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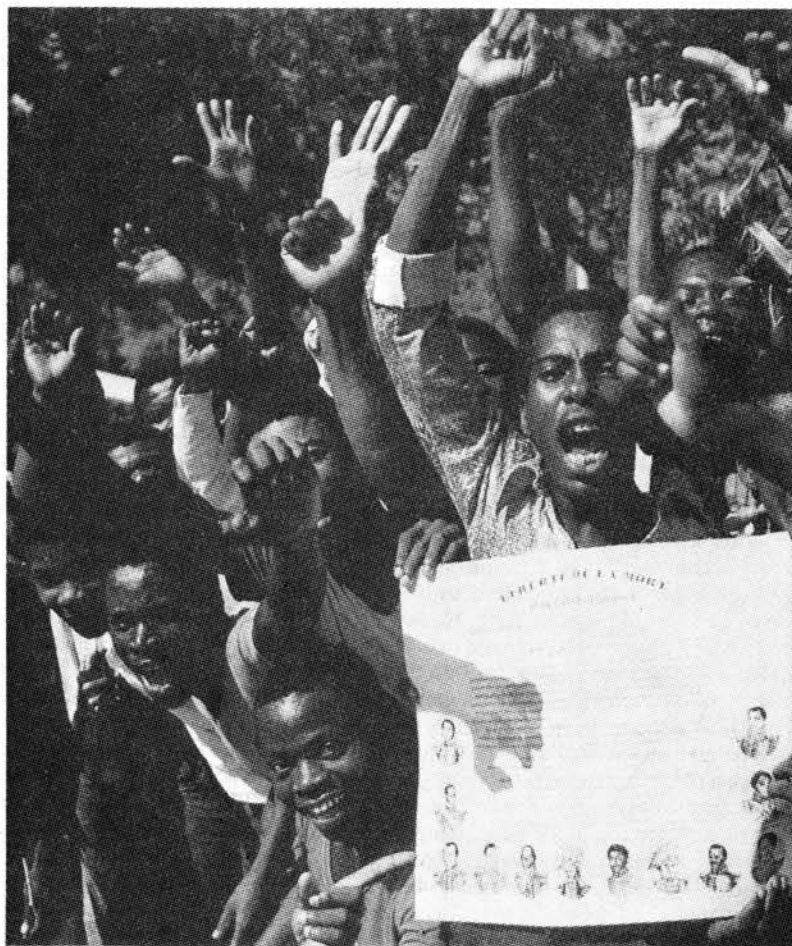
the Americas

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February 24, 1986

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Haiti *Popular Upheaval Brings Down Duvalier Tyranny*



Crowd cheers news of Jean-Claude Duvalier's downfall.

Nicaragua

**Borge on Problems
of Atlantic Coast**

South Africa

**ANC's Oliver Tambo
Outlines 1986 Goals**

What Was Behind the South Yemen Bloodbath?

U.S. red carpet for Savimbi

By Ernest Harsch

News of Angolan counterrevolutionary leader Jonas Savimbi's visit to Washington, which opened on January 29, was splashed across the pages of the big-business press. His meetings with President Ronald Reagan and other top U.S. officials were featured on the television news.

But thousands of miles away, in Angola itself, a related development received virtually no attention in the major U.S. media. Savimbi's patrons — the apartheid rulers of South Africa — were sending their troops as much as 95 miles into Angolan territory to ambush Angolan troops, attack rural villages, and support mercenary forces belonging to Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

A January 26 Angolan government radio broadcast warned that this escalation of South African and UNITA aggression could be "a prelude of a new invasion of Angolan territory" by the South African army. The broadcast directly linked this threat to Savimbi's U.S. visit, stating, "It is not a mere coincidence: Pretoria and Washington have common plans and objectives."

The last time Savimbi visited Washington, six years ago, he was unable to get any White House appointments. But this time he was accorded the diplomatic formalities usually reserved for foreign heads of state. He met directly with Reagan, who promised that Washington would be "very helpful" to UNITA. He likewise held discussions with Secretary of State George Shultz, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, and Adm. William Crowe, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The apartheid system in Pretoria was highly pleased by the reception Washington gave to Pretoria's surrogate. A January 27 broadcast over the South African government radio network crowed, "Diplomatically, [the visit] places the final seal of approval on the UNITA movement."

The myth ...

Whatever material U.S. aid UNITA may get out of this visit, one major purpose of the trip has been to boost UNITA's political image, to transform Savimbi's reputation as a terrorist leader and puppet of the apartheid regime into that of a "freedom fighter," as Reagan has repeatedly called him.

Much of Savimbi's visit was stage-managed by a public relations firm that arranged numerous speaking engagements for him, as well as press interviews and television spots. Through this concentrated media campaign, tens of millions of U.S. citizens heard of Savimbi for the first time.

And the image they were given was a false one from beginning to end.

While not denying his contacts with the

South African regime, Savimbi sought to minimize them. He claimed that he was opposed to the apartheid system. UNITA's campaign of terror against the Angolan population and efforts to destabilize the government were presented as a popular "liberation" struggle against "Soviet imperialism."

... and the reality

Part of the myth that is being spun around Savimbi and UNITA is based on their past role in Angola's fight against Portuguese colonial rule. Founded by Savimbi in 1965, UNITA was active for a time in the Angolan independence struggle. But by the early 1970s it had concluded a tacit cease-fire arrangement with the Portuguese colonial authorities and concentrated instead on ambushing guerrilla fighters of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the leading anticolonial organization.

On the eve of Angola's independence in November 1975, UNITA openly allied with invading South African troops, who hoped to prevent the MPLA from coming to power in Luanda, the capital. The invasion was defeated, however, thanks to the assistance of tens of thousands of Cuban internationalist volunteers, who helped the MPLA troops drive the South African forces out of Angola in early 1976.

But Pretoria has not ended its aggression against Angola. The apartheid rulers fear the continued example of Angola's democratic revolution. They are also concerned about the MPLA government's support to both the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for the independence of South African-ruled Namibia.

Seeking to destabilize and eventually overthrow the Angolan government, Pretoria has repeatedly sent army and air force units across the border into southern Angola to bomb villages, destroy factories and bridges, and attack Namibian refugee camps. Because of these unrelenting attacks, the Angolan government has requested the continued assistance of Cuban volunteers, to serve as a back-up line of defense against the apartheid armed forces.

UNITA plays a key role in Pretoria's campaign. Following the MPLA victory in 1976, the remnants of UNITA were reorganized at South African army bases in Namibia and sent back into Angola to carry out sabotage and terrorist actions. They have murdered and displaced thousands of villagers, destroyed many schools and health clinics, and disrupted economic life.

Combined South African and UNITA attacks have caused more than US\$10 billion in damages.

Although UNITA has caused much damage, its role is subordinate to Pretoria's. Its only

stable bases are near the border with Namibia, from where it receives arms and food, as well as direct South African logistical support.

"Without Pretoria's help, Savimbi couldn't last a month," declared Angolan ambassador to the United Nations Elisio de Figueiredo. "Savimbi is South Africa."

Speaking before the United Nations General Assembly in October 1985, Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos made a similar point, countering the claims that UNITA represents one side in a "civil war."

"What is going on in Angola is not by any means a civil war," dos Santos said. "The People's Republic of Angola is in fact the victim of a war of aggression being waged against it by the regular forces of the racist regime of South Africa, which uses and commands UNITA's puppet gangs to achieve its goals."

In fact, UNITA and Pretoria make no secret of their close ties. Savimbi was a prominent guest at Pieter Botha's inauguration as South African president in 1984. During Savimbi's U.S. visit, he boldly declared on a television program, "I consider the executive president of South Africa as my friend, if it shocks you or not."

The extent of UNITA's dependence on direct South African backing was highlighted by a major Angolan government offensive against UNITA forces in Mavinga, in southeastern Angola, in late 1985. The offensive inflicted hundreds of casualties on UNITA and continued to make major advances until South African jet fighters entered the battle to save UNITA from a more crushing defeat.

Debate on U.S. arms aid

In anticipation of another such Angolan government drive following the onset of the dry season in March or April, Savimbi has appealed for direct U.S. military assistance.

The U.S. authorities have clearly indicated their interest in providing such assistance. In late 1985, Congress, at the White House's urging, repealed the 1975 Clark Amendment, which had prohibited any aid to UNITA or other antigovernment forces in Angola.

Since the amendment's repeal, several bills have been proposed in the Senate and House calling for open U.S. assistance to UNITA, including military aid. These bills have been sponsored and supported by both Republicans and Democrats.

A month before Savimbi's arrival, Reagan gave formal notice to the House of Representatives and Senate intelligence committees that his administration is considering allocating between \$10 million and \$15 million in covert CIA funds to UNITA.

These moves have stirred up a debate in Washington over whether, and in what form, U.S. assistance should be given to Savimbi's gangs. The White House has publicly opposed the congressional bills calling for open aid to UNITA, pressing instead for covert CIA assistance. But when Reagan presented the covert aid proposal to the House Select Committee on Intelligence, it provoked "sharp division," according to a source quoted in the Feb-

ruary 8 *New York Times*. The committee was reported to have asked Reagan to reconsider the proposal.

One factor underlying these tactical disputes is the impact aid to UNITA would have on U.S. interests elsewhere in Africa. Savimbi's visit to Washington and the congressional proposals to fund UNITA have already drawn protests from many quarters in Africa, including from proimperialist government officials.

In November 1985, some 100 House members wrote to Reagan, arguing, "U.S. involvement in this conflict, whether direct or indirect, covert or overt, would damage our relations with governments throughout Africa and undermine fundamental U.S. policy objectives in southern Africa."

Another key factor obstructing Washington's efforts to openly support UNITA is the domestic opposition such a move would arouse. Given the persistent anti-apartheid protests that have been taking place across the United States over the past year, the administration would have to pay a high political price for directly backing a group so clearly identified as a surrogate of the apartheid regime.

The efforts by the White House and right-wing organizations to promote Savimbi during his visit met with opposition. The Congressional Black Caucus denounced the tour, as did a petition signed by 500 university educators with backgrounds in African affairs. Officials of the AFL-CIO union federation refused to meet with Savimbi. Some critical articles appeared in major U.S. papers, exposing aspects of UNITA's South African-backed terrorist operations.

Whether or not a decision is made to directly ship U.S. arms to UNITA, Savimbi's visit marks a significant escalation of U.S. government involvement in the efforts to destabilize Angola. At the very least, it paves the way for further concrete measures.

One of these may be increased pressure on U.S. corporations doing business in Angola to pull out. At a news conference the day before Savimbi's arrival, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker hinted broadly that Chevron Oil Co. — whose subsidiary, Gulf Oil, has major operations in Angola — should quit that country. He claimed that its Angolan operations ran counter to "U.S. national interests."

If Gulf were compelled to pull out, it would be a big economic blow to Angola, which now gets 90 percent of its export earnings from oil sales. Gulf's operations are the largest of any foreign oil company in Angola, last year providing Angola with \$600 million in taxes and royalties.

Statements like Crocker's also provide political cover for actual military attacks on Angola's oil facilities. In May 1985, a South African commando unit was intercepted by Angolan troops as it attempted to blow up some Gulf storage tanks, and during his visit Savimbi publicly threatened to attack them.

In face of such new aggressive moves by Washington — coming on top of the continued South African and UNITA attacks — the An-

golan government and people are further mobilizing to defend their country, arms in hand.

Angola rejects demands

And while the Angolan government has indicated its readiness to also continue discussions with both Washington and Pretoria, it has reaffirmed its opposition to the key demands they have raised in previous talks.

President dos Santos rejected the frequent demand that Cuban troops be withdrawn from Angola, stating that their presence is necessary as long as South African attacks continue. "We cannot accept conditions that endanger our sovereignty and integrity," he said just before

Savimbi's arrival in Washington.

Official Angolan statements have likewise reiterated Luanda's rejection of any coalition government with UNITA.

The Angolan authorities have reaffirmed their support for the struggles led by the ANC and SWAPO. "Liberty for the People's Republic of Angola is also the liberty of the people of Namibia and South Africa from the yoke of white minority power in Pretoria," a statement by the Angolan news agency declared. "The Angolan people will never abdicate their principled stand no matter what the level of interference by their declared enemy: international imperialism." □

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Popular upsurge brings down tyranny

Masses celebrate Duvalier's flight, demand democratic freedoms

By Will Reissner

When Haiti's President-for-Life Jean-Claude Duvalier boarded the U.S. Air Force C-141 that took him to exile on February 7, the downfall of his government marked a tremendous victory for the nearly 6 million inhabitants of that impoverished Caribbean country.

Jean-Claude Duvalier took over as Haiti's president in 1971, at the age of 19, upon the death of his father, François Duvalier, who founded the family dynasty in 1957. François Duvalier, too, had been president-for-life in his time.

In the nearly three decades of family rule, the Duvaliers amassed a fortune estimated at somewhere between US\$200 million and \$500 million, while ruling over the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. They governed through widespread terror and repression, seeking to stifle all expressions of opposition.

When the Nicaraguan people, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), overthrew the Somoza dynasty in 1979, the Duvalier regime became the second-oldest surviving dictatorship in the Americas, surpassed only by Gen. Alfredo Stroessner's regime in Paraguay, which has ruled since 1954.

Youth revolt

Duvalier's dictatorship had been undermined by a growing tide of popular protests that began in late 1985 in the town of Gonaïves. Thousands of unemployed youths took to the streets there on November 27 and 28 shouting "Down with Duvalier" and breaking into government food warehouses.

Police killed three demonstrators, which sparked new protests and spurred what came to be known as the "youth revolt," as students in other cities demonstrated in support of the Gonaïves protesters.

Within weeks the protests had spread to Jérémie, Jacmel, Les Cayes, Petit-Goâves, and Cap-Haïtien, the country's second-largest city.

Duvalier made unsuccessful attempts to stem the protests by closing the schools and shutting down radio stations that reported on the demonstrations.

From the early days of the Duvalier dynasty, the regime relied on a paramilitary force of killers and thugs to maintain its power. The population called this force Tontons Macoutes ("bogeymen" in the Haitian French Creole language). In the parlance of the regime, they were Volunteers for National Security.

This force had effectively terrorized the population for nearly three decades, crushing all opposition forces and murdering thousands.

But as the wave of protests grew, the Ton-

tons Macoutes began to lose control of the situation, particularly outside the capital, Port-au-Prince.

In its January 25 edition, the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that in small towns throughout Haiti, where everyone knows everyone else, fear of the Tontons Macoutes was evaporating.

The French paper reported that the Tontons Macoutes themselves were less and less willing to confront the demonstrators. *Le Monde's* reporter noted that in one Tontons Macoutes headquarters he visited, orders had been posted requiring all Tontons Macoutes to wear their uniforms every day. This order, he stated, was aimed at preventing the force from melting away at a time when the population was "less and less inclined toward forgiveness."

On January 29, in Cap-Haïtien, 40,000 of the city's 75,000 people gathered for an all-day demonstration demanding Duvalier's resignation.

In an announcement that was one week premature, U.S. presidential spokesman Larry Speakes told reporters on January 31 that Duvalier had fled the country.

Duvalier responded by going on television and radio to confirm that he was still in Haiti and still in charge, and announced that he was imposing a state of siege on the country.

But in the week between the declaration of the state of siege and Duvalier's flight, protests against his regime continued to spread. In response Duvalier unleashed the Tontons Macoutes. "The Tontons Macoutes are not playing anymore — they are killing people," one Haitian told James Brooke of the *New York Times*.

Even the capital city, which had been the last stronghold of the repressive apparatus, began to slip from Duvalier's control. Church officials blasted the repression. Businesses heeded calls to close in protest of Duvalier's rule. Leaflets circulated calling for a general strike to begin February 12.

The traditional three-day pre-Lenten carnival, scheduled to start February 9, gave every indication of turning into a gigantic nationwide protest against the regime.

It became clear to everyone in Haiti, including Duvalier, that the regime could not survive the crisis. The question became not whether Duvalier would fall, but when.

Duvalier's decision to flee the country was greeted with outpourings of joy in Haiti's cities and countryside and in Haitian-exile communities abroad.

But that joy was tempered by bitterness that the dictator had escaped being brought to justice for his crimes against the Haitian people.

"The world should hunt Duvalier down and execute him," a young man in Port-au-Prince told the *New York Times*. There was no need to hunt for Duvalier, however. He was safely ensconced in a luxurious French Alpine resort, while he waited for word on his final place of refuge.

Duvalier's mansions sacked

Unable to get their hands on Jean-Claude Duvalier, Haitians vented their anger on symbols of the dynastic regime. The marble tomb of François Duvalier was destroyed by an angry crowd.

Thongs sacked Duvalier-family estates around the country. Those estates reflected the sumptuous lifestyle of the ruling group.

In early November, Jean-Claude Duvalier's wife had gone on a widely publicized shopping spree in Paris, London, and New York, reportedly spending several million dollars before returning home to a country where the per capita annual income last year was only \$380.

The homes of close associates of the regime were pillaged. Viewing the interior of a mansion owned by one Duvalier sister-in-law, a Haitian bitterly commented, "So here's where all our taxes went."

Businesses owned by the dictator's father-in-law and other associates were gutted.

The 15,000 Tontons Macoutes became another target of the people's rage. On the day Duvalier fled, about a dozen Tontons Macoutes were killed by angry crowds. In the affluent Port-au-Prince suburb of Pétienville, the homes of 25 Tontons Macoutes were attacked in the first 24 hours after Duvalier departed.

The Macoutes, however, remained heavily armed and inflicted numerous casualties of their own for a few days after Duvalier left. One doctor in Port-au-Prince's public hospital noted that, of the hundreds of casualties being treated there, most of those suffering from gunshot wounds were victims of the Tontons Macoutes. In contrast, most injured Tontons Macoutes had been beaten, clubbed, or stabbed.

Fighting between civilians and heavily-armed Tontons Macoutes was also reported in Cap-Haïtien and Gonaïves after Duvalier's departure.

In a number of cases, army troops came to the rescue of besieged Macoutes. "We do not yet have orders to disband the militia," one army officer said of the Tontons Macoutes on February 8. Dissolution of the force was finally announced on February 10, touching off new waves of celebrations.

During church services on February 9, the archbishop of Port-au-Prince called on the

population to forgive their oppressors. "We do not have the right to hate anyone, even those people we call our enemies or the enemies of our nation," said Archbishop François Ligonde.

Many Haitians, however, were unreceptive to that message. One young woman told a foreign journalist that this was not the time for forgiving the Macoutes. "We're not crazy; we know what we are doing. God will understand," she stated.

Duvalier's departure has unleashed tremendous hopes for an improvement in the living conditions and democratic rights of Haiti's impoverished workers and peasants.

Clandestine trade union organizers have already begun to surface and function openly. The February 9 *Miami Herald* reported that the formerly clandestine Independent Haitian Workers' League is beginning to function openly. A leader, Aubrey Miracle, stated the group will try to open a public office.

Thousands of Haitian exiles began making plans to return from the United States, Canada, the Bahamas, other Caribbean islands, and France.

New regime hand-picked by Duvalier

The new regime that took over from Duvalier, however, is ill-equipped to satisfy those hopes and expectations. In fact, the six-member National Council of Government was personally selected by Duvalier eight hours before he boarded the U.S. military plane that took him into exile.

The new head of the ruling council, Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, served as armed forces chief of staff until the moment Jean-Claude Duvalier promoted him to chief of state.

According to a report by Edward Cody in the February 10 *Washington Post*, once Duvalier had made the final arrangements to depart, he "sat down at a desk and, with a pen, began a list of those he wanted on the ruling

council that would follow him.

"Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, then chief of staff and now council president, was first on the list . . . and second was Col. William Regala, then armed forces inspector general and now minister of interior and national defense."

After that, reported Cody, Duvalier "scratched on three more names: Col. Max Valles [head of the presidential guard], Gérard Gourgue, and Alix Cinéas."

Finally, Duvalier added a sixth name to the list, Col. Prosper Avril, a close ally of Duvalier's wife's family.

Immediately after Gen. Namphy's appointment as head of the council, he "turned to his first task as ruler of Haiti: organizing Duvalier's escape from the presidential palace to the airport," Cody reported.

Four of the six members of the ruling council were military officers under Duvalier. A fifth, Alix Cinéas, had served in Duvalier's cabinet.

Only Gérard Gourgue, a founder of the Haitian League of Human Rights, is not intimately connected with the deposed dynasty. But, as Joseph Treaster noted in the February 9 *New York Times*, even Gourgue "was not a particularly outspoken critic of the Duvalier Government."

This six-man body then appointed an interim cabinet that is heavily loaded with old-line Duvalier supporters. Some posts are occupied by the same people who filled those positions under Duvalier.

According to the February 11 *New York Times*, in Gonaïves, where the wave of demonstrations against Duvalier began, petitions are already circulating protesting the inclusion of Duvalier supporters in the new cabinet.

The new government has also been slow to open the international airport to regular traffic. The *Times* reported that "Haitians close to the new Government" had explained that "the new Government feared that new disorders might



Haitians pour into streets to celebrate dictatorship's downfall.

be touched off by an influx of Haitian exiles, including several with political ambitions who have expressed concern that some members of the interim Government held key positions under Mr. Duvalier."

While the new government's aim is to try to bring the popular upsurge under control, it has so far not succeeded, and has been compelled to make concessions to the masses. Besides declaring the abolition of the Tontons Macoutes, it has freed several dozen political prisoners and has promised further democratic freedoms.

On February 10 General Namphy pledged "to work for the blooming of real and functional democracy founded on absolute respect for human rights, press freedom, the existence of free labor unions, and the functioning of structured political parties."

Washington's role

Although Washington long provided key financial and political support for the Duvalier dynasty, the Reagan administration began taking its distance from Jean-Claude Duvalier in late 1985, when it became clear that the dictatorship was facing a growing crisis.

As far back as September 1985, the Reagan administration began pressing Duvalier to implement reforms before he lost control of the situation. That month the International Monetary Fund, with the open backing of the U.S. government, told Duvalier's regime that a \$12 million loan to Haiti would not be issued due to the government's noncompliance with an earlier loan agreement.

