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NICARAGUA

- **May Day Actions Pledge Production and Defense**
- **First Peasant Congress Stresses Land Distribution**



May Day rally in Managua.

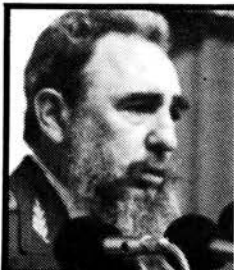
Cindy Jaquith/IP

Philippines

**Polarization Grows
in Aftermath of
Marcos Overthrow**

South Africa

**Regime Scraps Passes,
While Forging New
Apartheid Shackles**



Speech by Fidel Castro
Cuba's Battle of the Economy

No safe nuclear power

By Doug Jenness

"Radiation has increased, but remains below levels harmful to human health." This refrain has been repeated over and over again by government officials, newspaper editors, and scientists throughout Europe and the United States since the disastrous accident at the Chernobyl nuclear reactor sent a cloud of radioactive particles and gases floating over big sections of Europe.

A May 1 Associated Press dispatch from Frankfurt, West Germany, reporting on the radiation levels in Europe, asserted, "No levels dangerous to humans were reported in any country, although some nations took precautionary measures."

According to the dispatch, the French Central Service for Protection Against Radioactivity said "a minor increase in atmospheric radioactivity" was reported but had "no significance for public health."

In Italy, research stations reported radioactivity had increased up to twice the normal level but, according to Associated Press, "said there was no cause for alarm."

An article in the *New York Times* a couple of days later reported that the director of Sweden's National Institute of Radiation Protection emphasized that the amounts of increased radiation in Western Europe "were extremely small." He said that in Sweden, for example, "only" eight extra cases of cancer per year over the next 45 years is the "theoretical maximum."

A *New York Times* correspondent in Warsaw, Poland, reported May 3 that a radiation expert from the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency found that radiation levels in that city "were minimal and posed no health risks."

Zbigniew Jaworowski of the Central Laboratory of Radiation Prevention in Poland said that radiation levels were similar to the levels in Sweden and posed no immediate health danger. At a government news conference, Jaworowski said he expected the cancer rate to increase "a few percent," an amount he described as "minimal."

This is only a small sampling of the statements playing down the health hazards from the fallout of the Chernobyl accident.

Many of the reports were also accompanied by authoritative-sounding scientific terminology about how many millirems or microrems of radiation per hour it would take before human lives were endangered.

But despite all this sweet talk by figures who are committed to maintaining and expanding nuclear generation of electricity, one indisputable fact remains: any amount of radiation, even the smallest, can be dangerous to human health. And each and every increase in radiation increases the risks. There is no level that is safe.

The most obvious examples of the lethal effects of radiation are where the victims get a big dose all at once and suffer severe illness or death. The accident at the Chernobyl plant in the Ukraine is a chilling reminder of this.

So far 13 people have died as a result of the accident — 11 from radiation. And doctors on the scene predict it is likely that more will die.

Thirty-five who suffered severe radiation exposure from the damaged plant have been specially treated, including 20 who have received bone marrow or fetal liver transplants in an effort to save their lives. Altogether 299 have been hospitalized, according to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

U.S. bone-marrow specialist Dr. Robert Gale reported that as many as 100,000 Soviet citizens may have received radiation doses with long-term health effects.

One of the insidious threats of radiation poisoning is that cancers, birth defects, and other maladies may continue to appear over a period of many years in an affected population.

But such cases are generally covered up by government authorities or blamed on other causes. A look at what has happened following the partial meltdown in 1979 at Three Mile Island (TMI) near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, illustrates this point.

No one was reported to have been killed immediately by that accident, the country's worst nuclear power mishap. The longer run effects, however, have been very serious, even though not widely reported.

A glimmer of this grim reality appeared in an article in the May 13, 1986, *Village Voice*, a New York weekly. The article, by Anna Mayo, reported on a recent trip to the area around Three Mile Island.

Mayo interviewed a woman farmer who had conducted a survey of the cancer rates in the area. In Goldsboro, the nearest town to the damaged nuclear reactor, which had been in the line of a plume of radiation, the cancer rate has increased 700 percent.

"So far 2,000 damage suits for cancer and other illnesses have been brought against the owners of TMI," Mayo wrote. "Since many cancers have long latency periods, further claims will certainly follow." Moreover, she reported, many other victims have not filed suit.

Mayo interviewed one woman whose daughter had cancer of the thymus. The girl next door had a malignant brain tumor removed, and the son in the family on the other side had testicular cancer. A woman had breast cancer two houses down. Cancer then skipped a house, but struck victims in the two households after that.

One woman Mayo talked to has kept a collection of leaves and flowers that had been drastically deformed. Looking through the col-

lection, Mayo reported, "We came to a pressed dandelion leaf 30 inches tall." It had been found "in the yard of a house on the west bank of the Susquehanna just across from TMI."

Mayo also visited a farm in the area where she was told about deformed farm animals born since the accident.

When the woman with the deformed plants took them to the Pennsylvania State Health Department, officials refused to conduct studies of them. She was told that radiation levels had been too low to have caused plant mutations.

This opinion was contradicted by Dr. James Gunchel, an authority on the effects of radiation on plant development. He told Mayo that the plants' deformations could theoretically have been caused by insecticides. But his opinion was, he told her, that the changes in the plants "were definitely radiation-induced. The levels of radiation following the accident were very high. Much of the required measurement equipment wasn't functioning. The only surveys were made from helicopters at 500 feet, but plants are affected by material on the ground. That's because radioactive fallout is heavy — it falls down."

The true story of what has happened following the Three Mile Island accident — where we were repeatedly told radiation emissions were too low to be hazardous — offers a modest preview of what the longer-term effects of the Chernobyl disaster will be. Over the next couple of decades there will be countless casualties as a result of this accident, especially in the Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union, but across both Eastern and Western Europe too.

The government officials and businesses that are committed to nuclear power attempt to belittle the human costs of using this form of energy. They have done so since nuclear energy was launched.

But the stubborn truth is that nuclear reactors are exceedingly hazardous and cannot be made safe. They generate radioactive substances, which stay radioactive for many years — in some cases thousands of years. And these substances must be transported and stored. These radioactive materials continually contaminate workers in the power plants and, as has been shown on many occasions, can be spewed into the atmosphere as a result of breakdowns.

Scientific knowledge and technology have not found any way, at least up until now, to make nuclear energy safe from these hazards. This is true not only in capitalist countries but in countries where capitalism has been overturned and workers' states established. The change to a more progressive social system does not and cannot make nuclear power safe.

The Chernobyl accident has dealt a severe blow, although at considerable human cost, to the acceptability of using nuclear power. Tens of millions of people around the world have become more hesitant, if not fully opposed, to using nuclear power. The struggle to close down all nuclear power plants has won new supporters and gained a new sense of urgency.

Tokyo summit backs anti-Libya drive

By Steve Craine

At the imperialist summit meeting held in Tokyo in early May, Washington's "anti-terrorism" campaign featured prominently. U.S. President Ronald Reagan succeeded in drawing six other major imperialist governments into line behind Washington's campaign of slanders, threats, and military attacks against Libya and other countries that refuse to meekly accept the dictates of imperialism.

While publicly the summit meeting provided a stage for more hypocritical denunciations of "international terrorism," behind the scenes the world's biggest warmakers discussed how to maintain their domination of the rest of the globe through military action, economic blackmail, and political pressure.

A joint statement by the participating heads of government — from the United States, Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Japan, and Canada — recommended measures against governments accused of supporting "terrorism." These included bans on arms sales, expulsion of diplomats, restrictions on travel by diplomatic and other personnel from the targeted countries, streamlined extradition procedures, and multilateral police cooperation.

Libya, the victim of a brutal terror attack by the U.S. government, was cited "in particular" as a "state which is clearly involved in sponsoring or supporting international terrorism."

Coming on the heels of the April 15 U.S. bombing of Libya, in which dozens of civilians, including Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi's infant daughter, were killed, the singling out of Libya by the summit constituted a tacit endorsement of Washington's murderous raid.

"We agreed that the time has come to move beyond words and rhetoric," Reagan said to reporters upon his return to Washington. "Terrorists and those who support them — especially governments — have been put on notice: it's going to be tougher from now on."

He also stressed that the summit's focus on nonmilitary forms of coercion did not preclude more attacks like the April 15 raid.

Already most West European governments are cooperating in Washington's campaign, and dozens of Libyan nationals have been expelled from Britain, West Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Denmark.

Following the summit meeting, similar expulsions were carried out against Syrian diplomats in Britain, accompanied by the same unsubstantiated charges of involvement with terrorism.

The summit resolution will also be viewed as a green light for the rulers of Israel to add to their already long record of violence against neighboring Arab peoples.

As a U.S. official told the *New York Times*, the Israeli government is seeking "to build their own case for some antiterrorist retaliatory

action against Syria, using the same criteria we used in striking Libya." The capitalist press has been helping out by playing up the defensive moves of the Syrian government in face of these stepped up threats from Israel and its allies.

Reagan's hope that he can translate the progress he made in Tokyo to his war against the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua is clear from Washington's increasing effort to link the Nicaraguans to Qaddafi. To win support for open funding of the *contra* mercenaries, Reagan charged that Libya has been sending military aid to the Sandinistas.

The summit meeting's economic decisions also fit in with its actions against supposed terrorists. New agreements on economic cooper-

ation among the rival capitalist powers are intended to strengthen their hand against the oppressed countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The summit decisions aim to bolster the ability of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to impose brutal austerity programs, low wages, and onerous interest charges on those countries for the benefit of imperialist bankers and corporations.

Defending and deepening this exploitation of the peoples of the semicolonial world is one of the goals of interimperialist cooperation such as that displayed at the Tokyo summit. It is the real reason for their threats and acts of war against countries that challenge this exploitation in any way, such as Libya, Syria, Nicaragua, and others. □

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Three months since Marcos' overthrow

Aquino government torn by conflicting pressures

By Will Reissner

Philippine President Corazon Aquino's cabinet is a strange hybrid. It brings together longtime opponents of the ousted Marcos dictatorship as well as longtime Marcos stalwarts. Former political prisoners sit alongside those who had jailed them.

Three months after the February "people power" revolution that forced Ferdinand Marcos into exile, Marcos' Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, who administered martial law for the ousted dictator, remains the head of the Defense Ministry.

Today, noted *New York Times* reporter Seth Mydans, Enrile actually enjoys "far more power than he had in his final years under Mr. Marcos."

On the other hand, three cabinet members — Local Governments Minister Aquilino Pimentel, Agriculture Minister Ramon Mitra, and Good Government Commission chief Jovito Salonga — were political prisoners under the Marcos regime, with the military as their jailers.

Aquino's cabinet is one in which liberal human-rights lawyers such as Joker Arroyo and Rene Saguisag coexist with Marcos officials such as Jose Fernandez and Bienvenido Tan.

While President Aquino enjoys considerable popularity as a symbol of the end of the Marcos dictatorship, her government is under great and competing political pressures.

The overthrow of Marcos unleashed tremendous expectations among the oppressed layers of Filipino society for an improvement in their living conditions and quality of life. Since then, workers and farmers have begun using the democratic opening to press for further democratic gains and for improvements in their living standards.

At the same time, Washington is pressuring the Aquino government to contain these popular demands and expectations. Supporters of the ousted Marcos dictatorship are likewise resisting any progressive change.

Divisions in cabinet

These countervailing pressures on the Aquino government are reflected in sharp divisions on many questions within the cabinet itself.

Leading officials have put forward divergent positions on questions such as the future of the huge U.S. military bases in the Philippines and how the country's US\$26 billion foreign debt should be handled.

U.S. military bases, the largest such U.S. facilities outside the United States itself, cover 100,000 hectares (about 250,000 acres) of the

Philippines' land. The agreement giving Washington use of the bases expires in 1991.

A sizable number of cabinet members, although a minority, are on record calling for the closing of the U.S. bases. Among those favoring an end to the U.S. military presence in the Philippines are Pimentel, Salonga, Presidential Human Rights Committee Chairman Jose Diokno, Labor Minister Augusto Sanchez, and presidential spokesman Rene Saguisag.

Some cabinet members have argued that a new constitution that will replace the Marcos charter should contain an antinuclear clause and a clause eliminating foreign bases.

A majority of the cabinet, however, favors maintaining the U.S. bases past 1991, although with better terms from Washington.

Aquino herself had made statements before her election indicating opposition to continuation of the U.S. bases. Since taking office, however, she has deliberately downplayed the bases issue.

Foreign debt

The \$26 billion foreign debt hangs like an albatross around the neck of the people of the Philippines. Some cabinet ministers have raised the prospect of repudiating at least those foreign loans that went straight into the pockets of Marcos and his cronies.

These cabinet officials point to the staggering economic crisis facing the Philippines, in which the average Filipino is 15 percent poorer now than in 1983.

The Philippines devotes 40 percent of its total export earnings just to servicing the debt. That figure could rise to 50 percent unless an agreement is reached with foreign bankers on rescheduling the debt.



President Corazon Aquino and Vice-president Salvador Laurel.

This huge flood of money out of the Philippines and into the coffers of the big banks in New York, Tokyo, and other imperialist centers is a tremendous drag on any economic recovery.

But Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin, who headed the powerful Benguet mining company owned by Marcos' brother-in-law, adamantly opposes any debt repudiation.

This position is shared by Corazon Aquino. "We are going to honor those loans," the president stated at a May 13 press conference. "What I am after is . . . more liberal terms."

Enrile as watchdog

In the face of these differences within the Aquino administration, Defense Minister Enrile has set himself up as the watchdog of the cabinet.

As head of the 250,000-strong armed forces, Enrile has warned that the military is closely monitoring the activities of cabinet members he views as dangerous left-wingers.

"The moment they start subverting the goals of the government and undermine the stability of government," Enrile said of his fellow cabinet members, "then I assure you the military will not just sit on its butt and let the government be subverted."

The hybrid character of Aquino's cabinet, in the final analysis, reflects the process that led to the overthrow of Ferdinand Marcos on February 25.

Marcos had ruled the 53 million people of the Philippines for two decades. While enriching himself and his closest supporters, known in the Philippines as "crony capitalists," Marcos left the country's workers and peasants in desperate straits.

The operations of "crony capitalism" also alienated large sections of the middle class and "non-crony" capitalists from the regime. Two of Marcos' closest associates, for example, had been awarded monopolies over marketing coconuts and sugar, the country's two leading export crops.

Eduardo Cojuangco (a close relative of Corazon Aquino) was able to amass millions of dollars through his monopoly on the milling and marketing of coconuts, while Roberto Benedicto was given a similar monopoly over sugar sales.

The "cronies" also received special access to bank credit. Loans were handed out to Marcos favorites, in the words of one banker, after "just a phone call from the right government official." So widespread was this practice that the two largest government banks are now basically bankrupt, with three-quarters of their loans delinquent.

While opposition to Marcos was growing among sections of the capitalists who were not the beneficiaries of Marcos' favors, the regime was also increasingly challenged by a guerrilla insurgency waged by the New People's Army (NPA), which is led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). In 1985, U.S. officials estimated the NPA's armed strength at 16,500 fighters.

The NPA's influence was based in the 65 percent of the population that are peasants, 7 out of 10 of whom have no land of their own. In many parts of the country, tenant farmers pay up to two-thirds of their crop each year to the big landlords as rent.

At the same time, other CPP-led organizations were extending their influence among workers and other urban sectors.

The CPP-led National Democratic Front, a clandestine coalition of trade unions, student groups, and other mass organizations, claimed a membership of 1 million people in its constituent groups.

William Thiesenhusen, a professor of agricultural economics at the University of Wisconsin, recently noted that "in few nations are assets as inequitably owned as in the Philippines. The World Bank finds that incomes are distributed even more unequally here than in El Salvador, the Latin American pacesetter."

Historically some 60 families have dominated the economic life of the Philippines. These families, whose land holdings often go back to the Spanish colonial period, retained their wealth and power under the U.S. colonial regime, the World War II Japanese occupation, and the post-1946 independent republic.

In 1972 Marcos demagogically announced a land reform to distribute corn and rice lands being farmed by tenants. (The measure did not affect plantations growing sugar or coconuts.) Ten years later, only 1 percent of the peasants had received land through Marcos' agrarian reform.

Aquino murder

The protests against the Marcos regime spread far beyond the NPA and the urban "cause-oriented organizations" after the murder of Benigno Aquino (Corazon Aquino's husband) when he returned to Manila on Aug. 21, 1983, from exile in the United States.

Benigno Aquino, a member of a prominent ruling-class family, was the central figure in the liberal opposition to Marcos. Jailed in 1972 when Marcos imposed martial law, he remained in prison until 1980, when he was allowed to leave the Philippines for open heart surgery in the United States.

In 1977 Aquino had been sentenced to death by the dictatorship, although widespread protests prevented the regime from carrying the sentence out.

The murder of Aquino brought large numbers of middle-class people into the streets for the first time, alongside workers and other impoverished layers. The Makati business district in Manila became the scene of gigantic demonstrations, with office workers in high-rise buildings showering confetti on the protesters.



Juan Ponce Enrile, a Harvard University trained lawyer, became a multi-millionaire while serving as Marcos' defense minister, a post he retains in the Aquino cabinet.

