, including the burning of passes.)
- The immediate lifting of the state of emergency.
- The withdrawal of the racist troops from the townships.
- The unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, all political prisoners, and detainees.
- The repeal of orders restricting individuals and outlawing organisations.
- The dismantling of the Bantustan system.⁶
- An end to the migrant labour system.⁷

The COSATU unions commit themselves to:

- Worker control.
- Nonracialism.
- Broadly based industrial unions.
- The struggle for political rights.
- Representation based on paid-up membership.
- Cooperation at the national level in the new federation.

A broad range of resolutions at the launch conference dealt with organisation against the apartheid regime. Some of the issues covered were:

- Industrial unions — There must be one national union in each sector of industry.
- A living wage — There must be an ongoing campaign for a national minimum wage, linked to the inflation rate.
- Unemployment — All workers have a right to work. Overtime must be banned, and all should work a 40-hour week. Workers must fight the introduction of technology that costs jobs.

6. The Bantustans are the 10 rural reserves to which millions of Africans are assigned by apartheid law.

7. Some 2 million of all African workers in South Africa are migrant laborers who work for fixed contract periods in the "white" cities and countryside, while their families must stay behind in the Bantustans.



1985 strike at British-owned Sarmcol plant, led by Metal and Allied Workers Union, now a COSATU affiliate.

- Strikes — All workers must have the right to this democratic form of struggle.
- Women — Because women are exploited on the basis of sex, class, and race, workers must fight all unequal and discriminatory treatment of women at work, in society, and in the federation.
- Worker education — To combat the present education system which is undemocratic, divisive, and serves the interests of the ruling class, there must be education programmes to politicise, mobilise, and organise the working class so that they can lead the transformation towards a society that serves the needs of those now oppressed and exploited.
- Disinvestment — An essential and effective form of pressure on the regime that must be supported.

How COSATU will work in terms of its constitution:

The federation will add to the strength of industrially based unions through building coordinating structures, which will unite workers from different unions at different levels:

- At the *local level* this means building broad shop stewards' councils.
- At the *regional level* there will be a regional executive and a congress. The congress will meet three times a year, and each union will be represented according to its size, five representatives for the first 1,000 members and one for every 250 members after that.
- At the *national level* will be a central committee of national office bearers, regional chairpersons, and two representatives of every union, regardless of size. Only union delegates will be able to vote.
- The central committee is subordinate only to the *National Congress*, the supreme policy-

making body, which will meet every two years. Here each union can send a delegate for every 500 members. (741 delegates attended the launch conference.)

Those notable for their absence from the new federation are the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) (the National Union of Mineworkers, with its 180,600 members, having left CUSA) and the small Black Consciousness trade union grouping, the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU). CUSA and AZACTU have indicated that they are "antiracist" and cannot support the "non-racialism" policy of the new federation. SACTU cannot see any substantive difference between "nonracialism" and "antiracist" and does not feel that this should continue to keep CUSA, AZACTU, and others from joining the new federation.

The widest possible unity of the trade unions in our country is of utmost importance at this critical period in our people's struggle against the apartheid regime and the bosses. SACTU wholeheartedly welcomes the formation of COSATU. With the launch of the new federation, SACTU sees the real possibility for the building of strong industrially based unions, in line with the SACTU policy of "One union, one industry" — "One country, one federation."

SACTU does however stress that as long as the oppressive apartheid regime exists, where the aboveground trade unionists face detention without trial, torture and murder at the hands of the police, the occupation of their townships, and the brutal strike-busting tactics of the regime and bosses, there will always be a need for SACTU.

- SACTU will, through its underground structures, continue to guide, influence, and persuade the trade union movement along the revolutionary course of our struggle.

- SACTU will continue to seek financial, political, and moral support from the international trade union movement for the struggle of the trade union movement in our country for trade union and political rights.

- SACTU will not rest until there is the maximum unity of the oppressed people and [will] continue to fight for our policy of "Organising the unorganised." Some 4 million workers, many of them in the rural areas of our country, are yet to be unionised.

- SACTU, through its place in the Congress Alliance, which is led by the African National Congress (ANC-SA), shows its total commitment to the destruction of the apartheid regime and to the implementation of the Freedom Charter.

An injury to one is an injury to all!

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.



From Lenin to Gorbachev

Class-struggle antiwar policy versus détente and summitry

By Doug Jenness

In February the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) will discuss and adopt a new edition of its program at its 27th Congress. The draft of the revised program was approved in October by the party's Central Committee.

The draft is being presented as a new version of the program adopted by the CPSU's 22nd Congress in 1961, rather than as a totally new program. The 1961 program replaced the program drafted by V.I. Lenin and approved by the party's Eighth Congress in March 1919. (The full text of this program appears on page 46.) The 1919 program was the party's second. The first had been adopted in 1903, when the party was still called the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

The February congress will be the first since Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the position of general secretary of the party in March 1985. Since he replaced Konstantin Chernenko, Gorbachev has proposed a number of shifts in the organization of the economy and has replaced some top party and government officials.

The proposed revised program implicitly criticizes Gorbachev's predecessors when it states that there was a "failure to assess in due time and proper manner alterations in the economic situation and the need for profound change in all spheres of life, and failure to properly persist in making such change."

The major capitalist newspapers, insofar as they have reported on the CPSU's draft program, have focused on pointing out the differences between the 1961 program and the revised version. Class-conscious workers, from their own standpoint, can gauge shifts and problems within the Soviet leadership by examining such contrasts; however, the more fundamental comparison is with the 1919 program.

The 1961 and 1986 programs have far more in common than they have differences. And both are a total political break with the 1919 program.

The 1919 program updated and enriched the 1903 program by codifying the momentous experiences of the working class in Russia during and following the October 1917 revolution. It was the guiding document of a communist workers' party that had just led the working class and peasantry to political power and was charting a course to defend, deepen, and extend that revolution.

The 1961 program and its 1986 revision, however, are not based on the experiences of the working class, nor does either offer a guide for advancing workers' interests. To the contrary, they are documents of the privileged bu-

reaucratic caste that has usurped political power from the Soviet working people.

One of the clearest contrasts between the 1919 program and its successors is in the area of international policy.

Lenin's international policy

The section on international questions was far shorter in the 1919 program than in the later programs. The founding documents of the Communist International, adopted earlier in March 1919, supplemented the Communist Party's new program in guiding the party in this field.

What was included in the 1919 program on international policy, however, was very clear and stands in polar opposition to the more recent documents. Its framework was the *class struggle* on a world scale — the struggle between the exploited working classes and their capitalist exploiters and the struggle between the oppressed nations and their imperialist oppressors.

When the exploited and oppressed make advances in their struggles, especially when they are victorious in individual countries, the exploiters' resistance increases, the document pointed out. The capitalists direct "their immediate efforts at suppressing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of all countries."

This "inevitably leads to combining civil war within separate countries with revolution-

ary wars both by the proletarian countries acting in self-defense and by the oppressed peoples against the yoke of imperialist powers."

War, then, is an inevitable result of imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation. "Only a proletarian communist revolution can lead humanity out of the deadlock created by imperialism and imperialist wars," the program affirmed.

Not to face up to the necessity of providing leadership to the working class in all these forms of class war was unthinkable to the communists who adopted the 1919 program. Their program rejected "the slogans of pacifism, international disarmament under capitalism, arbitration, and so forth [as] not only reactionary utopias, but an outright deception of the toilers. They are intended to disarm the proletariat and to divert it from the task of disarming the exploiters."

The draft program submitted to the 27th Congress presents a sharp indictment of capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression and describes many of their most severe effects on working people throughout the world. It explains that the source of war today is imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism.

As examples of Washington's aggression it cites the Vietnam War, the blockade against Cuba, the invasion of Grenada, attacks on Nicaragua, and resistance to Palestinian rights.

The document also states that "the establish-



Nixon escalated Vietnam War while signing arms agreement with Brezhnev.

ment of military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO was a historic accomplishment of socialism. It strengthened the position of the USSR, the countries of socialism, and all progressive forces. . . ."

CPSU's peace plan

The solution to imperialist war presented in the document, however, is very different from that outlined in the 1919 program. The present draft states:

"The only sensible and acceptable way out in the present-day world, which is riddled with acute contradictions and which faces impending catastrophe, is a peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

"This means not merely the absence of wars," the revised program states. "It is an international set-up under which good neighborliness and cooperation rather than armed force dominate and under which broad exchanges of achievements of science and technology and cultural values are practiced for the good of all peoples."

Imperialism's aggressive policy, the document contends, is being countered by the "socialist states," "the majority of the states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America," and "anti-war movements of the broadest mass of people." These forces, it is argued, can curb imperialist aggression and create a situation whereby peaceful competition between the capitalist countries and the countries where capitalism has been abolished can take place.

"The CPSU proceeds from the assumption that historical contention between the two opposite social systems, into which the world is divided today, can and must be settled by peaceful means," the revised draft program states.

"Socialism is proving its superiority," it continues, "not by force of arms but by force of example in every area of societal life, by the dynamic development of the economy, science, and culture, by improvements in the living standards of the working people, and by the extension of socialist democracy."

A central party task then is to "seek development of the process of international détente, viewing it as a natural and eventual stage on the road to the establishment of a comprehensive and dependable security system."

What is striking about these positions, and it's true of the entire document, is that the class struggle doesn't exist. If permanent détente can be achieved, socialism can conquer simply by proving its superiority, the revised program contends.

In order to better see how this perspective will disarm the working class and divert it from the task of disarming the exploiters, several things should be clarified.

Lenin on 'peaceful coexistence'

First, communist workers have no disagreement with the Soviet government or any other government of a workers' state establishing normal diplomatic and trade relations with capitalist countries. Nor can there be any dis-



Both Khrushchev's 1961 program and Gorbachev's proposed revisions are totally contrary to Lenin's revolutionary policies.

pute over attempting to negotiate reductions in nuclear weapons, an extension of the nuclear test ban, trade pacts, or similar agreements. It would be ultraleft sectarianism to do so.

Second, "peaceful coexistence" between workers' states and capitalist governments, in and of itself, is not the problem. Lenin, in fact, favored peaceful coexistence between the new Soviet republic and its capitalist neighbors.

In November 1920, shortly following the civil war in which many imperialist countries intervened on the side of the counterrevolution, Lenin explained to a Communist Party meeting that the capitalists had hoped to crush the revolution. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, had counted on the extension of the socialist revolution to Western Europe. In fact, the war resulted in neither outcome.

What happened, Lenin said, was that the military weakness of the Soviet workers' republic was compensated for by the "workers and peasants of the capitalist countries [who] could not be forced to fight us."