This financial squeeze by the IMF was seen by international bankers as an expression of Washington's lack of confidence in Duvalier's dictatorship and led to a wave of foreclosures by private banks with outstanding loans to Haiti.

As the tide of protests against Duvalier mounted, the Reagan administration stepped up its financial pressures on the Haitian dictatorship in an attempt to convince it to carry out some reforms.

On January 30, the administration announced it was delaying certification of human

Exiles see new beginning

In all the large centers of Haitian exiles, demonstrations of joy marked the overthrow of the Duvalier regime.

In Montreal a meeting of more than 1,000 exiles took place on February 8 to celebrate the end of the Duvalier regime and solidarize with the popular upheaval. The crowd thundered approval for calls for the total defeat of the Tontons Macoutes and warnings against U.S. intervention.

In Miami thousands gathered in front of the Haitian Refugee Center in an all-day celebration that lasted until midnight. Many participants called for closing the Krome Avenue detention center, in which many Haitian refugees are being held for illegal entry into the United States.

Intense discussions of the future of post-Duvalier Haiti took place, with a variety of

views expressed.

In Boston 75 Haitian activists took over the Haitian consulate on the morning of February 7, removing portraits of Duvalier and other artifacts of the regime.

Two days later more than 1,500 Haitians jammed a Boston-area church for a memorial mass for 50,000 countrymen murdered during the Duvalier era.

In New York thousands of Haitians gathered in Brooklyn on February 8 to celebrate the fall of the former president-for-life.

In Paris several hundred people demonstrated on February 8 near the Haitian embassy to protest Duvalier's presence in France. Speakers also demanded the release of all political prisoners and trials for the Tontons Macoutes.

rights progress in Haiti. Such certification was necessary for the release of further installments of the \$52 million in foreign aid allocated to that country for fiscal 1986. The move effectively left \$26 million in aid frozen.

By this time, Washington was convinced that Duvalier had to go. Under circumstances that have not yet been adequately explained, U.S. presidential spokesman Larry Speakes made his stunning January 31 announcement that Duvalier had already left Haiti.

Whatever deal had been patched together — either Duvalier's agreement to go voluntarily or the Haitian military's agreement to depose him — came unstuck.

Duvalier went on television and radio to announce he was still in Haiti and still in charge. His imposition of a state of siege, however, did

not end domestic protests or external pressures.

On February 3, Secretary of State George Shultz publicly voiced the administration's dissatisfaction with Duvalier and signaled its desire for his replacement.

One week after imposing the state of siege, Duvalier met with U.S. Ambassador Clayton McManaway and agreed to leave. He asked for U.S. transportation for himself and his family out of Haiti, which was provided.

Although Washington hopes that the six-man council named by Duvalier can control the situation in Haiti, it is taking further steps to act directly if need be. The CBS television network reported that the Pentagon has drawn up contingency plans to land U.S. troops in Haiti if the new government is unable to main-

tain order.

U.S. Marines previously occupied Haiti from 1915 to 1934.

Washington hopes, however, that the Reagan administration's public distance-taking from Duvalier in the final months of his rule has blunted Haitian anger at decades of U.S. support for the regime.

The U.S. government also announced it will give "careful consideration" to any request from Haiti for emergency economic aid.

U.S. officials are concerned, however, that "returning Haitian exiles could begin vying for power," according to the February 10 *Wall Street Journal*. Washington is worried, wrote *Journal* reporter Robert Greenberger, that some of the exiles have been "radicalized" during their stay in the United States. □

Life under the Duvalier dictatorship

A proimperialist regime based on terror and exploitation

By Selva Nebbia

[The following article, slightly adapted, is taken from the February 17 issue of the U.S. Spanish-language revolutionary socialist fortnightly *Perspectiva Mundial*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Why did the people of Haiti rebel against the regime of Jean-Claude Duvalier?

Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere and one of the poorest in the world. Per capita income stands at US\$270 per year. Three out of every four Haitians live below the official poverty level of \$150 per year.

Some 80 percent of the population is illiterate. According to World Health Organization figures, 73 percent of the children and 50 percent of the adults suffer from malnutrition. The infant mortality rate is 130 per 1,000 live births. (In the United States the rate is less than 15.) Life expectancy is only 45 years.

These chilling figures illustrate the abject poverty in which the 6 million Blacks who inhabit this small Caribbean country live.

Duvalier: a royal lifestyle

But not everyone lives in poverty in Haiti. "President for Life" Jean-Claude Duvalier and his wife, Michele, lived like royalty in a sumptuous palace. Their wedding cost more than \$2 million. Michele Duvalier enjoys frequent shopping trips to France.

In addition to their palace, the Duvaliers owned a ranch, two country houses, and a chalet in the mountains.

They were part of the oligarchy, the 1 percent of the population that — according to the World Bank — receives more than 40 percent of the country's income.

For the past 28 years the country lived under the dictatorship of the Duvalier family. Jean-

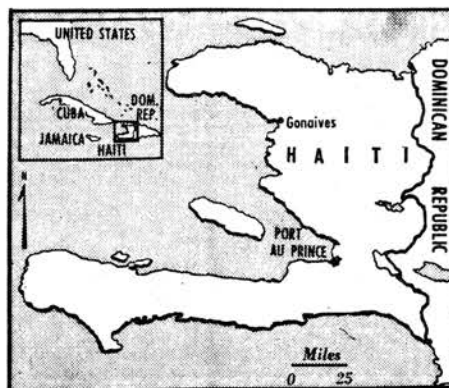
Claude Duvalier, known as "Baby Doc," who has now fled the country, inherited power from his father, François Duvalier, or "Papa Doc," who became president in 1957 and proclaimed himself "president for life" seven years later. Before his death in 1971, François Duvalier named his son as his successor.

For the past three decades the Duvalier dynasty received the support of Democratic and Republican administrations in Washington.

The succession from Papa Doc to Baby Doc was overseen by the U.S. ambassador in Haiti, Clinton Knox, a good friend of the elder tyrant.

To insure a smooth transition, Knox officially requested that the U.S. State Department dispatch warships to Haiti's territorial waters to prevent infiltration by exiled opponents of the regime who could "disturb" the country's peace.

Washington provided Jean-Claude Duvalier with technical advisers to train his army and repressive forces. It also sent arms, patrol boats, and helicopters to strengthen the regime's military apparatus.



The U.S. government provided the dictatorship with abundant economic aid. François Duvalier's regime received \$100 million in its first six years alone. His son received some \$50 million annually, with which he not only built up his power, but also increased his enormous private fortune.

The Duvalier dynasty remained in power by keeping the population in a state of terror. The Haitian people lacked the most basic democratic rights. There was no right to union organization. Political parties, which were illegal under Papa Doc, could exist under Baby Doc only if they come out in favor of Jean-Claude Duvalier's lifetime presidency and his right to choose his successor.

Torture, arbitrary arrests, political assassinations, and disappearances were commonly practiced by the regime.

The dictatorship maintained strict control over the mass media and persecuted anyone who dared to make the slightest criticism.

Although the regime orchestrated legislative elections in 1979 and 1984 and carried out the first municipal elections in 25 years in 1983, it did not permit the election of any opposition candidates, with the exception of a single deputy in 1979.

A few months before the February 1984 elections, Sylvio Claude, president of the Christian Democratic Party, was jailed along with other opponents of the regime and possible candidates. Others were forced into exile.

Claude stated that he was beaten and tortured while in jail.

Nevertheless, on Jan. 30, 1985, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz told the U.S. Congress that the Duvalier government "is making a concerted and significant effort to improve the human rights situation in Haiti, by implementing the political reforms which are essential to the development of democracy in Haiti."

Shultz added that these elections represented

"continued progress" toward the "eventual goal of democratization."

Tontons Macoutes

In order to maintain its iron grip, the regime relied not only on the official army and the police. It also used a paramilitary army called the Volunteers for National Security (VSN). Better known as the Tontons Macoutes, this paramilitary force sowed terror among Haitian working people in the countryside and in the cities.

It is estimated that the VSN has more than 9,000 members. The Tontons Macoutes were organized by François Duvalier with the help of U.S. military advisers.

The Tontons Macoutes operated as a virtual occupation army. Each zone, each neighborhood, had its Tontons Macoutes. Together with the police, they functioned as torturers and goons. In addition, they practiced extortion and used their power to enrich themselves.

According to a 1982 report submitted by a human rights committee to the Organization of American States:

"In Port-au-Prince [the capital city] the security forces extort excessive taxes from small merchants and seize their merchandise. Haitians interviewed report that *macoutes* sometimes simply enter stores and take what they want while refusing to pay.

"In the countryside, where 80 percent of Haiti's population resides, security forces extort cash or crops and seize land with virtual impunity. . . . Resistance to demands of the security forces . . . will only bring greater difficulties and arbitrary punishment."

Large U.S. interests

The Duvalier dictatorship also protected the interests of the capitalist rulers of the United States. Washington has big political as well as economic interests in Haiti.

Its location in the Caribbean basin and its close proximity to Cuba make Haiti strategically important to Washington.

The aim of U.S. policy in the Caribbean, especially since the victory of the Cuban revolution and later the Nicaraguan revolution and other revolutionary events in the region, has been to prevent the rise of any movement of the oppressed peoples.

In addition, Haiti has been turned into a paradise for U.S. investors. With an unemployment rate conservatively estimated at 50 percent of the work force, a minimum wage of \$3 per day, a terrorized working class that has no unions or laws to protect it and no right to strike, and no limit on the work day or requirement for overtime pay, the atmosphere is very conducive to extracting high profits.

In recent years more than 250 U.S. companies have set up shop in Haiti. In addition to the low wages, they enjoy extensive tax exemptions and favorable terms for the export of their products to the U.S. market.

The majority of the U.S. companies are garment and toy manufacturers. Thousands of stuffed animals are shipped from Haiti to the

United States each month.

In addition, nearly all the baseballs used in the United States come from Haiti, where they are hand-sewn by women who must produce at least 24 balls per day to earn their \$3 daily wage. Among the sporting goods companies functioning in Haiti are MacGregor Athletic Co. and Rawlings Sporting Goods. On the U.S. market, Rawlings baseballs sell for more than \$5 apiece.

Other U.S. companies attracted by the superexploitation of the Haitian workers are Gulf + Western, which has a factory that produces blue jeans, and electronics companies such as GTE Sylvania.

Crisis in countryside

Nevertheless, Haiti remains basically an agricultural country. More than 75 percent of its population resides in rural areas. The majority of the rural population lacks land. It is estimated that 66 percent of the arable land is in the hands of big landlords, who represent less than 2 percent of the total population.

The cultivation of coffee, Haiti's main export product, for example, is controlled by 25 families. Out of these, 5 families control half the production.

Small peasants with their own plots are relegated to the worst land, without the resources or implements to produce enough to survive. Thousands of peasants have been displaced from the countryside and forced into the shantytowns of the cities.

More than 20,000 Haitians take part in an annual seasonal migration to the neighboring Dominican Republic. There they work under conditions of near slavery, from 4:30 in the morning until 6:00 at night, for starvation wages.

The Haitian cane cutters in the Dominican Republic are subjected to subhuman conditions in labor camps where they are virtual prisoners of the employers until the end of the harvest, at which point they are forced to return to their country.

This arrangement is the result of a contract between the Haitian and Dominican governments. The Duvalier regime was paid a fee for each laborer sent to the Dominican sugar harvest.

The Dominican government also allowed the Tontons Macoutes to operate freely on its territory against Haitians. The chairman of the Dominican Committee for the Defense of Human Rights recently charged that 1,500 Tontons Macoutes were present in the Dominican Republic.

Thousands of Haitians have also risked their lives crossing the Caribbean Sea in small boats in hopes of making it to the United States, to escape the economic exploitation and political repression in their country.

The U.S. government, through the U.S. Coast Guard and Immigration and Naturalization Service, has subjected thousands of Haitians who reached the United States to inhumane treatment in detention camps.

Although many have been forced to return to Haiti, it is estimated that in the state of

Florida alone there are some 60,000 Haitian refugees. There they have to take the worst jobs and suffer racial discrimination.

Despite this, many families in Haiti depend for their survival on the money sent by family members working in the United States.

The U.S. government's refusal to grant these refugees the status of political exiles, which would permit them to remain in the United States legally, was another aspect of Washington's political support to the Duvalier dictatorship.

One of the reasons given by the U.S. government in 1984 to justify its granting of continued economic aid to Haiti, despite the lack of democratic rights there, was that "the government of Haiti is providing full cooperation to the United States on halting illegal emigration."

Squeezed by IMF

Like the rest of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, Haiti is in debt to the big imperialist banks, especially U.S. banks.

When Haiti was unable to continue meeting its debt payments in 1984, the International Monetary Fund insisted that Duvalier impose an austerity program.

According to the then-minister of the economy, Frantz Merceran, the government had already reduced its expenditures by more than 25 percent in the two previous years.

In 1984 a U.S. government official stated that the Haitian government had previously made "impressive fiscal progress," but that following the hunger protests in May and June of that year, it had "overreacted" and spent too much money on rice and sugar, exceeding the limits decreed by the IMF.

In contrast to the image presented by the U.S. mass media, the people of Haiti are not servile and docile by nature. They have a rich history of struggle that goes back more than two centuries.

Haiti was the first Latin American republic, winning its independence from France in 1804. The struggle to abolish slavery, led by ex-slave Toussaint L'Ouverture, was the only successful slave revolt in history and grew into the revolution that led to the formation of the first republic in a predominantly Black country in the world.

Between 1915 and 1934 struggles took place against the U.S. military occupation of Haiti.

And during the 28 years of Duvalier-family rule many protests took place despite the detentions, murders, exile, torture, and terror against the people.

In the 1960s a wave of strikes by workers and students, partially inspired by the Cuban revolution, was brutally repressed.

The tight control that the Duvalier government exercised over the mass media did not prevent the spread of important protests against hunger and poverty in recent years, especially in rural areas.

These same conditions of hunger and terror have given rise to the present rebellion of the Haitian people, which has brought down the Duvalier dictatorship. □

What was behind the bloodbath?

Factional cliques place own interests above those of revolution

By Doug Jenness

The armed battle in South Yemen that began on January 13 has ended for the time being. After 12 days of fierce fighting, in which up to 13,000 people may have been killed, the supporters of President Ali Nasser Mohammed al-Hassani were defeated. Prime Minister Haider Abu Bakr al-Attas was named provisional president on January 24.

The first foreign journalists to get into the country after the armed conflict began arrived on January 28. They reported that the fighting was over and a major effort was under way to clean up the massive damage. The port in Aden, the nation's capital, has been reopened; air service has resumed; and water and electric service have been restored.

In order to show that they had assumed control over the country, government officials took the reporters to Abyan, the province that is Ali Nasser Mohammed's home region.

In an interview with four foreign journalists on January 31, Provisional President al-Attas stated that the new administration of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) did not plan to radically change the country's foreign policy. "We will make our best efforts," he said, "to consolidate our relations with our brothers in Northern Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and the six states of the Gulf Cooperation Council." The Gulf Cooperation Council includes Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates.

This policy continues the course Ali Nasser Mohammed had been following for the past few years.

The provisional president also emphasized that firm ties with the Soviet Union, one of the PDRY's closest allies, would be retained.

Shortly after the new administration was set up, the first plane loads of emergency medical and food supplies arrived from the Soviet Union. The Soviet government also took steps to immediately supply the PDRY armed forces with arms to replace the weapons destroyed in the fighting.

On February 2 PDRY officials urged Moscow to return its engineers and advisers to South Yemen to work on agricultural and industrial development projects that were halted during the fighting. The Soviet Union is estimated to have evacuated 4,000 Soviet citizens when the bloodbath began.

In response to a question from reporters about relations with the U.S. government, Salim Saleh Mohammed, a leading secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party's (YSP) Central Committee, stated that "the United States does not respect our national sovereignty, interferes in our domestic affairs, and stands against the

interests of the Arab nations and our central just cause, the Palestinian issue." Diplomatic relations between Washington and the PDRY were severed in 1969.

The January 13 massacre

Since the fighting ended, more accounts have been presented about the events on January 13 that sparked nearly two weeks of fratricidal warfare.

According to officials of the present administration, President Ali Nasser Mohammed had summoned the YSP's Political Bureau to a special meeting scheduled for 10:00 a.m. that day. But the president himself did not attend. Instead he traveled to his stronghold in the Abyan region with some supporters, including four other members of the Political Bureau.

But six Political Bureau members did assemble in the meeting room. The president's personal guards opened fire with automatic weapons, killing three of them — Vice-president Ali Ahmed Nasser Antar, Defense Minister Saleh Muslih Qassim, and Ali Shayi Hadi, head of the party's discipline committee.

Other guards are said to have intervened to stop the assassins. During this shootout, three Political Bureau members escaped to an office in the same building where they used telephones to appeal to the armed forces for help. The three who escaped assassination were: Abdel Fattah Ismail, a central party figure for many years and former president of the PDRY; Ali Salem al-Beedh, minister of local administration; and Salim Saleh Mohammed. Ismail and Antar were the main leaders of the opposition to Ali Nasser Mohammed.

At first, Ismail's fate following his escape from the meeting room was shrouded in mystery and conflicting rumors. But on February 10 al-Beedh stated that Ismail had been killed just a few hours after the assassination attempt, as an armored vehicle he was riding in was destroyed. "The vehicle was incinerated and this has lately come to the knowledge of the party leaders in the course of investigation," al-Beedh said.

While the shooting of the Political Bureau members was taking place, army commanders and officials of other organizations who supported the president rounded up critics of his government and assassinated them. Among those killed then or later in the fighting were 50 high-ranking party leaders, including a total of 12 Central Committee members.

Fighting then became widespread between supporters of the two rival groupings in the party leadership. Both sides in this country of 2 million people were able to draw on support from significant forces, including from parts of

the army, navy, and air force. Tanks, artillery, rocket launchers, and naval gunboats were called into the conflict.

The fiercest fighting took place in the first couple of days, with the most casualties occurring during that time. The tide turned in favor of Ali Nasser Mohammed's opponents when middle layers of the army came over to their side.

Provisional president appointed

The YSP Central Committee, minus Ali Nasser Mohammed's faction, met on January 24 and approved al-Attas as provisional president.

Al-Attas had been in New Delhi, India, when the fighting broke out. From there he flew to Moscow for consultations with Soviet officials and negotiations with supporters of Ali Nasser Mohammed. He did not return to South Yemen until January 25 to assume his new position. Foreign Minister Abdel Aziz al-Dali also participated in the Moscow meetings and returned to Aden with al-Attas.

The mediations in Moscow included a representative from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Although Ali Nasser Mohammed himself was invited to discuss a cease-fire he did not come.

After seeing his forces were losing, Ali Nasser Mohammed left South Yemen, going to the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa to seek support, as well as to Sanaa, the capital of North Yemen.

The January 24 Central Committee meeting stripped him and several of his key supporters of their positions in the government and expelled them from the party. The body voted to put the former president on trial for "the crimes he committed against our people, revolution, and vanguard YSP."

When the shooting first began, the Soviet government seemed to be backing Ali Nasser Mohammed, but very quickly it began trying to mediate the conflict. By January 23 it had announced its backing to a leadership combination that included both Ali Nasser Mohammed's opponents and figures like al-Attas.

According to a report in the Kuwait daily *Al Qabas*, "The Soviet leadership played a basic role in convincing the coupists to accept al-Attas . . . as a temporary chairman of state and to keep him in this position after the security situation in various parts of the country is brought under control, on the basis that al-Attas believes in the open-door policy toward neighboring Arab states, particularly Saudi Arabia, Oman, and the YAR [North Yemen]."

Los Angeles Times reporter Michael Ross wrote from Aden on January 29 that "one

knowledgeable source" described al-Attas "as a 'compromise interim figure' while the new government, which is being called the 'collective leadership,' is being formed."

Ali Nasser Mohammed's evaluation

On January 24 Ali Nasser Mohammed issued a statement presenting his view of the events. It appeared in *Al-Ittihad*, published in the United Arab Emirates capital of Abu Dhabi, with a dateline from Sanaa.

Ali Nasser Mohammed said the differences in the YSP leadership had been developing for several years. The latest efforts to contain the conflicts, he stated, occurred at the party's third congress in October 1985. "Instead of overlooking differences and starting a new phase in favor of the unification of the party and the people," he said, "a phase of open conspiracy to seize power and terminate the results of the third congress began."

He charged his rivals, who apparently had a majority on the Political Bureau, with attempting to use their position "to make changes in leadership powers."

These powers, he stated, were the prerogative of the Central Committee, which the "separatists," as he called his opponents, refused to convene. He asserted that the "separatists" were planning a military coup and had already deployed tanks and various arms around the capital.

On January 12, he said, he attempted "to persuade the separatists to continue the dialogue and search for suitable solutions to the issues in question. But they refused this. They also refused the mediation offer of the Lebanese Communist Party" and "of other fraternal parties," he claimed.

After these attempts failed, the former president declared, pre-emptive action was taken on January 13 "to apprehend [the] plotters, and to urge the party bodies to expose the conspiracy and foil it."

He announced that after nearly two weeks of violent conflict his forces had responded to a call for a cease-fire in order "to find a political solution." He stated that he had responded "to the appeal of the Soviet comrades for a dialogue."

Since this statement was made there have been no end of rumors in the press that Ali Nasser Mohammed's supporters are organizing a military force to resume the battle. So far no evidence has been produced confirming this.

Central Committee's assessment

The YSP Central Committee meeting on January 24 also issued a statement. It charged that during the period following the October party congress, Ali Nasser Mohammed "intentionally worked to delay Political Bureau and Central Committee Secretariat activity. This prompted the Political Bureau to insist on activating the work of the leading and primary party organs. . . ."

The current Central Committee criticized the ousted president for "unlimited arrogance and selfishness, foolishly presenting himself as



an alternative to the party, and placing himself above its leading organs."