As Corazon Aquino pointedly told a Philippine Military Academy graduation ceremony in March, "this revolution began with a bullet shot by a soldier into the head of my husband."

The murder of Benigno Aquino and the subsequent acquittal of top military officials charged with complicity in his assassination sparked a wave of protests against what was increasingly being described by many demonstrators as the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship."

Marcos had maintained close ties with Washington since coming to power in 1965, including during the nine years of martial law. U.S. officials saw his rule as a guarantee of the huge U.S. corporate investments in the Philippines as well as the maintenance of the giant U.S. military bases there.

But as opposition to Marcos continued to grow after the Aquino murder, the Reagan administration began pressing Marcos to make some reforms to defuse the rising protests.

'Snap election'

In November 1985 Marcos announced that he would hold a "snap" presidential election in early 1986. Marcos counted on a divided opposition and the usual election fraud to win him reelection, which he expected would place his opponents on the defensive.

Marcos' plan, however, went awry. The two main bourgeois opposition forces, grouped around Corazon Aquino and Salvador Laurel, were able to patch up their differences at the last moment and ran a united ticket against Marcos.

During the election campaign, Aquino, as the widow of the martyred Benigno Aquino, became a symbol of the Filipino people's de-

sire to rid themselves of the corrupt and brutal dictatorship.

Throughout the campaign she drew huge crowds. Her final rally on February 4 in Manila's Luneta Park attracted an estimated 1.5 million people.

Washington hoped the February 7 election would defuse the growing crisis in the Philippines. If Marcos won, he would have a new mandate to rule. If the Aquino-Laurel ticket was victorious, there would be an orderly transition that could preserve Washington's strong influence in the country.

Both Aquino and Laurel are members of the Philippines' tiny ruling class of land-owning families. Laurel himself was a founder of Marcos' political party, breaking with the dictator only in 1980.

Although Marcos enjoyed the huge advantages of control over the state apparatus and media, it became clear that he would lose to Aquino in a fair election. Rather than step down, Marcos resorted to blatant electoral fraud and vote stealing.

Fraud rejected

Aquino, however, refused to accept the theft of her election victory. When the Marcos-controlled National Assembly pronounced him the winner on February 15, Aquino vowed to lead a campaign of demonstrations and strikes to protest the fraud. She opened that campaign by addressing a February 16 "People's Victory" rally of up to 1 million people in Manila.

During the election campaign, left-wing groups had been split on what stance to take. Some urged a boycott of the election, arguing that Marcos would not allow himself to be defeated. Others favored a boycott because Aquino would not commit herself to closing U.S. bases and instituting a far-reaching land reform. Still others supported the Aquino campaign.

Regardless of their differing positions during the election campaign itself, the left groups pledged that they would join with Aquino supporters in the campaign of protests against Marcos' theft of the presidency.

Marcos' obvious rigging of the election placed Washington in a difficult position. The elections, which the Reagan administration had hoped would calm the situation, led instead to further unrest.

The Reagan administration's first reaction was to attempt to downplay the significance of the vote fraud. In the face of official U.S. reports that Marcos had engaged in outright vote-stealing, President Reagan told reporters that the fraud "was occurring on both sides."

Habib mission

But as the protests in the Philippines mounted, the Reagan administration, fearing that the ensuing turmoil could imperil U.S. domination over the country, sent special envoy Philip Habib to Manila to press Marcos and Aquino to work out some sort of power-sharing agreement. As Leslie Gelb noted in the February 19 *New York Times*, Habib's mission was to get "the point across to Corazon C.

Aquino, the opposition leader, that Washington would not like the issue of who rules to be settled in the streets."

Aquino, however, refused to accept any deal with her husband's murderer and was determined to take the presidency she had won.

With an open-ended period of turmoil looming, sectors of the military that had been cultivated by Washington went into action. On February 22 Enrile, Marcos' defense minister, and acting armed forces chief of staff Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos seized the Defense Ministry in Manila and called on Marcos to resign.

Masses protect troops

But Enrile and Ramos were unable to win the bulk of Marcos' troops to support their attempted coup. When Marcos sent loyal units to subdue the rebels, tens of thousands of Filipino civilians, mobilized by announcements on the Catholic church's radio station, rushed to the

Defense Ministry. There they formed a human buffer that prevented Marcos' forces from assaulting the ministry.

On February 23, the day after the military revolt began, Enrile, now recognizing that he could not pull off a coup by himself, reached an agreement throwing his support to Aquino.

According to Enrile himself, in return for supporting Aquino as president, she agreed that "we would retain the Ministry of National Defense."

Marcos, now under intense pressure from Washington, was forced to yield. On February 25, hours after he had himself sworn in for a new term as president, he fled the presidential palace for exile in Hawaii.

While Marcos was still on the grounds of the U.S. Clark Air Base near Manila, Washington announced it was recognizing a new provisional government headed by Aquino.

The coalition that now exists within the

Aquino cabinet, between opponents of Marcos' rule and the highest levels of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, is the product of the uneasy alliance that developed in the "people power" revolution in Manila in the days before Marcos fled.

Competition in cabinet

In addition to the tensions in the cabinet between the human-rights activists on the one hand and the Marcos loyalists on the other, the government is also wracked by competition between members of Vice-president Salvador Laurel's United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO) and Aquino's Pilipino Democratic Party-Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban).

One Manila journalist described the Aquino cabinet as made up of "people you couldn't invite to a party together."

The cement that holds the disparate elements of the cabinet together is the personal prestige Corazon Aquino enjoys among broad layers of the Philippine population.

But Aquino herself has yet to present or begin implementing a specific program for the post-Marcos Philippines beyond calling for an end to human-rights abuses and corruption and for a cease-fire with the New People's Army guerrillas.

One of Aquino's first moves, on March 2, was to declare an amnesty and order the release of political prisoners held by the Marcos regime. Although elements in the military objected to the amnesty, by late April some 478 political prisoners were freed. They included former Communist Party of the Philippines leader Jose Maria Sison and New People's Army commander Bernabe Buscayno, both of whom were released on March 5.

Shultz's visit to Manila

By Harry Ring

In an unexpected switch of posture, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz publicly rebuked Ferdinand Marcos, ex-dictator of the Philippines.

In a U.S. television interview May 13, Shultz said Marcos was "causing trouble" in the Philippines, "and some of it goes beyond just argument."

From his haven in Hawaii, Marcos has been promoting right-wing demonstrations in Manila against the new government of President Corazon Aquino.

The move to distance the Reagan administration from Marcos came only four days after Shultz's visit to Manila where he had ducked the issue. There, he had hypocritically claimed Washington could not interfere with Marcos' right to free speech.

In his TV appearance, Shultz also conceded that the Philippine economy was in serious difficulty, but reiterated his claim that "the budget picture" in the United States does not permit the additional funding that the Aquino government has urgently requested.

During Shultz's May 9 visit to Manila, he held a 45-minute meeting with Aquino in which she stressed that proposed U.S. aid was grossly inadequate.

In addition to the \$240 million in economic and military aid committed by Congress for 1986, the administration says it will ask for \$150 million.

Yet when Philippine Vice-president Salvador Laurel said his crisis-ridden country needed much more than the \$150 million in added aid, Shultz had snapped, "We don't have an infinite capacity to provide money."

At the Manila meeting, President Aquino reminded Shultz that the Philippines are saddled with a foreign debt of \$26 billion

and that half the nation's export earnings are soaked up by debt service payments.

Meanwhile, the Philippine economy is suffering the aftershocks of the years of Marcos' rule.

The entire 1986 government budget is but \$4.6 billion, and it is anticipated there will be a deficit of a billion dollars.

After the Shultz visit, Solita Monsod, minister of economic planning, said she had told him that if there could not be more adequate aid then, at least, Philippine sugar and garment import quotas should be raised.

The quota of Philippine sugar permitted into the United States had been reduced, and the country is allotted only 2.5 percent of all U.S. garment imports.

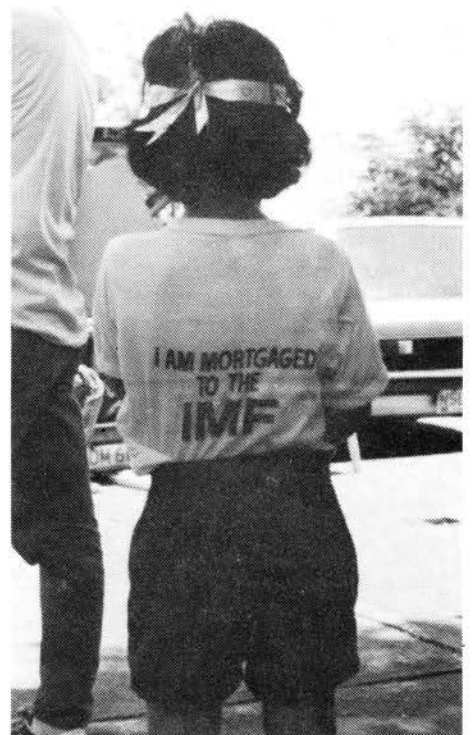
Yet, Monsod said, "All we heard from Shultz were sympathetic noises."

Washington's reluctance to help alleviate the economic difficulties of the Filipino people is not simply the customary capitalist response to human need. It is also a time-tested form of pressure on the new government.

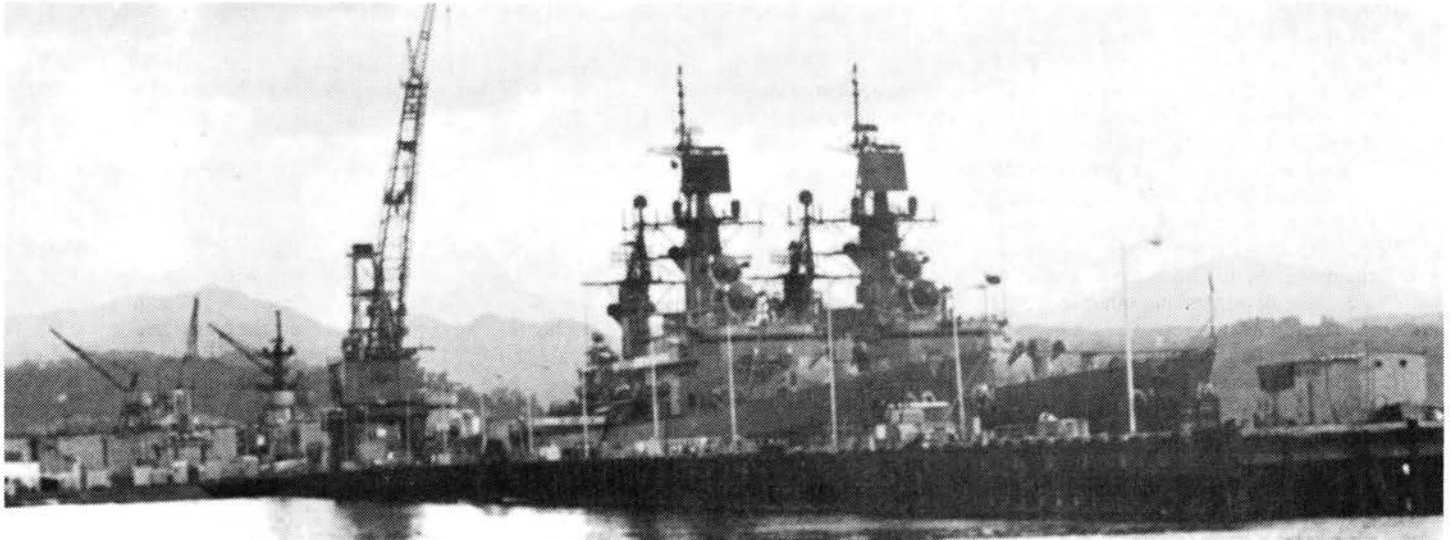
Indeed, the coolness has been so pronounced that top Philippine officials had deemed it necessary to insist that Reagan declare publicly if he supports the new government in Manila, or if he is still looking to the exiled Marcos.

Vice-president Laurel said there had been "lingering doubts" about Reagan's stand ever since he made his astonishing statement that maybe there had been fraud "on both sides" in the election Marcos had tried to steal from Aquino.

Reagan does support the new government, Shultz then curtly responded, arrogantly adding, "Let me remind you, the president is not on trial."



Deb Shnooka/IP



U.S. warship at Subic Bay Naval Station. Aquino cabinet is divided on policy toward U.S. bases.

But the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines, a Catholic church-backed human-rights organization, reported that as of April 22 there were still 498 people in military or civilian jails for political offenses.

In many cases, local commanders or political figures — whose authority was not affected by the Manila-centered events in February — have simply dragged their feet in releasing the prisoners in their custody.

Sister Mariani Dimaranan, a nun who heads the Task Force, asked "if the ideologues have been released, why are the farmers still inside" prison?

The great majority of the prisoners still in custody are being held by local authorities on the island of Mindanao and the Visayas Islands, where the authority of the central government in Manila is weak.

Purging pro-Marcos officials

A similar process has been seen in the Aquino administration's attempt to replace Marcos supporters among the country's 2,000 provincial governors, mayors, and other local officials.

In many instances, the local officials, backed up by private armies, have refused to vacate their posts.

The process of weeding out Marcos supporters has also drawn fire from members of Laurel's UNIDO coalition. Laurel's forces claim that Local Governments Minister Aquilino Pimentel, himself a leader of the PDP-Laban party, has been placing members of his own group in local positions while freezing out UNIDO supporters in hopes of building a strong machine for future elections.

Similar complaints were heard from some UNIDO members after President Aquino abolished the Marcos-era National Assembly on March 25. As a result of that move, nearly 60 anti-Marcos legislators lost the jobs they had won in the 1984 elections.

When more than 90 pro-Marcos members of the abolished National Assembly met on April

14 in a rump session, which called for massive civil disobedience to "restore constitutionalism and democracy," a number of assembly members from Laurel's party considered attending. Under intense pressure, they backed off at the last minute.

Marcos offensive

The pro-Marcos forces have, in fact, gone on the offensive in recent weeks. Beginning in mid-April, pro-Marcos demonstrators camped out across the street from the U.S. embassy in Manila, harassing passers-by and calling for Marcos' return. In addition, each Sunday mass rallies of Marcos partisans were held in a Manila park. The largest, on April 20, attracted 30,000 people.

On April 17 Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos both addressed a rally of about 12,000 people by telephone from Hawaii, telling them that Marcos is still the president and urging them to continue resisting the Aquino government.

President Aquino asserts that the demonstrators "are all being paid. I have no doubt whatsoever the orders come directly from Marcos himself." The Manila newspaper *Business Day* reported that a fund of 20 million pesos (US\$1 million) had been raised to finance pro-Marcos actions.

May Day rally

On May 1 the Marcos loyalists attacked a May Day demonstration in Manila, which was to be addressed by Aquino. During a 90-minute rock-and-bottle-throwing battle between the workers and the pro-Marcos forces, the police on the scene actively aided the Marcos loyalists.

The police officer in charge, Brig. Gen. Narciso Cabrera, had been prominent in breaking up anti-Marcos demonstrations before the dictator fled.

In this case, according to Guy Sacerdoti reporting in the May 15 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "Cabrera was clearly with the Marcos loyalists, telling them politely not to throw

rocks while soldiers under his command used riot shields to help gather stones for the youthful crowd."

The following day Aquino fired Cabrera. But the incident showed the extent to which pro-Marcos forces remain in high positions within the police and military apparatus.

Pressures on government

The May Day events also indicate the wide range of pressures being exerted on the Aquino government, both from inside the cabinet and from other sectors of society.

While the pro-Marcos forces were attacking the fringes of the workers' gathering, the pressures on the government were also being reflected on the platform and in the crowd.

For the first time in 21 years, all the trade union federations took part in a single May Day celebration, with the left-wing May First Movement (KMU) strongly represented.

Seated on the speakers' platform alongside Aquino and General Ramos were former political prisoners Jose Maria Sison and Bernabe Buscayno.

Aquino and Ramos had to grit their teeth through a rendition of the *Internationale*, the working-class anthem.

Aquino, who had spoken to a bankers' group the previous day to reiterate her faith in private enterprise, used the occasion of May Day to announce a series of changes in the labor code.

Even before these changes in the labor code, the workers' movement had been forcefully pressing for improvements in wages and working conditions. Since the overthrow of the Marcos regime, the number of strikes has exceeded 1985's record-setting pace.

Under the new code announced by Aquino, a union can now call a strike through the vote of a simple majority of the workers concerned, prior notice to employers is no longer required before striking, employers no longer have the legal right to recruit strike breakers, and the police are not supposed to interfere unless vio-

lence breaks out.

Under the terms of Presidential Proclamation No. 3, declared by Aquino on March 25 when she dissolved the Marcos-era National Assembly, she has full powers to amend, modify, and revoke all existing laws. She also has sole power over all measures to reorganize the government, including the right to remove all elected or appointed officials.

The presidential proclamation retained certain elements of the 1973 Marcos constitution such as the Bill of Rights and other laws upholding constitutional rights.

Under the proclamation, President Aquino will appoint a commission composed of 30 to 50 members to be convened within 60 days to draft a new constitution, which will then be ratified by referendum.