The oppressed people of the capitalist countries "have indeed shown themselves our allies, for it was they who stopped the war," he said. "Without having gained an international victory, which we consider the only sure victory, we are in a position of having won conditions enabling us to exist side by side with capitalist powers, who are now compelled to enter trade relations with us. In the course of this struggle we have won the right to an independent existence."

The young Soviet republic won some time to recover from the devastation of the civil war and to begin a program of economic development. The communist-led government negotiated trade agreements and nonaggression pacts and established diplomatic relations with capitalist countries. It attempted to get capitalist companies to invest capital in the Soviet republic to help develop mines, railroads, and industries.

These diplomatic and economic relations were conducted within the broader framework of attempting to assemble and educate the

communist vanguard in the capitalist countries to lead the struggle to overturn their rulers.

In their diplomacy the Russian communists never failed to tell the truth to the working class about their objectives. They explained that achievements on the diplomatic level reflect gains won on the field of struggle. They never subordinated advancing the struggle of the working class internationally to diplomacy. To the contrary, they set a powerful example for how to conduct diplomacy in a revolutionary manner.

CPSU on 'peaceful coexistence'

The relationship of class forces today is such that many workers' states have won the right to exist in a world still dominated by capitalist countries. But the working classes are not yet able to overthrow capitalist rule in its main strongholds.

The political content of the "peaceful coexistence" proposed by the CPSU's 1986 draft program, however, goes beyond recognizing the current coexistence of *states* with different social systems. It asserts that "historical contention between the two opposite *social systems*" (emphasis added) can be settled peacefully. This is the same as saying the class struggle can be resolved peacefully, and it leads to attempts to seek accommodation between opposing class interests. This approach bears only treachery for the working class in the Soviet Union and internationally.

As long as imperialism continues to exist, it will never accept the social and political conquests of the working class and will continue to try to reverse them. Since World War II, when the Soviet working people defeated the German imperialist invasion, the exploited and oppressed throughout the world have conquered new positions and altered the relationship of class forces in their favor.

But as the 1919 program noted, "The growing pressure from the proletariat, especially when it is victorious in individual countries, increases the exploiters' resistance. . . ." This is being demonstrated today by Washington's

attempts to destabilize the Vietnamese revolution, organize provocations against revolutionary Cuba, and overturn the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

A major setback such as the overthrow of Nicaragua's workers' and farmers' government or the crushing of the workers' states in Cuba and Vietnam would place the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China in greater jeopardy from imperialism.

The struggle between the opposing social systems, therefore, is irrepressible. An "international victory . . . is the only sure victory" against imperialist attack, Lenin explained.

The notion that working people in the capitalist countries will be won to socialism by watching the Soviet Union outpace the capitalist countries is utopian nonsense. It's not "peaceful competition," but the deepening class struggle inside the capitalist countries themselves that will convince working people to overturn their capitalist ruling classes, establish workers' and farmers' governments, and chart a course toward socialism.

Summitry and détente

What the CPSU's perspective means in practice can be seen in the Soviet Union's foreign policy today.

Prioritizing the aim of establishing détente with imperialism in order to create a "dependable security system," Gorbachev is participating in a series of summit meetings with U.S. President Ronald Reagan. The first was held in November 1985. At least two more are planned for 1986 and 1987.

The problem with the summit talks isn't that the two heads of state are holding discussions or negotiating agreements. The folly is that this summitry is presented by Moscow to the world working class as a big step toward peace. Not class struggle, not victories by the working class that weaken imperialism and help advance the goal of defeating it once and for all, but meetings and agreements between heads of state will bring peace, the CPSU lead-

ers say.

No matter what kind of arms agreement comes out of this series of top-level meetings, it cannot overcome the political disorientation created by Moscow's worldwide campaign to present such agreements as landmarks on the road to peace.

The fact is that summitry, as practiced by the Soviet leadership, will give Washington greater leeway in stepping up its aggression against Nicaragua and other countries. On the surface this may seem paradoxical, so let's look at an example of how summitry and détente have worked in the past.

On May 22, 1972, U.S. President Richard Nixon arrived in Moscow for a round of meetings with Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU at the time. A number of agreements were signed, including a treaty limiting nuclear missiles.

At a dinner on the evening the arms accord was signed, Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin called the various agreements "a great victory for the Soviet and American people in the matter of easing international tension, . . . a victory for all peace-loving peoples. . . ."

On the same day U.S. warplanes flew at least 270 bombing raids against North Vietnam. During Nixon's seven-day visit to the Soviet capital, U.S. planes flew more than 1,000 sorties against North Vietnam, dropping thousands of tons of bombs, including napalm. These attacks were part of a major escalation that had begun on May 8 with Nixon's order that all the harbors of North Vietnam be mined and all transportation lines bombed up to the Chinese border.

So while Brezhnev and Kosygin cheered giant advances for world peace, Washington stepped up its war against the Vietnamese people. The crime of the Stalinist bureaucrats was that they told the working people of the world that peace was closer, when in fact one of the most devastating wars in this century was being escalated.

Capitalist politicians who are conducting a

war or preparing one always find it advantageous to appear as champions of peace. Moscow gave Nixon the platform to do this by diverting world attention from Vietnam. He made full use of it by stepping up Washington's effort to bomb the Vietnamese into submission.

Today, Gorbachev is providing Reagan with a similar opportunity. In the framework of Moscow's détente-will-bring-peace strategy, the summit meetings, especially if they lead to an arms agreement as they most likely will, will give Reagan unwarranted standing as an architect of peace. They will do so at the same time that he is organizing a mercenary war against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and backing counterrevolutionary aggression in other parts of the world.

The prevailing view in U.S. ruling circles at the moment is that the political costs of sending massive numbers of U.S. combat troops into Nicaragua would be too high. Instead Washington is attempting to wear down the Nicaraguan working people by conducting a war with a mercenary army. Thousands of Nicaraguans have been killed, tortured, raped, or otherwise brutalized by the *contra* (counterrevolutionary) gangs. Factories and farms are destroyed and transportation disrupted. And the Reagan administration is trying to convince Congress to once again beef up its aid to the *contras*.

The Soviet government's current campaign presenting détente with the U.S. government as the strategic course to peace diverts attention from the grinding war against Nicaragua and undermines the building of an urgently needed international campaign against U.S. intervention in Central America. In the words of the 1919 Russian Communist Party program, it's an "outright deception of the toilers" that disarms the working class and diverts it "from the task of disarming the exploiters."

One negative result of the November summit was that the 10-year deadlock over the adoption of an "antiterrorist resolution" in the United Nations was broken. For a long time the Soviet representatives as well as those of other governments rejected approval of a resolution that did not explicitly criticize the "state terrorism" of Washington.

In the spirit of détente Moscow dumped its opposition shortly after the Geneva meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan, and a vague resolution was adopted against terrorism in general, which Washington and its imperialist allies praised to the heavens. The overall effect was to release a little bit of the pressure on Washington for its day-in-and-day-out terror campaign against the Nicaraguan people.

Lenin's program today

If Gorbachev were to carry out the revolutionary class-struggle orientation of the Lenin-led Communist Party instead of his current détente policy, what would it mean?

First would be the recognition that the center of world politics today is the battle between the advance of the socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean and the efforts to



Nicaragua, like the early Soviet republic, is fighting to win the "right to an independent existence," as Lenin put it.

stop that advance by imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism.

There is no "peaceful coexistence" in Central America, nor will a hundred summit meetings bring any. Nicaragua, in fact, like the early Soviet republic, is waging a determined struggle to win the "right to an independent existence," as Lenin put it.

Second, recognizing this would lead to helping build a massive international campaign to join with the Nicaraguans, Cubans, and Salvadorans to hasten the defeat of Washington and its allies in this war.

The CPSU, which stands at the head of the most powerful workers' state and has considerable influence with Communist parties in other countries, could make a gigantic political impact in this international movement. Among other things, it would mean utilizing every opportunity to tell the unvarnished truth about Washington's operations in Central America.

Third would be explaining to the exploited and oppressed throughout the world that defeat for Washington in Central America would be a victory for peace, not only in the region, but internationally. It would help push back the imperialist warmakers' schemes to invade Cuba or to launch a nuclear war.

Fourth, within this framework, moves to get Washington and its allies to agree to an extension of the nuclear test ban or reductions in nuclear weapons would help the antiwar effort.

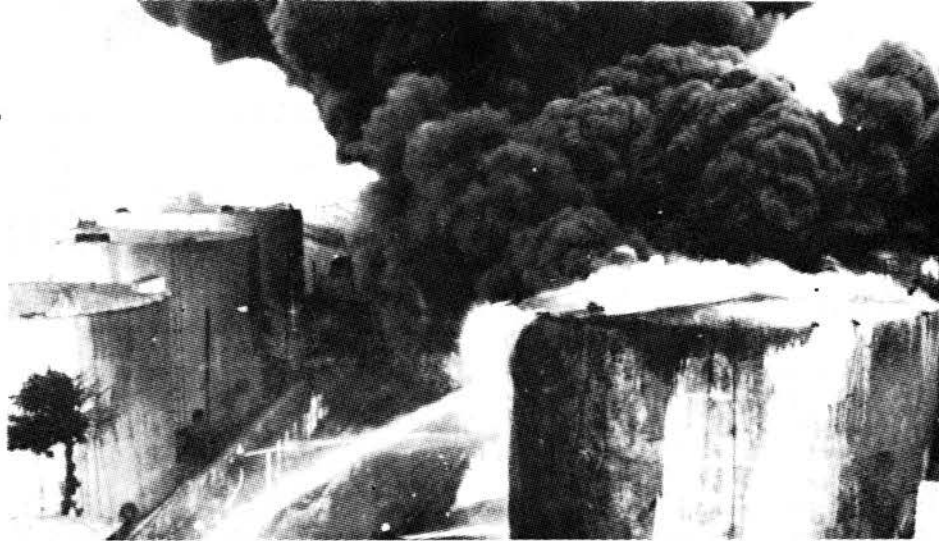
In 1985 Moscow unilaterally halted nuclear tests and campaigned to get Washington to do likewise. But much of the positive effect of this was lost because it was conducted as a tactic subordinate to a strategy in which détente was the centerpiece. Within the framework of conducting an international campaign against U.S. intervention in Central America, such moves would not be geared to sowing illusions that peace can be brought about through arms pacts.

Stalinists dump Lenin's program

The wide gap between Soviet foreign policy in 1919 and today originates in the rise of a bureaucratic layer in the Soviet Union beginning in the 1920s. After Lenin's death in early 1924, this privileged caste emerged following the defeat of several promising revolutionary openings. It was consolidated by the early 1930s. This parasitic caste developed its own narrow interests, separate and apart from those of the working class in the Soviet Union and the world. It was first and foremost concerned with defending and extending its own material privileges inside the Soviet Union.