The former president, the Central Committee stated, had deviated "from the party principles specified in the internal system which are defined in democratic centralization, collective leadership, criticism, and self-criticism."

Since Ali Nasser Mohammed assumed the presidency in 1980, the declaration charged, "he deviated from our party's economic policy toward the extreme right and pursued a devastating economic policy that permitted unlimited parasitic economic activity."

The statement condemned the plot to "physically liquidate the collective leadership of the YSP" as something done in league with "imperialist and reactionary circles." It was "similar to the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea and the fascist regime in Chile," the Central Committee asserted.

Secret factionalism gone wild

Both declarations — the YSP Central Committee's and Ali Nasser Mohammed's — offer a glimpse of the leadership practices in South Yemen's governing party.

Most notably, neither side explained clearly its political views in these documents or in any other statements. Even after thousands of people, many of them members of the same political party, died in a fratricidal conflict, no fundamental political differences have been explicitly raised. Working people in South Yemen, not to speak of those in other countries, remain in the dark about what policy differences were involved.

Different positions were not put before the membership or the country's mass organizations of workers and peasants to discuss, vote on, and test in practice. Instead, there was gossip and intrigue against political rivals, who were characterized as "separatists," "reactionaries," and "individualists."

The leadership of the YSP has been composed of factional cliques, which place their clique interests above those of the party and Yemen's workers and peasants.

Conflicts in the leadership of the party have been frequent and have usually been settled

through administrative and coercive means. Before the violent conflict that has just occurred, the most serious rift came in June 1978, when Aden was shaken by several days of street battles.

Salem Robea Ali, the president at that time, was accused of having attempted a coup; he was deposed and executed. Ismail, general secretary of the YSP then, was named the new president. He was backed by Ali Nasser Mohammed, who had been prime minister since 1971.

Ismail was then ousted in 1980. He went into exile in Moscow, while several of his key supporters were arrested. Ali Nasser Mohammed became the new president and YSP general secretary, while also retaining his previous position as prime minister.

Opposition groupings in the party formed a bloc in 1984, and in May of that year several of its leaders were brought onto an expanded Political Bureau. Then in February 1985 Ismail himself returned from Moscow and secured a key organizational post within the YSP Central Committee. Ali Nasser Mohammed gave up his position as prime minister to al-Attas, while remaining president and YSP general secretary.

Ali Nasser Mohammed's supporters obtained a majority of the delegates for the October congress, which provoked a sharp reaction from his opponents. On the eve of the Congress rival factions in the army and militia set up street barricades. Armed clashes were averted, however, until the January outbreak.

Ali Nasser Mohammed, Ismail, Antar, and Salem Robea Ali were all key leaders of the National Liberation Front (NLF), the main organization that led the fight against British colonialism and won independence for South Yemen in 1967.

After a long process, the NLF, a relatively loose nationalist movement, concluded that it was a "Marxist-Leninist" organization and the "vanguard party of the working class."

In October 1978 it fused with two small formations — the Vanguard Party, a Baathist grouping; and the Popular Democratic Union, the traditional pro-Moscow Communist group. The new organization was named the Yemeni Socialist Party.

Parallel cases

There are other examples of parties that have come to power as the result of revolutions, in which internal disputes were resolved by bloodshed.

One is the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). After overthrowing the repressive government of landlords, mullahs, and big merchants in April 1978 and sparking a revolutionary upheaval, the PDPA made many errors that began to undermine the initial support it enjoyed from sectors of the exploited classes. Its main fault was that it adopted a heavy-handed administrative approach to carrying out land reform and other measures, rather than *politically* trying to draw the peasants and other exploited sectors into determin-

ing the policies that affected their lives.

Conflicts deepened in the PDPA, and in September 1979 a factional clique led by Hafizullah Amin murdered President Nur Mohammed Taraki and threw thousands of his supporters into jail.

Opposition to the PDPA government deepened, and in December of the same year, tens of thousands of Soviet troops entered Afghanistan. Amin was executed and replaced as prime minister by Babrak Karmal.

Another parallel occurred in Grenada, where the workers' and farmers' government led by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was overthrown in 1983.

In this case, Bernard Coard, who was deputy prime minister, built up a secret faction within the New Jewel Movement and organized a campaign to discredit Bishop. The Coard supporters did not explicitly raise basic political differences with Bishop. Rather, they spread gossip and slander about him and his supporters being "petty bourgeois" and "less Marxist." They charged Bishop with "one-manism" and attempting to foster a cult around himself.

In October 1983 the Coard faction carried out a coup against the workers' and farmers' government, placed Bishop under house arrest, and then ordered troops to murder Bishop and his supporters when they attempted to lead the island's workers and farmers in an uprising to reestablish their government.

As surviving New Jewel Movement leader Kendrick Radix put it, Coard used "the worst of Stalinist tactics." This characterization aptly describes the methods of the rival groups in South Yemen's governing party as well.

While circumstances in Afghanistan, Grenada, and South Yemen were not exactly the same, all three cases show that Stalinists in governing parties do not organize splits in the normal sense. Rather, sharp conflicts are resolved through bloody coups, assassinations, and even fratricidal wars.

A different way to resolve the problem of factional cliques was shown by the approach the Fidel Castro leadership took to the grouping organized by Anibal Escalante in Cuba in the 1960s.

Escalante abused his position as organizational secretary of the party, then called the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations (ORI), by filling the party and state apparatus with his closest associates. He did not openly present political differences; rather, he started a rumor-mill accusing Castro of not functioning as part of a collective leadership.

Castro took the question to the party and then to the country as a whole and politically explained what was involved. No executions or assassinations took place, but Escalante and others were eventually removed from the party, and those guilty of violating Cuban law were convicted and jailed.

From this experience the Cuban leaders drew important lessons about leadership methods, bureaucracy, and the relationship between the party, the state apparatus, the army, the mass organizations, and the workers and

farmers. They took measures to involve the masses of working people in determining who should be members of the party.

In South Yemen the compromise among YSP leaders reached in Moscow holds within it the seeds of further instability. This is especially true if Ali Nasser Mohammed's opponents seek to adopt a different foreign policy, as some of them seemed to suggest over the

past few months.

It appears that the outcome of the violent conflict will not mean a reversal of the many social and economic achievements of the country's national democratic revolution. But the bloodbath will further undermine the confidence of the workers and peasants in the YSP, which purports to be their vanguard organization. □

Cuba

Communist Party congress opens

Fidel Castro outlines 'war of the economy'

By Mary-Alice Waters

[The following article is taken from the February 14 issue of the *Militant*, a socialist weekly published in New York City.]

* * *

HAVANA — The Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party opened February 4 with the main report presented by the party's first secretary, Fidel Castro. The sweeping report, which took nearly six hours to deliver, was characterized above all by a frank and critical assessment of the challenges facing the Cuban people in what Castro called "the war of the economy" that will remain a major battlefield between now and the year 2000.

The report began by reviewing the impressive economic achievements registered since the Second Congress in December 1980. It noted that Cuba's gains stand in sharp contrast to the economic crisis confronting other countries in Latin America.

Moreover, Castro emphasized, substantial progress has been achieved despite drought and devastating tropical storms such as the recent Hurricane Kate and despite the fact that "sugar prices on the so-called world market reached their lowest buying power this century, and there is still an imperialist blockade of our country."

The fact that Cuba has achieved what it has in this period, he said, "attests to our excellent and fair economic relations with the socialist community."

Within this context, Castro went on to detail major deficiencies and shortcomings in relation to productivity, planning, and supplies of consumer goods, as well as examples of inefficiency and intolerable administrative insensitivity in the service sector.

Addressing and overcoming these problems, Castro said, must be a central priority of the party's work in the coming years.

"We could have made better use of our resources and efforts. Our work has been far from its best. Deficiencies and shortcomings still persist, and we must call them by their

names and fight against them with all our might. Only thus will we be worthy of the name communists! Only thus will we be able to advance with ever faster and firmer steps," Castro declared to prolonged applause.

The report outlined the development plans projected for the next five-year period and reviewed the work of the party, the Union of Young Communists, and various mass organizations in Cuba. The concluding portion also dealt with the evolution of the world political situation since 1980 and Cuba's positions on major international questions.

Central attention was given to the heroic struggle of the people of Nicaragua, who are suffering from a war that is financed, directed, and carried out by Washington, using a mercenary army based on Nicaragua's borders.

Nicaragua is proving, Castro affirmed, that "the course of history cannot be reversed. The Sandinistas' firm and courageous decision not to retreat has clearly shown that Cuba was not an exception, that no country, regardless of its power, can impose its arbitrary will on a revolution that resists."

As if to make its belligerent voice heard in the halls of the congress here, a U.S. spy plane provocatively circled the island on the morning of February 5, creating a sonic boom as it passed near the capital city of Havana.

"The time when the empire could do as it pleased in our country is in the distant past," Castro said. "Our perseverance, tenacity, and firmness in resisting throughout these 27 years, our proven loyalty to principle, the determination with which we have embarked upon the task of creating a new world and a just homeland, the confidence and security with which we are laying the foundations of our future, and the heroism with which we have defended and are capable of defending our revolutionary achievements have earned our people the right never to be ignored or underestimated," Castro declared in concluding his report.

"Like it or not, the United States will have to come to terms with revolutionary Cuba, learn to live with it and with a changing world." □

Meatpackers' strike gains support

State calls out National Guard to reopen struck plant

By Steve Craine

A hard-fought strike by meatpacking workers to defend union rights and their standard of living has drawn a sharp class line in the southern Minnesota town of Austin.

The five-month strike of 1,500 workers at the George A. Hormel Co. gained national attention when the governor of Minnesota mobilized hundreds of National Guardsmen on January 21 to help Hormel reopen its Austin plant with scab labor.

Hormel is a major processor of meat products, with annual sales of \$1.5 billion. The \$100 million Austin plant is Hormel's largest and most modern and slaughters 2 million hogs a year.

Hormel's attacks on the Austin meatworkers, who are organized by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9, began in 1984 when the company unilaterally cut wages from \$10.69 to \$8.25 an hour. The union is now demanding the restoration of the \$10.69 rate. Although the company has agreed to raise wages to \$10 an hour, on many other issues it is demanding huge concessions from the union.

One striker commented, "It wasn't \$10 we were turning down. It was where they gutted and raped our contract. They took everything they could possibly take that had been built over the last 50 years in the labor movement."

For example, the company wanted to be able to hire large numbers of part-time and temporary workers who would have no benefits or seniority rights. Even newly hired full-time employees would be paid less than current employees. Hormel's plan would have allowed management to ignore seniority in the assignment of jobs and overtime and to suspend or fire workers for union activity.

The company also sought to speed up production at the Austin plant to a rate 20 percent above that of Hormel's other operations. Workers know that such a speed-up would increase the number of injuries, which already average 202 for every 100 workers each year.

The company's final contract offer demanded big cuts in workers' medical coverage, including for work-related injuries, and total elimination of maternity benefits.

Since Aug. 17, 1985, when the union rejected these harsh terms, Hormel management has refused to negotiate with the UFCW. On Monday, January 13, it attempted to reopen the plant, but only a handful of union members crossed the picket lines. The next day the company began hiring permanent replacement workers.

In response, hundreds of strikers and their supporters organized an automobile picket line more than a mile long, completely encircling

the plant. This demonstration created such a traffic jam that it effectively prevented scabs and bosses from entering or leaving for 10 hours.

Hormel's manager in Austin, claiming a "complete breakdown of law and order," then called for help from Minnesota's Democratic Party governor, Rudy Perpich, a liberal capitalist politician whom many union officials had supported as a "friend of labor."

Perpich ordered 800 National Guard troops to Austin January 21 to escort scabs into the struck plant. Since then they have remained in the city, to be deployed whenever the company needed help herding scabs.

The National Guard — a reserve militia organized on a state-by-state basis throughout the United States — has often been used to break strikes when local police find their hands full protecting the bosses.

Jim Guyette, president of the striking local, called the National Guard "Hormel's private security force." He also pointed out that the only violence in Austin was that of the Guard and the company.

The mobilization of the National Guard dramatized the seriousness of the stakes for both sides in this strike. UFCW Local P-9 had already won broad support in the labor movement, and the strikebreaking of the National Guard provoked an angry response across the country.

Solidarity rallies in Minnesota and elsewhere helped get out the truth about the strike and organize support among workers, students, farmers, and other groups. Leaders of the American Indian Movement joined support demonstrations in St. Paul, the state capital, and in Austin itself. Unions and individuals sent protest messages to the governor.

Family farmers back strikers

The striking meatpackers especially welcomed support shown by working farmers. A caravan of 20 tractors drove from St. Paul to Austin to lead a demonstration of strikers and others outside the packinghouse on January 22.

The relationship between farmers and meatpackers is close. They live in many of the same communities throughout the rural Midwest, and many farmers take jobs in meat processing plants to supplement their meager farm incomes.

But traditionally the bankers, factory owners, and capitalist politicians have tried to divide workers from farmers. "The farmer was told the reason he couldn't get a fair price for his raw material, or his product, or for his labors was because the working man was making all the money," explained Local P-9 President Guyette. "We were told the reason workers had to take cuts was because the farmer was

making it all. But in fact, who is making out like a bandit but the meatpacking companies and the banks?"

In the past few years several UFCW locals in Minnesota have participated in the family farmers' fight against foreclosures. Activists in the farm struggle reciprocated by mobilizing support for the Hormel strikers.

The leaders of the Austin strike are looking outside of Minnesota as well for the kind of support that will be necessary to win this battle. They are organizing a nationwide consumer boycott of Hormel products.

Several union locals and other groups have sent cash contributions to the strikers. A Teamsters union joint council sent \$20,000, and the National Rank-and-File Against Concessions has collected \$13,500 at various plant gates and has promised to keep up the effort.

'Roving pickets'

Striking union members have formed "roving pickets" to travel to other Hormel Co. plants in Iowa, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Texas, Georgia, and Washington State. At some of these plants, they were able to shut down operations for a short time by appealing to their fellow Hormel employees for solidarity.

In Ottumwa, Iowa, at Hormel's second-largest processing plant, the support has been overwhelming. Although not directly affected by the contract Hormel is trying to impose in Austin, most Ottumwa workers walked off the job in support of the Minnesota strike, shutting the plant.

The company responded by firing 458 workers. Some 2,000 supporters of the P-9 strike marched in Ottumwa demanding reinstatement of the fired workers. The plant has been closed since January 27, at a cost to Hormel estimated at \$500,000 a day.

These roving pickets, initiated by the leadership of the Austin local, have galvanized the kind of active, material solidarity that is essential when a local union is forced to defend itself against a large national corporation. Solidarity in the form of work stoppages and other mass actions by workers has been missing in several other important labor battles in the United States in recent years.

Strike leaders in Austin have had to buck the policies of the top officialdom of the United Food and Commercial Workers in order to organize this broad political campaign in support of their strike. UFCW International President William Wynn publicly attacked the local's "suicidal" stance of refusing to accept Hormel's murderous contract demands. He said that the Hormel workers at other plants who have supported the Austin strike are "hostages" of the Local P-9 leadership.

Local President Jim Guyette answered Wynn at a press conference in Austin. The attack from the International, he said, "reflects the problems of the labor movement today. The top-down strategy means more concessions. They have no answers, no help."

"Some leaders," Guyette added, "have become out of touch, but new leaders are coming forward and will come forward." □

'We are determined to liberate ourselves'

ANC's Oliver Tambo on tasks facing South African struggle in 1986

[The following is the full text of a speech given on January 8 by Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, to mark the 74th anniversary of the ANC's founding in 1912. The speech was broadcast over the ANC's Radio Freedom. We have taken the text from a pamphlet published by the ANC office in Lusaka, Zambia. The subheads are from the original. The footnotes and bracketed insertions are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Compatriots,

As the New Year begins, and on the occasion of the 74th anniversary of your vanguard movement, the African National Congress, we extend to you our warm revolutionary greetings. We salute you also in the name of the people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation].

We speak to you fully aware of the immense responsibility that rests on all of us to make the apartheid system of oppression and exploitation, repression and aggression, a thing of the past. It is our singular honour that we have been charged with the serious responsibility to point the way forward in the coming period. We approach this task with the same seriousness that has inspired you as you launched countless heroic mass battles during the year that has just ended.

The message of that year, the Year of the Cadre,¹ is simple and yet momentous. It is that the end of the criminal system of apartheid is in sight. Nearly four decades of illegal rule by the heirs of Hitler is coming to a close, and with it, centuries of colonial and racist white minority domination. There is nothing that the Pretoria regime can do that can change this historic outcome of our struggle.

Our uninterrupted forward march has thrown the apartheid system into an enormous general crisis. A central feature of this crisis is the rebellion of millions of our people against the criminal system. Even the most stubborn racist can now see that we are no longer prepared to live as slaves and are determined to liberate ourselves, whatever the price we have to pay in human lives.

Realising that power is slipping out of its hands, the [President Pieter] Botha regime could not rule in the old way any longer. Hence it has adopted new and more brutal ways of governing our country to save itself from destruction. These include the proclamation of martial law, handing over administra-

tion of large areas of our country to the murderous army and police, the use of secret death squads, the assassination of our leaders, massacres, mass arrests, stringent control of the press, continuing external aggression, and the murder of our people outside our country.

Despite these extraordinary measures designed to safeguard racist rule and reassure the white minority, the reality is that the white power bloc has never been as divided as it is today. Conflict, indecision, and fear of the revolution within this bloc have extended to within the ranks of Botha's own cabinet.

An important part of the crisis afflicting the racist system is the gathering collapse of the apartheid economy. We, the oppressed and exploited, know the bitter meaning of this crisis. We know the harsh reality of retrenchment, unemployment, a galloping cost-of-living, and banishment to the Bantustans and resettlement camps.

Now, the burden of the economic crisis brought about by the apartheid system is beginning to weigh heavily on the whites as well. White unemployment is increasing. Many conscripts return to civilian life without jobs and with no prospect of employment. Thousands of small and medium businesses have collapsed. Individual bankruptcies have multiplied without stop.

Completely unable to deal with this enormous general crisis, Botha has increasingly lost contact with reality. Illusions are taking the place of facts. The hollow dreams of a tyrant appear to him to be the very essence of policy. Botha relies on bombast and bluster to hide the fact that he is no more than a fleeting shadow on the world stage.

Initiative in our hands

The Botha regime has lost the strategic initiative. That initiative is now in our hands. The racist regime has no policy and can have no policy either to save the apartheid system from sinking deeper into crisis or to extricate this system from that crisis. Its political programme has been reduced to a shambles. Its ideological platform has collapsed. All it can do now is to react to events from day to day, without any consistent plan and without any overall objectives, except to keep itself in power for as long as possible.

It can no longer guarantee a bright future for the white social forces on which it rests. At the same time, the Botha regime is confronted with our mass revolt. Botha knows that the masses of our people will not stand by passively while he tries out one apartheid experiment or another. We shall not abandon our forward march, allow ourselves to be diverted from our goal of one person, one vote in a

united South Africa, or in any way cooperate with the Botha regime in the execution of programmes aimed at the perpetuation of the apartheid system.

Taken together, these factors signify that strategically the enemy is on the defensive. The critical point is that any counteroffensive the oppressors may launch to gain some tactical advances will, at the same time, only result in further worsening their strategic position.

The fact that the Botha regime has lost the strategic initiative, and is therefore on the defensive all along the line, is of decisive importance for the further advance of our struggle. We have forced the racists into this position through consistent struggle both inside and outside our country. This is an inspiring victory of historic significance.

The principal conclusion we should draw from this situation is that, through our sacrifices, we have prepared the conditions for us further to transform the situation to that position when it will be possible for us to seize power from the enemy. Thus the central task facing the entire democratic movement is that we retain the initiative until we have emancipated our country.

We must achieve this by going on the offensive on all fronts, continuously and boldly. We have to fight with a clear purpose in mind, with a definite perspective of our strategic and tactical goals so that we can deploy and utilise our forces to the best advantage. Victory demands that we also continue to work for the maximum unity of all our fighting contingents and the democratic movement as well as a coordinated approach towards the four pillars of our struggle.

Our strategic goal must be to shift the balance of strength decisively in favour of our struggle, through the further ripening of the revolutionary situation beyond the point where the regime is not able to rule in the old way to the stage where it is in fact unable to govern. Thus, we must continue to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. In the attack we must aim further to weaken the Botha regime drastically, to sap its strength, to take away from it even the capacity to launch a limited counteroffensive.

Mass army of liberation

Simultaneously, while on the march, we must build our forces into an ever more formidable united mass army of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously, able to deliver and actually delivering bigger blows at every stage and fighting as a conscious force with its eyes firmly fixed on the goal of the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people.

1. For Tambo's previous anniversary speech, proclaiming 1985 the Year of the Cadre, see the March 4, 1985, *Intercontinental Press*, p. 116.

The central focus of our continuous offensive has to be the imposition of the will of the democratic majority over the racist minority, however desperate and stubborn the resistance of this minority.

Open the doors of learning

In this regard, a question of primary concern to us all is that of education. We have stated our stand on this issue in clear, unequivocal terms. What we want is one democratic, non-racial, free, and compulsory system of education. The broad principles underlying that alternative system of education are contained in the Freedom Charter.²

We take this opportunity to salute our students, who have continued to march forward in unity and in an uninterrupted and organized offensive, undeterred by the illegal banning of their organisation, COSAS [Congress of South African Students]. This achievement is a victory of the entire democratic and revolutionary movement of our country and is worthy of the young lions of the struggle that our students and working youth have become.

This year we shall be observing the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising. We shall therefore cast our minds back on a period during which thousands of our youth were killed and maimed in the struggle for a democratic system of education in a democratic country. A whole generation is growing up and has known nothing but daily violence meted out in the streets by the armed killers of the apartheid regime.

To honour and pay everlasting tribute to the thousands of our students and working youth whose blood has drenched our motherland in the struggle for freedom, and in recognition of their resolve to march forward to victory, we declare June 16 South Africa Youth Day. We are confident that our youth and students, through the length and breadth of our country, will prove themselves worthy of this national honour.