Thus far no members of the constitutional commission have been named, and its character is still unclear. Groups such as the left-wing New Patriotic Alliance (BAYAN) coalition had urged that a representative constitutional convention be established through popular elections.

Cease-fire talks

It remains to be seen whether Aquino will be successful in working out a cease-fire with the New People's Army guerrillas.

The crucial question fueling the rural insurgency is the land-tenure system that oppresses the huge numbers of landless peasants. Without a real agrarian reform, the roots of the class struggle in the countryside will not be addressed. But the Aquino government has thus far not proposed any land reform whatsoever.

In an April 20 speech at the University of the Philippines commencement ceremony, Aquino reiterated her call for a cease-fire with the NPA guerrillas.

"I am offering the insurgents an honorable peace," Aquino stated, "one that will not ignore their just demands, but one also that will not detract in any way from the security of the people, the stability of the government, and the honor of the new armed forces."

Aquino argued that "under the Marcos regime, the balance was in the communists' favor. The people distanced themselves from a government they feared and despised. They gave it neither cooperation in its spurious programs nor intelligence about the movements of the insurgents."

She warned that if negotiations fail to end the fighting, "it will not be the old, dispirited army of Marcos that the insurgents will face."

Some discussions between representatives of the government and the guerrillas have already taken place. Antonio Zumel, a leader of the National Democratic Front, which supports the NPA guerrillas, stated: "We have no reason to think ill of Mrs. Aquino. We are reasonable people. We can discuss this [cease-fire] over coffee if they want. If they are also reasonable, then maybe we can reach some agreement."

Zumel stated, however, that the NPA would continue for the present to conduct tactical offensives against military units that are abusive and against provincial warlords and paramili-

tary units that have a history of human rights violations.

An article in the March 1986 English-language edition of *Ang Bayan*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of the Philippines, stated:

"The question of a cease-fire is of immediate concern. While there is no sufficient basis at present for us to actually enter into an agreement for a cease-fire, we are not foreclosing the idea of entering into talks provided the necessary political conditions exist. Any initiatives by the Aquino administration in this regard should be handled with extreme care and with tact.

"While not closing the avenues to such an initiative, we underscore the need for significant political and economic changes. We have always stood for peace, but it must be principled peace. We must underscore the need for the armed struggle if only to defend and expand gains achieved in the antifascist struggle."

New opportunities

The overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship has led to expanded possibilities for the workers and peasants in the Philippines to press forward their claims for a better life and to fight for their class interests.

Trade unions have taken advantage of the situation to step up their organizing attempts in rural as well as urban areas.

Human-rights activists are demanding that all political prisoners be released.

Campaigns are being organized to recover all the wealth stolen by Marcos' cronies, inside

the Philippines as well as abroad.

Muslim organizations on the island of Mindanao, the site of a long guerrilla struggle by the Moro National Liberation Front, are again pressing for regional autonomy. Mindanao is a predominantly Muslim region that has long suffered oppression from the country's predominantly Catholic rulers.

New left-wing party formed

In addition, left-wing activists have taken advantage of the political opening to form a new organization, the New Democratic Party. Jose Maria Sison, the founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines, who was jailed for more than eight years under the Marcos dictatorship and released under the Aquino amnesty, is playing a leading role in the new organization.

The April 21 *Philippine News and Features* reported that Sison indicated that the new party will rely on workers, students, farmers, professionals, and progressive individuals. According to Sison, it will also seek to form alliances with businessmen and moderate political groups, and even with the traditional political parties.

The NDP, Sison reportedly stated, will use elections and mass actions to press for the removal of the U.S. military bases and implementation of a genuine land reform.

The report added that "the conditions for such a movement have never been better, says Sison, considering that Aquino rose to power with mass politics, and that there is wider democratic space for militant and popular movements under the liberal government." □

IP's 'first-rate' coverage of Nicaragua

The February-March issue of *El Estiliano* included *Intercontinental Press* in a list of several publications recommended for following events in Nicaragua. *El Estiliano*, published in Cambridge, Massachusetts, carries news from the NICA School in Estelí, Nicaragua.

"In order to counter the U.S. government's powerful disinformation campaign about what's taking place in Nicaragua," *El Estiliano* reported, "NICA recommends several publications that offer firsthand and first-rate coverage of actual events and developments in Nicaragua. Keeping abreast of what's really happening is the first step to effective work." The addresses of *IP* and four other publications were listed.

IP has been able to consistently offer firsthand and first-rate coverage since the days immediately following the overthrow of Anastasio Somoza's tyranny because we have maintained a bureau in Managua. For nearly seven years our correspondents on the scene have sent us reports on what's happening there. They have attended, among other events, conferences of union-

ists, peasants, and women. In this issue, for example, we carry their firsthand report on the First Peasant Congress organized by the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers. Moreover, they have visited many places in the country including on the Atlantic Coast and in the northern departments.

Our bureau has interviewed workers and peasants as well as leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and government officials. And they have translated speeches and interviews that have appeared in Spanish in Nicaraguan publications.

Maintaining this bureau is expensive. And the income that *IP* receives from subscriptions and newsstand sales is insufficient to cover all of our printing and staff costs, let alone finance the Managua bureau. We depend on additional contributions from our readers who agree that our coverage is necessary.

If you can help us please send a contribution, large or small, to *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Workers mobilize on May Day

'Our power is being consolidated through work and defense'

By Cindy Jaquith

MANAGUA — Trade unionists rallied across Nicaragua on May Day in a show of determination to defeat Washington's military and economic aggression against their country.

The scope of the challenge before the workers was highlighted in the speech by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. He announced that the country's export income will fall US\$100 million short of what had been hoped for this year, seriously affecting the production goals recently mapped out by the labor movement and the government.

The May 1 actions were called by the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). This is the country's largest trade union federation. It is based on industrial workers and led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Also participating in the actions were the unions of farm workers, government employees, health-care workers, and teachers.

The CST estimates that 190,000 working people took part in the actions nationwide. They were held in the major cities on both the Pacific and Atlantic coasts.

The demonstrations were the culmination of several months of political organizing in factories and fields. In March and April, assemblies of workers were held in nearly every branch of industry and agriculture to discuss what is called Economic Plan '86. The meetings heard reports on the war situation and the national economic picture, and workers discussed concretely what kind of production goals they could meet in their workplaces.

The assemblies were also an opportunity for workers to raise problems that are not the direct effect of the *contra* war, such as poor planning on the part of factory administrations or state agencies.

The CST and the farm workers' union also sponsored "Red and Black" days during those two months, in which tens of thousands of workers volunteered to come in on Sunday to work without pay, the money going to the war fronts or projects such as child-care centers.

To encourage what is known as the "innovators' movement," the union federation organized public showings of the spare parts that workers have invented. Much of Nicaragua's machinery is of U.S. origin, and the U.S. government's trade embargo has had a crippling effect on some factories.

Educational articles appeared in *Barricada*, the FSLN daily paper, on the history of May Day, noting its origins in U.S. workers' struggle for the eight-hour day.

On May 1, *Barricada* ran a full-page editorial on the history of the international working-class struggle for political power. It included

the initial organizing efforts of British and German workers in the early 19th century, the drafting of the *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founding of the First International, the rise of the Paris Commune, the October 1917 Russian revolution, and the Cuban revolution.

Haymarket martyrs

The May Day demonstrations were dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the 1886 strikes in the United States for the eight-hour day and in honor of the Haymarket martyrs, the Chicago union leaders framed up and executed for their role in those strikes.

The same U.S. government that murdered those workers' leaders is today killing workers around the world, Lucío Jiménez told the rally here. The general secretary of the CST, Jiménez focused his remarks on how Nicaraguan working people are meeting the U.S.-run aggression by fighting in the armed forces and by trying to produce more in the factories and on the farms. And, he added, "We have the hope that the U.S. working class will know how to throw off the mechanisms of alienation currently weighing on it."

At the march in Managua, which more than 80,000 people participated in, the factory contingents were made up in their majority of young workers. Some peasants from nearby cooperatives joined in, as did members of industrial cooperatives, students, and soldiers. Members of the army reserves, whose core is industrial workers, drove up in tanks and personnel carriers.

Quite a few workers brought handmade signs. One contingent bore placards with the faces of the Haymarket martyrs. A worker from the ENABAS food packaging plant carried a carefully illustrated sign explaining how Economic Plan '86 would be organized in his factory. Another sign said, "Workers' unity is fundamental against the aggression."

The CST had called on the union federations run by the ultraleft parties and those led by the capitalist parties to join them in a common May Day action. But all the other union federations ultimately rejected the CST appeal for unity and held their own, small activities.

CST perspective

The great bulk of Nicaraguan working people identified with the CST's May Day call, which emphasized three main points:

1. The most important conquest of the July 19, 1979, Sandinista revolution is that workers and peasants hold political power;

2. Washington's war is aimed at taking away that power, and thus everything, includ-

ing immediate economic gains for the working class, must be subordinated to national defense;

3. Increasing farm and factory production is the duty of all working people in the "rear-guard," to back up the soldiers at the front and to compensate for the damage the war is doing to the economy.

This perspective was summed up in the slogans on two large billboards at the rally site here: "Our power is being consolidated through work and defense" and "We workers and peasants are one single power."

Ortega told the crowd that given Washington's escalating aggression, "we cannot have expectations of peace; we have to prepare more and better for war."

To shouts of approval he declared that the Nicaraguan government would never accept the U.S. government's two stated conditions for ending its murderous aggression — that the Sandinistas negotiate with the mercenaries, who are armed, financed, and organized by Washington, and that Nicaragua reduce its armaments. He stressed, in fact, that Nicaraguan workers and peasants want and need more weapons to defend their revolution.

The bulk of Ortega's speech focused on the grinding economic war Washington is imposing on Nicaragua.

Just two weeks earlier, the pressures this war brings to bear on the working class, and on the government, were brought into bold relief when the Ministry of Labor fired 57 textile workers for going on strike at a state-run plant. (See story on page 338.)

"We have serious economic problems, grave economic problems," Ortega told the crowd. "You know this perfectly well, because you deal with production, supply, and the economy every day. You are the best economists who can exist in Nicaragua."

He spoke of the frustrations workers experience as they try to overcome the country's economic problems:

"You have the will to work. You arrive at the factory with enthusiasm, with discipline. But you find that there are no raw materials or the raw materials are late in arriving. The foreign exchange wasn't there in time to get the raw materials or the parts didn't arrive because they were blocked by the United States.

"In the best of circumstances, you have the raw materials, you have the spare parts, you have the plant functioning — but then the power goes out. And the power goes out because the Nicaraguan Energy Institute doesn't have all the foreign exchange needed to maintain 100 percent of our energy installations."

Ortega said that as long as the war exists, these problems will remain. But workers can

exert greater control over the economic crisis by going on a campaign to increase labor discipline, conserve raw materials, work harder, and raise productivity. Farm production can also increase, he said, because the government is extending the land reform, putting farms in the hands of poor peasants who want to produce.

Another aspect of exerting more control, he continued, is "redoubling vigilance and revolutionary criticism." He said, "We have to forcefully criticize those who commit errors in the government, in the ranks of the FSLN, in the ranks of the workers, in factory administrations, and among technicians."

Ortega said the U.S. government, unable to overthrow the Nicaraguan revolution through mercenaries, hopes to do so by wearing down working people economically and dividing them from the FSLN.

"Reagan thinks if he can't demoralize the people with bullets, he can do so with hunger," said Ortega. "He wants people to blame the Sandinista National Liberation Front for the problems in the economy, for the shortages of toothpaste, soap, boots, clothing, work tools, and food.

"But the people of Nicaragua cannot be confused, and even with the greatest difficulties, we are going to defend this revolution."

He explained that this year's export income will be only \$260 or \$270 million, instead of the projected \$350 to \$360 million. Before the 1979 revolution here, under the Somoza capitalist government, there were times when export income reached \$650 million, Ortega pointed out.

Today, he continued, Nicaraguan capitalists and landlords argue that the drop in income is the fault of the FSLN and the revolutionary government, that nationalized factories are inherently less productive, as are farms in the hands of poor peasants.

But under Somoza, he asked, "Did you receive any benefits from those \$650 million, comrade workers? What did the capitalist exploiters, the *latifundists* [big landowners] leave us with? They left us with illiteracy. Did they worry, perchance, about using those \$650 million to teach the people to read and write? No. Did they worry about giving the workers housing? No."

What workers are defending

The president reiterated what it is Nicaraguan working people are defending today through their sacrifices — a government of workers and peasants that acts in their interests.

"July 19, 1979," he explained, "was the his-

toric victory of the working people in Nicaragua. Beginning at that moment and for the first time in history, Nicaraguan working people are the masters of power . . . they have access to the means of communication . . . they are the masters of words and action . . . they have the opportunity to participate in the management of factories; they have the real possibility of obtaining health care, education, and housing.

"The sweat and blood of the working people will never again be shed to enrich the proimperialist government of capitalist exploitation that we sent to hell on July 19, 1979," he declared.

"In 1871, when the power of workers was nothing more than a dream and seemed to be a utopia, the working people of Paris launched what Karl Marx called 'the assault on the heavens.' That was the great insurrection of the Paris Commune.

"Today in Nicaragua, on May Day 1986, the workers have assaulted the heavens, and nothing and no one is ever going to dislodge us from this tropical and celestial trench that is the Sandinista People's Revolution. The victory is ours."

The rally closed with the singing of the Sandinista national anthem and the *Internationale*, the hymn of the world working class. □

How should labor disputes be resolved?

Nicaraguan workers discuss ENAVES garment plant strike

By Cindy Jaquith

MANAGUA — An important discussion is unfolding in the workers' movement here in the wake of a strike that took place at the ENAVES garment plant in mid-April.

ENAVES is a major state-run factory that produces military and school uniforms, as well as pants for export. It has suffered big production problems because of the U.S. trade embargo. The factory also has had a history of leadership problems in both the administration and the union.

These all came to a head April 11, when a minority of workers went on strike demanding that the factory administration be fired. They occupied the plant gates, barring entry to administrative personnel.

The Ministry of Labor declared the strike a violation of the country's state of emergency laws. Fifty-seven workers, out of a work force of 900, were fired. On April 12, the ministry called in the Sandinista Police to remove the strikers from the gates.

The union at ENAVES is affiliated to the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), which is led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). But at the time of the strike, several other political currents also existed in the ENAVES union leadership and membership.

The CST, which the majority of Nicaragua's

workers look to for leadership, has the position that given the war against the U.S.-backed mercenaries and the big economic problems that have been exacerbated by it, strikes are the wrong way to struggle for workers' interests at this time. The CST calls on workers to solve conflicts with administration through political discussion, in order to keep production going.

Last October the Nicaraguan government imposed a legal ban on strikes as part of restoring state-of-emergency measures that had been decreed in 1982 and then lifted in mid-1984.

Since October, there have been some sharp conflicts and even work stoppages in other plants. But this was the first time that the state of emergency had been invoked against workers or that the police had been called on.

Ministry of Labor statement

The first public statement on the ENAVES strike was a communiqué from the Ministry of Labor in the April 14 *Barricada*, daily newspaper of the FSLN. It reported that the ENAVES workers had been fired and police had removed them from the factory gates.

The ministry statement did not say anything about the strikers' demands. It ended with the warning that in accordance with the state of emergency and Nicaragua's labor code, "all actions related to takeovers, strikes, and acts of coercion that block the smooth functioning

of work centers and production will be declared illegal."

On April 19 an article appeared on the front page of *Barricada* titled "What happened at ENAVES?"

Barricada said that there was "a weak and divided union leadership" at ENAVES, an administration-union factory committee "that did not function," and "a worker participation that was not real."

This added to the problems of lack of raw materials and spare parts, which most factories here suffer, but which became acute at ENAVES. Some 466 machines were in disrepair, out of a total of 842. The government had not allocated any dollars to the enterprise to buy raw materials or spare parts this year.

This situation, combined with poor production planning, meant that take-home pay was declining for many ENAVES workers. Government-set pay scales were not being adhered to in some cases, further reducing workers' income.

Absenteeism was running at 115 workers a day. A problem of some workers stealing materials from the plant had also developed.

Old administrator in jail

Barricada interviewed Ruth Herrera, the head administrator at ENAVES, who had been sent in six months earlier by the government to

replace a corrupt plant director now in jail for fraud and speculation. A member of the FSLN, Herrera used to be in the CST and had attended school to study administration.

Herrera said she ran into trouble with some of the union leaders when she tried to reorganize the plant, end certain practices of the old director, and establish new relations with the union. Some fought her decision that union meetings should take place after work, for example. Under the old director, 140 hours of work time each month were turned over to union meetings.

In the union itself the political currents represented were the CST; the Nicaraguan Workers Federation (CTN), a right-wing union federation; and three ultraleft sectarian currents — the Federation of Trade Union Unity and Action (CAUS), led by the Nicaraguan Communist Party (PCN); the Workers Front (FO), led by the People's Action Movement, Marxist-Leninist (MAP-ML); and supporters of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT). The CAUS had members on the union executive board.

Barricada also interviewed Dámaso Vargas, general secretary of the CST in the Managua region and an FSLN deputy in the National Assembly. Vargas thought the workers who struck "were right about some of their demands even though he recognized that the methods of struggle used were not the correct ones," said *Barricada*.