Challenges by Soviet workers to these interests were ruthlessly suppressed, and the bureaucracy, under the leadership of Joseph Stalin, assumed political domination over the working class. The communist program of the Bolsheviks was dumped, and those who attempted to continue carrying it out were murdered, jailed, or deported.

Moreover, the bureaucratic parasites attempted to establish live-and-let-live relations with the imperialist powers. Revolutionary struggles of the exploited and oppressed that



Destruction of oil terminal by U.S.-backed mercenaries was part of Washington's grinding war against Nicaragua.

threatened to upset these relations were undermined or sabotaged. The workers' interests were subordinated to the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvers.

The Communist International was transformed from an organization of the vanguard detachments of the working class internationally to an instrument of the Soviet bureaucracy's diplomacy. In 1943, when the Soviet government was in a war-time alliance with the U.S. and British governments, Stalin finally junked the now defunct Comintern as a gift to his imperialist allies.

'Communism in one country'

To justify their nationalist-oriented policies, the Stalinist bureaucrats claimed that communism could be achieved in the Soviet Union alone, even before victorious socialist revolutions in other countries. In the 1930s Stalin erroneously contended that socialism had already been achieved. He codified this pronouncement in the new Soviet constitution adopted in 1936. The task, he said, was to move on to communism, the next phase of social development.*

In his report on the 1961 program CPSU leader Nikita Khrushchev boasted that "the material and technical basis for Communism will be built in the USSR in the course of two decades. This is our main economic task, the cornerstone of our Party's general line."

Probably the biggest change in the new draft is to moderate this triumphalist approach, which clearly did not achieve the projected goal. The document doesn't explicitly take up the 1961 projection but it does warn about going "ahead too fast" and introducing "communist principles without due account being taken of the level of material and spiritual maturity of society. . . ."

Regardless of a different estimate in timing, the 1986 document still persists in presenting the pipedream of building communism in the

*For a critical evaluation of the 1936 Soviet Constitution and the notion that socialism had been achieved in the Soviet Union see: Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972).

Soviet Union as if it could be accomplished without a major advance of the world socialist revolution.

The Soviet Union has clearly demonstrated that gigantic strides in economic development and major social achievements can be made in a country where capitalism has been abolished and a planned economy implemented.

However, the notion that communism can also be achieved in a single country is utopian. Communism is a society where classes will have disappeared and the state apparatus will have withered away. The material and technical basis for this cannot be achieved by the resources of a single country, nor can it be achieved as long as a big part of the world is still living in abject poverty. The material basis for communism can only be established on an international scale.

Moreover, until capitalism is overthrown in its main bastions, the Soviet Union and all the other workers' states will need a state apparatus, especially a strong military to defend themselves.

There are many other features to the CPSU's revised draft program that could be contrasted to the 1919 document. These include economic policy, education, literature and arts, science, and so forth. But space doesn't allow taking all these up at this time.

It should be clear, however, from the sections on international policy that Lenin's legacy will not be found anywhere in the 1986 draft program. □

U.S. Cubans hit by poverty

The proportion of Cuban-American children living below the official poverty line is twice as high as the average for non-Latino whites.

According to a study by the Congressional Research Service, based on U.S. census data, 26 percent of children of Cuban origin in the United States in 1983 lived below the poverty line set by the U.S. government. The rate for non-Latino whites is 13.1 percent.

The Cuban-American rate is below that of Black children (46.1 percent), Puerto Rican (52.2 percent), and Chicano and Mexican-American (37 percent).

Lenin's program for Communist Party

1919 document codified revolutionary positions of Russian Bolsheviks

[The following is the complete text of the Program of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted March 22, 1919, by the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party.]

[This new translation, including footnotes, is taken from the forthcoming book *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power; Documents, 1918-1919: Preparing the Founding Congress*, the latest in the Monad Press series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. The book will be published in May and distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

[The translation is © 1986 by the Anchor Foundation and reprinted by permission.]

* * *

The dictatorship of the proletariat established by the Russian revolution of November 7 (October 25), 1917, began, with the support of the poorest peasantry or semiproletariat, to lay the foundations of communist society. The course of the revolutions in Germany and in Austria-Hungary; the growth of the proletarian revolutionary movement in all advanced countries; the spread of the soviet form of this movement, a form directly aimed at establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat — all this proclaimed the beginning of the era of world proletarian communist revolution.

This revolution resulted inevitably from the development of capitalism, which is still dominant in most civilized countries. Except for incorrectly designating the party as the "Social Democratic Party," our old program correctly characterized the nature of capitalism and of bourgeois society as follows:

The chief characteristic of such a society is commodity production based on capitalist relations of production, where the most important and substantial part of the means of production and exchange belongs to a numerically small class. The enormous majority of the population are proletarians and semiproletarians, whose economic position compels them permanently or periodically to sell their labor power. They must hire themselves out to the capitalists and create by their own labor the income of the upper classes of society.

The constant improvement in technology more and more extends the sphere of dominion of capitalist productive relations. This increases the economic weight of large enterprises and leads to the displacement of petty independent producers, some of whom are turned into proletarians. Others play a diminishing role in social and economic life and are subjected to a dependence on capital that may be more or less total, more or less obvious, more or less burdensome.

Moreover, this same technological progress enables the capitalists to increase the involvement of female and child labor in the production and exchange of goods. Since this technological progress

also brings about a relative decrease in the capitalists' demand for human labor power, the demand for labor necessarily lags behind its supply. This increases wage labor's dependence on capital and raises the level of exploitation of labor.

This situation in the bourgeois countries and the growing competition among them in the world market make it increasingly difficult for them to sell the goods that are produced in ever larger quantities. Overproduction, manifested in more or less acute industrial crises, followed by periods of industrial stagnation of varying length, is an inevitable consequence of the development of productive forces in bourgeois society. Crises and periods of industrial stagnation in turn further ruin the small producers, deepen the dependence of wage labor on capital, and lead even more rapidly to a relative and sometimes absolute deterioration of the conditions of the working class.

Thus while improvement in technology increases the productivity of labor and expands social wealth in bourgeois society, it also brings about an increase in social inequality. The disparity between those with property and those without it grows. An ever increasing layer of the toiling masses experiences a greater precariousness of existence, unemployment, and other hardships.

But the more that these contradictions inherent in bourgeois society grow and develop, the greater is the discontent of the toilers and exploited masses with the existing state of affairs. The number of toilers and their solidarity expands, and their struggle against the exploiters sharpens. The improvement of technology, by concentrating the means of production and exchange and socializing the process of labor in capitalist enterprises, more and more rapidly creates the material basis for replacing capitalist productive relations with communist ones. That is, it creates the basis for social revolution — the final goal of the entire activity of the international Communist Party, the conscious exponent of the class movement of the proletariat.

The proletarian social revolution will replace private property in the means of production and exchange with social property. It will introduce planned organization of the social productive process in order to secure the well-being and many-sided development of all the members of society. In this way, the revolution will abolish the division of society into classes. It will liberate the whole of oppressed humanity, for it will put an end to all forms of exploitation of one sector of society by another.

The necessary prerequisite for this social revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the proletariat's conquest of such political power as will enable it to suppress all resistance of the exploiters.

The international Communist Party assumes the task of making the proletariat capable of performing its great historic mission. It organizes the proletariat into an independent political party opposed to all the bourgeois parties. It leads all expressions of the proletariat's class struggle, reveals to the proletariat the irreconcilable opposition between the interests of the exploiters and those of the exploited, and explains to the proletariat the historic importance and necessary prerequisites of the coming social revolution. At the same time the party shows all the other toiling and exploited masses the hopelessness of their position

in capitalist society and the necessity for a social revolution to win their own liberation from capital's yoke. The Communist Party, the party of the working class, calls on all strata of the toiling and exploited population who accept the proletarian point of view to join its ranks.¹

The process of concentration and centralization of capital destroyed free competition. It thus led at the beginning of the twentieth century to the creation of powerful monopolistic

Social revolution is the final goal of the activity of the international Communist party . . .

associations of capitalists — syndicates, cartels, and trusts. These have acquired decisive importance in all economic life. This same process led to the merging of banking capital with industrial capital, which was enormously concentrated, and to an increase in the export of capital to foreign countries. Trusts covering entire groups of capitalist powers began the economic partition of the world, which had already been territorially divided among the richest countries. This epoch of finance capital, which inevitably intensifies the struggle between the capitalist countries, is the epoch of imperialism.

This leads inevitably to imperialist wars for markets, spheres for capital investment, raw materials, and labor, that is, for world domination and for power over small and weak nationalities. That was precisely the nature of the first great imperialist war of 1914-18.

Many factors make capitalism's collapse and the transition to a higher type of social economy inevitable. World capitalism in general has achieved an extremely high level of development. Free competition has been replaced by state monopoly capitalism. The banks along with the capitalist corporations are creating an apparatus for social regulation of the production and distribution of products. As a result of the growth of capitalist monopolies, prices have increased and the oppression of the working class by the cartels has deepened. The working class has been enslaved by the imperialist state and gigantic handicaps have been imposed on its economic and political

1. For another translation of the complete 1903 program of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, see R.C. Elwood, ed., *The Russian Social Democratic Labour Party 1898-October 1917*, vol. 1 of R.H. McNeal, ed., *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 39-45.

struggle. The imperialist war has caused horrors, calamities, and ruin.

The imperialist war could not be ended either by a just peace or by the conclusion of a more or less stable peace among the bourgeois governments. Capitalism reached the point where the imperialist war was and is being transformed of necessity before our eyes into a civil war against the bourgeoisie by the exploited toiling masses led by the proletariat.

The growing pressure from the proletariat, especially when it is victorious in individual countries, increases the exploiters' resistance and compels them to create new forms of international capitalist unity (the League of Nations, and so on). While these bodies organize the systematic exploitation of all peoples on a world scale, they direct their immediate efforts at suppressing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of all countries.

All this inevitably leads to combining the civil war within separate countries with revolutionary wars both by the proletarian countries acting in self-defense and by the oppressed peoples against the yoke of imperialist powers.

Under such conditions, the slogans of pacifism, international disarmament under capitalism, arbitration, and so forth are not only reactionary utopias but an outright deception of the toilers. They are intended to disarm the proletariat and to divert it from the task of disarming the exploiters.

The growing pressure from the proletariat increases the exploiters' resistance and compels them to create new forms of international capitalist unity . . .

Only a proletarian communist revolution can lead humanity out of the deadlock created by imperialism and imperialist wars. No matter what difficulties the revolution may encounter and despite temporary setbacks or possible waves of counterrevolution, the final victory of the proletariat is inevitable.