We owe these young lions of our struggle and the nation as a whole an obligation to institute an alternative system of education during this year, the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising. We held an important national conference on this question in Johannesburg and adopted decisions that are of singular significance to the entire democratic movement and to us as a people.

Above everything else, what we shall need in order to realise the programme of action we set ourselves is the maximum unity of the students, teachers, and parents and of the entire democratic movement, including the community and student organisations, the trade unions, the youth and women's movement, religious, and all cultural and sports organisations. United in action, we have the ability to win our struggle for an alternative system of education, to secure the release of all student leaders and activists imprisoned by the Pretoria



OLIVER TAMBO

G.M. Cookson

regime, to force the lifting of the ban on COSAS, and to win all the other demands that we have agreed upon.

Of great importance also is the need for us to ensure that we have a strong, organised youth and student movement reaching into all schools and all areas of our country, capable of continuing to organise all our youth to act with the same discipline and unity, on a national scale, that we have seen in the past. We must continue to work for the establishment of a national youth organisation. To win our demands, we must be organised.

Unity of the working class

We also seize this occasion especially to welcome most warmly the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU]. We extend to its leaders, its affiliated unions, and to the membership of those unions the revolutionary greetings of the ANC leadership, inside and outside prison and inside and outside our country, as well as those of our entire membership.

The struggle to form one democratic trade union centre has been hard and protracted. Many comrades have spent countless hours working to achieve the result that was consummated with the formation of COSATU. We all acted in this manner convinced of the need for the unity of the working class of our country, of the imperative to defend and advance the interests of this class, and of the necessity for the organised, united, and conscious workers to remain in the front ranks and as an integral part of the mass army of revolution that is today shaking the apartheid system to its very foundations. The formation of COSATU has therefore added enormously to the strength of the democratic movement as a whole and is a vic-

tory which this movement must defend at all costs.

We appeal to those democratic trade unions which still remain outside the fold of COSATU to reconsider their positions. We are convinced of the maturity and honesty of both their leaders and members. Accordingly we are certain that at this critical moment in the history of an entire people and region they will find a way to overcome all obstacles that bar their way to join COSATU.

Many problems remain to be solved to fashion the new trade union congress into the instrument of working-class and national liberation that the delegates visualised at the founding conference in Durban. These include the transformation of the general unions into industrial unions and the organisation of the unorganised and the unemployed. These are important tasks whose accomplishment rests on the shoulders both of COSATU and the democratic movement as a whole.

Fellow workers,

During the year 1986, we shall mark two historic anniversaries. These are the 40th anniversary of the great mineworkers' strike of 1946 and the 100th anniversary of May Day — international workers' solidarity day.

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the great miners' strike, we call upon the entire democratic forces, and especially the trade union movement, to draw on the revolutionary traditions of the African mineworkers in order to enhance the contribution of the workers to the cause of national and social emancipation.

It is totally unacceptable that up to its 100th anniversary, May Day in South Africa has remained an ordinary working day. We therefore fully support the workers' demand that from 1986 onwards May Day should become a fully paid public holiday. Our entire democratic movement must support the organised trade union movement in the struggle to realise this demand.

Tribute to the heroes and martyrs

That outstanding product of the creative initiative of the masses of our struggling people, the United Democratic Front (UDF), has borne the brunt of the futile terrorist onslaught of the Botha-Malan-Coetzee³ regime to defeat our mass offensive and to suppress our democratic organisations. To this day, the threat of prohibition hangs over the UDF. Yet we are convinced that, having more than survived the assassination and imprisonment of its leaders, the cold-blooded murder of its followers, the banning of its meetings, and so on, the UDF will overcome all attempts by the enemy to wipe it out of existence. Practice has more than amply demonstrated that the struggling masses of our country need the UDF as an instrument to maintain, advance, and deepen our united action.

We salute all its leaders, its affiliated or-

2. For the text of the Freedom Charter, see the Nov. 18, 1985, *Intercontinental Press*, p.690.

3. Gen. Magnus Malan is the defense minister, and Gen. Johan Coetzee is the police commissioner of South Africa.

ganisations, its members, and its followers. We hail all those of its leaders and activists who are in prison and those who are facing trumped-up charges which include treason, murder, and public violence. We call on our people to stand by these patriots.

We pay homage to the outstanding leaders and others of our people who were murdered this past year by the death squads, the army, the police, and the hangmen of the apartheid regime. Among these are Victoria Mxenge, Matthew Goniwe, Andries Raditsela, Ben Moloise, Samuel Tshikudo, Bathandwa Ndondo, Mohammed-Allie Razak, Mita Ngobeni, Siphon Mutsi, Ian Zamisa, Nelly Madonsela, Lizo Mgcana, Daniel Mabenyane, Mandlenkosi Kratshi, Ivan Langenhoven, Ngoako Ramalepe, and Kenneth Letlatla. Their example of selfless service to the revolution will live on, inspiring us to intensify the struggle until victory. Those who assassinated them will be brought to book.

We shall not forget those who have disappeared and have so far not been accounted for. Neither shall we forget the patriots such as Thami Mnyele, George Phahle, Nomkhosi Mini, Jackie Quinn, and Leon Meyer and others who were murdered in Maseru [Lesotho] and Gaborone [Botswana]. The names of Molly Blackburn and Brian Bishop will also be inscribed on the roll of honour.

In the light of the situation which obtains in our country today, the religious community has an immense and urgent responsibility to act in defence of life itself, and accordingly, to fight for justice and peace. Inspired by their own faiths, this important sector among our people must further enhance its contribution to the struggle to end the apartheid system and to create a society in which the right to life will be respected.

At this point, we would also like to pay special tribute to the women of Mamelodi, both as a particular detachment of the democratic women's movement and as a force exemplifying the courage and determination of the hundreds and thousands of women who have stood at the centre of our mass struggles this past year, throughout the country.

The response of the apartheid regime to the peaceful march of the women of Mamelodi, which ended in a massacre, illustrates the fear that this regime has of the united offensive of the oppressed and exploited women of our country. This year we are observing the 30th anniversary of the historic women's march on Pretoria, an event which lives on as a source of great inspiration to all our struggling people. It will be the task of our womenfolk to emulate the example we set ourselves three decades ago and last year, to unite and fearlessly join the mass offensive against the Botha regime in even greater numbers. We should also continue to work for the formation of a national women's organisation.

Rooted among the masses

During the momentous Year of the Cadre that has just passed, we have also produced new organisational formations and adopted



"A central feature of this crisis is the rebellion of millions of our people against the criminal system."

new forms of struggle in keeping with the heightened pace of our revolution. We refer here to the mass combat units that we have formed to carry out various tasks, including those related to the destruction of the organs of government of the apartheid regime and to making the country ungovernable. We refer also to the measures we have taken, among other things, to protect our leaders and to maintain revolutionary law and order in various localities throughout the country.

It is fitting that these developments have taken place during the Year of the Cadre and in keeping with perspectives that your movement, the ANC, put forward for that year. Our struggle has gained enormously by the emergence of these collectives of revolutionary cadres, which are organised, rooted among the masses, ready to pay the supreme sacrifice if necessary, committed to the perspectives of our movement as a whole, and loyal to the leadership of that movement.

We salute all members of these combat units and commend them for the courageous and disciplined manner in which they have carried out their tasks. We urge the masses of our people to persist in the positions they have taken of giving both the necessary protection to these units and the cooperation which the further advancement of our struggle demands.

While it is true that we have lost many cadres in the confrontation with the forces of repression, qualitatively, victory on the military front belongs not to the enemy but to the people. This is so exactly because in the face of the harshest enemy repression, we have succeeded both to intensify our military offensive and to enlarge the popular forces inside our country, organised to wage the struggle arms in hand.

This past year we made significant strides towards the transformation of our armed confrontation with the apartheid regime into a people's war. Of crucial importance in this regard has been the creation of mass insurrectionary zones in many parts of our country, areas where the masses of the people are not only active, but are also ready in their hundreds of thousands to assault the enemy for the seizure of power.

At the same time, we have seen how the apartheid regime, intent on maintaining itself in power at all costs, has sent into our townships white soldiers and police, as well as black mercenaries, with orders to murder, rape, and destroy at will — shooting infants, raping young girls, and going on a crazed orgy of bloodletting. This is precisely the reason why the fascist Botha-Malan-Coetzee regime must be swept off the surface of the earth and our country transformed into a democratic, nonracial, and peaceful entity. Therefore we must fight. We must organize and arm ourselves to fight harder and better for the overthrow of the apartheid regime.

Accordingly, an urgent task we face this year is the rapid expansion and extensive activation of Umkhonto we Sizwe within the country, drawing in the millions of our people into combat. Building from what we achieved last year, we must prepare for and conduct people's war with the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, heading our mass military offensive. We have to increase greatly the number of guerrilla units of MK [Umkhonto], as well as the mass combat units. We must further strengthen the links between the guerrilla and combat units in order to build a vast army that can carry out both offensive and defensive tasks. We must draw on the resolve of our

people in the mass insurrectionary zones to build up this force while working to ensure that these zones multiply in number to cover our country in its entirety.

To retain the strategic initiative, apart from confronting the army of occupation in our areas, it is essential that we carry and extend our offensive beyond our township borders into other areas with even greater determination. We also need to mount a continuous assault on the economy to deny the enemy the material base which gives it the means to conduct its campaign of terror, both inside and outside our country.

Attack, advance: give the enemy no quarter

The charge we give to Umkhonto we Sizwe and to the masses of our people is: attack, advance, give the enemy no quarter — an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth!

Once more, we call on our white compatriots, and especially the youth, to break ranks with the apartheid system, to refuse to serve in its armed forces, and no longer to mortgage their future to a racist system that is doomed to destruction. We call on them to win their place in the future democratic South Africa by joining the struggle to turn that future into reality. The business community must stop producing weapons that are used to murder our people. Together, black and white, we will destroy the monstrous apartheid regime and, as equals, rebuild our country for the benefit of all its citizens. The time has come that our white compatriots should join the mass democratic struggle in their millions. The crisis in our country does not permit of onlookers.

Those among the black people who have been dragooned or bought to serve in the armed forces of the enemy should refuse to offer themselves as cannon fodder, as assassins in the pay of a regime which holds them and their people in contempt. To these we say, prepare to turn your guns against the common enemy of the people. When the bells of victory toll, you too must be counted among the liberators of your country.

United offensive

The combined mass political and military offensive that we must conduct this year at a heightened level and in a systematic manner requires of us all to continue to work even harder to realise the tasks that we set ourselves during the Year of the Cadre. Of particular importance in this regard is the task, as we said last year, of building a strong underground presence of well-organised revolutionary cadres, drawn from the fighting masses and integrated among them. We must continue to strengthen and expand the underground structures of the ANC, ensuring the active presence of our movement everywhere in the country.

As part of our all-round preparation for the days ahead, as you know, your vanguard movement, the ANC, held its historic Second National Consultative Conference.⁴ That con-

ference consolidated our unity as never before and clearly pointed the way forward to victory. Its results constituted a decisive defeat for the enemy, which had hoped that at the end of the day our movement would be paralysed by internal disputes and endless power struggles. It reinforced the ability of your movement to march at the head of the millions of our people, for a decisive assault on the apartheid regime of terror, to dislodge it and transfer power to the people.

The delegates endorsed the fundamental perspective of our revolution: that the key factor for victory is the political mobilisation and organisation of all the oppressed and exploited — in particular the working class. Taking into account the balance of forces in our situation, the intransigence of the white ruling clique, and the violent nature of the apartheid system, [the] conference underlined the need and urgency of intensifying and transforming the armed struggle into a real people's war.

Our strategy therefore is one that must combine a heightened mass political advance on all fronts and an escalated and resolute military offensive. This was the spirit that dominated our conference! This is the order of the day!

It will therefore be clear that the strategic and tactical thinking and approach of our movement has not shifted, nor are there any fundamental developments in our situation that warrant any change. This restatement of our position is done primarily to clear rumours circulating that the ANC and the Botha regime are holding secret talks. As yet there have been no such talks.

There can be no negotiated settlement of the South African question while the Botha regime continues to imprison our leaders and refuses to acknowledge that South Africa must become an undivided, democratic, and nonracial country. It is today abundantly clear to all who look at our situation soberly that apartheid has proved to be a national disaster. The Pretoria regime does not want to accept this fact. It is dead set against the emergence of a fundamentally new social and political system in our country. These positions are the cause of the growing confrontation in South Africa, which will not cease until our country does indeed belong to all who live in it, black and white.

We are convinced that all those who are opposed to racism and apartheid must act together to end white minority rule. In this regard, the ANC will continue to encourage individuals and groups within our country to contribute what they can towards the victory of the democratic struggle. It is with this view in mind that we have met and will continue to meet various people, including business people, politicians, trade unionists, religious people, to encourage the broadest possible united offensive against the apartheid system.

Passes must go

The time has come that, as part of our mass offensive to make apartheid unworkable, once

more we boldly confront the issue of that badge of slavery — the pass laws. We support the demand made inside the country that passes must go, now! To this day, as we all know, these remain one of the principal means by which the Botha regime governs us, the methods it uses to decide who we are, where we shall live and work, what the future of unborn generations shall be. The time has come that we should say no longer shall we allow ourselves to be given special labels in the country of our birth.

The cry must ring out through the length and breadth of our country this year — away with passes! By destroying this badge of slavery and humiliation, we shall free ourselves of this intolerable burden of oppression and thus move further forward to our goal of making apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable.

This is an immense offensive which must spread to every corner of our country, encompassing cities, towns, and the countryside. It must involve both men and women alike and produce the most formidable, united, and sustained mass action to destroy once and for all the pass laws, influx control, and our forcible removal to the Bantustans.

We must not be misled by the enemy's promise to abolish influx control⁵ and introduce what it calls positive urbanisation. Nor must we be taken in by promises of a so-called common citizenship. The Botha regime has no intention whatsoever to see the black majority live in our country as equals with our white compatriots. As far as this regime is concerned South Africa will never belong to all who live in it, black and white.

Of late, the white business community has also been very loud in demanding change. We call on them to join this mighty anti-pass campaign. They themselves must stop demanding passes from the African workers. Neither should they take advantage of the migrant labour system to victimise the workers. Rather they should work for the immediate abolition of this criminal system. Words are no longer sufficient. Now is the time for action. No more passes! Away with this badge of slavery.

We need also to extend that spirit of defiance to other areas of struggle. To maintain the offensive, we have to address with maximum vigour the entire issue of the enemy's attempts to suppress the democratic movement.

Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally

During this past year, we sharply escalated our offensive on this front. Many of those detained went on hunger strike, demanding an end to their illegal imprisonment. Mass meetings and demonstrations took place calling for

4. The ANC conference was held in Zambia, June 16-23, 1985. For the conference's final com-

munique, see the Sept. 9, 1985, *Intercontinental Press*, p. 521.

5. "Influx control" is a euphemism of the apartheid regime to describe the pass laws, Bantustan system, territorial segregation, and other measures designed to control the movement of Blacks into "white" South Africa.

the release of detainees and political prisoners. Our people in the Western Cape mobilised themselves in their thousands to march on Pollsmoor Prison, backing up the universal demand for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

The challenges facing us are indeed considerable. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Harry Gwala, and others of our leaders are still in prison, held there by a regime which seems determined to keep them under lock and key permanently in defiance of the international community.

Yet others of our leaders and activists are facing various charges. Thousands have been convicted illegally and are now enduring the brutality of living in the enemy's dungeons. Unknown numbers are held under the emergency regulations and the so-called Internal Security Act.

This year we must take up the campaign with greater vigour than before — for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, for the immediate release of all detainees, the lifting of bans on individuals and organisations, including COSAS, the termination of all treason and other political trials, the lifting of the state of emergency, the scrapping of all repressive legislation, and the withdrawal of all troops and police from the townships.

We know that the enemy will not listen to any appeals we make on any of these questions. We have no alternative but to resort to meaningful action to advance our demands. We have already tested the consumer boycott weapon, and need to use it with even greater effect to halt the murderous and repressive rampage of the Pretoria regime.

Building people's power

In a heroic struggle, we have virtually lifted the ban on our vanguard movement, the ANC. We did not ask for the permission of the enemy to unfurl and raise the people's flag. We did not seek Pretoria's consent when we decided to speak openly in support of our genuine leaders.

Equally, to succeed in our campaign to challenge the enemy's repressive onslaught, we need the same daring. Whereas the enemy seeks at all times to impose on us a fascist legality, we must impose on our country our own popular legality. We are the alternative power. As such, we pursue goals and share aspirations that are diametrically opposed to those of the oppressive white minority regime and must ensure that our will, as that alternative power, prevails.

Proceeding from those positions, we must use everything in our power to fight and defeat the enemy's campaign of repression, recognising that the edicts that emanate from the illegitimate apartheid regime are themselves illegal acts of banditry, carried out as part of the continuing commission of a crime against humanity. In action and through action we must compel the regime to end repression now.

In some areas of our country, having destroyed the puppet organs of government imposed on us by the apartheid regime, we have reached the situation where even the enemy has to deal with the democratic forces as the legitimate representatives of the people. The establishment of people's power in these areas, however rudimentary and precarious, is of great significance for the further advancement of our struggle.

In the past, as part of our rejection of the apartheid community councils, management and local authority committees, we correctly put forward the demand for democratic, non-racial municipal councils. We must take up this demand once more. In many townships we have abolished the puppet institutions through struggle. These victories must be consolidated by democratising the whole system of local government. For every town and every city there must be one local authority, elected by all residents, both black and white, on the basis of one person, one vote. We shall have to engage in struggle to achieve this goal and will have to consider such actions as a national rent strike in our programme of action.

Destroy apartheid structures

The Botha regime is set to introduce what it calls Regional Service Councils. This is yet another attempt to refine and entrench the apartheid system. Furthermore, the issue which these councils are meant to address, namely the provision of "services" to all the group areas in each urban centre, does not answer the primary question of the right of all residents to exercise political control over their towns and cities as a whole. We are not fighting and are not dying in order to have a better system of waste disposal. We are engaged in struggle for the inalienable right to govern our country in all its parts.

We can no longer accept the situation in which we exist in the urban townships as suppliers of labour to the white areas, with no access to the wealth that we create, which goes to enrich and improve the white areas of our towns and cities. In this regard, we should take the occasion of the centenary of the city of Johannesburg, which falls this year, as one for the most determined offensive to ensure that the political situation changes in this prime example of the inequity of the system of colonial and racist rule.

White South Africa feels it has every right to celebrate this centenary. We, on the other hand, confined in black ghettos on the periphery of the city, have nothing to celebrate. We can no longer tolerate the situation in which we have no control over the city which we have built with our bare hands for a century. After a century of exclusion, let us begin a new era of democratic control of Johannesburg and all other urban areas of our country. In this way, we will proceed from people's power in the black areas to people's power over the entire municipal areas where we live.

We call on all our white compatriots in these areas to join this struggle. They too must par-

ticipate in the offensive to abolish the apartheid institutions in the white areas once and for all. It is not sufficient merely to call for the abolition of the Group Areas, Separate Amenities, and other acts.⁶ Now is the time to take action to realise the objectives of one democratic council for each municipality, elected on the basis of one person, one vote.

The land belongs to the people

Our mass political offensive must of necessity also succeed to draw in the millions of our people in the countryside, both inside and outside the Bantustans. It is clear that, relative to the situation in the past, we have made considerable progress in mobilising and organising the people in the countryside.

This has resulted in our people in some of these areas joining the mass offensive during this past year. They did so in such numbers that even leading spokesmen of the Pretoria regime expressed concern at the level of activation of these oppressed masses. In addition, the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has taken the armed struggle both into the Bantustans and into the enemy rural military zones, striking blows that have worried the enemy and its puppets.

Much organisational and mobilisation work still needs to be done in these areas, raising to the fore such questions as the need to destroy the oppressive Bantustan system, to rise up against the blood-sucking white soldier-farmers, and to address the central task of the landless masses seizing the land which rightfully belongs to them.

Thanks to our consistent opposition, the enemy now knows that it cannot even pretend that it will be able to maintain the Bantustan system. Hence Botha now talks of a common citizenship. It should therefore now be more than clear to those of our compatriots who may have been duped or bribed or persuaded to accept the Bantustans that the destruction of these criminal institutions is only a matter of time. They should consider whether the time has not come for them to join the masses of the people to destroy this system and regain their honour as patriots and their dignity as men and women of principle.

The planned so-called independence of the KwaNdebele Bantustan constitutes a grievous offence against our entire people, as does the Bantustan system as a whole. Our people, across the length and breadth of our country, must unite to fight against the imposition of this Bantustan on us. We salute our struggling people in this area and urge them to fight on to defeat the enemy's intentions of further entrenching the apartheid system.

Emulate Moshoeshoe

This year, we shall be observing the bicentenary of the birth of that outstanding African statesman, King Moshoeshoe I.⁷ It would be

6. These acts enforce racial segregation of residential areas and public facilities.

7. King Moshoeshoe I (1786-1870) was a leader of

well that those who consider themselves leaders of our people should seek to emulate Moshoeshoe's example. Thus they should strive to unite the African people and not divide them, work to satisfy the aspirations of the people and not betray them, fight arms in hand in defence of the interests of the masses, and when necessary negotiate as genuine representatives of the people and not as beggars at the master's table.

Today the voice of Moshoeshoe is calling on us to unite. The enemy is busy trying to set African against African, and black people against one another. It continuously seeks to impart racial and tribal connotations to the many conflicts that are a direct result of the apartheid system. The Pretoria regime not only hopes to slow down our struggle but also to demonstrate that we are different peoples who cannot live together in peace. The racists want to prove that we have to be separated into different racial and tribal compartments, controlled and presided over by the white minority regime.

We have to defeat these enemy schemes, resist all provocations, and unite in the common struggle to liberate our country from racist rule. As Moshoeshoe foresaw, our strength lies in our unity. We must guard that unity like the apple of our eye.