"The CST accepts its responsibility for not having correctly led the working class at ENAVES," *Barricada* continued, "but the enterprise must improve its communication with the workers, because often procedures were used that did not contribute to strengthening bonds of unity, [Vargas] said."

In an April 22 interview with this reporter, Vargas elaborated on some of the difficult conditions in the plant, as well as errors he thought were made.

War diverts resources

The enormous resources going to defend the country from the U.S.-backed mercenaries takes its toll at plants like ENAVES, Vargas pointed out.

Built by a U.S. company before the revolution, the plant is very hot and noisy. Many of the women employed there are single mothers who often miss work or come in late because they have no one to leave their children with. The revolution simply does not have the resources to solve these kinds of problems right now, said Vargas.

The plant's best mechanics have been mobilized to go into the army, leaving less skilled workers to repair machinery.

A shortage of trained personnel also affects administration. The new administration team, he said, was "very goodwilled, but quite young and lacking in experience."

This led to poor organization of production on the part of the administration and other errors, he observed, which "were easily manipulated" by the ultraleft and rightist political currents in the union.

Vargas said that under the severe economic limitations imposed by the U.S.-backed war, figuring out how workers can raise and fight for legitimate demands is very "complex." Some of the problems workers justifiably raise have no immediate solutions.

When sharp conflicts erupt, "You don't have to use decrees, but rather persuade the workers that there's an objective situation, [to help] them see clearly which problems can be solved and which cannot," he explained.

According to Vargas, there had been many conflicts at ENAVES in the past. While efforts were being made to solve some of the problems in the plant, the situation worsened when the new administration tried to deal with the problem of stealing. The director decided to have the plant security guards search workers' bags as they left each day. This heightened tensions between the workers and administration, Vargas said, adding that such a measure should be carried out by a committee of the union.

On April 10, he continued, "three workers were mistreated by the security guards during the search." The CST met with the administration and got agreement that the search policy would be changed.

The next morning, however, the strike began, led by ultraleft and right-wing currents. Up to 100 workers participated at one point, Vargas said, blocking the plant entrance. National leaders of the ultraleft and right-wing groups came down to join the strikers. The majority of ENAVES workers — despite sympathies with some of the strikers' grievances — chose to keep working.

Vargas noted that he and other CST leaders spoke with the strikers, explaining the CST's opposition to the search procedure and encouraging them to end their strike and discuss how to resolve the problems in the plant. The strike leaders rejected this and continued their presence at the gates.

When the Ministry of Labor announced the workers were fired, the ultraleft and right-wing leaders made statements "attacking the government and the firings, saying 'how can a government of the people, of the workers, be doing this?'" Vargas recalled.

He said that in his view "the situation was lending itself to maneuvers in favor of Reagan's policy of destabilizing the revolution."

The Ministry of Labor called the police on April 12. "They moved people away from the gate in a very good way, without hitting anyone," said Vargas. Their presence, however, "caused some panic of course. Some of the women were pregnant. Some people fainted. We attended to them."

The strikers maintained a picket line two yards away from the gate. And the police did not stop them. But the next day, on Sunday, the police asked the CST leadership to take the workers from the area, which they did.

When the news spread of what had happened to the strikers, Vargas explained, those ENAVES workers who did not walk out felt some solidarity with the workers on strike.

Among those fired were women who had been in the plant for 8 to 15 years.

The CST argued that the workers should be allowed to return to their jobs, but the Ministry of Labor disagreed. "We have no legal way [to appeal] a violation of the state of emergency," said Vargas. "The legal channels were closed. So we argued politically with the government, but they said, well, manipulated or not, these workers were destabilizing."

The CST then won agreement that the workers would be given jobs in other factories. The 57 are now all working in several different plants.

Five of the ENAVES strikers are employed at the Cotexma textile plant in nearby Tipitapa.

José Berríos, general secretary at the CST-affiliated union at Cotexma, told this reporter that the union's approach has been to integrate the five workers into production, the union, and the women's and youth committees without prejudice. The view is that these workers are victims of a bad in-plant situation at ENAVES and of ultraleft political currents.

Workers at other factories have also discussed the events at ENAVES. At an April 18 meeting at the IMEP metallurgical factory here, for example, ENAVES was included in a report to the workers from Ramón Quintanilla, a member of the regional FSLN commission on industry.

Quintanilla said that while the war should not be used as an excuse to justify poor administration practices in a factory, the fact remains that the U.S.-sponsored aggression is the main problem facing workers — not their plant directors. The ultralefts don't understand this, he continued, and that's why the ENAVES strike happened.

The Nicaraguan government is not trying to castrate the labor movement, he asserted, but it cannot permit conflicts led by minorities that reduce production and threaten the stability of the revolution.

The April 25 *Barricada* carried an article by the paper's assistant director, Xavier Reyes Alba. He wrote that the problems at ENAVES "should not be considered unique or exceptional." Workers should study the lessons of the strike and apply them to the concrete situation in their own plant.

Reyes listed as the factors bringing about the strike the objective economic problems caused by the war; administrative errors, including the way stealing was dealt with; a union leadership "which considered raising demands the essence of its work" and which had "no contact with the workers"; and the "patent weakness" of the FSLN, CST, and Sandinista Youth in the plant.

Reyes said a series of steps are being taken to resolve the problems at ENAVES.

These include establishing a stronger union representation at all levels of production; a thorough review of pay scales, administration policies, and production plans; clarification from the Ministry of Industry on what kind of financing the plant can expect to receive; and a plan for the workers themselves to take over responsibility for protecting plant property. □

Farmers discuss land reform, war

First Peasant Congress meets in Managua

By Harvey McArthur

MANAGUA — The National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) "has fortified the struggle against imperialism and the battle for production, contributing to the strengthening of the alliance between workers and peasants and pushing forward the land reform."

This was the assessment of Víctor Tirado, a Commander of the Revolution and member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. He was addressing thousands of peasants gathered in Managua's Plaza of the Nonaligned Movement for the closing rally of UNAG's First Peasant Congress. Delegates representing the 124,000 peasants organized by UNAG met here April 25-27.

UNAG President Daniel Núñez told the closing rally that the congress had decided that UNAG's central tasks were strengthening Nicaragua's defense against attacks by U.S.-backed mercenaries (*contras*), deepening the land reform, increasing production, and strengthening the alliance between Nicaragua's workers and peasants.

The congress was dedicated to former Swedish prime minister Olof Palme, who was assassinated in February. "He was a fighter for peace," said Núñez. Giving Palme's name to the congress "shows we Nicaraguans love peace."

Núñez reported that on the first day of the congress two more peasants, members of cooperatives, were murdered by *contras*. In all, more than 900 UNAG members have been killed and hundreds of millions of dollars worth of farm buildings, machinery, and products destroyed by the mercenaries. A central aim of these attacks is to terrorize the peasantry and weaken support for the revolution in the countryside.

The UNAG congress showed, however, that peasants' support for the revolution has deepened as a result of their experiences in the war and as Nicaragua's revolutionary government has distributed more land to landless peasants and further consolidated UNAG as a nationwide organization.

Prior to the congress, more than 100,000 peasants participated in local assemblies to discuss three documents: an assessment of UNAG's work since its 1981 founding, a document on tasks for 1986 and 1987, and new organizational statutes. Their suggestions, criticisms, and additions were incorporated in the final documents presented to the congress.

The peasants elected 500 delegates at assemblies throughout the country. The delegates came from every region of Nicaragua, including the Atlantic Coast and other areas hard hit by *contra* attacks.



Harvey McArthur/IP

UNAG President Daniel Núñez speaking to peasants' congress.

Commander of the Revolution Luis Carrión, speaking for the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), gave the opening report.

Land reform: most important problem

"For us, of all the serious problems of the countryside, the most important is the problem of land," he said. The Nicaraguan government has already given land to 46,577 families to farm in cooperatives or individually. More than 36,000 who had worked plots of land on their own — often for many years — without legal ownership have also received title to their land.

However, an estimated 80,000 more families are without land or have too little to live on. Thousands of these are peasants who were forced to flee their lands to escape attacks by the *contras*.

Despite progress in the land reform since the 1979 Sandinista revolution, "the problem is still not completely resolved, and we must continue to advance," said Carrión.

Some of the land will come from state-owned property, but much will have to come from wealthy landlords, Carrión explained. He called on the landlords to be ready to negotiate

for the sale of their lands or "even to donate land in a spirit of national unity." He made it clear that the government will take the land needed if the landlords don't agree to negotiate.

Referring to those capitalist landlords who are known as "patriotic producers," he said, "No one can call themselves patriotic simply because they haven't left the country or because they've decided to join UNAG."

Carrión pointed out that some UNAG leaders had been large landowners, but that they had donated their lands to the revolution. UNAG should try to convince other large landowners to follow their example, he said.

Carrión also stressed that while UNAG should be open to anyone who accepts its goals, regardless of the amount of land they own, its priorities must lie with the poor peasants.

Later in the congress, Minister of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform Commander Jaime Wheelock reported that the government planned to distribute 351,778 manzanas of land to 18,239 families during 1986. (One manzana equals 1.73 acres).

This will mean the number of families benefiting from the land reform each year will continue to increase. In 1985, 15,470 families received land, and in 1984 recipients numbered 12,090. Alfonso Porras, the government official responsible for administering the land reform, told this reporter that the government plans to give land to all landless peasants by 1989.

Delegates applauded enthusiastically when Wheelock assured them that land worked by small and medium farmers "was sacred" and wouldn't be touched.

Strengthening cooperatives

Nearly half the land distributed in 1986 will go to individual farmers, and the rest to peasants organized in cooperatives.

Carrión told the congress that cooperatives are the best way poor peasants can pool resources and organize to utilize new machinery and technology, build warehouses and market their products, and give each other "material and moral support during hard times." Even with their present inexperience and weaknesses, the new cooperatives "have transformed the lives of thousands of peasants and constitute a firm revolutionary bastion with a great productive potential," he said.

However, the cooperatives should "arise only from the free decisions of the peasants," Carrión continued. Distribution of the land must not be conditioned on a peasant's willingness to join a cooperative, nor should anyone

be discriminated against in credit or services because they choose to farm individually.

Of the 500 delegates to the congress, 229 were full-time UNAG organizers. Another 85 were farmers who worked their own land individually — most of them poor or medium farmers. The rest were from cooperatives: 99 individual farmers who belong to credit and service cooperatives, and 87 from cooperatives whose members own and work the land collectively. A sizable minority wore badges indicating they were full members of the FSLN. Twenty-nine delegates were women.

The delegates elected three commissions to discuss further changes in the draft documents. The commission on the 1986–87 tasks, which was composed mostly of cooperative members and individual farmers, met for eight hours. Many of the changes they proposed were minor, but several involving the land reform provoked intense discussion.

In one case, the draft document stated that UNAG “supports the just demands” of peasants for land. The commission proposed changing this to read “supports and leads the just demands.” UNAG President Núñez proposed “supports and organizes,” saying that the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform should lead the land reform.

Delegates who took the floor to speak argued for emphasizing UNAG’s active, leadership role. “UNAG’s mission is to lead the landless peasants,” one delegate declared to strong applause. The final version of the document read “UNAG supports, leads and organizes the just demands of the peasants for land.”

Prices and supplies

Wheelock told the delegates that the government is taking steps to encourage agricultural production. It had decided to substantially raise the price paid farmers for cotton and cof-

fee, two key export crops, and for sorghum and sesame. No official price would be set for corn or beans, allowing peasants to sell these freely on the market. Wheelock promised a better supply of vehicles, tools, and seeds and more bank credit for the next crop cycle. These measures were warmly applauded by the delegates.

Carrión also took up the critical problems of supply in the countryside. These shortages are caused fundamentally by the U.S.-organized war and the international economic crisis, he said.

“However, we must also recognize that at one point we did not know how to attend to the demands of agricultural producers.” The government changed its supply policies at the end of 1984, he said, leading to increased availability of machetes, boots, nails, and other basic items.

“You should be aware that this improvement in supply to the countryside has only been possible thanks to the sacrifices of your brother workers in the cities,” Carrión told the peasants. “They have seen their already-reduced level of supply affected, especially the poorest workers.”

This means that the peasantry must make a “moral and political commitment” to increase production to make more food available to city workers, he said.

In a Face the People meeting with the UNAG delegates, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega told them that they have an advantage over city workers, since peasants with land can — and should — plant small plots of food crops for their own consumption. City workers, on the other hand, are completely dependent upon their wages. Peasants have an obligation to see that they meet the quotas for sales to government agencies since these are the channels that guarantee basic supplies for city workers.

While the government can improve supplies and services to the countryside, Ortega said, the economic crisis will continue as long as the U.S. contra war lasts.

Thus, despite the increases in prices for farm products, peasants “cannot expect a large, even a normal, profit margin,” Ortega told them. If they can just cover their production costs, that will be doing very well in the present situation, he said.

Arms to defend the land

During the congress, many delegates denounced the attacks by the U.S.-backed contras and demanded more arms for the peasants.

Mercedes Chavarría, a delegate from the cooperative La Posolera in north-central Nicaragua, told how the contras had attacked his co-op 15 days earlier. The co-op had only 20 guns. Five unarmed peasants were killed in the attack, he said. He demanded that the government distribute more arms.

Erasmus Obando Flores, a rancher from the town of Santo Domingo, told this reporter that contras had murdered his father, his two brothers, and one farm worker in two separate attacks on their ranch. Now, Flores has abandoned the farm and is working as a full-time organizer for UNAG.

In answer to the delegates’ demand for guns, Ortega explained that the government faces a problem of too few weapons. In some cases, he said, the government has taken back some guns given to cooperatives and given the weapons to newly-organized reserve army units. He said these guns will be returned to the peasants as soon as the country receives more arms.

International solidarity

Leaders of farm organizations and peasant associations from Cuba, the Philippines, the United States, Canada, Eastern and Western Europe, Central America, Latin America, and the Caribbean brought greetings to the congress. In all, 97 international delegates from 21 countries attended.

Delegates applauded a decision by the Nicaraguan government to give 20,000 acres of land to U.S. farmers who have been forced off their land by banks and food monopolies, so they could start a dairy project in Nicaragua.

At the closing rally, the international delegates issued a declaration condemning the U.S. aggression against Nicaragua and calling on peasant organizations throughout the world to support Nicaragua.

Representatives of two U.S. farmers’ groups, Groundswell and the North American Farm Alliance, along with the Federation of Cooperatives of Costa Rica, and the Honduran Coffee Growers Association, issued an additional joint declaration supporting Nicaragua’s efforts to seek peace. They called on the U.S. government to withdraw all military aid and troops from Honduras and Costa Rica and pledged “to fight to prevent our territory from becoming a base of aggression against any Central American country.” □

U.S., Honduran, Costa Rican farmers support Nicaragua’s peace efforts

[The following declaration was released on April 27 at the end of the First Peasant Congress of Nicaragua’s National Union of Farmers and Ranchers. It was signed by representatives of Groundswell and the North American Farm Alliance, two U.S. farmers’ groups; the Federation of Cooperatives of Costa Rica; and the Honduran Coffee Growers Association. The translation from Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The undersigned delegates from the United States, Honduras, and Costa Rica to the First Congress of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers declare:

That we solidarize with the defense of

justice, freedom, democracy, and peace.

We support the position of the Nicaraguan government to ratify the Contadora agreement as soon as the United States ceases its aggression against Nicaragua.

We reaffirm our commitment to fight to prevent our territory from becoming a base of aggression against any Central American country.

We declare that in order for there to be peace in the region it is indispensable for the government of the United States to withdraw its aid and military presence from Honduras and Costa Rica; we also urge the Contadora group to take on the task of patrolling the borders between Honduras and Nicaragua and between Nicaragua and Costa Rica until the conflict is resolved.

Castro criticizes profiteering, inefficiency

'We must continue the struggle against vestiges of capitalism'

[The following is the concluding portion of a speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro at the main celebration of the 25th anniversary of the defeat of the CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba at Playa Girón (also known as the Bay of Pigs). It was delivered at the Karl Marx Theater in Havana on April 19. The text is taken from the April 27 issue of *Granma Weekly Review*.

[In the first part of the speech, Castro reviewed the other attacks carried out against Cuba by the U.S. government in the days preceding the Girón landing, and the Cuban mobilization that defeated the invaders within 64 hours. He also noted that it was in the face of the threats and attacks leading up to the invasion that the Cuban leadership proclaimed the socialist character of the revolution. "Historically, this is as important as the fighting at Girón itself," he said.

[Castro pointed out that in the 25 years since the victory at Playa Girón, Washington has continued its aggressive policies against the peoples of Latin America, Vietnam, southern Africa, and the Middle East. He singled out the most recent attack — the U.S. bombing of Libya only a few days before his speech.

[In the section we are reprinting below, Castro raises some problems that will be discussed at a special session of the Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party to be held at the end of this year. The first part of the congress was held February 4-7 in Havana. For coverage of the February session of the congress, see reports by Mary-Alice Waters in the February 24, March 10, and March 24 issues of *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Comrades, the Party Program is now being discussed in our country by all our people. The Program will be studied and approved by the delegates to the Third Party Congress in a special meeting late this year.