This victory of the world proletarian revolution requires the greatest confidence, the closest fraternal unity, and the greatest possible coordination of revolutionary activities of the working class in the advanced countries.

These conditions cannot be realized without a determined break from the bourgeois perversion of socialism that gained the upper hand in the leading bodies of the official Social Democratic and Socialist parties, and a ruthless struggle against it.

One side of this perversion is the opportunist and social-chauvinist current, which is socialist in words yet chauvinist in practice. It disguises defense of the predatory interests of its national bourgeoisie under the false slogan of defense of the fatherland both as a general concept and specifically during the imperialist war of 1914-18. This current arose because the surplus profits resulting from the robbery

by the advanced capitalist governments of the colonial and weak nations enable the bourgeoisie to bribe the upper layer of the proletariat. This layer is placed in a privileged position where it is guaranteed tolerable petty-bourgeois conditions of life during peacetime. The bourgeoisie also takes the leaders of this layer into its service. As servants of the bourgeoisie, the opportunists and social chauvinists are the direct class enemies of the proletariat. This is especially true now, when together with the capitalists they are suppressing, with armed force, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in their own as well as in foreign countries.

The other form of this bourgeois perversion of socialism is the "centrist" movement, which is also found in all capitalist countries. It vacillates between the social chauvinists and the Communists, advocates union with the former, and strives to revive the bankrupt Second International.

The only leader in the proletarian struggle for emancipation is the new Third Communist International, of which the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (RCP) is a component. This International was actually created when the real proletarian elements of former Socialist parties in different countries, particularly in Germany, formed Communist parties. It was formally established in March 1919 at its First Congress held in Moscow. The Communist International is winning increasing sympathy among the masses of the proletariat of all countries. It returns to Marxism not only through its name but also through its entire ideological and political content. All its activities apply the teachings of Marx, cleansed of all bourgeois opportunist perversions.

The RCP defines the concrete tasks of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia, where the outstanding characteristic is the numerical preponderance of the petty-bourgeois layers of the population, in the following manner.

In the sphere of general politics

1. Because of the existence of private property in land and in other means of production, even the most democratic bourgeois republic, sanctified by slogans like "will of the people," "will of the nation," or "will of all classes," has inevitably proved to be a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is a machine for the exploitation and suppression of the overwhelming majority of the toilers by a handful of capitalists. Proletarian or Soviet democracy, by contrast, has transformed the mass organizations of precisely those classes oppressed by capitalism, the proletarians and the poorest peasants (semiproletarians), who are the enormous majority of the population, into the sole and permanent basis of the entire state apparatus, local and central, from top to bottom. In this way, the Soviet government introduced (and, incidentally, in a much wider form than anywhere else) local and regional self-government, without any official authorities appointed from above. The party's task is to work untiringly for the complete realization of this highest form of democracy, which re-

quires for its proper functioning a steady improvement in the level of the masses' culture, organization, and activity.

2. In contrast to bourgeois democracy, which conceals the class nature of its state, the Soviet government openly recognizes that every state must inevitably be a class state until the division of society into classes and along with it all state power finally disappears. By its very essence, the Soviet state aims at crushing the resistance of the exploiters. The Soviet constitution proceeds from the standpoint that freedom of any kind is a deception if it stands opposed to the liberation of labor from the yoke of capital.² It therefore does not hesitate

The slogans of pacifism, international disarmament under capitalism, arbitration, and so forth, are reactionary utopias . . .

to deprive the exploiters of their political rights. The task of the proletarian party is to suppress decisively the exploiters' resistance and combat ideologically the deep-rooted prejudices concerning the absolute nature of bourgeois rights and liberties. At the same time the party must explain that any curtailment of political rights or restrictions of freedom are necessary only as temporary measures to fight any attempts of the exploiters to maintain or restore their privileges. To the extent that the objective possibility of exploitation of one human being by another disappears, the necessity for such temporary measures will also vanish. The party will strive to reduce these measures and to abolish them completely.

3. Bourgeois democracy has limited itself to extending political rights and liberties, such as freedom of assembly, association, and the press, formally to all citizens alike. But in reality, administrative practice and above all the economic enslavement of the toilers under bourgeois democracy have always prevented them from making any wide use of these rights and liberties.

Instead of formally proclaiming rights and liberties, proletarian democracy achieves them in reality, primarily and mainly for those classes that were oppressed by capitalism, namely the proletariat and the peasantry. For this purpose the Soviet government expropriates the bourgeoisie's buildings, printing plants, paper supplies, and so on, and places them at the complete disposal of the workers and their organizations.

The task of the RCP is to involve the masses of the toiling population on an ever wider basis in utilizing these democratic rights and liber-

2. The "Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic" was first published in *Izvestiya*, July 19, 1918. The Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People, printed in chapter 7 of the present work, was incorporated into the constitution as a preamble.

ties and to broaden the material possibilities for this.

4. For centuries bourgeois democracy has proclaimed the equality of persons regardless of sex, religion, race, or nationality. But capitalism never allowed this equality to be realized in practice anywhere, and in its imperialist stage it has intensified racial and national oppression. Only because the Soviet government is the government of the toilers was it able for the first time in history to introduce this equality of rights totally and in all spheres of life. It has absolutely eliminated the last traces of women's inequality in the realm of marriage and general family law. The party's task at the present time is mainly to carry on ideological and educational work aimed at finally stamping out all traces of the former inequality and prejudices, especially among the backward layers of the proletariat and the peasantry.

Not satisfied with the formal equality of women, the party strives to free women from the material burden of obsolete housework by replacing it with residential communes, public dining halls, central laundries, nurseries, and so on.

5. The Soviet government guarantees the toiling masses incomparably greater opportunities than under bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism to elect and recall deputies. It provides this in a form much easier and more accessible to workers and peasants. At the same time it abolishes the negative features of parliamentarism, especially the separation of the legislative and executive powers, the isolation of the representative institutions from the masses, and so forth.

The Soviet government also brings the state apparatus closer to the masses by making the industrial division (factories, mills) rather than geographical district the electoral constituency and the basic unit of the state.

The task of the party in all its activities is to bring the organs of power and the masses of

Only a proletarian communist revolution can lead humanity out of the deadlock of imperialist wars . . .

toilers even closer together on the basis of the masses' ever more vigorous and full implementation of democracy in practice. In particular, functionaries must be made responsible and accountable for their actions.

6. Bourgeois democracy, in spite of all its declarations, has converted its army into a weapon of the propertied classes by separating it from the toiling masses and opposing it to them. It has made it difficult if not impossible for soldiers to exercise their rights. The Soviet state, on the other hand, merges together its organs, the soviets of the workers and those of the soldiers, on a basis of complete equality of rights and identity of interests. The party's task is to maintain and develop this unity of workers and soldiers in the soviets, strengthening



Lenin giving speech in Red Square in May 1919.

the indissoluble ties between the armed forces and the organizations of the proletariat and semiproletariat.

7. The urban industrial proletariat played a leading role throughout the revolution because it was the most concentrated, united, enlightened section of the toiling masses, the most hardened in struggle. It assumed the leading role from the very inception of the soviets and throughout the whole course of their evolution into organs of power. Our Soviet constitution reflects this fact by preserving certain privileges for the industrial proletariat in comparison with the more scattered petty-bourgeois masses in the countryside.

The RCP must explain the temporary character of these privileges, which are historically connected with the difficulties of organizing the countryside along socialist lines. The party must strive persistently and systematically to utilize this position of the industrial workers to unite the advanced workers more closely with the most backward and scattered masses of rural proletarians, semiproletarians, and the middle peasantry as well, counteracting the narrow craft and trade union interests fostered by capitalism among the workers.

8. Only with the Soviet organization of the state was the proletarian revolution able at one stroke to destroy and root out the old bourgeois, bureaucratic, and juridical state apparatus. However, a partial revival of bureaucratism within the Soviet system has been brought about by the inadequate cultural level of the broad masses, the lack of necessary experience in administrative affairs among the workers appointed by the masses to responsible posts, the necessity of appointing specialists of the old school quickly and under difficult conditions, and the drafting into mili-

tary service of the most advanced sector of the urban workers.

The RCP is conducting a most determined struggle against bureaucratism and advocates the following measures to completely eliminate this evil:

(1) Obligatory participation by every member of the soviet in performing a defined duty in administering the state;

(2) Consecutive rotation of these duties so as gradually to embrace all branches of administration;

(3) The gradual involvement of the entire toiling population in the work of state administration.

These measures represent further progress along the road taken by the Paris Commune. Their complete and rounded application and the simplification of administrative functions, together with raising the cultural level of the toilers, will lead to the abolition of state power.

In the sphere of national relations

9. On the national question the RCP is guided by the following propositions:

(1) The cornerstone of our policy is to draw together the proletarians and semiproletarians of different nationalities in waging a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie.

(2) The distrust felt by the working masses of the oppressed countries toward the proletariat of states that used to oppress those countries must be overcome. To do this it is necessary to abolish each and every privilege enjoyed by any national group whatsoever. Complete equality of rights for all nationalities must be established, and the right of colonies and dependent nations to separate must be rec-

ognized.

(3) To this end, the party proposes a federation of states organized along Soviet lines as one of the transitional forms on the road to complete unity.

(4) As regards to who is to express the desire of the nation to separate, the RCP adopts a historical class viewpoint. It takes into consideration the given nation's stage of historical development — whether it is evolving from medievalism to bourgeois democracy, or from bourgeois democracy to Soviet or proletarian democracy, and so on.

In any case, the proletariat of those nations that were oppressor nations must exercise special care and pay special attention to the remnants of national sentiment among the toiling masses of oppressed or dependent nations. Only by following such a policy will it be possible to create conditions for really durable, voluntary unity among nationally heterogeneous elements of the international proletariat, as was shown by the experience of uniting a number of Soviet republics around Soviet Russia.

In the military sphere

10. The tasks of the party in the military sphere are outlined in the following fundamental propositions:

(1) In the period of imperialist decay and expanding civil war, it is impossible either to retain the old army or build a new one on the so-called nonclass or all-national basis. As a weapon of the proletarian dictatorship, the Red Army must of necessity bear an openly class character. It must be exclusively composed of the proletariat and the semiproletarian strata of

The Communist International returns to Marxism, not only through its name, but also through its entire ideological and political content . . .

peasantry that are akin to the proletariat. Only when classes are abolished will this class army be transformed into a nationwide socialist militia.

(2) Military training must be widely extended to all proletarians and semiproletarians, and the teaching of corresponding subjects must be introduced in the schools.

(3) The work of military training and education of the Red Army is conducted on the basis of class solidarity and socialist education. Therefore reliable and devoted Communists must be appointed as political commissars alongside the military commanders. Communist cells must be organized in each unit in order to maintain internal ideological ties and conscious discipline.