The world supports our struggle

Our movement and our struggle enjoy enormous world support. During the Year of the Cadre the international movement of solidarity with our fighting people grew by leaps and bounds. In this area we can also say that the apartheid regime has lost the strategic initiative. No longer can it even hope to hold its ground, let alone secure new gains for the apartheid system. So desperate has its situation become that even those whom it counts as its natural allies have begun to distance themselves from the regime of murderers and to seek out the genuine representatives of our people.

At the same time, throughout the world, ordinary men and women inspired by our own struggle are carrying out new initiatives to isolate apartheid South Africa and to extend political and material support to the ANC and the struggling masses of our country. Accordingly, this past year we have seen the inspiring upsurge of the solidarity movement in the United States under the leadership of the Free South Africa Movement, the imposition of sanctions by the international trade union movement in such countries as New Zealand, Australia, Sudan, Scandinavia, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere, trade union decisions to enforce the oil embargo, the resurgence of the international consumer boycott campaign, and many other actions in support of our struggle.

We have scored other important gains in the campaign to isolate apartheid South Africa. Many governments have taken various steps in

the Basotho people who led several wars of resistance against white settler and British colonial efforts to conquer the Basotho.

this direction, however limited at this stage. The refusal of the banks to roll over their loans to South Africa is an important victory of our struggle which has contributed to the further deepening of the crisis of the apartheid regime.

Much remains to be done further to expand international action and to compel the governments of the major Western powers to heed public opinion in their own countries and internationally and impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The more we act to liberate ourselves, the more resolute international action will become. It is therefore our task both to intensify the struggle inside our country and to work with the world community further to arouse world opinion in favour of our cause.

Once more, we extend special greetings to our comrades-in-arms in SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organisation], as well as the Namibian people as a whole. Locked as we are in a common battle against a common enemy, we shall continue to rely on our bonds of solidarity as an important factor inspiring our own actions. The struggle to achieve the immediate and genuine independence of Namibia is at the same time an important contribution towards our own liberation. Together we will win.

The Frontline States stand firm

We have continued to derive great inspiration and encouragement from the principled and unflinching stand taken by the Frontline States as well as the Kingdom of Lesotho and Swaziland. These countries have stood firm in the face of growing threats and actual acts of aggression and destabilisation carried out by the Pretoria regime against them.⁸

The people of Namibia and South Africa share a common destiny with these states and peoples. In pursuit of the common cause, we are committed to rid our continent of the apartheid monster through struggle and to help transform our region into a zone of peace.

We take this opportunity to salute our friends throughout the world, in Africa, Asia, Latin America, in the socialist countries, in Europe, and North America.

We greet also the PLO and the Palestinian people, the Saharaoui Arab Democratic Republic, the Farabundo Martí [National Liberation Front] of El Salvador, Fretilin of East Timor, as well as the embattled people of Nicaragua and the progressive forces organised in the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

To all the forces, to the nations organised in the OAU [Organization of African Unity], the Nonaligned Movement, and the United Nations, we, the people of South Africa, pledge, during this International Year of Peace, that we shall discharge our historic responsibility to end the apartheid crime against humanity once and for all. With your support, we will achieve

8. On January 20, less than two weeks after this speech was given, the government of Lesotho was overthrown in a coup backed by the South African government. The new military regime in Lesotho promptly began expelling ANC members from that country.

this goal sooner rather than later and with less bloodshed and destruction.

1986: The Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe — the People's Army

This year we shall be observing the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising and the 25th anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe. These are events of historic importance in our struggle. They both emphasise the need for us to meet the repressive violence of the apartheid regime and the apartheid system with our own armed resistance. The continuing stubbornness of the racist regime and its resort to ever greater and more brutal violence has made it a matter of extreme urgency that we launch a most determined military offensive.

To help concentrate our creative energies on the attainment of this goal and in the name of the National Executive Committee of your organisation, the ANC, we declare 1986 the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe — the People's Army! Let this Year of the People's Army see us engulf the apartheid system in the fires and the thunder of a people's war! Let the Year of MK see us mount a military offensive that will push the enemy into a strategic retreat! Let us use the opportunities that this year gives us to replace each combatant who fell last year with a hundred more, and, building on our achievements, to create a formidable fighting force of the people, superior to the enemy forces because of the justice of our cause, the discipline of our combatants, and the bravery and boldness of our warriors.

During the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe — the People's Army:

Let us mount a determined mass political and military offensive!

Let us retain the strategic initiative!

Let us, in struggle, shift the balance of power further in favour of the revolution!

Let us turn every corner of our country into a battlefield!

Let us weaken the enemy and prepare to seize power!

Every patriot a combatant: every combatant a patriot!

Amandla ngawethu! Matla ke a rona!
[Power to the people]

People's power is within our grasp!

White House submits \$311 billion war budget

President Reagan is requesting \$311 billion for the U.S. war budget for the fiscal year beginning in October 1986. This would be an increase of more than \$21 billion over the appropriation for the current budget year.

The amount being proposed to Congress will allow a 3 percent growth in spending on weapons, allowing for inflation. A Pentagon official commented that although the White House figure does not allow for as large a pay increase for troops as the military had wanted, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger was satisfied with the 3 percent growth "in capability."

Unions discuss anti-apartheid fight

Conventions endorse boycott campaign

By Lynda Little

[The following article is taken from the January 27 issue of *Socialist Voice*, a fortnightly newspaper published in Montreal that reflects the views of the Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Decisions taken by delegates to the November conventions of the British Columbia Federation of Labor (BCFL) and the Ontario Federation of Labor (OFL) stepped up labor's participation in the international anti-apartheid movement. The discussions showed the deep commitment of the union ranks to this struggle.

"As the struggle inside South Africa escalates, so must we escalate our struggle in support of them," Brenda Wall of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union [OPSEU] told the OFL delegates.

"The next six months are crucial . . . no matter what Mulroney and the Commonwealth leaders say about waiting for six months to see what changes will be made in South Africa. Waiting for what? Threatening what? Words are nothing. I say that we must take actions now, that we as trade unionists, the international community can impose sanctions. We're not going to wait for words. We're not going to wait for the changes," she said.

Wall was speaking in favor of a unanimously adopted anti-apartheid resolution based on resolutions submitted by 46 OFL affiliates.

The resolution affirmed the OFL's solidarity with the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), and the United Democratic Front (UDF), and committed the OFL to participate in the SACTU trade union sanctions and boycott campaign.

Delegates demanded the Canadian government implement "comprehensive" political, social, and economic sanctions against South Africa and supported the right of workers to refuse to handle goods coming from or going to that country. They also demanded the release from prison of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

A similar resolution was approved by the delegates to the BCFL convention, with an added point condemning the B.C. government's "unthinkable economic support" of apartheid.

B.C. Government Employees Union liquor branch worker Billie Carroll reported that B.C.'s Social Credit government not only continues to sell South African products, but is picking up shipments refused by the majority of provinces in Canada and running an in-house merchandising campaign to promote South African Cape wines.

The main theme of the discussion at both conventions was the importance of building the SACTU trade union campaign for sanctions and boycotts.

Pat Clancy, a leader of the United Auto Workers (UAW-Canada), pointed out how apartheid creates a pool of cheap Black labor which enhances investment in South Africa. "Clear-thinking people are not going to participate in that kind of program," he said.

Certain products are now being boycotted because of the direct action by unions against government institutions and businesses that truck and trade with apartheid.

Brenda Wall described how OPSEU forced the Ontario government to stop buying "the bitter fruit of apartheid." OPSEU has been supporting SACTU by donating \$5,000 a year since 1981. OPSEU responded to the upsurge of the Black masses in South Africa this summer by putting Wall on staff to work with their 400 locals across Ontario to implement SACTU's boycott campaign.

"On September 18th we won a victory when [provincial] Premier [David] Peterson announced that the Ontario government would no longer purchase South African products for use in its institutions," she told the delegates.

George Larer of Local 50 of the Communications Workers of Canada announced that his national union is "looking at a day of protest to shut down the telecommunications to South Africa." He also applauded the leadership role of the UAW-Canada in forcing Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors, through contract battles,

to divest workers' pension funds from all companies that do business with South Africa. He encouraged delegates to "look at your pension portfolio, because there are billions and billions of dollars going to South Africa on a daily basis."

A member of the United Steelworkers told the BCFL delegates that South African steel had come into his plant four and a half years ago and he refused to handle it. "We [the union] pulled the plug"; the company backed down and got rid of the steel, he said. But when the company found out the other unionized companies were handling South African steel, they told him that if he ever refused to handle it again, he'd be "gone."

A member of the Carpenters Union argued that the right to refuse to handle apartheid goods should be a "strike issue" because "we don't have too many rights and the only way we have a right to do anything is if we take it."

The years of tireless work done by SACTU and its Canadian Solidarity Committee were held in high regard by the delegates to both conventions.

Bill Gilmore of UAW Local 1520 in London, Ontario, described how unionists in that city formed a SACTU Solidarity Committee and organized a successful boycott campaign against the local Miracle Mart store.

We "hit this market with a guerrilla strike, and in 20 minutes we filled 32 shopping carts. . . . We refused to pay for them while our president and fine chairman of Local 1520 handed out leaflets that showed that this store traffics in apartheid," he told the OFL convention.

That convinced the manager to take South African products off the shelves, and other London supermarkets did the same.

"If you form a SACTU committee in your towns, we will have an apartheid-free zone here in Canada." □

Australian Fourth Internationalists meet

By Gordon Adler

SYDNEY — On the weekend of January 11-12, 20 supporters of the Fourth International met here to hear talks by U.S. Socialist Workers Party leader Betsey Stone and representatives of the New Zealand Socialist Action League Andy Jarvis and Elaine Edwards. The talks were part of a series of discussions leading up to a national meeting to be held in Sydney over the Easter weekend.

The talk by Stone on the growth of the women's liberation movement in the Third World, particularly in Cuba and Nicaragua, and the national debate occurring in Nicaragua around the issue of women's right to abortion initiated an extended discussion. The discussion included an exchange of views on the current status of the family in Cuba and the prospects for the further advances of women and gays in these countries.

Andy Jarvis analyzed the nature of newly independent countries in the Pacific region and the character of the independence movements

in such countries as Kanaky, which have aroused the attention of both the Australian and New Zealand governments.

Elaine Edwards reported on the recent national conference of the New Zealand Socialist Action League and events in New Zealand following the bombing of the Greenpeace vessel *Rainbow Warrior*.

Ron Poulsen reviewed the rural crisis in Australia, a subject that has not so far been taken up by any other section of the Australian labor movement. The depth of this crisis was illustrated only the previous week by the dumping of large quantities of unsold wheat outside the Federal Houses of Parliament in Canberra by angry farmers.

Poulsen explained the necessity for socialists to fight for a worker-farmer alliance as the basis for a future government committed to the interests of workers and small farmers.

Further discussions are planned in the near future. □

Proindependence party formed

Trade unionists spur organization in French colony

By Will Reissner

Proindependence forces in the French colony of Guyane, the last remaining European possession on the mainland of South America, established the Guyanese People's National Party (PNPG) in November 1985.

Until that time, Guyane (often called French Guiana) was the only French overseas department that did not have a proindependence party. The colony, on the northeast coast of South America, has a population of some 73,000 people, most of whom are descendants of Indians and African slaves brought to the colony.

Guyane was the site of the French penal colony on Devil's Island, which was closed in 1951.

The most important French installation in the colony today is a rocket-launching center at Kourou. The facility was established in Guyane after the French were driven out of their colony in Algeria in 1962 and lost access to the Algerian Sahara region.

During the 1970s, the French government attempted to sponsor large-scale emigration to Guyane from France in hopes of swamping the local population in a wave of anti-independence settlers.

Plans were announced to settle as many as 30,000 French citizens in the South American possession. Although 38,000 people applied for government-sponsored resettlement in Guyane, only a few dozen actually made the trip.

Paris did, however, settle about 1,000 Hmong refugees from Laos in the colony between 1977 and 1980. The Hmong left Laos after their CIA-financed army was defeated by Laotian revolutionary forces in 1975.

An independence movement emerged in Guyane in the late 1960s, but was hit hard by repression in the following decade.

In September and October 1974, demonstrators protesting the visit of French Minister for Overseas Territories Olivier Stirn clashed with police and troops.

The French government responded by arresting eight independence activists on Dec. 23, 1974, claiming they were planning Christmas Eve attacks in the capital, Cayenne.

Riot police brought in from the French Caribbean colony of Guadeloupe and French Foreign Legion troops enforced a virtual state of siege in Cayenne following the arrests.

The eight activists were shipped to France, where they were tried before a special State Security Court in 1975, but were released for lack of evidence.

In 1980 five independence supporters were arrested on charges of trying to set up a guerrilla organization.

The major proindependence organization to survive the repression was the Union of Guyanese Workers (UTG), the colony's largest union federation.

The UTG had been an affiliate of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) of France until 1972, when the Guyanese federation came out for independence.

The UTG has a strong presence among dockworkers, forest-products workers, construction workers, and government employees.

According to Georges Lucas, the PNPG's representative in France, "the UTG played an essential role" in keeping the proindependence movement alive. "Each strike, each conflict allowed it to explain Guyane's dependence on France," Lucas stated, and gradually the ranks of those opposed to colonial rule began to grow again.

In 1982 three proindependence candidates backed by the UTG won 10 percent of the vote and were elected to the colony's regional council, marking the first time proindependence forces won representation in the colonial structures.

During their three years on the regional council, these representatives — Alain Michel, Jean-Jules Fernand, and Guy Lamaze — noted that their effectiveness was hampered by the absence of a political party.

At a press conference in mid-1985, Michel observed that a trade union cannot play the same role as a political party. "The members of the UTG," Michel explained, "fight first of all to improve their wages and working conditions. Not all of them are for independence. Therefore, in order not to shake up the ranks of the union, it is necessary to work to create a

party."

The three elected council members began in 1983 to try to bring together the political groups that had survived the repression. After two years of this work, the Guyanese People's National Party was established.

The political bureau of the newly established PNPG has not yet decided whether the new party will contest the 1986 French legislative elections. As an overseas department, Guyane elects representatives to the French Senate and Chamber of Deputies in Paris.

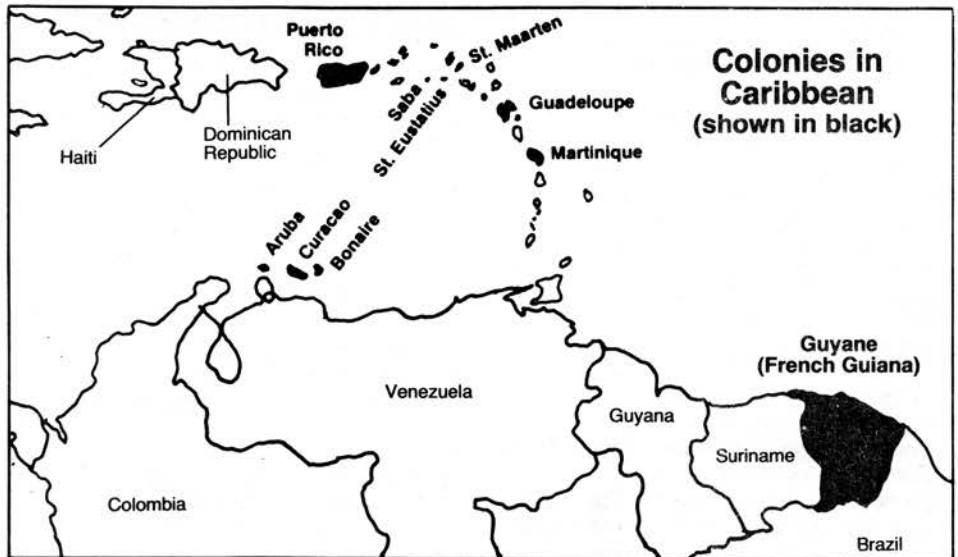
Some party members argue that the PNPG should build on the record of three years in the regional council by running a strong campaign in the upcoming elections. They express concerns that the party will be isolated if it does not take part in the poll.

Other PNPG members, however, have maintained that the proindependence forces should have nothing to do with elections to bodies in Paris.

The PNPG is also pressing for development of Guyane's self-sufficiency in food production. A group of proindependence activists has established a pilot project to grow cassava on the banks of the Maroni River. Two years ago, all the cassava flour consumed in Guyane was imported from neighboring Suriname. Now the Maroni River project supplies one-third of the colony's consumption.

The largest political party in the colony, the Guyanese Socialist Party (PSG), also held its congress in November 1985. The PSG, which has links with the governing Socialist Party in France, supports French President François Mitterrand's policy of regional decentralization in France and its colonies.

At its convention, the PSG, led by Cayenne Mayor Gérard Holder, expressed its determination "to successfully administer the decentralization," without however "stopping the struggle to move toward autonomy," which it describes as "a necessary and preparatory stage to the establishment of an independent Guyanese state" at some unspecified time in the future. □



Guerrilla movement seizes power

Pledges respect for democratic rights, steps to build national unity

By Ernest Harsch

After months of warfare in much of southern and western Uganda, guerrilla forces of the National Resistance Army (NRA) marched into Kampala, the capital, on January 24. By the next day they had routed defending government troops, signaling the overthrow of the proimperialist military dictatorship of Maj. Gen. Tito Okello.

The ouster of the Okello regime brought jubilant demonstrations in Kampala and other parts of the country, as people celebrated the downfall of a government that had been responsible for thousands of deaths and the systematic plunder of the cities and countryside.

The victorious rebel forces quickly established a new government. It is composed of a 22-member National Resistance Council and a 12-member cabinet, only one of whose ministers is not a member of the National Resistance Movement (NRM), the political organization linked to the NRA. The country's new president is Yoweri Museveni, the central leader of the NRM-NRA.

Although the government is dominated by the NRM, it has appealed for the cooperation of all sectors of Ugandan society (except for those directly responsible for atrocities against the population). This open-handed approach was symbolized by the presence of several former civilian cabinet ministers on the platform when Museveni was sworn in as president.

In a January 27 national address summarized over Kampala radio, Museveni said that because of the severe repression under previous governments, "Ugandan patriots had to take up an armed struggle as a last resort to defend the rights of the people."

The NRM, Museveni declared, opposed discrimination on tribal or religious grounds. He said the NRM likewise "opposes dictatorship [and] subservience to foreign interests, and supports national independence."

Museveni made some of the same points in a speech to a mass rally in Kampala two days later, when he was officially sworn in as president. In particular he stressed the need to overcome tribal and religious divisions. "We preach the idea of unity of Uganda," he declared.

Poverty, tribal divisions

This upheaval in Uganda is a reflection of the deep discontent among that East African country's 14 million people. Since Uganda gained its independence two and a half decades ago, they have been governed by a succession of regimes that have brought working people little but poverty, police and military terror,

and continued imperialist domination.

Although the country is very fertile and has considerable agricultural potential, its per capita income is just US\$240 a year. More than 90 percent of its export earnings depend on just one crop, coffee. Illiteracy is some 75 percent. And there are only 20 doctors for every 100,000 people.

Meanwhile, a handful of businessmen, merchants, capitalist farmers, and corrupt officials and military officers have been able to make fortunes.

The political conflict in Uganda is also a reflection of the deep tribal and language divisions that have obstructed the development of a unified Ugandan nation. There are some 13 major tribal groupings in Uganda (and numerous smaller ones), with the Baganda as the single largest.

The ousted Okello regime was dominated by military officers from the Acholi people of the north. So far, the NRM-NRA has drawn its greatest support (though not exclusively) from the Baganda, Banyankole, and other peoples of the south.

These tribal frictions are a legacy of the British colonial policy of divide-and-rule. When Uganda was proclaimed a British "protectorate" in 1893, the colonial authorities recruited local collaborators and employees primarily from the kingdom of Buganda. Since commercial agriculture and other enterprises were developed first in Buganda (the area around Kampala), the Baganda became more urbanized and more stratified by class than other peoples in the colony, further deepening tribal

divisions.

Although these divisions weakened the Ugandan nationalist struggle, the country nevertheless won its independence in 1962. Its first government was headed by the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), led by Milton Obote.

The UPC and the Obote government claimed to represent all Ugandans, but their support among the Baganda was very limited. This was reduced even further after the regime militarily deposed the *kabaka*, the king of Buganda, in 1966. Under Obote, the army was drawn mainly from the Langi, Acholi, Kakwa, and other peoples of the north.

Amin dictatorship

In 1971, Obote was overthrown in a military coup led by Gen. Idi Amin, a British- and Israeli-trained officer whom Obote had appointed as army chief of staff. Amin's eight years in power, from 1971 to 1979, were among the most terror-ridden that Ugandans have known.

Relying largely on officers and troops from his own Kakwa people and others from the West Nile district in the north, Amin initiated mass purges of Acholis and Langis from the military and civil administration, and butchered tens of thousands of other Ugandans as well. Most Ugandans of Asian origin were expelled from the country.

No sector of Ugandan society was immune to this repression. While workers, peasants, and students comprised most of the victims, government officials, businessmen, professionals, and merchants also suffered. By 1977 it was estimated that as many as 300,000 had been killed under Amin.

Amin's army also became a key means for accumulating wealth. Many businesses were expropriated and handed over to military officers. Ordinary soldiers were encouraged to extort money and goods from the population.

The constant repression, massive military expenditures, and economic mismanagement greatly disrupted the economy. Exports and production declined. The profits foreign corporations were able to draw from the country dwindled.

By the late 1970s, imperialist support for Amin declined considerably, as Amin's former backers in London and Washington increasingly viewed him as a liability.

An invasion that backfired

In late 1978, Amin ordered his troops to invade neighboring Tanzania and annex a region in the north of that country. This backfired. The Tanzanian government, with broad sup-



port in Africa and internationally, launched a counterattack, soon pushing the war into Uganda itself. The Tanzanian government's declared goal was to oust Amin's regime.