The conditions under which this ambitious Program is going to be carried out are not easy. In fact, the conditions under which we have to meet our economic plans — the 1986 plan, the five-year plan, and the longer-term plans — are anything but easy. Today we must also ponder on these things. There are circumstances, some of which have arisen after the Party Congress, that make our task more difficult, although not impossible.

Late last year our country was affected by a natural disaster, a hurricane that flattened 70 percent of our sugarcane, and that made the sugar harvest more difficult. Despite the great efforts made by our workers, there's no doubt that in the end our sugar plans will be affected by at least half a million tons. And if the figure

does not run to a million or a million and a half, it will be thanks to the efforts of our sugar workers.

But it wasn't only the hurricane. Paradoxical and incredible as it may seem, we were also affected by the drop in the value of the dollar.

Many may wonder how a drop in the value of the dollar could affect Cuba. Right now the imperialists are trying to reduce the value of the dollar because they have a tremendous trade deficit, and in order to compete with the Japanese and the Europeans — the big capitalist countries came to an agreement on this — they took measures to devalue the dollar.

We sell our sugar and all other export products on the basis of dollars — which is universal practice. If the price of sugar is quoted at four centavos it means four cents of a dollar, and so a devaluation of the dollar represents a drop in the price paid for our exports.

But basically what affects us is that the price we must pay for imports from the hard currency area increases because we cannot import from the United States. We import from Japan and Europe, where we obtain less German marks, less French francs, less British pounds sterling, and less Japanese yen for each dollar. When we sell a ton of sugar to any of those countries we obtain less products in exchange for that ton.

If we could import from the United States, the situation would be advantageous for us, because the dollar is now cheaper. These are the paradoxes that a country like ours, under a blockade, must put up with, and we suffer some consequences, along with other Third World countries, every time the dollar is overvalued, such as high interest rates, or when the dollar is devalued.

But that's not all. There's another surprising thing: it is that the drop in the price of oil is also affecting us to a considerable extent. It's very simple: we also export oil, that is, a part of our production and all the oil we save from the oil we import from the Soviet Union is exported.

I spoke about this at the Energy Forum, what saving a gallon of fuel meant in terms of hard currency, a barrel, a ton, cent by cent. In the last few years, thanks to the great efforts made to economize and while sugar prices were exceedingly low, oil exports were a key source of hard currency in our country, earning us hundreds of millions of dollars.

With the drop in prices, we have been affected by about two-thirds the value of the oil, and we've lost hundreds of millions of dollars in hard currency, just like that, hundreds of millions! This largely shattered the great effort we were making to economize, an effort we

must still make.

This problem of the oil happened a few weeks after our Congress. It means more problems for the country and forces us to make even greater efforts.

Why talk about these issues on the 25th anniversary? Because now the enemy isn't the mercenaries, we don't have mercenary invasions, but we do have another type of mercenary, or people who act like them; there are among them people viewed as good people, ready to fight for the Revolution in the event of war but who do things that go against the Revolution and its interests; and many don't even have profound revolutionary awareness. This obliges us to make an effort.

Precise guidelines were set out at the Party Congress. There was strong and piercing criticism of persistent problems, and we pledged to struggle against them. As I said before, we are discussing the Program. Without these problems I'm referring to we would have to implement the line set out at the Congress, but now with the added problems we have, fulfillment becomes much more important and decisive.

We must be much more intransigent regarding all forms of wrongdoing and what's not right. We must be much more effective in our struggle against problems that persist or new ones that crop up. That's what I told the Pioneers during their 25th anniversary, and with more reason the issue must be brought up before our people as a whole.

I repeat, our problems are not the same as we had 25 years ago, but we do have people who are indolent, people who are negligent, and people who, as I told the Pioneers, don't want to get worked up about problems; irresponsible people, people who aren't demanding enough in the sphere where they have responsibility, people who are lax. We have people who seek privileges; people who seek easy money, not from work but from shady deals, speculation, and illicit trade.

On such a day I don't want to mention many, but there are those who put us to shame, who have earned 100,000 pesos a year and more through apparently legitimate means — come now, in a socialist society — because I know that there are those who paint and sell paintings or do decorating work, mostly for state agencies, who have even earned over 200,000 pesos a year. This is just one example of overblown income which I don't think is a fruit of labor because, let's face it, the paintings are not by Picasso or Michelangelo.

This shows that some state officials are irresponsible, because it's the people's money that's being spent in this way. On the other hand, some people have confused freelancing with capitalism or the right to exercise



National Information Agency

Castro speaking at Playa Girón commemoration in Havana April 19. Slogan reads: "25th anniversary of the proclamation of socialism and of the victory at Girón."

capitalist trade, some have indeed confused one with the other. Yes, we have this kind of problem.

Just think, the person who makes 100,000 pesos is making 20 times what the doctors who do heart transplants make a year, 20 times! I have seen those dedicated, modest doctors, with their salaries of 5,000 or 6,000 pesos a year; and then there are those who make 100,000 or more through shady deals.

You all know how critical I was of the peasant free market, when some people would sell a head of garlic at a peso and get the profit for themselves without any benefit for the people.

It wasn't the honest hardworking peasant who, on the other hand, receives all the benefits of the Revolution such as education for his children or medical care, all the benefits with no exception. They were people who, rather than making money honestly by working the land, got rich through trading, theft, and selling at very high prices.

This coupled with other goings-on such as goods which were pledged to the state because of credits, seed, and other benefits and guarantees granted which wound up on the other market, was a practical experience.

We ourselves have given rise to some of the things producing these problems, and we must set them right in time, because, unfortunately, there are people who confuse money earned through work with that earned through speculation and shady deals that border on theft or are theft.

Some of our enterprise heads have also become capitalist-like entrepreneurs. [Applause] The first thing a socialist, a revolutionary, a communist cadre must ask himself is not if his firm is making more money, but how the country makes more. From the moment we have alleged entrepreneurs who worry more about the enterprise than the interests of the country, we

have a capitalist in every sense of the word.

The economic management and planning system was not set up so that we can play at capitalism; and some are shamefully playing at capitalism; we know it, we see it, and this must be set right.

Then there are those who want their enterprises to be profitable by increasing prices and distributing bonuses by charging the earth for anything; that way any enterprise is profitable, right?

Not long ago I visited Ameijeiras Hospital and I noticed they had well-cared-for elevators reinforced with stainless steel sheets. I'd gone to see a new piece of equipment that we had purchased, very sophisticated, useful, and humane that is already functioning. One is really amazed at the efforts made by doctors, specialists, all the workers at that hospital.

I was told, "You know how much they wanted to charge us for installing those sheets? Ten thousand pesos!" Finally they settled for 5,000. I asked them how many people did the work. Two, was the answer. And how many days did it take? Fifteen. Well, in wages the outlay must have been about 300 pesos. The hospital provided the sheets, and this was a state enterprise charging those prices.

One must really have gall — I don't mean the workers but those who organize such ventures — to charge 30 times the salary of a job that took 15 days. That way any outfit can be profitable, and we have seen this sinister spirit.

The hospital was charged 40,000 pesos for work on a floor, some sort of polishing job.

We already mentioned this at the Congress among the problems that had to be combated. We also know about diverting resources; we've seen examples.

Not long ago I was touring an area taking a look at some problems of interest to the economy, and I came across a crane. Some indi-

vidual was putting a cement roof on his house with a 16-ton Japanese Kato crane, a Japanese-made cement mixer, a truck to carry the cement, and a water truck, all belonging to the state.

He had purchased a pig for his helpers, beer, and other things; the three trucks came from three different places, the crane was from the brigade building the thermoelectric power plant in Santa Cruz — I saw this with my own eyes, it's not something somebody told me. [Applause] The other truck with the cement mixer came from the oil enterprise across the way from the José Martí children's city, and the water truck came from a quarry along the highway.

Thanks to his friends and connections, this single individual had a crane, a cement mixer, a truck to carry it, and a water truck all together. Who knows where the materials came from! He was building a house; we're glad, of course, that people build houses, but they should do it honestly.

The house has an area of 150 square meters, although this person makes 199 pesos a month working as the head of a storeroom at a restaurant. Were he to sell it, he could get 40,000 pesos. He'd find a buyer for sure, because those who steal one way or another and make large sums from sources other than their work would just as soon buy a house as the Capitol building if it were for sale. (Laughter)

So there is this kind of problem. Where do those thousands of pesos come from? Not from work.

The state provides resources and credit to repair or build homes, it provides many facilities and has just approved a generous law that allows for people to own their existing homes or those they are about to receive, at a reasonable price, with no profit. What need is there to divert resources, what need is there to resort to shady deals, even though the need is great in this field?

When I was telling the head of the Planning Board about my experience he said, "On Sunday I saw a crane doing the same thing, but this was a 40-ton crane."

Can you imagine? What we do here on large building sites to cast concrete, we haul it up in buckets with cranes, the most sophisticated equipment we have in construction technique; and there are people here with such ability and such connections, and there are so many people who aren't subject to controls that they use this state technology to build a roof for their house.

It would be worthwhile asking the brigade and the enterprise building the eastern power plant how was it possible that a 16-ton crane truck purchased with hard currency was off the work site for three days? They took it Friday and it was returned on Monday. Somebody gave the papers to justify its use to cover up for others and all sorts of things like that which we know exist since we know there are people who seek privileges at all cost and who divert resources.

This is, of course, a struggle. When we talk about the Party Program and the Congress and

the measures to take, it doesn't mean a temporary campaign which will be soon forgotten. We aren't advocating a cultural revolution here, we don't want to use extremist measures to solve problems or throw the people against those responsible for such irritating acts.

However, I am convinced that, in an organized and disciplined manner, the masses can help win this battle. Between the masses, the members of the Party, and the Young Communists this can be done. It also requires greater alertness on the part of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, because they know what's going on when suddenly somebody starts building a big house and then sells it for an enormous sum.

We can't accept wrongdoing. We can't fall prey to confusion. Can anybody here engage in shady deals without the people, the masses finding out? We don't want to unleash the masses, I repeat, against the guilty parties for them to stop such activity on their own, because we have the Party and the Young Communists, we have the mass organizations. What we must do is engage in a systematic, serious, and tenacious struggle, pressuring from the top down, and from the bottom up, with great force! (*Prolonged applause*)

Our Party must be very alert! There are 500,000 members in the Party, including full members and candidates — if only we'd had an organization of 500,000 members when we started the struggle against the tyranny — plus another 500,000 Young Communists, what an incredible force; the mass organizations, millions of men and women organized into unions, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the Federation of Cuban Women, Pioneers, it's a tremendous, incredible force! If well used, we can put an end to all these things without extremism.

We don't have to resort to extremism or campaigns lasting a few months, no! This must be a sustained struggle. As I told the Pioneers, we must continue the struggle against the vestiges of the old system, against the vestiges of capitalism, the capitalist ideology, parasitical attitudes, privileges, and the tendency to try to get something out of proportion to what one contributes to society. We have mentioned the socialist formula: from each according to his ability, to each according to his work! This is a clear formula which is obviously not egalitarian. (*Applause*)

I'd like to know by virtue of what miracle or what diabolical mechanism somebody can make 10 times the salary of a distinguished doctor who saves lives? Things that aren't functioning well and consciences that aren't well. We must say it: consciences that aren't well! And functionaries that aren't doing their job properly, since they don't keep a record of the money and resources they administer. (*Applause*)

There are those who feel socialism can be built without political work. Well, there are even some who think it can be built without physical work. They exist.

We are involved in a project with all the hospitals in the capital because of problems that

existed. We met with all the hospital directors, Party and Young Communist leaders, head nurses, and union leaders; this is being done with the help of the Party. The Party in the City of Havana Province has worked hard on this score, and the results are evident in the new enthusiasm and spirit at the hospitals.

It won't happen overnight, and the Party in the City of Havana has monthly meetings with the secretaries of hospital Party committees. That's political work, and with political work we can solve many problems. We thought of some economic measures that were fair, such as taking into account abnormal working conditions for auxiliary personnel.

We are also considering ways of having staff do several things, better pay for auxiliary personnel as was done with doctors and nurses. All this, of course, within the socialist formula, seeking more rational and better use of workers, because the country will never develop if we try to solve disorganization, inefficiency, lack of productivity by putting more people to work. This is basically political work.

In hospitals and schools we can't talk about profitability because they aren't economic enterprises with bonuses. If there is too much talk of bonuses, we will be corrupting workers and saying that the only way to get things done is through bonuses. (*Applause*)

Although we recognize that there is room for bonuses under socialism, they must be the result of good work, but real work, not because of trumped-up profits, inflated prices, and charging 40,000 pesos for a floor and 10,000 pesos for what actually costs 500. That way any outfit is profitable, it's easy to conceal disorganization and inefficiency by raising prices.

Some important construction brigades like that in Cienfuegos, that of the nuclear power plant, have to achieve their maximum productivity levels.

We sent a comrade out there because we began to hear talk of figures of up to 16,000 workers needed in construction. So we sent them a message that said no, that they would have to make do with the 12,000 agreed upon earlier. Because another form of concealing disorganization and inefficiency is the lack of control over what each worker accomplishes, asking constantly for more men instead of controlling and rigorously measuring their work.

And that is a good brigade, believe me, with very good leaders. There the workers have been given facilities — special uniforms, special work boots, and special food. When I found out about the 16,000, I said, "No, they'll have to make do with 12,000, with 12,000!" Yes, and furthermore, construction workers are putting in more than eight hours a day. It's not possible to conceal inefficiency and disorganization with more and more men because later there are 20,000 and then 25,000 at peak times.

I'm mentioning some of the kinds of problems, and I'm speaking of a good brigade and magnificent workers, to whom I have made certain commitments — and who have made commitments to me — through the efforts we

have made to improve their standard of living in general.

There's often a tendency, instead of going and telling the worker "make a greater effort, meet your obligation" — that is, to do political and organizational work — to go about making things up, asking for more people. This is easier, but much more costly for the country. Our resources could run out, and then we would not be able to give them these special uniforms and the special shoes if such a thing like I have mentioned were to occur.

These are the kinds of things I meditate on. Not long ago I read in the newspaper about the problems in the textile mill in Santiago de Cuba, which I spoke about during the Congress, a large textile mill with a capacity of 80 million square meters.

Recently there was a meeting there in the mill, different groups were brought together from the Party and from the state. What I read in the paper surprised me a bit because they were saying that such and such problems had to be solved in order to bring the mill to full capacity because there wasn't enough stability in the work force, that they had to guarantee more recreation, who knows what else, cultural things, construct much more housing, guarantee the possibility of higher education. I don't know how many things they were guaranteeing, and at the end, a comrade said — I saw it in the newspaper — "It will be very difficult to achieve this goal by 1990. We're going to try to reach it, but it will be very difficult."

I wonder if this textile mill were in Brazil, what would happen? There, where there is so much unemployment, so much hunger, so many social problems, would so many things and so many promises be necessary in order for the mill to produce to capacity?

Is this how socialism is built? Do we believe that socialism can be built in this way? And is there no appeal to the obligation of the workers? Is there no appeal to the duty of young people, telling them that this is an underdeveloped country that needs to develop, that it can't be on the basis of offering pie in the sky and all in order for the factory to function? We have to know how to call the young people and the workers to their duty and tell them, "Produce!" (*Prolonged applause*)

We must know how to tell the workers "Stabilize yourselves. Reach the limits of production. Work, because production must come first, and then the marvels!" We must tell them that the Revolution has made great efforts to guarantee work to all young people, but that we are an underdeveloped country, confronted by imperialism and blockaded by imperialism. It cannot only be on the basis of promises, everyone must be called to fulfill their duty, everyone!

I believe that on a day like today, we must also mention these things. Because in order to have the many things that today are within our reach we have struggled, blood has been shed, and many sacrifices have been made, and it appears that many don't even know this, or pretend not to know, and they don't know what world they're living in. (*Applause*)

We haven't come together just to exalt our past glories, to pay tribute to the dead, for to pay them tribute, more than one or two hours are required, more than a minute, or a second, or one day every 25 years or every year. To the dead, to those who sacrificed themselves for the Revolution, generation after generation, one must pay tribute every day, every hour, every minute, and every second! (*Prolonged applause*)

What are we going to say to the mothers who have lost their sons? What are we going to say to the women who have lost their husbands? What are we going to say to the children who have lost their fathers or their grandfathers in the revolutionary struggle? Because here I see children 6, 8, and 10 years old, relatives of the dead. Are we going to tell them that if I don't have a house next door to the factory that I'm not going, that I won't work in the factory?

As long as the houses can't be built — even though it might be very right to build houses next door to the factory — we do need cloth, and we have, for example, the spinning mill in Havana that can produce up to 15,000 tons of thread for our textile factories, but ah, there is not enough stability in the work force; we must build houses, we will wait until we have all the houses there on the corner. Houses alone won't solve the problem because later they could have the house and then go on to another job.

I believe that we must also solve the problems with morale, honor, and principles, that it is necessary to appeal, and it would be demagogic not to appeal, to our compatriots' and our workers' sense of duty.

It is clear that it was poor planning to build the textile mill without also building a number of housing units close to the factory, being aware of these problems. But the Revolution doesn't have the resources to resolve everything all at once.