(4) In contrast to the old army, the period of barracks training must be reduced to the shortest possible time. The military barracks must come to resemble military or military-political

schools, and the closest possible contact must be established between military units and factories, mills, trade unions, and organizations of the rural poor.

(5) For the young revolutionary army to achieve the necessary organizational contacts and stability, it requires a commanding staff drawn from among class-conscious workers and peasants, although this may initially apply only to its lower levels. Therefore, one of the principal tasks in the construction of the army is to train the most capable and energetic soldiers devoted to the socialist cause for positions of command.

(6) Operational and technical experience from the last World War must be widely used and applied. In this regard, military specialists trained in the old army must be drawn in to organize the Red Army and its operational leadership. At the same time, the necessary condition for utilizing such specialists is that political leadership of the army and full control over the military command remain concentrated in the hands of the working class.

(7) The demand for the election of commanding officers had enormous significance with regard to the bourgeois army. There the military commanders were selected and trained as an apparatus of class subjection of the soldiers and through them of the working masses. This demand completely loses its principled significance when applied to the class-based Red Army of workers and peasants. The possibility of combining election and appointment of commanders for the revolutionary class army is dictated exclusively by practical considerations. It depends upon the level of organization reached, the degree of solidarity of army units, the availability of commander cadres, and so forth.

In the judicial sphere

11. Proletarian democracy takes power into its own hands and completely abolishes the organs of bourgeois domination — the courts of the former system. It thereby replaces the bourgeois democratic slogan, "judges elected by the people," with the class slogan, "judges elected from the toilers and by them alone." This slogan is applied throughout the judicial system, while equal rights are extended to both sexes in electing judges and exercising judicial functions.

In order to involve the broadest masses of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry in the administration of justice, temporary judge-assessors have been introduced into the courts on a rotating basis.³ The mass workers' organizations, the trade unions, and so on, should take part in compiling the lists of these judge-assessors.

The Soviet government has replaced the formerly endless series of courts of justice, with their various divisions, with a very simplified,

3. Under Soviet law, two nonprofessional "people's assessors" serve together with a professional judge in hearing all civil and criminal cases in the first instance. The people's assessors have equal rights with the judge during hearings and in reaching decisions.

uniform system of people's courts. These are accessible to the population and free of all red tape in legal procedure.

The Soviet government has repealed the laws of the deposed governments and charged the judges elected by the soviets to carry out the will of the proletariat and apply its decrees. In cases where such decrees may be absent or incomplete, judges must be guided by their socialist understanding of justice.

Courts constructed on this basis have already brought about a radical change in the character of penalties. They have introduced suspended sentences on a wide scale and public censure as a form of punishment. They have substituted compulsory labor without confine-

Every state must inevitably be a class state until the division of society into classes finally disappears . . .

ment in place of imprisonment. They have turned prisons into educational institutions and made possible the introduction of comrades' courts.

While advocating the further development of the courts along this road, the RCP must draw the entire toiling population into exercising judicial duties and must ultimately replace the system of punishment with measures of an educational character.

In the sphere of public education

12. In the field of public education, the RCP has set itself the task of finishing the work begun by the October Revolution of 1917. It seeks to transform the school from an instrument of bourgeois class rule into an instrument for the abolition of class divisions in society and for its communist regeneration.

During the period of proletarian dictatorship, that is, while the conditions for the full realization of communism are being prepared, the school must be not only for communist principles in general, but for the ideological, organizational, and educational influence of the proletariat over the semiproletarian and nonproletarian strata of the toiling masses. This is necessary in order to educate a generation completely capable of establishing communism. In doing this, the immediate task is to develop further the following school and educational principles, already decreed by the Soviet government:

(1) Introduce free and compulsory general and polytechnical education (which acquaints the students with all the main branches of industry in theory and practice) for all children of both sexes up to the age of seventeen;

(2) Establish a network of preschool institutions, nurseries, kindergartens, children's homes, and so forth, in order to improve social education and emancipate women;

(3) Fully realize the principle of uniform industrial schools with instruction in the native

language; with coeducation for children of both sexes; unconditionally secular, that is, free from any religious influence; schools where education, closely connected with socially productive work, turns out rounded, developed members of communist society;

(4) Provide all pupils with food, clothing, footwear, and school supplies at state expense;

(5) Train new cadres of educational workers imbued with the ideas of communism;

(6) Involve the toiling population in active participation in the work of education (the development of "councils of public education," mobilization of literate persons);

(7) Provide general state assistance to self-education and self-development of workers and peasants (establish a network of institutions for education outside of school, such as libraries, schools for adults, people's clubs and universities, courses, lectures, cinemas, studios, and so on);

(8) Extensively develop vocational education for persons from the age of seventeen and up in connection with polytechnical knowledge;

The task of the proletarian party is to suppress decisively the exploiters' resistance . . .

(9) Make universities widely available to all who wish to study, in the first place to workers; draw all competent persons into the universities as instructors; remove all artificial obstacles preventing young scientific workers from aspiring to university chairs; materially provide for students so that workers and peasants are able to attend the universities;

(10) Provide the toilers with access to all art treasures, which were created through the ex-

ploitation of their labor and have been hitherto at the exclusive disposal of the exploiters;

(11) Develop the most far-reaching propaganda of communist ideas, and utilize the machinery and resources of state power to this end.

In the sphere of religion

13. With regard to religion, the RCP does not confine itself to the already decreed separation of church and state and of church and school. These are measures that bourgeois democracy includes in its program but has nowhere consistently carried out because of numerous connections between capital and religious propaganda.

The RCP is guided by the conviction that only achieving consciousness and planning in the social and economic activity of the masses will cause religious prejudices to die out. The party strives for complete dissolution of the ties between the exploiting classes and the religious propaganda organizations. It facilitates the real emancipation of the working masses from religious prejudices and organizes the broadest possible scientific educational and anti-religious propaganda. At the same time it is necessary to carefully avoid offending the religious sentiments of believers, which would lead only to strengthening religious fanaticism.

In the sphere of economics

1. The RCP seeks to continue steadfastly to bring about the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie. This expropriation has begun and to a large extent it has already been completed. The means of production and exchange must be made the property of the Soviet republic, that is, the common property of all the toilers.

2. The main and fundamental goal determining Soviet economic policy as a whole must be to increase to the utmost the productive forces of the country. In view of the seri-

ous dislocation the country has experienced, everything must be subordinated to the practical aim of increasing immediately and at all costs the quantity of the products most needed by the population. The successful functioning of each Soviet institution connected with the economy must be measured by the practical results achieved to this end.

Not satisfied with the formal equality of women, the party strives to free women from the material burden of obsolete housework . . .

Moreover, it is necessary first of all to note the following:

3. The collapse of the imperialist economy left a notorious legacy of chaos in organization and management of production during the first period of the Soviet state. It is therefore all the more imperative to advance, as one of the most fundamental tasks, the consolidation of all the country's economic activity into a general state plan. Production must be centralized to the maximum by unifying it into branches and groups of branches and concentrating it in the most productive units and in the rapid fulfillment of economic tasks. The greatest coordination of the entire productive apparatus, the rational and economical utilization of all material resources of the country is required.

Furthermore, efforts must be made to establish economic cooperation and political contact with other nations while striving simultaneously to establish a single economic plan with those nations that have already adopted the Soviet system.

4. Small and handicraft industries must be widely utilized by placing government orders with the artisans. They must be included in the

To keep up with a constantly changing world, you need... Intercontinental Press



The *Intercontinental Press* staff follows periodicals from all over the world to keep you on top of key international developments. *IP* also publishes regular reports from international correspondents. Readers find *IP's* incisive biweekly socialist analysis of world events indispensable.

Yes! Start my subscription now!

- INTRODUCTORY OFFER.** Send me three months of *IP* for \$7.50
 Send me six months of *IP* for \$15 Send me one year of *IP* for \$30

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

For overseas rates see business information inside front cover.

Make checks payable to:

Intercontinental Press

Mail to:

Intercontinental Press

410 West Street

New York, N.Y. 10014

general plan for supplying raw materials and fuel and also must be supported financially on condition that individual artisans, their associations, producers' cooperatives, and small enterprises amalgamate into larger productive and industrial units. Such amalgamations must be encouraged by offers of economic advantages that together with other measures are aimed at paralyzing the aspirations of the artisans to become small industrialists. In this way a painless transition from these backward methods of production to the higher forms of big mechanized industry can be brought about.

5. The organized apparatus of socialized industry must rest above all on the trade unions. They must increasingly free themselves from the narrow craft outlook and transform themselves into large productive associations, involving the majority and gradually all the workers of a given branch of production.

According to the laws of the Soviet republic and by established practice, the trade unions already participate in all the local and central organs of management of industry. They must

The party must strive to unite the advanced workers more closely with the most backward and scattered masses of rural proletarians, semiproletarians, and the middle peasantry . . .

eventually concentrate in their hands the management of the whole national economy as a single economic unit. In this way, establishing indissoluble ties among the central state administration, the national economy, and the broad masses of toilers, the trade unions must involve the latter as much as possible in direct management of the economy. Participation by the trade unions in managing the economy and their involvement of the broad masses in this work also is the principal means of struggle against bureaucratization of the Soviet economic apparatus. This also makes it possible to establish real popular control over the output of production.

6. An immediate task of Soviet economic policy must be to maximize utilization of all the state's available labor power and ensure its proper distribution and redistribution among the various geographical regions and branches of the economy. This is essential for the planned development of the national economy and can be achieved only through close collaboration with the trade unions. In order to fulfill certain social tasks, the complete mobilization of all able-bodied people by the Soviet government is needed, with the participation of the trade unions. This mobilization must be carried out on a much wider scale and more systematically than has been done so far.

7. The capitalist methods of organizing labor are in decay. Thus the productive forces of the country can be restored and developed and a socialist mode of production consoli-

dated only through the comradely discipline of workers, a maximum degree of initiative on their part, a sense of responsibility, and the strictest mutual control over labor productivity.

Persistent, systematic work to reeducate the masses is needed to reach this goal. This work is made easier because they can see that the capitalists, landowners, and merchants are being removed. The masses can come through their own practical experience to the conclusion that the level of their prosperity depends entirely on disciplining their own labor.

The trade unions must play the principal role in creating the new socialist discipline. Breaking with the old pattern, they must put into practice and test various measures to realize this goal, such as establishing accountability and production norms, introducing responsibility to special workers' (comrades') courts, and so on.