This Tanzanian invasion was supported by virtually all Ugandan opposition forces, many of which had been forced into exile by Amin's repression. In early 1979 most of these groups came together into a broad coalition called the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF). It encompassed the major bourgeois parties as well as a range of small left-wing groups and individuals.

Among the leaders of the UNLF was Yoweri Museveni. In the mid-1960s he had been in the UPC's Youth League, but had been expelled from the party for his left-wing views. Later, as a student at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, Museveni declared himself a Marxist. In 1968 he led a delegation of student leaders into the guerrilla-held areas of Portuguese-ruled Mozambique to study the liberation struggle led by the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo). Utilizing those experiences, Museveni initiated some guerrilla actions against the Amin dictatorship in 1972 and formed the Front for National Salvation.

After the UNLF was launched, Museveni also emerged as a key figure in the allied Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA), which worked closely with Tanzanian military forces.

In April 1979, Tanzanian and UNLA troops marched into Kampala, overthrowing the Amin regime. Popular outpourings greeted their arrival, as the Ugandan masses expected Amin's ouster to bring greater democratic rights, an end to tribal favoritism and discrimination, and moves to lessen imperialist domination.

But that was not to be. Throughout 1979 and 1980, Uganda was governed by a series of unstable capitalist governments set up by the contending forces that made up the UNLF. Although some left-wing figures held posts for a time (Museveni was briefly minister of defense), proimperialist bourgeois political forces like the Democratic Party and Obote's UPC became increasingly dominant. The U.S. and British imperialists also intervened to push forward their favored allies.

Obote's second coming

Rigged general elections were held in December 1980, bringing Obote to power once again.

Obote's second term in office was much more repressive than the first. Although bourgeois opposition parties were allowed to function to an extent, the repression against working people, especially in the countryside, approached the levels of the Amin dictatorship.

The army, still called the UNLA, again became an ethnically narrow institution, with most of the troops and officers drawn from the Acholi and Langi peoples. Like Amin's army, it lived off the population, engaging in widespread looting, black market dealings, and extortion. The Baganda and other peoples of the



YOWERI MUSEVENI

south suffered the most from the army's brutalities.

By 1984, according to a Roman Catholic cardinal from Kampala, some 80,000 people were being held without charges in detention centers. Human rights organizations charged that torture was routine. The estimates of the number of people killed under the Obote regime reached as high as 300,000 by 1985.

Social and economic conditions deteriorated further. Inflation skyrocketed as the Ugandan shilling lost most of its value. Health care declined. Roads and communications in the countryside were allowed to decay.

At the same time, Obote turned more and more toward direct support from the major imperialist powers, in particular London and Washington. British military advisers were involved in the training and organization of UNLA troops.

In part, the regime's repression came in response to the growth of a rural insurgency that had begun in early 1981 when, in the wake of Obote's rigged elections, Museveni left Kampala to form the National Resistance Army.

For several years, the NRA operated primarily in the Baganda-populated Luwero Triangle region north of Kampala. Although the government troops massacred entire villages in an effort to crush the NRA, its support continued to grow. In April 1985 it opened a second front in western Uganda, inhabited by Banyankole and other peoples (Museveni himself is of Banyankole background). In mid-July 1985, the NRA took control of Fort Portal, the first significant town to fall into rebel hands.

Okello's junta

Under the pressure of the NRA's expanding struggle, the fissures within the Obote regime and its army cracked wide open. Just days after the NRA capture of Fort Portal, Acholi and Langi officers and troops in the UNLA began fighting each other. On July 27, Acholi officers staged a coup against Obote (who is a

Langi) and proclaimed a new military regime headed by Tito Okello. Obote fled the country.

Although the bourgeois Democratic Party and a wing of Obote's own UPC agreed to participate in the junta's new government, the NRA refused to do so. It argued that the new regime, headed by some of the same officers responsible for the previous atrocities, marked no real change for the people of Uganda.

That soon became evident. As before, the UNLA troops carried out repeated massacres of villagers and townspeople. Government officials themselves acknowledged numerous instances of rape, murder, theft, and extortion carried out by UNLA units, but claimed they could do nothing to stop it. In November Gen. Basilio Okello (no relation to Tito Okello) complained to his troops that "stealing, robbing with violence, and looting make the war against Yoweri Museveni very difficult to win." He admitted that civilians felt safer cooperating with NRA guerrillas than with government troops.

In an effort to bolster its military position against the NRA, the junta won the collaboration of four other military formations. Two were small Baganda-based guerrilla groups that had opposed the Obote regime. The other two were actually remnants of Amin's old army. With their entry into Okello's government, the atrocities escalated even further.

The Okello regime also declared its desire to further strengthen ties with Washington, London, and Paris. U.S. Ambassador Allen Davis promised the regime "every assistance." Plans were announced to expand the number of British military advisers. According to NRA sources, the regime received new arms shipments from Belgium, the Netherlands, and Egypt.

'A nationalist, democratic movement'

As the repression escalated, support for the NRA and NRM expanded rapidly. The discontent of both the rural and urban population, particularly in the south, was channeled into direct backing for the rebel forces.

An important factor in this was the NRM's promise to bring a halt to the atrocities and to guarantee democratic rights. The rebels' own conduct gave some credence to these promises. In contrast to the behavior of the UNLA forces, NRA guerrillas had a reputation for discipline and respect for the rights and property of ordinary citizens; violations were severely punished.

In an interview in early 1985, Museveni explained, "The NRM is a nationalist organization. It is nationalist in that it is fighting for the aims of the whole country and not for the aims of a section of the country. Secondly, the NRM is a democratic movement, it is a movement which is fighting for democracy."

In September 1985, during negotiations with the Okello regime, the NRM called for the "retraining and reeducation of all security forces, the creation of people's militias, and the involvement of the population in their own security using local committees." Those guilty of "genocidal practices and crimes" under the

Amin and Obote regimes should be tried and punished, it said.

The NRM further called for "measures to rid the nation of corrupt practices and the plunder and waste of national resources by unscrupulous Ugandans, foreigners, or foreign agents." It stressed the need for a massive resettlement program for all those displaced by the war, for steps to revive agricultural and industrial production, for the restoration and expansion of social services, and for the "drawing up of a new popular constitution."

While most of the top leaders of the NRM and NRA come from petty-bourgeois and professional backgrounds (doctors, professors, former civil servants), the ranks are overwhelmingly from the peasantry. Reporters visiting rebel-held areas noted the large proportion of very young fighters in the NRA. Women, too, have been trained and armed.

According to journalists who have visited regions that have been under NRM and NRA control for some months, popularly elected committees have been established to administer local affairs, staff roadblocks, combat smuggling, and provide assistance to the guerrilla forces.

In a dispatch from southwestern Uganda, Jacques de Barrin, a correspondent for the Paris daily *Le Monde*, reported, "In the Kabale region, as elsewhere in the zones that have already been liberated, 'resistance committees,' elected by the population, have been set up at all administrative levels, from the village to the district. Except for 'criminals,' every citizen over the age of 16 has a voice in the management of the daily affairs of the community to which he belongs."

Ouster of the generals

Strengthened by this popular support, the NRA made rapid military gains. By the end of 1985 it held sway over about one-third of the entire country, encompassing some 8 million people. Museveni stated in November that the NRA had 10,550 fighters under arms. Most of the weapons were captured from government troops, but the NRA later revealed that it had also received some arms shipments from Libya.

In late 1985 the rebel forces came under considerable pressure, in particular from the governments of Kenya and Tanzania, to negotiate a compromise with the military junta. A pact was signed on December 17 in Nairobi, Kenya. It accorded the NRA seven seats in a 20-member military council, with Museveni as the council's vice-chairman.

The agreement, however, was never implemented. Museveni and his colleagues refused to go to Kampala, pointing to the junta's failure to guarantee their security. Imprisoned NRM members remained in detention. Most seriously, government troops continued their massacres and looting sprees. Within just a few weeks of the signing of the accord, the NRA charged, 300 more civilians had been murdered by government forces.

But the Okello regime was on its last legs. When the NRA decided to launch its final of-

fensive, it took only several days to secure the capital and several more to take Jinja, Tororo, and other key towns in the south. Much of the government's army simply collapsed.

Although the overthrow of the military junta has brought high hopes among the masses for expanded democratic rights and steps to improve their living conditions, Uganda continues to face enormous difficulties.

The fighting itself may not be over. Many former UNLA troops, as well as the remnants of Amin's old army, have retreated with their weapons to their home areas in the north and could provide a source of opposition to the new government. Okello, who fled the country, has vowed to reorganize his forces to strike back.

Nor will it be easy to overcome the mutual suspicions and frictions that the imperialists and local reactionaries have fostered for decades to keep Uganda's peoples divided against

each other. The fact that the new governing National Resistance Council has only one member from the north is a reflection of this weakness.

Uganda's working people have acquired greater confidence through their participation in the struggle against the Obote and Okello regimes and are now in a better position to defend and advance their interests. But the country's exploiters also retain a strong position. With the support of the imperialists, they will try to influence the course of events.

Uganda also remains a devastated country. Hundreds of thousands have been displaced or maimed by the continual warfare. The economy is in a shambles.

One of the new government's first acts has been to appeal for international economic aid to begin rebuilding the country. Uganda needs all the assistance it can get. □

Kampuchea

Rift in counterrevolutionary forces

Rightists squabble over spoils of U.S., Chinese aid

By Will Reissner

Halfway through the annual October-to-May dry season, there has been little military activity along Kampuchea's border with Thailand, where Kampuchean counterrevolutionary groups are based.

During last year's dry-season offensive, Kampuchean and Vietnamese troops delivered stunning blows to the counterrevolutionaries, driving them out of all their bases on the Kampuchean side of the border. The rightists were unable to slip back into Kampuchea in significant numbers during the subsequent rainy season.

Another factor in the decline of rightist military activity has been a serious rift in one of the main counterrevolutionary groups.

The Kampuchean counterrevolutionaries are organized into the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, a shaky alliance of three feuding organizations.

The coalition was formed in 1982 under strong pressure from the international sponsors of the component groups — the governments of China and the United States and the proimperialist regimes in Southeast Asia.

The strongest of the three counterrevolutionary forces is the Khmer Rouge, led by Pol Pot, Khieu Samphan, and Ieng Sary. The Khmer Rouge ruled Kampuchea (formerly called Cambodia) from April 1975 to Jan. 7, 1979, when they were overthrown by Kampuchean rebels backed by Vietnamese troops.

Joining the Khmer Rouge in the coalition are former Prime Minister Son Sann's Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) and former Prince Norodom Sihanouk's National Sihanoukist Army.

For two months, however, Son Sann's

KPNLF has been racked by internal disputes. Top officials of the organization, railing against Son Sann's "dictatorial" methods, have established a Provisional Central Committee of Salvation of the KPNLF. These officials have refused to allow Son Sann to visit the group's base camps in the Thai border regions.

Son Sann's autocratic methods may be an element behind the revolt in his forces. But equally, if not more, important is a fight over division of the spoils of foreign aid to the counterrevolutionaries.

In addition to funds from China and covert aid from Washington channeled through the Central Intelligence Agency and the Thai government, the Reagan administration recently allocated \$3.5 million in open, "nonlethal" aid to the Son Sann and Sihanouk groups.

There is also considerable evidence that the Thai military has been encouraging the dissidents in Son Sann's organization because of Thai frustration over the counterrevolutionaries' inability to mount significant military actions against the Kampuchean government.

Thai officials have complained that the KPNLF's armed forces are essentially bandits, who prey on the population of the border region and are more interested in smuggling than in fighting the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The anti-Son Sann faction is also reportedly receiving aid from the government of Singapore.

The KPNLF dissidents aim to force Son Sann to restrict his role to serving as an international figurehead for the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, while leaving them in control of the military camps and foreign aid. □

The hard lessons of the Atlantic Coast

Interview with FSLN leader Tomás Borge

[The following is an interview with Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge, a national leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), minister of the interior, and chairman of the National Commission on Autonomy of the Atlantic Coast. The interview, conducted by Marta Harnecker, is taken from the January 15 issue of *El Nuevo Diario*, a daily newspaper published in Managua, Nicaragua. The translation from the Spanish and the footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. One of the major self-criticisms the FSLN has made of its practice concerns the problem of the Atlantic Coast. How did this zone become fertile ground for the counterrevolution?

Answer. Experience teaches that when a revolutionary movement does not fully take up the people's legitimate demands it yields ground for the enemy to work in.

I do not feel, however, that the people's demands themselves would be fertile ground for the counterrevolution. The enemy habitually raises demagogic demands, sometimes flashy ones. It mentions indigenous rights without committing itself to anything concrete. Autonomy is not nor can it be in their conscious plans.

On the Atlantic Coast we are witnessing a particular phenomenon that follows a historical-social matrix whose depths we were not familiar with.

The pattern of colonial and neocolonial exploitation on the Atlantic Coast was made up of extractive activities in the mining, fishing, and forest-products sectors: a large part of the rubber used during the Second World War came from the Nicaraguan Atlantic region.

This predatory economy changed the ecology and the areas of production and reproduction of the ethnic groups and produced a selective proletarianization that was dependent on the booms and recessions of the world market.

New human groups — Creoles or Blacks, Garifonos or Caribes — were introduced as a permanent work force.

This economy, with its enclave characteristics, facilitated the plunder of the Coast's natural resources and the isolation of the region. It was always dominated by foreign powers, with a weak presence of the national state.

The communities harbored deep-seated suspicion of the central government, which was historically complicit in the Coast's situation.

In summary, the revolution came up against a problem that had not presented itself in any other part: the ethnic problem.

Initially we thought we could solve it with



TOMÁS BORGE

very costly strategic investments that hardly went beyond good intentions and technicolor dreams that projected them bearing fruit in the medium to long range. In addition, we made enormous efforts to solve urgent social problems.

Without understanding the depth of the ethnic question, we placed our confidence, in the case of the Miskitos, in the MISURASATA organization, which was deeply penetrated by the United States embassy.¹ This organization diverted the demands of the Miskitos toward exacerbating the interethnic conflicts and toward confrontation with the revolution.

The cadres the revolution sent to the Atlantic Coast, having no knowledge of the specific local and regional situation, mechanically applied the experiences of what was done on the Pacific. The revolution awakened expectations on the Atlantic Coast, which for the first time looked toward Nicaragua.

Then we arrived to promise them heaven on earth, without there being objective possibilities to fulfill our promises. To this we must add the bureaucracy and inexperience of a revolution still in its diapers.

Confronting the problem of the Atlantic Coast required capable cadres and great sensitivity. Above all it was necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the characteristics of

1. MISURASATA — the name means Miskitos, Sumos, Ramas, and Sandinistas United — was originally organized by the FSLN shortly after the triumph of the revolution in July 1979. It later became dominated by counterrevolutionary forces.

each ethnic group, their kinship relations, their relationships, their way of viewing and evaluating things, which are not the same as our way of viewing and assessing them.

Q. What about the Steadman Fagoth episode?²

A. It is a good example. We arrested him after proving his connections with the Somozaist Security Office, thinking that the Miskitos were going to be happy that we had discovered a security agent in their ranks.

But that's not how it was. They continued to be loyal to him. Then we stepped back, we freed him, thinking we could work with him politically.

But Fagoth, a CIA agent, a dyed-in-the-wool enemy of the revolution, rather than going back to the Atlantic Coast, left immediately for Honduras, where he began to organize an armed counterrevolutionary movement, based on the influence he exercised among the Miskitos, for whom their leader is the voice of wisdom.

A great deal of time had to pass before Fagoth's slimy activities stained his appearance and became obvious to the Miskitos.

In addition, the FSLN did not have and does not have mass media apparatuses in that zone. And the enemy, being neither timid nor lazy, set up radio stations to speak to the Miskitos in their own language and to tell them outrageous things about the Sandinistas: that we were going to take away their lands, their religion, their children — all the sulfuric acid of the best counterrevolutionary propaganda.

And of course they believed those who spoke in Miskito and not us, who spoke in Spanish and did not understand a word of their language, nor anything about their customs; they felt that we were alien beings. Logically, imperialism had all the advantages.

Finally, it must be added that we underestimated the empire's capacity to mount a military option, using this problem and the legitimate demands of some Coastal communities.

Q. What happened with the moving of the Miskitos from the border areas to other places?

A. We had to go from not confronting the ethnic problem to confronting it militarily. The Miskitos who were settled on the banks of the Río Coco were the first victims of that situation. Some groups of indigenous people col-

2. Fagoth, a leader of MISURASATA, was exposed as a Somozaist spy and arrested in 1981. He was released after a few months.

laborated with the Somozaist ex-Guardsmen who, supported by the CIA, sought to open a beachhead in Northern Zelaya.

Then we decided to move these communities, providing them with better living conditions than they had on the river. It was one more experience that showed us our lack of knowledge about the special features of the residents of the Atlantic Coast.

They left the river because we removed them, but they left their hearts back with their dead, back on their land, looking into the mirror of the river.

On a visit I made to Puerto Cabezas I suggested the possibility of a return to the Rfo Coco, which would have to take place in a slow, organized manner. But immediately there was the beginning of what I have called the counterexodus. Without food, without medicine, without anything, they all returned, thereby bringing to a close the most critical stage in the revolutionary government's relationship with the ethnic communities of the Atlantic Coast.

Q. What does the autonomy you have proposed for the Atlantic Coast consist of?

A. Because we are revolutionaries and want the well-being of the Nicaraguan people, we analyzed the situation and realized that we had not known how to correctly confront their demands. This new appreciation gave rise to the Autonomy Plan.³

It is an unprecedented revolutionary response to deal with three problems that characterize the situation: the yearning for peace, the return to their communities of origin, and autonomy.

When I speak of autonomy I am referring not just to respect for their customs, religion, language, and right to use the forests and waters, but also to the election of the local administrative authorities and a Regional Assembly, meaning an advanced autonomy, the only real autonomy for ethnic groups that exists in the

3. The text of the Autonomy Plan appears in the Oct. 21, 1985, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.



Miskito home in Sumubila.

Americas.

All the ethnic groups are going to have the same rights, regardless of their numerical make-up. We are not going to divide the Coast into the area of influence of the May Pole dance of the Blacks and the Banana Song of the Miskitos. Everything that is in the region is included within a single, homogeneous plan, keeping in mind, however, the characteristics of each sector.

Q. Has this new policy changed the attitude of these peoples toward the revolution?

A. We cannot say that this has already fully taken place, but there have been qualitative changes in the population's thinking. There is still some mistrust toward the Sandinista Front, but they already believe in the autonomy because they can feel it, they can sense it, because it is a process that has already begun and is on the move.

Peace, return, and autonomy have become the banners of struggle of the peoples of the Atlantic Coast.

General strike shuts down Argentina

A 24-hour general strike, called by the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) on January 24, brought most industrial, governmental, and commercial activity in Argentina to a halt.

According to the CGT, the strike was 97 percent effective throughout the country. Reports in the U.S. press described much of downtown Buenos Aires as "deserted" during the action.

The union federation described the work stoppage as "a popular referendum" on the government's austerity policies and "against the subordination of our economy to the demands of the International Monetary Fund."

The strike, the fourth since the end of military rule in Argentina two years ago, reflected mounting working-class discontent with President Raúl Alfonsín's economic policies, which have cut real wages by 28 percent in the last six months and have choked off economic growth.

On June 14, 1985, the Alfonsín government announced a package of economic moves that it claimed would halt inflation, which had been running at an annual rate of 1,000 percent. Among the measures were a freeze on prices and wages, a sharp cut in the government's budget deficit, and the introduction of a new currency, the austral, to replace the peso.

Although the program succeeded in freezing wages, prices continued to rise. Between June and December, the overall cost of living rose by 20 percent, while food prices jumped 59 percent.

At the beginning of 1986, the government finally authorized a 5 percent rise in wages, but this left workers' real income far below where it had been when Alfonsín's program was first implemented.

The union movement is also bitterly opposed to the government's policy of subordinating domestic economic growth to pay-

ment of Argentina's \$50 billion foreign debt. Through the Ministry of the Interior and the Sandinista People's Army we have held talks with those who rose up. I myself have spoken with them. The recent actions of a Miskito group opposed to the peace have been repudiated by the communities themselves.

The creation of a new Nicaraguan nation, ethnically pluralist, multilingual, and culturally pluralist, will take time. But the bases are firmly planted since the Sandinista Front took up a natural demand of the indigenous people and was able to understand that the autonomy of the Atlantic Coast was necessary for the unity of Nicaragua.

Our experience should be studied by the revolutionary movement in Latin America. There are countries with large ethnic minorities, with specific demands that must find a solution within the revolution.

Imperialism works intensively with these populations. Organizations linked to the CIA try to create — under the mantle of religion, culture, or humanitarian aid — a strategic reserve that can confront the revolutionary movements at the opportune moment. □

ment of Argentina's \$50 billion foreign debt.

Union officials argue that the \$6 billion that will be paid to the international bankers this year as interest on the debt could be better used to reactivate the economy. The CGT has called for a unilateral moratorium on debt payments, a step Alfonsín has rejected as "irresponsible" and "impracticable."

The January 24 general strike followed a growing wave of labor actions in the preceding weeks. These have included work-to-rule actions in the post offices, wildcat strikes by telephone operators, garbage collectors, and subway workers, slowdowns by air freight handlers, and periodic walkouts by airline and railway employees.

In addition, a visit to Argentina by the Chase Manhattan Bank's former chairman, David Rockefeller, triggered widespread protests on January 14. Many protesters recalled Rockefeller's close ties with the previous military regime, which amassed Argentina's huge foreign debt.

Even members of Alfonsín's government sought to dissociate themselves from the visit by the U.S. banker. Aldo Tessio, a close associate of the Argentine president, was quoted in the Argentine press describing Rockefeller as a "bloodsucker."

Police broke up the protests with tear gas, water cannon, and rubber bullets. Eighty-one people were arrested.

On the heels of the success of the January 24 general strike, the CGT has called for a February 18 meeting of political parties, business organizations, and the Catholic church to discuss the present economic crisis.