I believe that these are weaknesses to which I am referring here. That is our enemy now. All those who look for privileges and cushy jobs, who divert resources, who seek to pocket money that they haven't earned by the sweat of their brow, engaging in rackets and schemes, they are doing the mercenaries' work. All of this can be found in the vineyards of the Lord. (*Laughter*)

They are not the majority, to the contrary, but we have the duty to combat them, because these minorities can only do those things when the majority is passive, lazy, and does not exercise a critical spirit. And I know the critical spirit of our people, I know the qualities of our people.

This struggle will be long, and longer than just a five-year period. All our lives we will have to fight against this tendency, because there are always two factions, as Martí said: those who build up and those who tear down. There is a large faction that builds up. But there are those of the other faction, where the irresponsible and lazy are found. And these don't have to be counterrevolutionaries. There are those who don't realize that this is one way

to act as a mercenary!

We have to appeal to the honor and dignity of our fellow citizens, which has been so evident throughout history.

I believe this to be an appropriate theme for a day like today. All that we have said, all that we have remembered, reflects the world in which we live. Everything I said about Mr. Reagan's Hitlerian methods is showing us that all our efforts at national defense are not in vain.

We know that even though our schools have many needs — there are old schools, some in bad condition, especially primary schools — that there is a shortage of housing, that we lack sports and cultural centers, that we lack many things, all those things that we desire, but we have to invest hundreds of millions every year in fortification, in defense; we have to dedicate scores of millions of man-hours to train the people in defense.

All of this takes energy and effort away from productive work and into military training. We have to devote hundreds of thousands of tons of cement, steel, every kind of material and the efforts of innumerable workers every year just to defend ourselves. This is another price we have to pay to imperialism!

Today, on this anniversary and in light of these meditations, we see how right we are in preparing the people for this struggle. Because we were strong, we liberated ourselves from a terrible war 25 years ago. This is another lesson of Girón: we must be strong to liberate ourselves, perhaps, from another terrible war!

To the extent that we are strong, efficient, and hardworking, and that we meet all our obligations, we will help to avoid imperialist aggression! Because the imperialists are opportunists, they know to attack where there is weakness, but where there is strength they restrain themselves. And a population is not just made strong by its patriotism, by the arms that it has, but also by its behavior in general.

The imperialists would like to see these problems and vices to which I have referred multiply, because they know that this would weaken us and our resistance.

So then, patriotism obliges us not just to train ourselves, to join a combat unit and to arm ourselves but also to meet all our duties every day of our lives.

The Revolution has moved forward, has made great advances, has achieved great successes, but those who think that the new generations don't have equal or greater tasks ahead of them than those of the generation of Girón, or its predecessors, are mistaken. They are mistaken!

The struggle will be long and hard. These 25 years have taught us this. Imperialist crimes continue to demonstrate it to us, as we face an imperialism that is ever more aggressive, arrogant, and overbearing.

This is a goal for the whole world, for all the revolutionary forces, for all the socialist countries, for all the democratic and progressive forces of the world: a tremendous effort, a tremendous struggle. No one should believe that a single generation did it all. One generation

did a single part, and if you will, a small part. The new generations have to do a great deal, and those that follow will also have much to do. This is reality.

These are the realities of which I wish to make our compatriots aware, on a day like today, upon which we meditate and on which we can say to our heroes, to our martyrs, to those who had to make more sacrifices than others, that we will never permit the fruit of their labor to become sullied or the fruit of their sacrifice to be misappropriated or squandered; that we will fight with the same courage, with the same steadfastness as in Girón; that we will fight with tenaciousness and without rest against all that continues to weaken the Revolution.

And in the face of foreign enemies and the danger that lies in wait for us on the outside, we will also tell our heroes and martyrs, those who gave everything for the Revolution or those who by their sacrifice brought pain to their most loved ones, that the Revolution will not only be able to defend itself from weaknesses, its own weaknesses, but also from its foreign enemies. That this country will never return to capitalism, that this country will never again be the property of imperialism.

We will tell them finally, as has already been expressed in the immortal words of Antonio Maceo, "Whoever tries to conquer Cuba will gain nothing but the dust of her blood-soaked soil — if he doesn't perish in the struggle first!"

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Pretoria readjusts shackles on Blacks

Drops old pass books, prepares new apartheid controls

By Ernest Harsch

"The pass laws have gone," proclaimed full-page advertisements signed by President Pieter Botha in major South African newspapers April 24. "The prisons are emptied of the victims of this unhappy system. No South African will ever suffer the indignity of arrest for a pass offence again. A new era of freedom has begun."

This "new era of freedom," Botha claimed, began the day before, when the apartheid regime in Pretoria officially announced that it was abolishing the pass books that all Africans have had to carry.

Along with other measures, these passes had served as a centerpiece of the white minority regime's entire system of "influx control," which severely restricted the residency and movement of South Africa's 24 million Africans. Any African who had permission to live and work in the 87 percent of the country legally set aside for whites (who number nearly 5 million) had to carry a pass at all times, and many were arrested for failing to do so.

Botha's announcement on the passes brought prompt and vocal praise from numerous business organizations, such as the Association of Chambers of Commerce, the Afrikaans Trade Institute, and the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce. Black officials in Pretoria's Bantustans — the 10 rural reserves to which most Africans are assigned — also welcomed the move, as did a number of white liberal groups.

The Reagan administration in Washington, maintaining that the abolition of the pass books has established "freedom of movement to and within urban areas for all South African citizens on a nondiscriminatory basis," hailed it as "a major milestone on the road away from apartheid."

'The name of the game is political power'

But Black leaders with popular following were much more skeptical of how significant a change Pretoria's latest move really is.

"The moratorium and release of pass offenders can only be welcomed," Bishop Desmond Tutu, a key anti-apartheid leader, stated. He called the scrapping of the pass books "a fundamental departure."

"However," Tutu added, "I hope there is not a sting in the tail. One has to be very careful that they are not going to find another way of harassing blacks through orderly urbanisation or other means."

Moreover, Tutu said, changing the pass laws does not address the central demands of Blacks. "We are no longer interested in incremental reform," he said. "We actually want a

very simple thing: to get recognized as who we are — citizens of this country."

Tutu emphasized that "our people are not protesting against this or that piece of legislation. Our protest is basically against the injustice and the oppression and the evil of apartheid. For our people now the name of the game is political power." He said that what Blacks want is nothing less than "a nonracial, democratic, just South Africa where black and white will be able to live harmoniously together."

Leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the massive anti-apartheid coalition that has been in the forefront of the current upsurge, made similar points. Murphy Morobe, the UDF's acting publicity secretary, stated, "Without an address on the crucial issue of political power and the popular demand of our people to take part in the decision-making processes in this country, Botha's latest move would still remain an act in political posturing."

Morobe also noted that Botha's announcement on the passes came only under the impact of domestic and international protests. This, he said, "is yet another indicator of the effectiveness of pressure and campaigns by the democratic extra-parliamentary movement and our allies internationally."

Overhauling apartheid

The change in the pass laws is not the first reform introduced by the Botha regime. There have been others since the late 1970s. All have come in response to the growing power and organization of the oppressed Black majority.

It was the massive 1976 youth rebellions that provided the first major impetus toward alterations in apartheid policy. The scope of that upsurge — followed by the continuing mobilizations of Black workers, students, Bantustan inhabitants, and township residents — highlighted the increasing ineffectiveness of the apartheid system as it was then structured. It was no longer able to keep Blacks under perpetual submission.

Botha, who became prime minister in 1978, bluntly told his supporters, "We must adapt or die." The so-called *verligte* ("enlightened") wing of the governing National Party gained the ascendancy and began introducing various measures aimed at better adapting the apartheid system to the changing circumstances.

Some genuine concessions were made to Black demands. These included the scrapping of many minor segregationist measures (in hotels, parks, and other public facilities), the granting of limited landholding rights to some urban Africans, and greater, though far from adequate, expenditures on Black education and

social services. The biggest concession was the official recognition in 1979 of some key African trade union rights. These changes were made under the pressure of a union movement that was already growing significantly, and they opened the door to even greater Black unionization.

Other changes involved no real concessions at all, but simply introduced new ways to combat popular unrest and implement apartheid controls.

These included the imposition of a fraudulent "independence" on four of the country's 10 Bantustans: Transkei, BophuthaTswana, Venda, and Ciskei. The more than 9 million Africans assigned to them lost their South African citizenship as a result and were legally deemed to be "foreigners" in "white" South Africa, even though many had lived outside the Bantustans all their lives.

Further steps were taken to divide Africans from the two other sectors of the Black population, the 3 million Coloureds and nearly 1 million Indians. The constitution was rewritten in 1983 to provide for the creation of separate, subordinate Coloured and Indian chambers of parliament, alongside the existing white chamber. The following year elections were held for this new tricameral parliament.

In the urban African townships, new elected administrative bodies, called community councils, were set up. Their purpose was to shift to local collaborators more of the responsibility for administering apartheid regulations on a day-to-day basis. They also served to give more of a Black cover to continued white supremacist rule.

In addition, the powers of the police, military, intelligence agencies, and other repressive institutions have been continually bolstered.

Whether Pretoria's reforms registered some genuine gains by Blacks or simply represented modifications in its basic methods of rule, all have had but one main goal — to uphold the apartheid state. By giving some ground where necessary and adopting more flexible policies, the Botha regime hopes to preserve and defend the foundations of white minority rule.

That is why many of Pretoria's reforms have run up against such widespread resistance from the Black population, as well as from the more far-sighted anti-apartheid whites. Bantustan "independence" is rejected by the vast majority of Africans. The 1984 elections to the tricameral parliament were met by massive, organized boycotts by Coloureds and Indians. And the local community councils have become particular targets of township protest.

In face of the mounting popular resistance to

its policies, the Botha regime has continued to profess its sincerity in moving away from apartheid practice. This is directed in part toward dividing and undermining its domestic opposition and in part toward staving off further international sanctions (with little success so far on either score).

"We have outgrown the outdated concept of apartheid," Botha told the House of Assembly, the all-white chamber of parliament, April 18. A few days earlier Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Christiaan Heunis maintained that "the government has committed itself to the elimination of discrimination from our statute books."

Some officials have been more candid, at least when addressing exclusively white audiences. Gen. H. du Toit, of the Department of National Strategy think-tank at the Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg, told the Afrikaans-language quarterly *Buurman* that apartheid cannot be done away with. He said that it should continue to be reformed until it is no longer a "swearword."

Badge of slavery

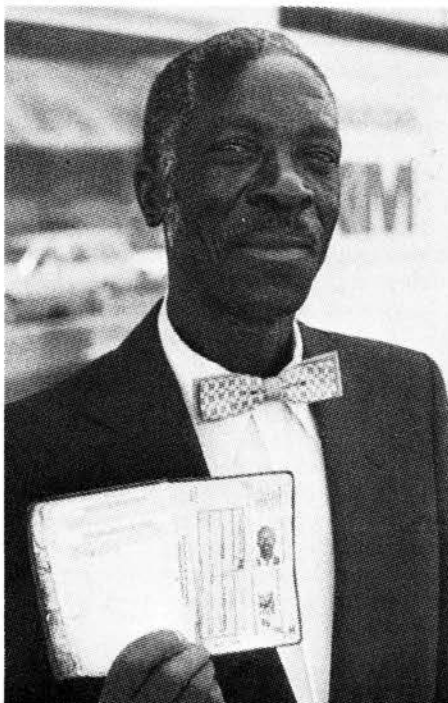
Botha's April 23 announcement on the scrapping of the pass books and other "influx control" measures fits within this broader strategy. Their abolition is a genuine concession to Blacks, but other regulations being drafted to take their place also include a "sting in the tail," as Bishop Tutu warned.

For decades the pass has been at the heart of the apartheid regime's system of control over African residency, movement, and employment. It was used to police residential and territorial segregation, block free migration to the cities from the impoverished Bantustans, and determine job qualifications.

Although passes and permits of one kind or another had been obligatory for many Africans since the early days of Dutch and British colonial rule, the current pass system was based on a law adopted in 1952 and subsequently extended. It required every African over the age of 16 to carry a detailed reference book including photograph, fingerprints, tribal and racial background, tax receipts, work record, current place of employment, employer's signature, and other information.

Any policeman, and many other officials, could demand to see the pass at any time. At a glance, they could tell if an African was living somewhere illegally, was unemployed, or had fallen behind in tax payments. Failure to produce a pass was punishable by fine or imprisonment. Every year between 200,000 and 300,000 people were arrested for violating the pass laws.

For Africans, the pass was a "badge of slavery," a symbol of their inferior status as virtual foreigners in the country of their birth. It has long been a target of popular protest. A countrywide antipass campaign was launched in 1960, which the regime answered with the Sharpeville massacre and the banning of the African National Congress (ANC) and other organizations. In early 1986, leaders of the newly formed Congress of South African



In place of these old passes, Blacks will be issued new "identification booklets."

Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest labor federation, projected another campaign for abolition of the passes.

Besides stirring popular resentment and anger, the passes had become more and more ineffective in holding back rural-to-urban migration. Every Black township has residents who are there illegally, often many thousands of them — Africans who came to the cities in search of work without proper authorization, wives and other family members of "temporary" migrant workers, and many others. Soweto, the huge Black township outside Johannesburg, is estimated to have several hundred thousand residents who are not supposed to be there according to apartheid law.

Government officials first began talking of doing away with the passes in 1979, in favor of other, more indirect, methods of restricting movement. The aim, according to a report by the government-appointed Riekert Commission, was "more effective control over migration than in the past, and the avoidance of much of the friction that accompanied such control in the past, in that emphasis will be placed mainly on the *control of employment and control of accommodation*" (emphasis in original). That same year, the government proposed replacing the passes with "documents similar to those used by whites."

Some of these proposals have been incorporated into Pretoria's recent measures. The "White Paper on Urbanisation" presented to parliament April 23 — which will serve as the basis for subsequent legislation — projects replacing the passes with new identity booklets that will be similar for all sectors of the population. The new IDs will be streamlined and

will not contain all the detailed information on employment, tax payments, and residency authorization that the old passes did.

They will, however, identify the bearer's "race group." Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha stressed, "The government is of the opinion that various population groups must be identified. . . . It is the basis of the political system of own affairs." ("Own affairs" is a recently coined euphemism for apartheid.)

Rather than dropping the fingerprinting of Africans, the regime, as part of its new "non-discriminatory" approach, is insisting that all applicants for ID books now be fingerprinted, including whites. Although the fingerprints are not actually to appear on the IDs, they will be filed with a central population register. Some white newspapers and political parties have protested this aspect of Pretoria's new policy.

The regime has proclaimed an end to the frequent arrests for pass law violations. But a new Identification Bill introduced into parliament the same day as the white paper empowers any "authorized officer" to demand that anyone over the age of 16 prove their identity "without delay" by producing an ID or other authorized document or by being vouched for by someone else with such identification. Failure to do so can lead to a maximum penalty of a R500 (US\$250) fine or a six-month prison term.

How this will differ in reality from the old pass checks is unclear.

'Orderly urbanisation'

In dumping the old passes, Pretoria has made it clear that Africans and other Blacks still do not have the right to live wherever they want. As cabinet minister Heunis put it, "Freedom of movement should not be seen as a free-for-all and no-holds barred opportunity to settle anywhere at any time."

Residential segregation, the regime has insisted, will be retained and strictly enforced. President Botha has argued that abolishing the central provisions of the Group Areas Act — which keeps residential neighborhoods segregated into white, African, Indian, and Coloured areas — "would produce total chaos."

The Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 — which limits permanent urban residency rights to only some 4 million Africans — is to be scrapped. This will make it easier for some rural Africans to move from the Bantustans or the "white" farming areas into urban African townships (or to legalize their status if they are already there illegally). It will also enable them to move more easily from one urban area to another.

This is a major retreat from the official apartheid policy of the 1950s and 1960s, which aimed to transform most Africans outside the Bantustans into rightless "temporary sojourners," whose presence was tolerated there only so long as they were employed. At the same time, there has been no indication yet that Pretoria intends to scrap the migrant labor system, under which nearly 2 million African workers from the Bantustans and neighboring countries labor in the cities and white-owned farming areas under contract, without being

able to bring their families with them.

Nevertheless, the easing of urban residency restrictions marks a certain recognition by the regime of the irreversibility of Black urbanization, and of the need of South Africa's industrialized economy for a larger, settled work force. That is why so many employers hailed Botha's announcement on the passes.

Yet Pretoria's white paper has also emphasized that the authorities aim to retain the "right and responsibility" to control this urbanization process. The Botha regime calls this a strategy for "orderly urbanisation."

According to Heunis, "Although we have now reached a point in our development where cities and towns must be allowed to grow and develop much faster than in the past, and although we have now decided to abolish influx control, it does not mean we are heading for a period of chaotic growth of cities and towns."

Various means will be used to try to control and direct this process. A central one is the regime's continued monopoly over land and housing allocations.

Legislation is now being drafted that will grant freehold land tenure to a layer of Africans in the urban townships. But like an earlier provision granting 99-year leases, this concession is limited in scope, directly benefiting only those Africans who can afford to buy or build their own homes. The vast majority of urban Africans, held back by low incomes and high land prices and construction costs, will have no choice but to rent their houses — from the government's administration boards or town councils.