8. Developing the productive forces requires the immediate, broad, and full utilization of those specialists in science and technology left to us as a legacy of capitalism. This is the case even though the majority of them are inescapably steeped in a bourgeois world outlook and bourgeois habits. The party believes that the period of acute struggle with this layer that was caused by its organized sabotage is over, because such sabotage in general has been overcome.

The RCP, in close alliance with the trade unions, must pursue its former policy. On the one hand, the party must not make the slightest political concession to this bourgeois layer and must ruthlessly suppress all counterrevolutionary impulses on its part. On the other hand, the party must also carry out a relentless struggle against the pseudoradical, genuinely ignorant, and conceited idea that workers can overcome capitalism and the bourgeois order without the help of bourgeois specialists and their knowledge or without going through a long period of education alongside them.

While striving to equalize wages for every type of labor and to fully realize communism, the Soviet government cannot set itself the immediate task of bringing about this equality today. Only the first steps are now being made in the transition from capitalism to communism. It will therefore be necessary for some time for specialists to receive higher wages so that they can work not worse but better than before. For the same reason it is impossible to dispense with the system of bonuses for the most successful and well-organized work.

Equally important is situating the bourgeois specialists in a comradely environment of common work, side by side, with the masses of rank-and-file workers and led by class-conscious communists. This would facilitate mutual understanding and closer relations between workers doing physical labor and those doing intellectual labor, who were formerly separated by capitalism.

9. The Soviet government has already taken a number of measures to develop science and bring it closer to production. A whole network

of new institutes of applied science, laboratories, experimental stations, experimental testing of new technical methods, improvements and inventions, and registration and organization of all scientific resources and methods have been established. The RCP supports all these measures and strives to develop them further. It seeks to create the most favorable conditions for scientific work in order to increase the country's productive forces.

In the sphere of agriculture

10. Having completely abolished private property in land, the Soviet government has already started to carry out a great many measures toward organizing large-scale socialist agriculture. The most important of these are the following:

- (1) Organization of Soviet farms, that is, large socialist enterprises;
- (2) Support of societies and associations for cooperative land cultivation;
- (3) A state organization to cultivate all uncultivated land, no matter to whom it belongs;
- (4) State mobilization of all agronomists to carry out energetic measures to raise the level of agriculture;
- (5) Support of agricultural communes as completely voluntary associations of those who work the land for common, large-scale agricultural production.

The RCP regards these measures as the only road to the absolutely necessary increase in the productivity of agricultural labor. The party strives to apply them as fully as possible, spread them to the more backward regions of the country, and take further steps in this direction. In particular the RCP advocates:

- (1) The utmost encouragement by the state of agricultural cooperatives engaged in processing agricultural products;
- (2) An extensive system of land improvement;
- (3) A broad and systematic supply of ag-

The RCP is conducting a most determined struggle against bureaucratism . . .

ricultural implements to the poor and middle peasants through special depots.

The RCP realizes that small-peasant farming will exist for a long time. It therefore strives for a number of measures directed toward raising the productivity of peasant farming. These measures are:

- (1) Regulate peasant land tenure (eliminate strip farming, and so forth);
- (2) Supply the peasants with improved seeds and artificial fertilizer;
- (3) Improve livestock breeding;
- (4) Spread knowledge of agricultural science;
- (5) Provide peasants with agronomic aid;
- (6) Repair peasants' agricultural implements in Soviet workshops;
- (7) Establish experimental stations, model fields, centers for equipment rental, and so

forth;

(8) Improve peasant lands.

11. The counterposition of town and country is one of the most far-reaching causes of village economic and cultural backwardness. In a period of great crisis like the present, both town and country face the immediate danger of degeneration and ruin. In view of this, the RCP regards eliminating this counterposition as one of the fundamental tasks of communist construction. In addition to general measures, the party considers it necessary to systematically involve industrial workers in communist construction in agriculture and to develop the activity of the national "Workers' Assistance

Only achieving consciousness and planning in the social and economic activity of the masses will cause religious prejudices to die out . . .

Committees" already organized by the Soviet government for this purpose.

12. In all its work in the countryside, the RCP continues, as before, to rely on the proletarian and semiproletarian layers there. First of all, the party organizes these sectors into an independent force by setting up party cells in the countryside, organizations of the poor, special types of trade unions of rural proletarians and semiproletarians, and so forth. The party then brings them closer in every possible way to the urban proletariat and wrests them from the influence of the village bourgeoisie and small-property interests.

The policy of the RCP toward the kulak class, the village bourgeoisie, is to resolutely combat their tendency to exploit and to suppress their resistance to the Soviet policy.

The policy of the RCP toward the middle peasantry is to gradually and systematically draw them into the work of socialist construction. The party sets itself the task of separating them from the kulaks and winning them to the side of the working class by carefully attending to their needs. The party fights their backwardness with ideological weapons rather than measures of repression. It strives, in all cases where the middle peasantry's vital interests are concerned, to come to practical agreements with them and make concessions on the ways and means of carrying out the socialist transformation.

In the sphere of distribution

13. In the sphere of distribution, the task of the Soviet government today is to continue undeviatingly to replace private trade by a planned distribution of products on a national scale. The aim is to organize the entire population into a single network of consumers' communes, capable of distributing all the necessary products with the maximum speed, planning, and economy and with the least expenditure of labor, strictly centralizing the whole distribution process.

The consumers' communes and their associations must be based on the existing general and workers' cooperatives, which are the largest organizations of consumers and constitute the best apparatus for mass distribution created by the history of capitalism.

The RCP believes in principle that the only correct line is to not abolish the cooperative apparatus, but to further its communist development. The party must systematically continue this policy. All party members are obligated to work in the cooperatives; to lead them, with the help of the trade unions, to a communist spirit; to develop the initiative and discipline of the working population organized in cooperatives. Party members must try to organize the entire population into cooperatives and unite all these cooperatives into a single cooperative, embracing the entire Soviet republic. Finally and most importantly, the predominant influence of the proletariat over the other sections of the toilers must constantly be maintained. Also various measures to facilitate and implement the transition from petty-bourgeois cooperatives of the old capitalist type to the consumer communes led by the proletarians and semiproletarians must be tested in practice.

In the sphere of money and banking

14. Avoiding the mistakes of the Paris Commune,⁴ the Soviet government immediately seized the state bank and proceeded to nationalize private commercial banks. It united the nationalized banks, savings banks, and treasuries with the state bank. In this way the government laid the basis for a single national bank of the Soviet republic. The bank was transformed from a center of finance capital's economic domination and a weapon for the exploiters' political rule into a weapon for the workers' government and a lever for economic revival. The RCP, having set itself the aim of consistently carrying through to conclusion the work begun by the Soviet govern-

The trade unions must free themselves from the narrow craft outlook . . .

ment, emphasizes the following principles:

(1) The entire banking system is a monopoly of the Soviet state.

(2) A radical change and simplification of banking operations is instituted by transforming the banks into an apparatus for uniform bookkeeping and general accounting in the Soviet republic. The organization of a planned national economy will lead to the abolition of banking and to its transformation into the cen-

4. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels criticized the Paris Commune for its failure to nationalize the Bank of France. "The bank in the hands of the Commune — this would have been worth more than ten thousand hostages," Engels commented. See Engels, "Introduction to The Civil War in France," in Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), vol. 2, p. 186.

tral bookkeeping department of communist society.

15. During the initial stages of the transition from capitalism to communism, pending the full organization of communist production and distribution, it is impossible to abolish money. Under these circumstances the bourgeois elements of the population continue to utilize the money that remains in private hands for the purposes of speculation, profiteering, and robbing the toilers. Resting its policy on the nationalization of the banks, the RCP strives to implement a number of measures that will extend the sphere of nonmonetary transactions. These measures to prepare for the abolition of money include the compulsory deposit of money in the people's bank, the introduction of budget books, the replacement of money with checks and short-term notes entitling the possessor to receive products, and so forth.

In the sphere of finance

16. In the epoch when the socialization of the means of production expropriated from the capitalists has begun, the state ceases to be a parasitic apparatus over the means of production. It begins to be transformed into an organization directly performing the function of man-

The RCP realizes that small-peasant farming will exist for a long time . . .

aging the country's economy, and to that extent the state budget becomes the budget of the national economy as a whole.

Under such conditions state revenues and expenditures can be balanced only if there are proper systems of planned state production and distribution of products. To meet immediate state expenditures in the transitional period, the RCP will advocate a transition from the system of levies imposed upon capitalists, which was historically necessary and lawful in the initial period of the socialist revolution, to a progressive income and property tax. As this tax becomes obsolete due to large-scale expropriation of the propertied classes, state expenditures must be met by the direct conversion of part of the revenue from various state monopolies into state revenue.

In the sphere of housing

17. In trying to solve the housing problem, which became particularly acute during the war, the Soviet government completely expropriated all the houses owned by capitalist landlords and turned them over to the city soviets. It transferred masses of workers from the outskirts of town into bourgeois homes. The government turned over the best houses to the workers' organizations, maintaining them at state expense. It has started to provide the workers' families with furniture.

The RCP's task is to follow this course by exerting the greatest effort to improve the housing conditions of the toiling masses with-

out infringing on the interests of noncapitalist home ownership. It seeks to abolish overcrowding and unsanitary conditions in old residential areas, to remove houses unfit for habitation, to reconstruct old houses and construct new ones corresponding to the new conditions of life of the working masses, and to resettle the working population in a rational manner.

In the sphere of labor protection and social security

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat has made it possible for the first time to fully realize the minimum program of socialist parties in the sphere of labor protection.

The Soviet government has passed legislation, embodied in the Code of Labor Laws, that secures a maximum eight-hour working day for all toilers; a working day not to exceed six hours for persons under eighteen years of age, for those working in unhealthy branches of production, and for miners working underground; a forty-two-hour uninterrupted rest per week for all toilers; the prohibition of overtime as a general rule; the prohibition of employment of children and youth under sixteen; the prohibition of night work and of work in unhealthy branches of production for all women and for men under eighteen; an exemption from work for women eight weeks before and eight weeks after giving birth, with full wages and free medical treatment and medicine; the guarantee to working women of not less than half an hour every three hours for nursing their babies and of additional subsidies to nursing mothers; and the election by trade union councils of factory and sanitary inspection teams.

The Soviet government has passed legislation extending complete social insurance to all toilers who do not exploit the labor of others. This provides insurance against all cases of loss of ability to work and introduces unemployment insurance for the first time in the world at the expense of the employers and the state. The insured are granted complete self-administration of their affairs with broad trade union participation.

Moreover the Soviet government, in some respects, has gone further than the minimum program and provided in the same Code of Labor Laws for the participation of workers' organizations in questions of hiring and discharging workers. The code also provides for one month's vacation with full pay for all toilers who have worked without interruption for not less than one year, state regulation of wages based on rates worked out by the trade unions, and departments to distribute and regulate the work force under the soviets and trade unions in order to find work for the unemployed.