The 2.5-million-member CGT has also warned that it will organize mass street demonstrations if the government does not respond favorably to its demands. □

Print workers forced on strike

Bosses' attack on jobs aided by lack of union solidarity

By Steve Craine

A strike by 6,000 print workers against Britain's largest newspaper chain is the biggest challenge to the British trade union movement since the 12-month-long coal miners' strike in 1984-85.

The strike was forced on the printers' unions in late January by the carefully laid union-busting schemes of international publishing magnate Rupert Murdoch. By the second week of the strike, Murdoch appears to have succeeded in firing the printers and newspaper distributors and transferring production to a new, high-technology printing plant staffed by members of a different union under a no-strike contract.

This attack on the print workers has also sharpened divisions within the trade union movement itself, forcing a confrontation between the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the strikebreaking electricians' union.

The strike began Friday, January 24, when the National Graphical Association (NGA) and the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (SOGAT) called their members out against Murdoch's News International rather than accept a crippling contract demanded by the company.

By Sunday, however, the *Sunday Times* and the *News of the World* were rolling off highly automated presses at Murdoch's new plant in Wapping, East London.

The modern presses and computerized typesetting equipment in Wapping were being operated by members of the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunications and Plumbing Union (EETPU), whose leaders had accepted the no-strike contract rejected by NGA and SOGAT.

The majority of journalists at News International's four papers had already accepted Murdoch's demand that they work with new computer equipment at Wapping in exchange for pay raises and free insurance or face dismissal.

Distribution of the scab papers had been arranged through an independent trucking company on contract to News International, and attempts by the Transport and General Workers' Union to stop these trucks from moving were blocked by a High Court injunction.

The headline in the first scab issue of the *Sun* on Monday crowed, "We beat the strike thugs."

Strong union traditions

The printing trades have long been a stronghold of unionism. Although the printers' unions still retain the craft divisions inherited from their early years, they have won relatively good wages and benefits for their skilled craftsmen.

One of the central fights waged by the print

unions has been to prevent the loss of members' jobs.

In recent years the newspaper owners have been trying to boost profits by undermining the work rules imposed on them by the unions and by introducing new labor-saving technology. The bosses' position in this fight has been strengthened by the recent trend toward concentration of publishing in the hands of a few giant conglomerates. Three chains now account for 83 percent of the circulation of national Sunday papers and 75 percent of nationally distributed daily papers. The same chains are also grabbing an increasing share of the local and regional publications.

Newcomers to British publishing, like Australian-born Rupert Murdoch, who also owns papers in the United States and Australia, have moved aggressively to take advantage of anti-union laws passed by the Conservative government to reverse the past gains of the industry's workers.

In 1983 Eddie Shah, a publisher of local advertising papers in the Manchester area, forced the NGA out on strike by dismissing six workers. Although the NGA fought back with a two-day nationwide strike, Shah sued to have the support strike declared illegal by the courts. Without adequate solidarity from the TUC, the NGA had to concede defeat. This defeat opened a crack in the print unions' record of job protection.

Throughout 1985 a series of small strikes ended in concessions by the unions, opening further cracks in the printers' defenses. The Mirror Group, among the country's three largest newspaper chains, succeeded in dismissing 2,100 workers early this year.

Murdoch empire

News International, the British arm of Rupert Murdoch's international publishing empire, now corners 35 percent of the national circulation in Britain. Two of his papers, the popular tabloid daily *Sun* and the *Sunday News of the World*, bring in an average yearly profit of £30 million [£1 = US\$1.40]. The prestigious *Times* and *Sunday Times*, which Murdoch purchased in 1981, have been less profitable.

Murdoch has been preparing for a long time to bust the printers' unions, which he sees as the main obstacle to more profitable operations in Britain.

In 1985 he announced plans to launch a new daily, the *Post*, and began construction of a modern £100 million plant for the paper. The plant is located in the depressed former dock area of Wapping, more than a mile from Fleet Street in central London, where most London papers have been printed for 200 years.

At first Murdoch claimed the new facility would be used only for the *Post*. But it was

built like a fortress, with a 10-foot-high wall, a moat, coils of barbed wire, and a private army of guards, in anticipation of the battle that would be fought when Murdoch's real plans became known.

With the Wapping plant well under construction, Murdoch began putting the squeeze on the NGA and SOGAT.

He demanded that they agree to a contract that would legally commit the unions not to "instigate, promote, sponsor, engage in, finance, or condone any strike or other industrial action for any reason whatsoever."

He further demanded promises that any employee taking part in a strike could be immediately fired without recourse. A contract clause proposed by Murdoch would have forbidden "discrimination" against nonunion members — in other words prohibiting a closed shop.

Besides eliminating thousands of jobs through new technology, Murdoch wanted complete "flexibility" of job assignments, removing the workers' major defense against speedup and job combination.

The two major printers' unions, NGA and SOGAT, along with leaders of the TUC, negotiated with News International in late 1985. They indicated willingness to make substantial concessions.

The general secretary of SOGAT, Brenda Dean, said her union was "prepared to break new ground" with Murdoch. A seven-point compromise proposed by TUC General Secretary Norman Willis included a ban on unofficial strikes and allowed binding arbitration and increased job flexibility.

News International management rejected these concessions and threatened to move all production to its Wapping plant if the unions would not agree to legally enforceable contracts and company control over hiring.

While he negotiated with the print unions and the TUC, Murdoch was secretly working on a deal with the leadership of the electricians' union, EETPU. After talks with the other unions broke down, the EETPU leadership indicated its willingness to reach a legally binding, no-strike, single-union agreement with Murdoch. Meanwhile electricians were brought in on individual, short-term contracts to work the presses in Wapping.

This set the stage for the final showdown.

News International announced that a supplement to the January 19 *Sunday Times* would be produced at the new plant without the printers' unions. When SOGAT members refused to deliver the scab papers, Murdoch was prepared with an independent trucking company, most of whose drivers refused to honor SOGAT picket lines. The majority of the scab supplements were delivered on schedule.

The following Friday, January 24, the NGA and SOGAT workers began their strike.

Murdoch's success pushed the publishers' antiunion drive qualitatively forward. The day the strike began, the Express Newspapers Co. announced its desire to cut its work force by one-third. The *Guardian*, *Financial Times*,

and *Telegraph* are all planning to build new, high-technology printing plants.

The strikebreaking actions of the EETPU leadership led to moves to have the union expelled from the TUC. This was not the first time the electricians' leaders had undermined union solidarity. They failed to provide what could have been decisive support for the coal miners during their year-long strike by encouraging their members working at power stations to continue handling scab coal.

Eric Hammond, president of the EETPU, has been organizing an alliance of the most

class-collaborationist forces in the labor movement. He has met with unions outside the TUC, most significantly the so-called Union of Democratic Miners, the outfit of former scabs set up last year with the government's blessing to split the National Union of Mineworkers.

A front-page article in the January 24 *Socialist Action* explained the stakes for British working people in this struggle. It pointed to the past sweetheart deals signed by the EETPU leadership and noted that "accepting Murdoch's legally binding, no-strike . . . deal is a qualitative step. It would herald open sea-

son for attacks on every single union, and [would] be the beginning of the end for effective union organisation in the print."

"Now it is up to the TUC," the article added, "to ensure that the full force of the trade union movement is brought to bear against Murdoch and the electricians' leaders. . . . Every single union must maintain pressure on the TUC and scotch Hammond's moves to scab on the whole of the British trade union movement. The print workers must be given total trade union backing in their fight with Murdoch." □

Britain

Coal Board presses drive to close pits

Mine workers resist, fight to save jobs

By Kathy Mickells

When I arrived in the coal mining villages in South Wales, shop upon shop had been closed, the coal pits stood idle, and weeds were growing in the once thriving steel mills and rail tracks.

"South Wales' devastation is the product of the economic policies of the Thatcher government," a miner told me. Once a major industrial center of Britain, the area now offers little hope of employment for its youth.

"They've closed 10 pits here since the end of the strike, and 5,000 miners have lost their jobs," Len Jones, secretary of the Maerdy

This article was written following a visit to Britain's coalfields in December 1985. Mickells is a U.S. coal miner living in Morgantown, West Virginia, and is a member of the United Mine Workers of America.

branch of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) explained. "You have to realize the impact of this. There just aren't jobs to be found. Unemployment is 33 percent in South Wales, with unemployment for females and youth being much higher. The Tory government is condemning our young people to a life without a job. Their pit closure program means the death of our communities."

It was over the plans for this murderous pit closure program that the miners struck for nearly 12 months from March 1984 to March 1985.

'Strategy for Coal'

Since the end of the strike a staggering 16,000 miners' jobs have been lost due to pit closures and cutbacks. The NUM believes this is just the tip of the iceberg.

From the beginning of the 1984-85 strike, NUM President Arthur Scargill denounced the National Coal Board (NCB) for planning to close 70 pits and eliminate 70,000 miners'

jobs. When *The Miner*, the journal of the NUM, published a Coal Board "hit list" with the names of 55 pits threatened with closure, the NCB was forced to admit the documents from which the "hit list" was garnered were authentic. But it claimed that the NUM was misinterpreting the information.

"Arthur Scargill was always telling the truth about the Coal Board's plans," a miner's wife told me. "Maybe now people will believe us. Our fight is against pit closures and for jobs — against the economic policies of the Tory government that lead to unemployment."

For anyone who doubted Scargill and *The Miner*'s claims, the NCB released on Oct. 15, 1985, its "Strategy for Coal." Based on the premise that the coal industry must become self-sufficient, the board said, "It is most unlikely that any colliery constantly producing at an operating cost in excess of £42 [about US\$61] per ton could make an economic contribution even if supply and demand are in balance. In the short run we would therefore regard this as an absolute upper limit of acceptable cost. . . ."

"Indeed, in due course we shall need to aim at costs of no more than £38 per ton at our long-life pits. . . ."

The NUM has published a special edition of *The Miner* to explain what this "Strategy for Coal" actually means. It means that the overwhelming majority of British pits — possibly 125 out of 150 — are targets for closure. It means a minimum loss of 80 pits and 60,850 jobs before 1990, a figure that could rise to more than 108,000. British mines currently employ 170,000 miners.

The main goal of the NCB's "Strategy for Coal," miners explained to me, is to restructure the nationalized coal industry into a few highly profitable super-pits and then to sell off the industry to private corporations.

Since 1947 the British coalfields have been nationalized. The nationalization of the coal

industry is viewed by miners as a tremendous gain that unionists fought for and won.

Under nationalization the union's hand has been strengthened in fighting against pit closures and for higher safety standards and more favorable work rules.

Unlike the situation in the United States, where coal companies can close a mine whenever they want to, the NCB has only been able to close mines when the coal has been exhausted or unsafe geological conditions exist. And under a review procedure, the union has the option of challenging the decision of the board to close a pit. Each side presents its case before a tribunal. The tribunal then decides whether the Coal Board was justified in proposing closure.

Although the independence of these tribunals from the government's policies is questionable, the procedure allows the union to present the miners' case publicly. The union's ability to win support is strengthened, and the NCB is put under greater pressure.

But now the threat of denationalization and of making profitability the basis for closure is seen by miners as a direct attack on their long-fought-for rights.

Attack on safety standards

The NCB's plan for the industry includes a major attack on the safety standards and work rules that miners fought and died for, Peter Heathfield, NUM general secretary, explained to miners and their supporters at a social I attended in Nottinghamshire.

"The NCB is seeking amendments to the Mines and Quarries Act," he said. "We will have deputies [face foremen] who have never been face trained. The NCB is claiming that it wants to give the miners a four-day work week. Yes, four days of 10-hour shifts. They want to increase the amount of time spent working at the face . . . increasing our workday by two and three-quarters hours."

"The board's plans send shivers down my spine," stated Jack Jones, NUM Leicestershire area leader. "Extending the work day means more injuries."

The emphasis the board has placed on making pits more productive, he explained, is a direct attack on safety. "Men are being encouraged to work with injuries in the interest of production. Not only will the injured man be hurting himself, but he will become a safety hazard to others." The Coal Board is trying to push through standards developed in the nonunion mines in the United States, he told me.

"Since the end of the strike, the accident rate has greatly increased," Steve Shukla, a miner from South Yorkshire explained. If the miners "consider conditions to be unsafe, then we are to get out of the pit until the union carries out a safety check." But the men are being intimidated into not using their safety rights because "the management takes the time off your incentive pay. Incentive pay is based on the tons produced per day, per week, and each individual's amount depends on the percentage of time he works."

Financial maneuvering of NCB

The NCB plan for coal is an attempt not only to restructure the industry but also to weaken the NUM.

The NCB has demonstrated it can and will maneuver investments to make potentially profitable pits either money makers or money losers. It consciously invested millions of pounds in the Midlands and Nottinghamshire to secure a higher standard of living for miners there before the strike. It expected to win the loyalty of these miners in opposition to the union by making them believe that their pits and jobs were secure. It was in these areas that the majority of miners scabbed during the strike.

At the same time, the NCB refused to invest a few million pounds in Scottish mines, which would have made them quite profitable. Scotland has some of the best coal in Britain, with low sulphur and ash content. But the Scottish miners are considered among the most loyal and militant components of the NUM.

At Polmaise Colliery in Scotland, John McCormach, NUM branch delegate, explained the situation the miners there confront.

"For seven months after the strike, no work was done here. Then on October 9, the NCB area director informed us that £3 million would be invested over six years for the complex. But there still isn't any machinery in the mine. We are undermanned. Before the strike we had 354 men working. We now have 110."

Polmaise is a developing colliery, working through a geological fault to get to 40 years worth of low sulphur, low ash coal. The NCB had scheduled this pit for closure in 1984, and the miners from Polmaise were the first to go on strike in March of that year. They were also among the last to return to work, staying out for another week over the issue of amnesty for fired miners.

"The Coal Board is very crafty. If you don't

feed a horse, he isn't going to work. And that's what they are doing by not giving us the equipment and keeping the pit undermanned. They are trying to put the blame on the men. But you can't produce without equipment."

Other pits with a history of militancy, including Penrkyber in South Wales with a 20-year reserve of coal, have been closed since the end of the strike.

Recently, while claiming the need to cut production, the NCB refused orders of 6 million tons from Denmark and Romania, claiming Britain does not have the output. "Ironically," McCormach said, "the coal needed for the Denmark order was low sulphur, low ash, like the coal at Polmaise."

The Tory government continues to attack the NUM for its leadership role in the labor movement. The stakes remain high in this ongoing battle, which is far from having ended with the strike. The miners point to the plan for coal as part of the overall attack by the British ruling class on the working class. "It is an attempt to solve the economic crisis facing the rulers by making us, the workers, pay," a miner's wife told me. "And it isn't just the miners under attack. They're cutting back on all social services as well. To stop this butchery, we have to fight united."

Campaign against pit closings

The National Union of Mineworkers has renewed its campaign against mine closings.

"The miners' wives and support groups have been in the leadership of the fight against pit closures. We've leafleted all the pits proposed for closure to encourage the men to fight and not to take redundancy." That was how Ann Jones, a leader of the South Wales Women's Support Group, explained the driving force behind the campaign.

The union and the support groups have produced numerous leaflets and pamphlets stating why the miners should not give in to the government's Coal Board. They explain in these leaflets that the initial bonanza of the lumpsum payments offered to miners who give up their jobs rapidly dwindles and that the payment really leaves miners and their families extremely vulnerable to the government's cutbacks in social services.

A leaflet produced by the South Wales Women's Support Group stated, "The conditions of work, pay, and the future for our children lie in the hands of the miners, and we would ask you to consider most carefully not just your own future, but that of the children and the local communities. Miners are in the forefront of the struggle for jobs in the valleys and we must continue to fight redundancies and forced unemployment on principle. There is nothing to offer but tremendous struggle and sacrifice for those concerned, but without this struggle there will be less of a future for those who will come behind us."

Demonstrations have been organized in many of the areas where pits have been targeted for shutdown.

Miners in both Yorkshire and Durham have voted to fight the closing of their mines.

Another coal mine scheduled to be shut down is Eppleton in Durham. The local union branch delegate explained to me his reasons for fighting the closing. "They're trying to shut our colliery, and on the economic argument we could lose. But if we have a fight then we might save the next pit. We have to meet and fight the Coal Board inch by inch."

Union fights for victimized miners

Solidarity is the theme of a public campaign the National Union of Mineworkers has voted to carry out in defense of miners fired for strike activity.

More than 10,000 miners were arrested during the course of the strike. Nationally, over 900 miners were fired from their jobs because of strike-related activities.

"The vast majority of our members were dismissed for one simple fact — for being 100 percent supporters of this union," stated NUM General Secretary Peter Heathfield.

Five hundred fifty British miners remain fired. And of those dismissed miners who have now been taken back by the board, the great majority have been rehired, not reinstated. Thus they get no back pay for the time they were unjustly dismissed. In many cases the board has refused to honor the recommendations of the industry tribunals that have ruled in favor of the miners. Instead of rehiring or reinstating, the board refuses them their jobs and offers severance pay.

The case of the fired miners is the focus of a campaign by the union. At the Oct. 28, 1985, national Special Delegates Conference, a seven-point resolution mapping out this campaign was adopted unanimously.

This resolution reaffirmed the union's commitment to those victimized during the strike. It commended and vowed to force action on the positions of support for the reinstatement of the miners adopted by the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party.

This conference initiated a "campaign to win the widest support from all sections of the community towards winning re-instatement of sacked miners."

Putting forward this resolution, NUM President Arthur Scargill urged the mobilization of dismissed miners "as fund-raisers and campaigners for this union." They would "show other workers that what happened to us could happen to them."

"We cannot," he said, "leave them isolated. We have to show in a very positive and powerful way that people do not stand alone."

"In 1985, the worst thing we can do in society is to condemn any person to a life of helplessness and hopelessness and inactivity. Let's utilize them — let's organize them." □

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STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Split from the Fourth International

United Secretariat statement on Australian SWP

[The following statement was adopted by majority vote of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International at its Dec. 16–20, 1985, meeting.]

[The National Committee of the Australian Socialist Workers Party (SWP) voted to split from the Fourth International on Aug. 17, 1985, and made this decision public in the August 28 issue of the party's weekly newspaper, *Direct Action*. This decision was endorsed by the Australian SWP's National Convention in early January 1986.]

[For extensive coverage and documentation of the SWP split, see the Sept. 23, 1985, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. The articles in that issue, along with related materials, are also available in an Education for Socialists Bulletin, *The Split of the Australian Socialist Workers Party National Committee from the Fourth International*, distributed by Pathfinder Press.]

* * *

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Australia has publicly announced its decision to disaffiliate its organization from the Fourth International, part of a process of a progressive abandonment of central conceptions and perspectives of revolutionary Marxism. At the last World Congress of the Fourth International [January–February 1985] the positions of the SWP were rejected by overwhelming majorities.

The public explanations¹ that the SWP leadership has given for its organizational break with the Fourth International include:

- its claim that the Fourth International suffers from "an overestimation of the place . . . occupied by political revolution against the ruling castes in the bureaucratized workers states";²
- its rejection of the theory and practice of permanent revolution and its assertion that the test of actual revolutions has repeatedly confirmed its incorrectness;
- that the Fourth International represents "an obstacle to fully participating in the process of building new revolutionary parties and a new mass international revolutionary movement";³
- a subordination of the aim of building a revolutionary international to the notion of "international collaboration among revolution-

aries";⁴

1. According to the SWP leaders, the International has been unable to grasp the "anti-imperialist axis" that, according to them, constitutes the unifying element of the world revolution.

This notion implies, in fact, that the main feature of the world revolution is the anti-imperialist struggles carried out in the dominated countries. The underlying idea is that the relationship of forces, and in the last analysis, the fate of the revolution on a world scale, will be fundamentally decided in these liberation struggles and that the proletariat in the industrial countries will be just a backup.

As against this idea, the last World Congress emphasized the linking together of the socialist dynamic of the revolution in the dominated countries, the socialist tasks of the proletariat in the imperialist countries, and the tasks of political revolution against the bureaucracy in the USSR, China, and Eastern Europe.

2. In the framework of their new conception of the world revolution — whose axis can be reduced to the anti-imperialist struggles — the SWP leaders blot out the perspective of the antibureaucratic political revolution and the revolutionary significance of the struggles waged by the working class in the bureaucratized workers' states. The SWP leadership explains that the antibureaucratic struggle should be subordinated to the "anti-imperialist axis."

The SWP leaders are replacing the revolutionary Marxist conception of the three sectors of world revolution with a "campist" conception, which expresses the fundamental antagonism existing on a world scale in terms of the opposition between states or blocs of states instead of in terms of social classes.

Carried through to its practical conclusion this would mean that, in the interest of the fight against imperialism, the struggle against the bureaucratic castes should be given up. But these bureaucratic castes represent a major obstacle to aiding the proletariat of the dominated countries to wage a consistent struggle against imperialism and for the workers of the industrialized countries to challenge the domination of capital.

3. This is why the struggle to overthrow the bureaucracy is an integral part of the world revolution. Concerned to avoid the so-called "sectarianism" of the Fourth International, the SWP leadership is for its part on the way to fabricating a theory of "nonsectarianism,"

whose logic is to blot out the struggles led by one-third of the world working class!

In fact, the present position of the SWP reflects a more general opportunist attitude toward the bureaucracy. This is concretized in apologetic analyses of the bureaucratized societies, which the SWP leaders persist in calling "socialist states." For the SWP leaders "there is no economic crisis in the USSR,"⁵ despite the evidence provided by the Kremlin leadership itself in its calls for reforms of the economic system.

For SWP members who were delegates to the recent Moscow Youth Festival, all critical judgment was suppressed, and instead a rosy view was adopted which proclaimed that "the opportunities to meet and discuss with others were only limited by the hours in the day. . . . And it seemed that the whole of Moscow wanted to be part of it. . . ." Not a critical word was reserved for their hosts, a bureaucratic apparatus which under Stalin claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers and continues to suppress independent organization and discussion today.