In the past, Pretoria consciously kept down the number of housing units available to Blacks. According to official figures, there is now a shortage of nearly 400,000 homes in the major urban centers. And since this estimate is based only on those who have been authorized to live in the cities, it does not take into account the needs of the hundreds of thousands of illegal residents. Representatives of the Progressive Federal Party, the main white opposition party in parliament, have termed the regime's housing shortage figure a "gross underestimate."

The apartheid authorities intend to keep their housing policy restrictive. The white paper explicitly declared that "the present practice of creating a shortage of land within the metropolitan core areas should continue."

This will in turn serve to restrict who has *permission* to live in the cities, since, according to the white paper, possession or occupation of an officially approved home or building site will be a criterion for being allowed to move into a township.

Because of the housing shortages, scores of unauthorized shantytowns have sprung up around the country, despite Pretoria's persistent efforts to bulldoze them into oblivion. Now the Botha regime aims to strengthen its powers to eliminate these settlements through amendments to the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. On May 12, as an example of what is to come, demolition teams, protected by armed police who used tear gas and attack dogs

against residents, tore down a squatters' camp in Soweto.

In another example of Pretoria's new "non-discriminatory" policy, the provisions of the antisquatting act are to be extended to everyone, including whites — yet there are no white squatter settlements anywhere in the country!

Other methods intended to control Black urban migration and movement include Pretoria's "program of decentralized economic development," as Heunis termed it. This basically involves directing the development of new industries and towns outside of the existing metropolitan centers, to stem the further growth of large Black urban concentrations that are more difficult to police.

Such a policy has already been pursued for a number of years and includes the promotion of "border industries" located at the edges of the Bantustans. In those cases, the townships housing the Black workers are physically located within the Bantustans themselves and fall under the strict controls of the Bantustan administrations.

'Passports' and fences

The 10 impoverished rural Bantustans remain central to the very structure of apartheid. Although Pretoria has discussed various changes in the way the Bantustans are administered, it has no intention of abolishing them. They are crucial to its whole strategy of keeping Africans divided along artificially designated tribal lines and denying them full political and citizenship rights in South Africa as a whole.

The abolition of the "influx control" measures specifically excludes those Africans assigned to the four "independent" Bantustans. Africans deemed to be citizens of the Transkei, BophuthaTswana, Venda, and Ciskei will continue to be treated as "foreigners," subject to the restrictions of the Aliens Act. An estimated 3.8 million Africans from those Bantustans currently live and work in other parts of the country. Instead of passes, they have to carry around "passports."

One provision that was recently added to the Aliens Act obliges anyone entering "white" South Africa from an "independent" Bantustan or neighboring state to leave a deposit at the border post.

The Botha regime has indicated some willingness to modify its stance toward the 9 million or more Africans assigned to these four Bantustans by considering the possibility of granting them "dual citizenship." But whether this is actually granted — and what it would mean in practice — remains to be seen.

In any case, Pretoria is strengthening the restrictions that apply to the other six Bantustans. Proclamation 38, decreed by President Botha this year, extends to these Bantustan administrations the same repressive powers that apply to the four "independent" ones.

Writing in the April 4-10 Johannesburg *Weekly Mail*, correspondent Phillip van Niekerk reported, "The non-independent homelands [Bantustans] have been granted draconian powers to pass their own security

laws, ban and restrict people, ban organisations and publications and remove communities. . . . The proclamation also provides for the national states to bar entrance to their territory of people who are not from that homeland even if they are South African citizens."

On April 23, the same day that Botha was announcing the changes in the pass laws, a deputy cabinet minister revealed in parliament that more funds are being earmarked for the construction of fences around the Bantustans and along the borders with neighboring states. Construction had already begun on a fence along a 412-kilometer stretch of border with Lesotho, an independent country totally surrounded by South African territory. In the coming year, fences are to be built around the Transkei, Venda, and BophuthaTswana as well.

Two-sided policy

Botha and his colleagues are already publicly discussing further "reforms" in the near future. Besides additional measures to bolster the "authority" of the Bantustans, these may include phasing out the discredited community councils in favor of other forms of local government and administration.

Various proposals are also being circulated for some form of limited African political representation, on the basis of the increasingly fragmented administrative units that Pretoria is setting up around the country. Botha has already approved the formation of a joint coordinating body involving the all-white Natal provincial government and the Black administration of the KwaZulu Bantustan. He has announced that legislation may soon be introduced to create a National Statutory Council to discuss constitutional revisions, with some seats on the council reserved for prominent African collaborators with the apartheid regime.

As the popular struggle for majority rule continues to deepen and expand and its own position becomes weaker, Pretoria may be forced to consider even more sweeping changes in the way it administers the apartheid state. Its goal is not to make apartheid more "humane" through piecemeal reforms, but to safeguard its state power.

That aim was made crystal clear on the very same day Botha's white paper was unveiled. New legislation was introduced into parliament to expand the powers of the police in dealing with political protests.

An amendment to the Public Safety Act will empower the minister of law and order to proclaim any part of the country an "unrest area," giving the police sweeping powers similar to those they had under the state of emergency that Botha declared over parts of the country last year. These include the powers to suspend civil rights, detain individuals without trial, impose curfews and press censorship, search without warrant, close businesses, and take property. None of their actions can be challenged in court.

The intended target of this new repressive legislation was spelled out in another government white paper, on military and police pol-

icy, that was put before parliament the day before, on April 22. It claimed that South Africa was the victim of a "revolutionary onslaught" carried out by "terrorist organisations." It continued, "Of the most important resistance groups forming the spearhead of this onslaught are the so-called Charterists, that is, those resistance groups which propagate the Freedom Charter as their policy manifesto."

The Freedom Charter, originally drafted in 1955 and championed by the outlawed ANC, calls for the creation of a democratic and non-racial South Africa in which everyone, Black or white, will have equal rights.

Ominously, the white paper went on to claim that newly recruited ANC guerrillas came mainly from the ranks of the United Democratic Front and its affiliates. Such charges are typically used to justify further crackdowns.

More than 1,500 people have already been

killed since the current popular upheaval began nearly two years ago, the big majority of them Black protesters murdered by the police. Clearly, the Botha regime will not hesitate to gun down even more of its opponents if that proves necessary to defend the apartheid state.

Reform and repression are two sides of the same policy. The rulers in Pretoria have no intention of conceding the central demands of the oppressed majority for a united, democratic, and nonracial South Africa, in which everyone, regardless of race, will have access to land, equality before the law, freedom of movement, and other democratic rights. That can only be achieved through the apartheid state's overthrow.

"Our position is that apartheid cannot be reformed," UDF representative Patrick Lephunya declared on April 23, in response to Botha's announcement on the pass laws. "It must be eradicated." □

May Day strike hits South Africa

Biggest labor action in country's history

By Ernest Harsch

From one end of South Africa to the other, more than 2 million workers celebrated May Day by staying away from their jobs. It was the largest single strike action in the country's history, and again emphasized the power and growing organization of South African workers, the big majority of whom are Black.

The strike was called to back the workers' demand that May Day be granted as a paid public holiday. It was above all a political strike aimed at the oppressive system of apartheid, and included demands for the release of all political prisoners and an end to discriminatory laws and practices.

Various groups backed the strike, but the one most directly involved in organizing it was the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest labor federation in the country, with a membership of 650,000.

According to the Labour Monitoring Group, an independent body of labor researchers and academics, about 80 percent of all Black workers in the Witwatersrand region around Johannesburg responded to the strike call. In Natal Province, which includes Durban, the strike was 70 percent effective. In the Eastern Cape region around Port Elizabeth and East London, which has seen some of the most massive and sustained popular protests over the past two years, the strike was virtually total. However, participation in Cape Town and the surrounding Western Cape region was "uneven" and fairly low, according to the monitoring group.

The Anglo American Corp., the country's largest monopoly, reported that 83 percent of the workers at its gold mines struck. In addition, white miners refused to do the work of striking Black mine workers.

An official of the Association of Chambers

of Commerce, the main employers' organization, acknowledged, "Without doubt this is the biggest nationwide work stoppage South Africa has had."

In some areas, workers struck despite intimidation and repression. Three members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), a key COSATU affiliate, were shot by mine security officials at one mine, and five more were arrested at another mine.

Although a few employers conceded to the workers' demand and granted May Day off as a paid holiday, most adopted a stance of "no work, no pay." The Chamber of Mines had earlier tried to have the strike outlawed in the mines, but the Supreme Court ruled that the NUM could strike legally.

Besides staying away from their jobs, tens of thousands of workers attended May Day rallies around the country. Although six COSATU rallies were banned, 10 others took place, including in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Soweto, Kimberley, Welkom, Newcastle, and other towns.

In Durban, a May Day rally was also held by a grouping *opposed* to the main union federations and anti-apartheid political organizations. Organized by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the chief minister of the KwaZulu Bantustan, it drew some 60,000 people to what was billed as an inauguration for the so-called United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA). This "union" is led by businessmen and officials of Buthelezi's tribally based Inkatha movement.

Buthelezi spent much of his speech denouncing the call for international sanctions against South Africa and urging workers not to strike so often. He also virulently attacked COSATU, which he has accused of being a "front" for the outlawed African National Congress. Supporters of Buthelezi carried a black

coffin bearing the words "COSATU is dead." One held up a poster proclaiming, "Bishop Tutu deserves execution." This is ominous, since Inkatha thugs have often physically attacked political and union activists, especially in the Durban area.

COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo said Buthelezi's rally made "a mockery of a working-class symbol."

In addition to the workers who struck on May Day, some 1 million Black students were also estimated to have stayed away from their classes. This followed a decision by a March conference of the National Education Crisis Committee — a broad coordinating body of student, teacher, and community organizations — to support the May Day action.

An April 11 meeting of COSATU's Central Executive Committee said that the strike was called to commemorate "100 years of struggle by the international working class against the domination of monopoly capitalism." It also raised the following demands:

- The right to observe May Day as a paid public holiday;
- A 40-hour workweek, with a living wage for all;
- The right of all workers to join democratic trade unions;
- The establishment of democratic Students Representative Councils for all students and "an alternative system of people's education";
- The release of all political prisoners and the unbanning of all outlawed organizations;
- An end to the pass laws and influx control;
- Decent housing for all, at affordable rents.

General Secretary Naidoo stressed that the union was continuing to demand abolition of the passes, despite the apartheid regime's claim that it was doing away with them. The government, he said, was trying to "reintroduce the pass laws through the back door."

The two other union federations comprising predominantly Black workers — the Council of Unions of South Africa and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions — also supported the demand that May Day be recognized as a paid public holiday.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), a coalition of 600 anti-apartheid organizations, backed the strike call as well. However, a smaller, rival grouping, called the National Forum, stressed that it was *not* supporting the strike call, on the grounds that such actions "tend to dissipate the energies of those people the organisations appeal to."

Explaining the UDF's support for the May Day strike, UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe stated, "For the workers of South Africa the 100th anniversary of May Day has a very special significance in the history of the labour movement. That the South African government and the business world still show a reluctance to recognise May Day and grant workers full wages is a reflection of the continued reluctance of white capital, in particular, to recognise the major contribution and sacrifice workers made in South Africa."

Activists, academics greet Comintern book

'Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International' wins praise, stirs controversy

By Sonja Franeta

Pathfinder Press in New York has announced publication of the second edition of *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International: Documents 1907-1916, the Preparatory Years*. The first edition (1984) of this book, which is published by the Anchor Foundation, has now sold out.

The book is the first volume of the series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. This project will comprise more than a dozen volumes of documents of the Communist International (Comintern) beginning with the preparatory years from 1907, through the International's formation in 1919, and on through the year 1923. It will include the complete proceedings of the first four Comintern congresses.

Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International and the series it initiated have been welcomed internationally by writers on the Russian revolution and the Communist International in both the workers' movement and the universities.

Writing in the May 1986 issue of *Quatrième Internationale*, a journal of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, Carlos Rossi noted the volume's "wealth of documentation." This makes it "an excellent working tool, which explains in a useful manner the genesis of the Communist International." Rossi added that the book "includes a large quantity of little-known or hard-to-find material — texts of Rosa Luxemburg, Pannekoek, Liebknecht, and others — as well as Russian writings not translated up to now (of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, Pyatakov, Bukharin)."

Rossi expressed one "reservation": the volume, in his view, offered "too linear a view of Lenin's evolution." Rossi argued that before 1914 Lenin "still had many illusions in the 'orthodox Center'" led by Karl Kautsky. His review is reprinted below.

Several academic writers on Communist history have also expressed opinions on the first volume of the Comintern series. Alexander Rabinowitch, author of *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, termed the volume "an excellent complement to existing histories." Not only does *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* provide "key documents, many of them otherwise unavailable in English," but it contains "informed, concise introductory notes and commentaries."

The editor of the two-volume collection *A Documentary History of Communism*, Robert V. Daniels, commended the Pathfinder book for "an excellent choice of important and revealing documents, hitherto difficult to come by."

Richard B. Day, author of *Leon Trotsky and*

the Politics of Economic Isolation, reviewing the initial volume in *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, summarized its scope as reflecting "the debates [before 1914] over Social Democracy's anti-war resolutions, its collapse in 1914, the emergence of the Zimmerwald Left, and the forces eventually leading to the creation of the Third International in 1919." Day viewed the book as relevant to today's political struggles, because of its "clear (although unstated) intention of reminding readers that current concern over the arms race and arms control is not without worrying historical precedent in the years prior to 1914."

The book lets leaders of the Second International "speak for themselves," Day stated, "in a way that permits the reader both to understand their ultimate failure and also to appreciate the constraints that weighed upon them."

Comments by editors of collections of Comintern documents in Japanese and German confirmed the accuracy of the translations and the pertinence of the material. Yoichi Murata, editor of the Japanese series, wrote that the Pathfinder Books Comintern series "promises to become an indispensable medium of research." *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, wrote Murata, "provides access to the otherwise not easily attainable literary sources of those days."

Hermann Weber, editor of a German-language Comintern collection, noted that with the publication of the Pathfinder Books series "a gap will be filled." The first volume, he added, allows "a remarkable insight into the Comintern's process of formation."

Several academic reviewers objected to the focus in *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* on the political contributions of the Bolsheviks. This focus flows from the aim of the series, which the book's introduction explains is "to make more accessible the example and lessons of the international communist movement that grew out of and was led by the Bolshevik Party."

Thus Helmut Gruber, editor of another two-volume English-language collection of Comintern documents, commented that *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* was "a very attractive compilation of materials on Lenin's and Russian Social Democracy's attempt to create a revolutionary international between 1907 and 1916." He faulted the book, however, for a "tendency . . . to exaggerate the importance of Russian Social Democracy within the socialist movement as a whole. It amounts to a present-mindedness — a reading back into the past of Lenin's later importance in the Comintern."

A review in the March 1985 issue of the *British Journal of Communist Studies* objected

that the book "read Lenin's authority in the communist movement back on to the period when he was acquiring it." There was "too little in this book from the Western European socialists, and too little from the Mensheviks," the reviewer added. Nonetheless, the volume was recommended as a "valuable collection."

"The series will surely become a standard and easily accessible source for all those interested in the historical evolution of the left," wrote Christopher Ward in *Irish Slavonic Studies* (issue #6 in 1985). But he, too, complained that "large chunks of the European left are uncritically dismissed."

Daniels, on the other hand, considered that the emphasis on the Bolsheviks provided evidence to confirm his own criticisms of Lenin. *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, Daniels said, "highlights Lenin's polemical narrowness that set the tone for the Third International."

Reviews of the first book in the Comintern series have also appeared in publications of several currents in the workers' movement. Sharp criticism was expressed by Colin Sparks in the April 1985 issue of *Socialist Worker Review*, a magazine linked with the British Socialist Workers Party. He accused the book's editors of aiming "to bury the theory of permanent revolution" and of being "well on the road to Stalinism." *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, he said, seeks "to maximise the distance between Trotsky and Lenin on a number of key issues."

Sparks, however, tacitly acknowledged the importance of at least one of the differences between the two leaders: that concerning the demand "fight for peace," raised by Trotsky during the first years of World War I. Lenin was wrong to criticize this demand, Sparks wrote, and "reality was to knock his head against the wall, too: by 1917 'peace' was to become one of the key slogans." A subsequent issue of *Socialist Worker Review* carried a letter by Tony Cliff defending Lenin's viewpoint against this criticism.

Despite Spark's severe criticisms of the volume, however, he thought the book "should be studied by every serious socialist."

David Bruce of the British weekly, *Workers Press*, by contrast, welcomed the book, noting its breadth and its relevancy for our times. He found the material from Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht "priceless" and the articles on the Irish Easter Rising of 1916 "particularly pertinent."

(His review was reprinted in the April 21, 1986, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.)

Cindy Jaquith, writing about the book in the Nov. 16, 1984, issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*, pointed out that the reader is

able "to follow the actual debate as it unfolds and see its evolution as the events in the class struggle more and more confirmed the correctness of the Bolshevik perspective."

Russell Johnson described the volume in the Dec. 24, 1984, issue of *Intercontinental Press* as "an eminently readable book that brings the labor movement of the period to life and provides many useful lessons in Marxist strategy and tactics for today's generation of revolutionary-minded workers."