However the extreme destruction caused by the war and the pressure of world imperialism have forced the Soviet government to retreat in the following cases: to allow overtime in exceptional cases, with a limit of fifty days in one year; to permit youth between fourteen and sixteen to work, limiting their working day to four hours; to temporarily reduce the one

month vacation to two weeks; and to increase night work hours to seven.

The RCP must carry out an extensive propaganda campaign to secure active participation of the toilers themselves in energetically fulfilling all these measures to protect labor, for which it is necessary to:

- (1) Strengthen the work to organize and extend labor inspection by choosing and training active workers from the ranks, and to extend the inspection to small and cottage industries;
- (2) Spread job protection to all fields of

The counterposition of town and country is one of the most far-reaching causes of village economic and cultural backwardness . . .

work (construction workers, land and water transport, domestic servants, and agricultural workers);

- (3) Take all minors out of the work force completely and further decrease working hours for youth.

In addition, the RCP must take on the task of establishing the following:

- (1) A maximum six-hour day without reduction of wages as general productivity increases, on condition that all workers devote two additional hours a day without compensation to studying the theory of their trade or industry, to practical study of the technique of state administration, and to military training;
- (2) A bonus system to encourage labor productivity.

In the sphere of social security, the RCP

strives to organize state support on a large scale not only for war victims and victims of natural calamities, but also for victims of abnormal social relations. The party is waging a determined struggle against all parasites and idlers and takes on the task of restoring to useful work all those who have dropped out of the work force.

In the sphere of public health

The RCP proposes as the basis of its work in protecting the public health above all to implement broad health and sanitary measures with the goal of preventing the spread of disease. The dictatorship of the proletariat has already made possible carrying out a whole series of health and medical measures, unrealizable within the framework of bourgeois society. Drugstores, large privately owned medical institutions, and health resorts have been nationalized; compulsory work for all medical personnel has been introduced; and so on.

Accordingly the RCP sets itself the following immediate tasks:

- (1) Broad measures for sanitation on behalf of the toilers must be resolutely applied. These include:
 - (a) improved sanitation in populated areas (protection of soil, water, and air);
 - (b) organizing communal meals on a scientific-hygienic basis;
 - (c) adopting measures to prevent the outbreak and spread of infectious diseases;
 - (d) introducing legislation on sanitation.
- (2) Social diseases (tuberculosis, venereal disease, alcoholism, and so on) must be fought.
- (3) Free, qualified medical care to all must be guaranteed. □

'IP' reaches prisoners in U.S., Canada

A number of *Intercontinental Press* readers, including several prisoners, took the occasion of the year-end holidays to write us about their activities and how they make use of *IP* in their political work.

We received cards from the Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition in Manila and from a prisoner in the Ottawa-Carlton Detention Centre in Ontario, Canada.

A University of California student at Santa Cruz wrote, "I've been really impressed with your work. Keep it up!" He enclosed a leaflet put out by his campus group to publicize a meeting entitled Israel and South Africa: the Roots of Zionism, Apartheid, and Resistance. "I thought it might be interesting to you," he said, "given the excellent coverage you have of the Middle East and Africa."

From Vancouver, British Columbia, a reader sent two new subscriptions along with his own renewal check. He requested a number of subscription forms so he can

continue to introduce *IP* to his friends and coworkers.

Recently requests for subscriptions have come in from prisoners in Folsom, California; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Brooklyn, New York; and elsewhere. One prisoner wrote that *IP*, the *Militant*, and a speakers' series in the prison have helped "the brothers here to become more aware of the present condition of the world."

As victims of capitalist justice, prisoners are usually unable to pay for subscriptions. It is our policy to honor such requests free of charge. We were especially gratified to receive a \$5.00 contribution from a prisoner in Comstock, New York, who had written asking that we continue his subscription.

If other *IP* readers would like to join him in helping subsidize our prisoner subscription program, they can send donations of any amount to *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

'We must defend our identity'

United Secretariat message to French section of the Fourth International

By Livio Maitan

[The following greetings to the Seventh Congress of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International, were delivered by Livio Maitan in the name of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

[The LCR congress took place Oct. 31–Nov. 3, 1985. The text of the greetings was published in the December 1985 issue of *Critique Communiste*, a monthly publication of the LCR. The translation from French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The discussions at your congress have many points in common with the discussions that have taken place in other European sections. In a number of respects they reflect and mirror the concerns running through the workers' movement in the majority of European capitalist countries.

In several weeks, during one of the periodic meetings of the political bureaus of our European organizations, a whole series of problems will be discussed. I will mention several of them very sketchily.

At present we are building our sections in a context that is considerably different from the one that existed when most of these sections were built or reestablished, that is, at the beginning of the 1970s. After that time, a major development, the 1974–75 economic crisis, began to shake up things that had been previously taken for granted in the situation in capitalist Europe.

A new context

If we want to determine the scope of the change that has taken place, suffice it to recall, for example, that since 1970 unemployment has gone from 3 percent to 13 percent in Britain, from 0.8 percent to 8.6 percent in the "flourishing" Federal Republic of Germany, from 2.4 percent to 20.1 percent in Spain, and that in France and Italy the rate of unemployment among young people fluctuates between 30 and 35 percent, while in Spain it has just reached 46.5 percent!

These figures are enough to provide an idea of the deep-seated impact of the events taking place in society. What is more, the principal capitalist countries have registered an increasingly perceptible decline in the industrial working class, and especially in its fundamental sectors, particularly since the end of the 1970s.

[The LCR weekly newspaper] *Rouge* recounts this week the dramatic fate of the French steel industry. In Spain, between 1977 and 1984, the number of industrial workers has

declined 22 percent; in Italy, the number of workers in big companies has dropped about 25 percent during the past four years. In that country all the bastions of the big struggles of the past 20 years have been very hard hit.

When we add to these elements the fact that the introduction of new technologies has devalued the traditional skills of the workers as well as the relationship of these workers to the labor process they are involved in, in short, their role as producers, the conclusion is self-evident: very deep-going transformations, a real tearing of the economic and social fabric, is taking place.

Finally, we should highlight two points in the analysis of these processes. First, thus far the changes linked to restructuring and reorganizing work have had a greater impact than technological innovations per se. Second, and as a consequence of the first point, the big wave of innovations — especially in services — still lies before us.

For that reason, among others, no one would predict that in the short or medium term there will be a reversal of these tendencies mentioned above.

This gives us an idea of the problems posed for our organizations. It will be necessary to reflect on them in order to be able to grasp what is taking place. Unless we do so, we will be incapable of intervening effectively in the class struggle.

Briefly, a few comments on the situation and perspectives of struggle. In 1984 or 1985, three countries in Europe — France, Italy, and Britain — registered the lowest number of worker-hours on strike in 20 years if not longer.

Nevertheless, developments like the mobilization of the "autoconvocati" in Italy in March 1984 [against revision of wage indexing], the epic strike of the British miners, the June 1985 strike in Spain, and the struggle for the 35-hour week in Germany show that strikes and mobilizations are possible.

There is nothing to indicate that this will not be the case in the years to come.

However, we knock up against a vicious circle resulting from the combination of the following two factors:

1. Partial struggles in themselves cannot pay off, given the problems that are raised, while general struggles suffer setbacks or end up without tangible results.

2. The problem of an alternative is posed as a solution to the crisis, but this alternative cannot be concretized or begin to be concretized without significant struggles and mobilizations.

The whole problem is to figure out how this vicious circle can be broken, what must be

done to relaunch the struggles with perspectives for success. More concretely, it must be determined what type of struggles are necessary today in the factories hit by or threatened by restructuring, and what the objectives of these struggles must be.

We must at the same time define a political alternative that has, in and of itself, an inspiring effect.

The answer to this problem is a difficult one. But we must do everything we can to find such an answer and concretize it. This is a task that we cannot evade.

Success of our Mexican comrades

I don't have time to give you a report on the work done by a recent meeting of the political bureaus of our Latin American organizations, which represent an important sector of our movement. One central point of the discussions was our participation in the continentwide struggles against paying the foreign debt.

I will limit myself to a few words about Mexico. As you know, the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) scored a success during the last general elections. Six candidates on its slate were elected to parliament. This is a very significant and unprecedented victory in this arena for our whole movement.

It is true that on various occasions we have had parliamentary deputies in other Latin American countries. But this time the success is the result of much more deep-going and systematic work carried out by a much larger and more structured organization than the Bolivian organization or the Peruvian organization were in the periods when they had members of parliament. In addition, it is an organization that, since its formation, has been much more integrated into the framework of the International than they were.

Comrade Sergio Rodríguez, a leader of the PRT, stressed this during a meeting of the International leadership. Without the Fourth International, he said, there would not have been a PRT, nor, therefore, this victory.

But he immediately added that the new situation brought with it, for the PRT as well as for the International, problems and tasks that are no less difficult than the ones we have confronted up to now.

To give you an idea of these problems, we should note that the PRT continues to focus on the problem of uniting the left, obviously now with greater responsibilities.

At the present stage, should it prioritize approaches toward the PSUM (Mexican United Socialist Party — formerly the Communist Party), with the idea that the problem of ties with the organizations of the revolutionary left

will come up later in a more concrete fashion? These organizations, although not represented in parliament, are not a negligible force taken as a whole.

Or instead should it first of all address itself to these revolutionary left organizations, in such a way as to pull along the PSUM in the unity process?

Secondly, our comrades are posing the problem of the relationship between the party and its parliamentary expression, a problem that the workers' movement has had to grapple with throughout its long history. It would be quite incorrect to think that this question does not confront a revolutionary Marxist organization. In Peru our comrades went through a painful experience in this regard. They hope that their experience might at least help the Mexican comrades to resolve their problems.

Finally, the electoral success was the product of a mass influence that the PRT had already won earlier. Among other things, this mass influence allowed the PRT to mobilize thousands and thousands of sympathizers during the campaign. Now the PRT's influence has grown even more, and thousands of people want to join the party, even though they are not revolutionary Marxists.

Obviously it is impossible to blur the difference between members on the one hand and sympathizers on the other. But it is just as impossible to close the party's doors. Therein lies the problem. An enormous task of training new cadres and new leaders is, therefore, posed for the PRT. Accomplishing it successfully is the precondition for assimilating the new forces that are flowing in its direction.

Defend our Marxist, revolutionary socialist identity

In your congress we have also heard what is today a recurring theme in the workers' movement in numerous countries, including in our own movement: the question of our identity.

In this arena we must confront challenges.

The first arises from our own ranks. In late August, the leadership of the Australian Socialist Workers Party (SWP) decided to quit the Fourth International. The United Secretariat is in the process of preparing a response, and an article will appear in the next issue of the magazine *Quatrième Internationale*.