The SWP's adaption has gone so far as to fail to disassociate themselves from such Stalinist crimes as the execution of the Vietnamese Trotskyists in 1945, instead providing a justification for these actions, claiming that "the Trotskyists and their nationalist allies had made a major contribution to the near-destruction of the revolution in the South. Preventing further damage, if necessary by physical repression, was imperative."⁶

4. But the evolution of the SWP has been expressed above all by its leadership's rejection of our conceptions of socialist democracy, reaffirmed and made more precise in a specific resolution at the last World Congress. These conceptions — directly linked to our strategic perspective of political revolution — are an essential element in the identity of our movement.

Our positions on socialist democracy are based on the experience of mass movements in the bureaucratized workers' states in which hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of workers from the East Berlin revolt in 1953 to the rise of the Polish revolution in 1980–81 have put forward ideas, perspectives, and demands that have enriched and confirmed an orientation developed since the emergence of the Left Opposition at the end of the 1920s. They forget that in the last analysis these

5. David Holmes in July 31, 1985, *Direct Action*.

6. "The Vietnamese Revolution and Its Leadership," by Allen Myers, 1985, p. 48.

1. "The Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International," by Jim Percy and Doug Lorimer. Published in Australia, September 1985.

2. *Ibid.* p. 18

3. *Ibid.* p. 54

4. *Ibid.* p. 55

movements confronted the bureaucratic regimes as such, going beyond a purely reformist perspective.

The logic of the SWP positions on the other hand comes down to now placing itself within such a perspective of reform. It is on this terrain in particular that the SWP is going in the direction of a break with revolutionary Marxism.

5. The revolution in the dominated countries is now presented by the SWP as a revolution by stages that implies a qualitative separation between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution.

Such a concept cannot be based on the history of any victorious revolution, starting from the Nicaraguan, Cuban, or Vietnamese revolutions. All these revolutions confirm the basic idea of permanent revolution — that the democratic and national tasks of the revolution cannot be resolved without the workers taking power. The Sandinista leaders have explained that they made tactical alliances with bourgeois forces, without giving up their own leadership of the revolution.

Furthermore in Cuba, following the installation of the workers' state, the growing over into the socialist phase took place at a relatively rapid rate. The Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) waged a heroic struggle for over 30 years, which resulted first in the formation of the North Vietnamese workers' state and then its extension to the South after the 1975 victory. This is what we call the process of permanent revolution. Che Guevara was thinking in the same direction when he said that "a socialist revolution or the caricature of the revolution" was the perspective in Latin America.

It is true that in a whole series of imperialist-dominated countries leaderships have been inspired by the schema of a revolution by stages and that they have banked on a strategic alliance with the bourgeoisie or important sectors of it. The practical consequences of such conceptions and orientations are tragically clear: the worker and peasant masses have suffered crushing, indeed historic, defeats.

In the course of their polemic, the SWP leaders pose the question of why the Vietnamese masses succeeded while the Indonesian masses were crushed. They correctly point to the differences between the strategies of the two Communist Parties as decisive. But they fail to stress that it was precisely because the VCP did not halt the struggle until the establishment of a workers' state that U.S. imperialism was struck its heaviest ever military and political blow and that it was because of the Indonesian CP's stagist view of the revolution that a million Indonesian workers went to their death.

The essential is, and remains, that the proletariat and its vanguard must from the outset seek to lead the revolutionary process, and that only the dictatorship of the proletariat can successfully accomplish the fulfillment of the democratic tasks.

6. The SWP leaders now claim that the majority of the International has also gone toward an — albeit timid — revision of the

theory of permanent revolution without, for all that, drawing the conclusion, as the SWP has done, that Trotsky's theory was in fact, leftist, sectarian, and consequently wrong.

In fact, the text adopted at the last World Congress concerning the debate on permanent revolution said in particular:

The difference between Lenin and Trotsky before 1917 can be discussed as much as one wants. This is a historical and theoretical question about which many viewpoints have already been expressed inside the Fourth International. However, the thesis of the sixth point of the Left Opposition is a dividing line between revolutionaries and reformists in the colonial revolution. It is consistent from its first to its last word since there cannot be "a peaceful growing over" of the Stalinist-style democratic dictatorship (as a regime separate and distinct from the dictatorship of the proletariat) into a socialist dictatorship; nor can the building of socialism be undertaken without a revolutionary conquest of power. On the other hand, there can and must be a growing over of the democratic and national tasks of the revolution into socialist tasks, *in the framework of a dictatorship of the proletariat.*

On this essential point the Cuban, Vietnamese, and Nicaraguan revolutions, and negatively the Indonesian disaster and the bourgeois normalization currently under way in Iran, confirm the immediate relevance of the theses of the permanent revolution: "For countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially for the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution means that the genuine and complete solution of the democratic and national liberation tasks can only be *the dictatorship of the proletariat standing at the head of the oppressed nation, above all the peasant masses.*" The truth is that just as those who stop making revolutions halfway are digging their own grave, those who in the epoch of the putrefaction of imperialism stop the revolution at its bourgeois democratic "stage" are handing the revolution over to its gravediggers. And now the course of the Nicaraguan revolution since Somoza's overthrow is also verifying this law of the growing over of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, a process which is necessary if the democratic conquests themselves are to be consolidated.⁷

In reality, it was the SWP leaders who defended a sectarian and dogmatic conception of permanent revolution within the International for years. This position was neither in keeping with the positions of Trotsky, nor with those of the majority of the International.

Thus, in the 1970s, the SWP for example attacked the Vietnamese leadership on the basis of an ultrasectarian conception of the tactical and strategic questions that the Indochinese revolution was facing. For example, the diplomatic operation that the Vietnamese developed during the Paris Peace Accords in 1973 was considered as a capitulation of the Indochinese revolution. And even after the fall of Saigon they closed their eyes to the anti-capitalist dynamic of the revolution.

Today they are making the opposite mistake. And they want to make the balance sheet of their own previous positions the balance sheet of the whole International.

7. The SWP leadership throws overboard

7. "Resolutions of the Twelfth World Congress," *International Viewpoint*, p. 33.

the main gains of revolutionary Marxism. The comrades claim that by doing this they will from now on be able to more easily establish relations with other movements and other revolutionary political currents outside the Fourth International. But the Fourth International has consistently fought to link up with new leaderships.

It sought to do so with the leaderships which emerged in Yugoslavia, Cuba, Vietnam, and Nicaragua, not through merely explaining our support for the revolutions but through our active solidarity work. It is within that framework that we have both learned from these revolutions and brought to bear a critical eye based on both the international and historical experiences of the workers' movement.

8. In particular none of these leaderships has pursued the idea of a "new international revolutionary movement." The Cuban leadership, for example, does not advance this idea, which is one of our differences with it. But the SWP leaders do not even offer the perspective of building an international today, instead denouncing it as a "fetishization of form." They justify their position by saying "the big parties do not have an international, they just have relations between parties."⁸ They assert "the relations today between parties that stand at the head of state formations will not be the same as the relations between parties in the Third International." They forget that the liquidation of the Third International flowed not from the founding of the Soviet workers' state, but from the Stalinist counterrevolution.

The lack of a mass revolutionary international remains the central weakness and is one of the agonizing contradictions of the world workers' movement. An international is necessary to defend consistently the interests of workers in the countries dominated by imperialism, in the industrialized capitalist countries, and in the bureaucratized workers' states.

The reality today, for example, is that the Cuban leaders support the struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala, but in Poland or Czechoslovakia they line up with a bureaucracy that oppresses the workers. In the same way, movements like Solidarnosc fight against the bureaucracy but have illusions in the capitalist countries, and do not mobilize in solidarity with the peoples of Latin America.

It is absolutely necessary, and even vital for the future of the revolution and of socialism, to overcome these contradictions, to work for the

8. "The Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International," p. 21.

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unity of revolutionary forces in the three sectors of the world revolution and for the construction of a mass revolutionary international.

The Fourth International does not claim that it is this international. But it is an incontestable fact that it has carried out a fight for internationalism, theoretically and in practice, for 50 years, and that it is determined to continue this fight. The Fourth International is perfectly conscious of the limits of its organizational gains. However, it has been able to play an important role in campaigns and practical solidarity initiatives with revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles, including in the most difficult periods such as, for example, committing itself fully to solidarity with the Algerian revolution in the 1950s.

In more recent times, it has mobilized in active solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution and the Polish revolution. It has built active organizations in some 50 countries, active in the class struggle at every level, and often hard-hit by the repression of our enemies. These organizations are striving, in different situations and with different tactics, to build mass revolutionary parties. They are carrying out their tasks in the framework of an international organization, which makes it more possible for them to resist any national or sectoral pressure.

9. This is the fight that the SWP is giving up today, without being able to give any realistic alternative, the "new world revolutionary movement" of which they talk not existing in reality. They can thus only put forward a practice consisting of episodic, diplomatic relations with different parties or national movements. This leads them, and will inevitably lead them, to adopt tail-endist attitudes toward other currents — opportunist, bureaucratic, including some of Stalinist formation — and they will in consequence be less and less able to resist national pressures. They have already moved in this direction.

For example, in line with their tiny group of cothinkers in the USA gathered around the North Star Network, they have identified the Australian Labor Party as a party of the same basic type as the Democratic Party of the USA, justifying a simultaneously opportunist practice of supporting Democratic candidates electorally in the USA and an analysis of the Australian Labor Party which could lead to sectarian practice. Their regroupment discussions with the Stalinist Socialist Party of Australia have only hastened their abandonment of ideas of revolutionary Marxism as has their uncritical attitude toward the HDP [Croatian Movement for Statehood], the movement organized around the reactionary ideal of Croatian nationalism in the Yugoslav state.

10. The SWP was formed as an organization linked to the Fourth International and has been the official section since 1972. It has recruited its members as an integral part of the Fourth International. Its disaffiliation is not just a break of organizational relations with other sections and with the leadership of the International. It indicates a qualitative change in the very nature of the SWP, which now becomes a largely national organization, subject to all the traditionally heavy pressures on the Australian left without an institutionalized framework for collaboration with revolutionary Marxists who can learn from their experience while subjecting it to friendly and critical discussion.

Already there are worrying signs of these pressures. To take such an important decision as disaffiliation from the Fourth International without placing the matter for open discussion before the entire membership is reminiscent of the commandist style of leadership associated with sects. The most elementary duty was to submit the question to a national conference after an exhaustive discussion among all the members. It preferred to present everybody

with an accomplished fact.

11. The SWP leaders declare that they would like to maintain a "collaboration in practice" with us on questions on which they think there is agreement (the struggle for Kanak independence, solidarity with Central America, etc.).

For years the International leadership and, at the last World Congress, the majority of the delegates, have polemicized against the positions of the Australian SWP leadership and denounced their liquidationist dynamic. We have, however, striven to avoid this organizational rupture that the SWP leaders have now chosen:

a) because we did not want to resolve a problem that was eminently political in organizational terms;

b) because the SWP leadership seemed to have the intention of remaining within the statutory framework of the International;

c) because we did not want to exclude the possibility that following a long discussion and on the basis of future experiences the Australian comrades would correct their course.

We still hope that they will do so, but there is now obviously a new situation resulting from the SWP leaders' break with the International. Our relations with them are put on a totally different plane.

It is, however, in our tradition and practice to strive to bring into being the workers' united front and to collaborate with other parties or currents identifying with the workers' movement in struggles, mobilizations, and campaigns. We have never discriminated against other currents on this terrain, and we will not do so now with relation to the Australian SWP.

But that will not prevent us from continuing our struggle to build a revolutionary Marxist party, section of the Fourth International in Australia. We call on Australian revolutionary Marxists to join us in this. □

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New Canadian group founded

Alliance for Socialist Action discusses goals

By Barry Weisleder

[The following article is reprinted from the January 27 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly review published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

A new national organization to unite revolutionary socialists in English Canada was formed at a convention held in Toronto, Nov. 22-24, 1985.

The Alliance for Socialist Action (ASA) is the result of the fusion of four socialist groups: the Socialist Workers Collective (Toronto), the Socialist Action Collective (Winnipeg), the Socialist and Feminist Action Collective (Edmonton), and the Socialist Action Collective (Vancouver).

The new organization is comprised of activists from the feminist, gay liberation, and international solidarity movements; of active trade unionists, students, and left-wing members of the New Democratic Party (the mass labor party in English Canada).

ASA members are already playing a leading role in the abortion rights and anti-intervention movements in several cities.

But without an activist organization based on a genuinely revolutionary program, the ASA representatives stressed, socialists remain "chained to the treadmill of reformism," with no real prospect for building a movement for fundamental change.

In three days of deliberations, which capped a six-month oral and written pre-convention discussion period, the gathering of the rank-and-file sponsoring groups adopted a Statement of Principles, Basis of Unity, Political Resolution, Norms and Organization document, Tasks and Perspectives, and a Constitution.

The convention instructed its elected National Committee to edit and publish all of these documents early in 1986. The NC, which is composed equally of women and men from across the country, is the leadership body that will meet at regular intervals between conventions of the ASA.

Socialists can, on occasion, provide exemplary leadership to mass struggles even in periods of general working-class retreat, and in this way attempt to bring a positive influence to bear on the traditional organizations of our class.

Herein lies some of the motivation behind the ASA convention decision to help spread and coordinate across the country the work of two key social movement campaigns: the campaign for women's reproductive rights and to defend the Morgentaler abortion clinic; and the campaign against United States' intervention

in Central America and the Caribbean.

The ASA will also launch a modest publication to serve as a vehicle for its socialist analysis and views, as well as to provide vital information on struggles and campaigns in the interest of the working people. The newsprint bimonthly will be called *Socialist Challenge — for Socialist and Feminist Action*, with its first issue scheduled to appear before March 8, International Women's Day.

Although the ASA exists only in English Canada, it aspires to be a part of the process of building a Pan-Canadian revolutionary workers' party. The next step along the road to-

wards that goal is to unite revolutionary socialists today living in Quebec and English Canada.

For that reason a central priority of the ASA is fusion with the Quebec Trotskyist organization Gauche Socialiste [Socialist Left—GS]. The leadership of the GS has expressed agreement with this objective and will propose to the February convention of that organization that a membership-wide discussion be opened up on the question of building a Pan-Canadian organization.

The ASA is committed to the construction of the Fourth International, now active in over 45 countries fighting to establish a revolutionary Marxist alternative to Stalinism, social democracy, and petty bourgeois nationalism. Although links with the FI had previously been made, the ASA convention voted to apply for formal sympathizing organization status for the ASA within the International — a status the Gauche Socialiste was given one year ago. □

10 AND 20 YEARS AGO



February 23, 1976

A retired army lieutenant revealed February 4 that the right-wing terrorist organization Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA — Argentine Anticommunist Alliance) was organized and funded by the government of Isabel Martínez de Perón.

Héctor Paino, the former officer, told a parliamentary investigating commission that in mid-1973 he was approached by Jorge Conti, then director of public relations and press in the Ministry of Social Welfare.

Conti, using the authority of Social Welfare Minister José López Rega, instructed Paino to form a "dynamic security force."

Paino was provided with a post in the ministry to serve as cover. He said he had "two or three personal conversations with the minister [López Rega] in which he explained to me more or less what kind of organization he wanted, always to counter terrorist attacks," according to the February 15 *Washington Post*.

When asked by one of the legislators to describe how the AAA operates, Paino replied, "The organization became not [one] of a defensive or static type but one capable of going and striking in the places where they thought they had to strike, using the old military axiom that there's no better defense than a good offense." He said he recruited members of the national police force to the AAA.

This is the first testimony directly linking the organization and funding of the AAA's operation to the Peronist government. Previously, informal connections had been established between the terrorist group and López Rega.

The AAA has been responsible for hundreds

of assassinations of revolutionists, trade-union militants, and other opponents of the regime's policies. It has also claimed responsibility for many kidnappings and bombings of political headquarters and homes. Not a single one of these cases has ever been solved.

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

(Predecessor of *Intercontinental Press*)

February 11, 1966

The first successful soft landing on the moon of a rocketed vehicle [the Soviet Union's Luna 9] capable of transmitting back to earth photographs of the surface in detail down to a fiftieth of an inch marks the opening of a new stage in the exploration of our solar system.

The experiment can be repeated on the other planets. Before long such seemingly impenetrable mysteries as the exact nature of the surface of the externally cloud-covered Venus will be solved. Even more exciting possibilities are opened. Unmanned astronomical observatories can be stationed on the moon to record and transmit information about the universe that has been barred to us up to now by the screening effect of our atmosphere. The spokesmen of the capitalist system spoke truly when they grudgingly admitted that the advance scored by the Soviet Union was an advance for all humanity.

There was another side to the immense achievement that was not mentioned by the proponents of capitalism, although this is undoubtedly the most astounding feature of all. The success, again testifying to the world lead held by the USSR in this field, was achieved by a country that only fifty years ago was notorious for its backwardness, standing far below Great Britain, France and Germany — not to mention the United States.

Students protest U.S. threats

Call for stiffer curbs on capitalists, landlords

By Ali Sahand

The streets leading from Tehran University to the former U.S. embassy were filled with shouts of "Down with the USA" on Nov. 3, 1985, the sixth anniversary of the takeover of the embassy by revolutionary students.

Tens of thousands of university and high school students marched under the banners, "Struggle Till Victory," "Down with the USA," and "War, War, Till Victory."

The demonstration was called by the Islamic Student Associations and was endorsed by the Workers House in Tehran. Similar demonstrations were held in other cities.

The following day a rally in Imam Hosein Square in Tehran drew 100,000. The major theme of this action also was to pledge continued support to the struggle against Washington's aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran. The demonstration denounced recent maneuvers of U.S. warships near the Persian Gulf.

Another issue raised in both actions was the demand that the chief prosecutor of the revolution continue confiscating lands owned by big landlords who are returning from exile abroad and reclaiming their lands.

Muslim student conference

The demonstration at the U.S. embassy culminated a two-day national convention by the university Muslim students. The gathering discussed the problems both of the universities and of the nation as a whole.

One of the speakers at the meeting was Mohsen Rezaee, chief commander of the Revolutionary Guards. Rezaee was recently directed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to begin building air force and naval sections of the guards. This important step in consolidating the military defense of the revolution was in response to recent attacks by the Iraqi regime on the oil exporting island of Kharg in the Persian Gulf and to the U.S. naval maneuvers in the region.

Rezaee's speech to the convention, which appeared on the front pages of the daily papers the next day, raised concern that the need for defense of Iran from U.S. imperialism was not being raised as much as it had been a few years ago.

He also noted that the Iranian universities were not playing as much of a role in defending the revolution as they could. He said the universities should put all their resources at the service of the war fronts by developing techniques for building armaments and for protecting Iranian soldiers from chemical weapons used by Iraq in the current war.

The convention concluded with the student march to the former U.S. embassy and a rally of 30,000.



1979 demonstration at U.S. embassy in Tehran. Students recently observed sixth anniversary of embassy occupation.

One student leader explained that the fight with the United States is a struggle for self-defense — not against a people, but against an aggressive imperialist system. This system, he said, is involved in the suppression of national liberation movements throughout the world, including in Lebanon, the Philippines, South Africa, and Iran.

Islamic student resolution

At the end of the rally a resolution presented by the Islamic Student Associations and Workers House in Tehran was approved by the demonstrators. Among the main points the students presented were the following:

- The only way to continue to advance the revolution is by following the Imam's [Khomeini's] line.

- The realization of the goals of the revolution is only through struggle with the enemies of the revolution, especially against U.S. aggression. . . .

- We are sure that the universities can play an active role in the military system of the country in the fields of scientific research. In all the systems of the world, universities are the technical backing of war technology.

Unfortunately, despite the demand raised by the students that the university should serve the war, the authorities so far have given no answer. We propose that a committee or a nucleus should be formed by the Islamic Parliament, Supreme Defense Council, Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution, and Ministry of Higher Education in order to find practical ways for collaboration of universities with

the war fronts. We propose that from this moment all research projects and theses be somehow related to the war and answer the needs of the war fronts.

- Economic problems of society have been among the most important. The revolution has claimed that the dispossessed will rule society and has raised the banner of the oppressed, but the present social conditions show that although a lot has been done for the oppressed, the viewpoint of the Imam has not been achieved.

The recent action by the prosecutor, which has raised some hope, cannot get anywhere if it is not supported by the justice system, the executive system, and the Islamic Parliament.

The return of some capitalists and big landlords and their confidence in reclaiming their confiscated properties is part of our economic problem. Even if we fight against it, we are only fighting a part of the rotten policies of the old regime under the shah.

On the other hand, there are a few among the ordinary people who try to accumulate more wealth in order to become new capitalists. They have gained their wealth by using illegitimate methods. . . .

To fight all this, the economic policies of society must be directed toward paying attention to the toilers and not giving priorities to the wealthy people.

- Paying attention to a simple way of living, which is what the Imam does, must be followed by the figures of our Islamic society. The slogans and actions of those who are in charge are always carefully watched by the Muslims and the dispossessed. Unfortunately in some aspects of life, unnecessary and extraceremonial expenditures of some authorities are growing. . . .

- We ask the judicial powers not to wait a second in regaining the usurped rights of the people, which are still in the hands of some wealthy people who know nothing of the people and God.

- As soon as the wealthy people, including the feudalists, those who make unreasonable demands on the peasants, and the owners of factories, get a feeling of peace and security, the security of peasants and workers will be endangered. And revolutionary values will be endangered too.

- The organs of society must be rebuilt on the basis of revolutionary values and the elimination of the bureaucracy left over from the old regime, where bribery, sabotage, and corruption continue to exist and cause discontent among the people. Laziness can only be corrected by revolutionary action to close down these organs and/or through rebellion of the masses, swarming to these centers to put revolutionary people in charge.

- We should do everything we can so that a revolutionary and Islamic culture, not a non-revolutionary culture, is propagated among the youth.

- We support the struggle of the Muslim students in Egypt against the U.S.-backed regime of [Hosni] Mubarak and wish that God helps their revolutionary movement. □