Two central criticisms were directed against us by the Australian comrades. One is that we do not understand the "anti-imperialist axis of the world revolution." This is not a simple quarrel over terminology. In fact, the SWP leadership is breaking with our concept of the three sectors of the world revolution by challenging the irreplaceable, necessary role of the proletariat in the industrialized capitalist countries.

The other criticism concerns the contradiction at work in the bureaucratized workers' states. According to the Australian comrades, in this sector of the world revolution the contradiction is "between socialist countries and imperialism." In other words, they totally blur

the central contradiction — the one that exists between the bureaucratic castes and the working masses. A small trifle!

In the face of these revisions, reaffirming our fundamental programmatic bases is a *political necessity*. Does anyone think that the *necessity of the revolution in the capitalist countries and the necessity of the antibureaucratic revolutions* constitute baggage that just weighs us down and would be better jettisoned? Without complete clarity on these essential questions, you cannot build anything today or tomorrow or the day after. At most you can end up with the most insipid tail-endism, you squeak by in the shadow of others, and even that not for very long!

The second challenge — especially in the countries of capitalist Europe — stems from left intellectuals and, unfortunately, fairly large sectors of the organized workers' movement.

Italy is a clear example of this. It is in the Italian Communist Party itself, a mass workers' party for 40 years, that the fundamental Marxist concepts are being challenged, including the materialist interpretation of history, and even more so the historic ends of the workers' movement. In such a context, does reaffirming and redefining our identity represent a waste of time, an abstract exercise, a doctrinaire hobby?

We are told that we must be *useful* organizations. There is no question about that. You cannot win credit by promising a bright tomorrow if you are not capable of participating in the struggles of a bitter present. That is ABC.

But at the same time we must also appear as an organization that is *useful* in terms of its programmatic values and its potentialities for struggle for the future. If we want to cut across the wave of retreat that is breaking on the workers' movement, if we want to avoid being sucked into the ideological stampede ourselves, we must assert our Marxist, socialist, revolutionary identity.

We repeat: this is a *political necessity*, a necessity for *building* ourselves. If we do not understand that, we run the risk of falling into pragmatism with all its illusions, and, under the best of circumstances, we will be building on sand.

The real problem therefore is not to know whether we should conserve or retrace our identity, but rather to know how to defend and redefine this identity in terms of the necessities of the struggle of the workers' movement at a time when the context is unfavorable in numerous countries.

It must be said: even in a country like France, being not even a Trotskyist, but simply a Marxist, means swimming against the current today.

We must keep clearly in mind, comrades, the consciousness that we are not defending a sect or a clique, nor even a specific organization. Rather we are waging a battle in the interest of the workers' movement as a whole.

It is a battle that will be long and difficult. But it must be waged. We have no other choice. □

10 AND 20 YEARS AGO

Intercontinental Press

Africa Asia Europe Oceania the Americas

January 26, 1976

NOUMÉA, New Caledonia — Richard Kamouda, a twenty-two-year-old Melanesian (Kanak), was shot dead by French colonial police in the centre of Nouméa December 27, 1975, triggering a wave of protest throughout the country.

A little over an hour after the incident, a crowd of 600 persons marched through the streets in protest, chanting slogans such as "They've killed a Kanak brother," "Erignac [the French secretary-general] assassin," and "Power to the Kanak people."

Two thousand protesters, including four elected Territorial Assembly members, regrouped the next day. On both occasions the demonstrators were met by riot police armed with truncheons, tear-gas grenades, and automatic rifles.

Kamouda and another man had been acting out a mock boxing match when the police intervened. One policeman hit Kamouda over the head with a truncheon. Kamouda tried to run away, but the policeman ran in front of him and shot him at point-blank range through the stomach, killing him instantly.

Kamouda's family in Poindimie, 320 kilometers from Nouméa, was told by the colonial administration that Kamouda "had been killed in a fight."

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.)

January 22, 1965

At the end of December a decree was signed by Gen. Humberto Castelo Branco, the president put into office by a coup d'état last April 1, reversing a historic policy followed by every government in Brazil up to now. The decree opens up Brazil's fabulously rich iron ore reserves to private capital.

Brazil has about one-third of the world's known iron ore reserves. But after the ruthless exploitation of Brazil's gold, diamond, and rubber resources, public sentiment grew so strong against giving away any more of the country's resources that no government dared to concede to the imperialist pressure to open up the high-quality iron ore bodies.

The decree favors the Hanna Mining Company of the United States, which operates through the St. John del Rey Mining Company (a British concern), and the Antunes Mining group, a Brazilian company in which the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, of the United States, holds an interest.

Demonstrations sweep country

Duvalier dictatorship kills protesters, closes schools

By Steve Craine

An unprecedented wave of political protests against the dictatorship of President Jean-Claude Duvalier has rocked Haiti since the end of November. The protests were sparked by the murder of four students and a Protestant minister by Haitian troops during two days of street demonstrations in Gonaïves, Haiti, November 27-28.

Despite an extended Christmas vacation designed to quell student unrest, the protests continued in early January.

A December 16 *Miami Herald* report from Haiti said, "Between 1,000 and 2,000 jobless from Gonaïves' largest shantytown of Raboteau surged into the dusty streets November 27 shouting 'Down with misery,' 'Down with the dictatorship,' and 'Long live the army.'"

The next day, hundreds of teenagers from Gonaïves schools joined the street demonstrations raising similar demands.

The slogan appealing to the army was apparently based on reports of disagreement with the Duvalier dictatorship inside the military. But the *Herald* report noted, "Instead of responding to the call for revolt, soldiers opened fire during one of the demonstrations, killing at least three students."

The Haitian Refugee Center, Inc. (HRC), in Miami, Florida, reports that Jean-Robert Cius, 20 years old; Mackenson Michel, 16 years old; and Daniel Israel, 19 years old, were killed. At least 14 other students were wounded and one was beaten to death.

The HRC also released a statement from Bishop Emmanuel Constant of Gonaïves detailing how troops invaded the Immaculate Conception High School to shoot Cius. The fifth reported murder victim was an unnamed Protestant minister who was arrested separately during the demonstrations and was killed while in police custody.

These murders sparked protests in the southern town of Jérémie, where 1,000 students marched on November 29.

In Gonaïves a few days later, three-fourths of the students stayed at home, while the remainder disrupted their classes with shouts of "We will not study until the troops sent to Gonaïves are withdrawn."

Protests also occurred throughout the first week of December in Jacmel, Les Cayes, Petit-Goâves, and Cap-Haïtien, while a memorial mass held for the murdered students in the capital city of Port-au-Prince drew 5,000 people.

The government condemned the "actions perpetrated against the well-being of persons and properties." It claimed the demonstrations were "manipulated by a group of professional



agitators" seeking to foster "a climate of violence favorable to their subversive goals."

To defuse the increasingly volatile situation in early December, Duvalier announced that schools in towns that had had anti-government demonstrations would be closed early for Christmas vacation. Schools in Gonaïves and Jérémie were shut down on December 10.

But as soon as the schools reopened on January 7, many were hit by new boycotts, and the government closed them down again. In shutting the schools on January 8, the government declined to say how long it planned to keep the students locked out.

In at least three towns, antigovernment demonstrators were reported to have blocked roads with burning tires and debris. In Petit-Goâve three government buildings were set afire.

The January 9 *New York Times* reported that troops killed one demonstrator and wounded three others earlier that week in the northern part of the country.

In Port-au-Prince antigovernment leaflets were circulated on the streets. One leaflet, quoted in the *Times*, declared, "People of Haiti, rise up against the misery that tears at your gut, against the hunger of the streets and the famine of the countryside."

Common slogans throughout the weeks of protest included "Down with Duvalier!" "Long live liberty!" "We want presidential elections!" and "Down with the constitution!" The last two demands refer to the new constitution Duvalier had ratified by a phony referendum in July.

The government reported that 99.98 percent of the voters approved constitutional amendments confirming Duvalier's position as "president for life" and giving him the power to name his successor. Ballots used in the referendum provided a place to indicate a "yes" vote, but none for a "no."

Duvalier, also known as "Baby Doc," has ruled Haiti since 1971 when his father, François ("Papa Doc") Duvalier, died. Papa Doc began his bloody rule in 1957.

The Duvalier dynasty has opened Haiti, the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, to

extensive U.S. investments. At least 50 percent of the working class is unemployed, and four-fifths of adult Haitians cannot read and write.

U.S.-owned companies, mostly in agriculture and light manufacturing, typically pay only \$3 a day in wages. Foreign corporations are allowed to operate tax-free for up to 20 years, in case the low wages are not enough incentive for them to invest in Haiti.

Washington gives direct aid to the Duvalier dictatorship, though for the past three years it has been required by Congress to assert Haiti is making progress on curbing human rights abuses.

U.S. officials reportedly have warned Duvalier that the recent repression could make it difficult to get approval for the full \$56 million in U.S. foreign aid that he has requested for 1986. In mid-December Haiti's foreign minister flew to Washington to argue against any cuts in this request.

Duvalier uses the army and a private goon squad known as the Tontons Macoutes to impose his rule over the 5.7 million people of Haiti. The Tontons Macoutes, established by Papa Doc and now officially called the Volunteers for National Security, are used to terrorize all opposition to the regime.

On December 22 Sylvio Claude, the leader of an opposition party, was assaulted in his home by 10 men, some of them wearing police and palace guard uniforms. Members of his family report he was beaten with "clubs, gun butts, and fists" and that he went into hiding immediately after the attack.

Since November 28 widespread arrests have occurred throughout the country. The army and Duvalier's elite military unit, the Léopards, occupy Gonaïves and Cap-Haïtien.

The press and radio are strictly controlled and forbidden to report on protests. Two Catholic radio stations were shut down for reporting the murders in Gonaïves. A station run by the Baptist church discontinued all news broadcasts in order to avoid repression.

Fifteen demonstrators and five soldiers were reported killed in a clash when troops opened fire on a march in Cap-Haïtien December 5.

Haiti Progrès, a Haitian paper published in New York, printed a letter from students at the Lycée Fabre Geffard in Gonaïves. After thanking "the youth of Jérémie, Les Cayes, Cap-Haïtien and Petit-Goâves" for their solidarity, the students declare:

"We will not return to school until the murderers are brought to justice, until there is justice for the teacher Emmanuel Renaud [who was beaten by Macoutes while teaching class in the town of Les Cayes] and until the uniformed soldiers sent here from the Dessalines Barracks in Port-au-Prince leave our City of Independence," the name given to Gonaïves during the Haitian Revolution of 1804. □

Your library should get
Intercontinental Press.