Comments received on the first volume, many of them from communist militants who have studied it in organized classes, included a number of proposals for corrections. In a preface to the new edition of *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, its editor, John Riddell, thanks readers for their suggestions, pointing out that "while the second edition of this book does not differ from the first in any substantial way, it does incorporate many such corrections."

Besides correcting some minor typographical and stylistic errors, the second edition also includes a few improvements to the translations, including, in one case, a correction of the English-language translation taken from Lenin's *Collected Works*. Several inaccuracies in dates and names in the glossary have been clarified and corrected.

The second edition also adds two new footnotes. The first, found at the end of Chapter 3, refers the reader to four letters by Lenin to Alexander Shlyapnikov written in October 1914, which round out Lenin's assessment at that time of Karl Kautsky and the current he led in the German Social Democratic Party. The footnote quotes Lenin's comment, "Rosa Luxemburg was right when she wrote, long ago, that Kautsky has the 'subservience of a theoretician' — servility, in plainer language, servility to the majority of the Party, to opportunism. Just now there is *nothing* in the world more harmful and dangerous for the *ideological* independence of the proletariat."

In Chapter 9, a second paragraph has been added to footnote 18, referring readers to Lenin's December 1916 "Open Letter to Boris Souvarine," which sheds further light on Lenin's assessment of Leon Trotsky's political evolution as of that time. The footnote quotes the following comments by Lenin:

"I have never branded Trotsky's position as chauvinistic. What I have reproached him with is that all too often he has represented the 'Centre' policy in Russia. . . . Having broken with Martov's party, he continues to accuse us of being splitters. Little by little he is moving

to the Left, and even calls for a break with the Russian social-chauvinist leaders. But he has not definitely said whether he wants unity or a break with the Chkheidze faction. And that is one of the key issues."

A new volume in the Comintern series is

now going to press: *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power*. It covers the first months of the revolution that broke out in Germany in November 1918 and the preparations for the March 1919 founding congress of the Communist International. □

DOCUMENTS

'An excellent working tool'

Comintern book reviewed in 'Quatrième Internationale'

By Carlos Rossi

[The following review appeared in the May 1986 issue of *Quatrième Internationale*, published quarterly in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The translation from the French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Third International was not the product of the Russian Revolution alone. Well before October 1917, the Marxist left carried out a fight for a truly internationalist orientation, first within the Second International, and then, after August 1914 (when Social Democracy rallied to the imperialist war), in calling for the formation of a new International, for which the first steps were the Zimmerwald (1915) and Kienthal (1916) conferences.

This volume, published by Monad Press (the American SWP's publishing house), is a collection of documents, preceded by short explanatory texts, of this preparatory stage, leading to the Kienthal congress and its consequences. The wealth of documentation, selected by John Riddell, makes it an excellent working tool, which explains in a useful manner the genesis of the Communist International. It includes a large quantity of little-known or hard-to-find material — texts of Rosa Luxemburg, Pannekoek, Liebknecht, and others — as well as Russian writings not translated up to now (of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, Pyatakov, Bukharin). This is the first volume of a series that is to cover the period up to the end of 1923, that is, the Leninist epoch of the Comintern.

As John Riddell rightly notes in his preface, Lenin's *Collected Works* have been available for decades, but very little exists (at least in English) on the debates within the workers' movement on the formation and development of the Third International.

Among the most interesting and least-known documents, let us mention a debate at the Stuttgart congress (1907) of the Second International on — immigrant workers, which is of burning relevance 80 years later! There we see Morris Hillquit, an American Socialist, oppose the immigration of "foreign" workers — especially Japanese and Chinese — who would be "dangerous competition" for indigenous

(American) workers.

Rejected by other Socialists from the USA (Julius Hammer), this position is criticized especially by the Japanese Socialist Kato Tokijiro, who pointed out: "It is only dire need that drives them [Japanese workers] from their homeland to earn their livelihood in a foreign land. It is the duty of Socialists to welcome these poor brothers, to defend them, and together with them to fight capitalism. The founders of socialism, above all Karl Marx, did not address themselves to individual countries, but to all of humanity. Internationalism is inscribed on our banner."

The main reservation that could be made to the historical presentation of the volume and documents is that it offers too linear a view of Lenin's evolution. If it is true that after 1914 Lenin was found leading the fight for a definitive break with the Second International, before the war he still had many illusions in the "orthodox Center," and particularly about the official ideologue of Marxism in the German Social Democratic Party [SPD] and in the whole International: Karl Kautsky.

Already in 1910, however, Rosa Luxemburg had adopted a position openly and polemically critical of Kautskyst centrism, including on international questions, as is shown by her text on the SPD's Jena congress (1913), published in the collection.

The year 1914 signified an important turn in Lenin's political course. This is the moment when he realized the limitations of the Second International's Marxism (Kautsky, Plekhanov, and others), which he was to criticize not only politically, but also in its philosophical foundations (see his 1914 *Notebooks* on Hegel's logic). In the new edition of this collection, to appear soon, an important addition will be made: Lenin's Oct. 27, 1914, letter to Shlyapnikov, in which he recognized that "Rosa Luxemburg was right when she wrote, long ago, that Kautsky has the 'subservience of a theoretician' — servility, in plainer language, servility to the majority of the Party, to opportunism." This letter contributes toward reestablishing Rosa Luxemburg's pioneering role in the fight against Kautsky's watering down of Marxism, which served as legitimizing ideology for the leadership apparatus of the German and European Social Democracy. □

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SELECTIONS FROM THE LEFT

[The following selections deal with the April 15 U.S. bombing of Libya.]



Fortnightly French-language organ of the Socialist Workers Party (PSO), Swiss section of the Fourth International. Published in Lausanne, Switzerland.

An editorial in the April 26 *La Brèche* stated, "The American raid on Libya is an act of war. This secret-police operation fits perfectly in the 'Shultz doctrine,' a Rambo version of the policy of the gun. Pure and simple state terrorism presented under the guise of 'legitimate defense.'"

The editorial noted, "The warlike declarations of Colonel Qaddafi served as a pretext. Reagan had already prepared this aggression several months ago, against a country that does not directly pose any danger to the USA."

La Brèche continued, "Behind the smoke screen of 'legitimate defense' hide the real stakes: the 'Shultz doctrine,' which argues the need for growing U.S. military intervention. This strategy of 'the return of America' aims to give back to the United States its role as the world cop. To consolidate the 'pax Americana' everywhere that its interests are at stake, especially where peoples defy the imperialist order. In 1983 it was the island of Grenada. Today the 'Shultz doctrine' aims to justify massive aid to the contras. Tomorrow it will doubtlessly be invoked to sanction direct military intervention in Nicaragua or elsewhere."



A fortnightly review published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The lead article in the May 5 issue, by Claude Gabriel, commented on the reasons behind Washington's decision to bomb Libya and on some aspects of the situation within Libya itself.

"Whatever assessment one makes of Tripoli's international policy," Gabriel wrote, "there is no doubt that it is a thorn in the side of imperialism. The Libyan government has taken a strongly anti-American attitude and used its financial resources to aid various groups, movements, or organizations."

"Today, Washington is attacking a Libyan regime that irritates it. But in this way it is aiming to change the climate on a world scale. It wants to accustom the European and North American peoples to a policy reestablishing

the United States in its role as world cop."

Although the press "has referred a lot to Qadhafi's 'madness,' or the irrationality of Libyan policy," Gabriel continued, those policies in fact reflect "the needs and the rule of the dominant social layers in Libya today."

"Libya enjoyed exceptionally favorable conditions during the years of the oil boom. The social effects of the overthrow of the monarchy in 1969 and the political character of the ruling team that took over then have led to a redistribution of income of a sort seen nowhere else in the Middle East. This has given the present regime a solid social base."

Gabriel argued that the "petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership" in Tripoli adopted a stance of "ultraradicalism" that was accompanied by "a policy of 'socialization' from above that led to new social and economic contradictions." The introduction of Revolutionary Committees, Gabriel stated, tended to put working people "under tutelage."

"However," Gabriel continued, "the oil income made it possible to alter Libyan society profoundly. It opened the way for building projects on the scale of the Egyptian pharaohs. Nonetheless, the dropping of the oil price below 15 dollars a barrel — despite dumping on the free market — greatly reduced Libya's income, as well as that of all countries dependent on oil exports. . . ."

"The United States knows perfectly well, therefore, that its objective of destabilizing this regime is favored today by the situation of the oil market."

Gabriel concluded, "The military operation against Libya has to be taken very seriously. . . . It is a stage in the imperialist counteroffensive that was launched at the beginning of the 1980s after the defeat in Vietnam, the Nicaraguan revolution, and the Iranian revolution. . . ."

"The first indications of this policy were the setting up of the U.S. and French rapid intervention forces, the U.S. landing in Grenada, and the French intervention in Chad."

"The warlike attitude of the U.S. government reflects the present trend in imperialist policy. The danger is magnified by the fact that the North American and European workers' movements have let themselves be fooled and trapped by the chauvinism and racism of the dominant ideology. The wars and conflicts that the imperialists are plotting can only be countered if the working class and the youth of the imperialist countries clearly choose the side of the oppressed peoples."

Guardian

A radical newsweekly, published in New York.

Under the headline "A famous victory," the April 23 issue began its editorial on the U.S.

bombing of Libya on the front page.

"The transparent goal" of the U.S. attack, it said, "was the same as it has been for over five years — removal of the anti-imperialist Qadhafi regime. The U.S. air strikes were accompanied by Voice of America reports urging an anti-Qaddafi uprising."

The *Guardian* continued by noting the widespread international protests against this attack. In part, this was because of the "spurious U.S. case against Libya."

"International outrage at Reagan's attack on Libya," it went on, "was also fueled by a widespread perception that the administration is committed to undermining any effort to ease international tensions. There was much dismay at the fact that the air strikes have severely strained U.S.-Soviet relations, already jolted by Washington's studied refusal to entertain a series of peace initiatives from Moscow. While Reagan was defiantly ordering nuclear tests meant to abort a unilateral Soviet moratorium, he was also rebuffing the USSR's urgent proposals aimed at reducing tensions in the Mediterranean."

Socialist ACTION

A revolutionary socialist weekly, published in London.

"Hands Off Libya, U.S. Bases Out of Britain," declared the front-page headline of the April 18 issue.

This *Socialist Action*, the first following the U.S. bombing of Libya, contained extensive coverage and commentary on the attack. Articles on the inside pages included a call to protest against the air strike, statements by Labour Party figure Tony Benn and the Labour Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament demanding an end to the U.S. bases in Britain, a chronology of U.S. terrorism around the world from the overthrow of the Mossadegh government in Iran in 1953 to the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983, and articles taking up Reagan's lies about Libya and explaining why Washington has targeted that country for attack.

A front-page article declared that "the Thatcher government not only supported the U.S. but directly allowed this country to be used as the launching pad for the attack. The Thatcher government is directly complicit both in the United States aggression, and in the murderous killing of civilians in Tripoli which has been shown on every television screen."

"This attack shows the complete hypocrisy of the United States and British claims to be 'fighting terrorism.' The United States government has spent the last months attempting to force \$100 million of military aid to the Nicaraguan contras through the U.S. Congress. These Nicaraguan forces, the remnants of the dictator Somoza's National Guard and hired mercenaries, have massacred, raped, and

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killed literally thousands of Nicaraguan citizens. . . .

"The United States did not attack Libya because of 'terrorism' but because Libya refuses to support U.S. policies in the Middle East and other parts of the world. Libya opposes the Israeli state and has supported Nicaragua. The United States attacks Libya not for what is reactionary about the regime but for what is progressive about it. . . .

"In 1982 it was a British war against Argentina over the Malvinas (Falklands) aided by the United States. In 1986 it is United States attacks on Libya aided by Britain. . . .

"This entire 'partnership' has to be ended. It has now been shown not just in socialist propaganda but in actions that the U.S. bases in Britain have nothing to do with 'defence' whatever. They are to make Britain the United States' unsinkable aircraft carrier in the North Atlantic and provide a base for Thatcher's own military operations. The Labour movement has to fight to stop the aggression against Libya. It has to get the United States forces out of Britain."

INDIES TIMES

Weekly newspaper of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement. Published in St. George's, Grenada.

The April 19 issue carried on its front page a statement by the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, which bases itself on the political legacy of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, who was slain in a counterrevolutionary coup shortly before the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada.

"The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM) condemns the State Terrorism employed by President Ronald Reagan on Monday last when the United States aircraft bombed the African state of Libya," the statement said.

"The Reagan Administration has now clearly been revealed as a 'bandit' regime. Having invaded tiny Grenada, it is feeling its aggressive designs around the world. The Reagan Regime now has the blood of babies on its hands.

"We call upon all the states and peoples to condemn this 'Rambo' policy of the United States and to take collective measures to defend the peace and security of the world against state terrorism."

Socialist Action

A fortnightly newspaper published in Auckland, New Zealand. Reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International.

A front-page article in the April 25 issue be-

gins, "The United States bombing raids on the heavily populated Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi, which killed dozens of people, are acts of war against the government and people of that North African country."

The article continued, "The U.S. actions have met wide condemnation in New Zealand and abroad. The Auckland Trades Council held a picket at the U.S. consulate on April 16 and a demonstration on April 18. Protests have also taken place in Wellington, Christchurch, and elsewhere. . . .

"Prime Minister David Lange criticised the U.S. military action as an 'over-reaction' and an 'ineffective' deterrent to terrorism. Many newspaper editorials were also critical of Washington. The *New Zealand Herald*, for example, described the bombing as 'a terrorist act in response to a terrorist act.' The *Auckland Star* went further saying, it 'is more than an act of terrorism, it is an act of war.'"

Socialist Action went on, "Despite these strong words, however, neither the government nor the capitalist press have challenged Reagan's racist anti-Libya propaganda, which he uses to justify the U.S. attacks. Reagan presents Libya's head of state, Muammar el Gaddafi, as the 'mad dog of the Middle East,' responsible for innumerable 'terrorist acts.' . . .

"Prime Minister Lange, after a 45-minute meeting on April 16 with the new U.S. ambassador, Paul Cleveland, claimed that, while he had seen none of the detail, there was evidence of Libyan involvement in many terrorist actions in which innocent citizens, including Americans, had been victims. But without Lange seeing the detail, and making it public, it is meaningless to speak of 'evidence.' We are being asked to accept on faith that Gaddafi is involved in terrorism — simply because Reagan says so! . . .

"Contrary to their claims, it is Washington and other Western imperialist governments that have a long-standing history of hostility and attacks against Libya and its leader, Muammar el Gaddafi."

klasse-kampen

"Class Struggle," published weekly in Copenhagen by the Socialist Workers Party (SAP), Danish section of the Fourth International.

The April 17-23 issue ran a front-page headline, "Stop the Madman," over a photo of U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

Among several articles on Libya appearing in that issue was an editorial demanding, "Out of NATO Now." It stated that the "American state terrorists made much out of declaring that they have respected the European countries' wishes about not being dragged into a military attack on Libya. Apart from England, where the Conservative government itself placed

bases at the disposal of American fighter-bombers, the U.S. avoided, for example, flying over French and Spanish territory.

"But this is nonsense from beginning to end," *Klassekampen* declared. "An essential condition for carrying out the attack was NATO's entire surveillance and communications system, which Denmark is also part of. And how can the U.S. raise keeping the European countries out of the conflict, when Libya has clearly said an attack on Libya will be answered with military attacks against targets in Western Europe?"

The editorial continued, "The recent events must have convinced any thinking person that the alliance with the U.S. in NATO is a dangerous relationship — deadly dangerous! The sooner we get out of this aggressive alliance the better — also for our own security."

A short article in the same issue reported that NATO AWACS spy planes, which led the F-111 fighter planes from England along the Atlantic Coast to Libya, flew from Danish air bases.

Another editorial, calling for "Hands Off," stated that the reason for Washington's attack on Libya was its "need to demonstrate its military power over the entire world and over the American people. Through such displays of power, the U.S. hopes to gain two things: On the one hand to intimidate the exploited and oppressed from raising themselves up and demanding their rights. And on the other to win the American people's support for direct military intervention in Central America, first and foremost against Nicaragua's popularly elected government. This is all the more reason for the labor and peace movements to unconditionally condemn the U.S. attack on Libya."

Internationalen &

"The International," weekly newspaper of the Socialist Party, Swedish section of the Fourth International. Published in Stockholm.

The April 17 issue carried an editorial on the U.S. air attack on Libya that was headlined, "A gangster deed."

It began, "'From the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli. . . .'" So sing the American Marines in their hymn. This is something to think about these days.

"The American Marine Corps," the editorial continued, "sees the entire world as its drill ground. It acts toward Mexico, Libya, or any other country as it wishes.

"At the beginning of the 1800s, U.S. President Thomas Jefferson thought that the United States had the right to punish the Pasha of Tripoli in order to 'protect U.S. trade.' He sent part of its small fleet to the area and thereby secured an exceptionally favorable trade agreement in 1805."

Internationalen added, "A few decades later it was Mexico's turn. The country was invaded, brutalized, and plundered by its power-

ful northern neighbor."

"In the 1800s," the editorial continued, "the United States of America was a country on the rise, a dynamic challenge to the industrial countries of Europe.

"Now, many years later, Ronald Reagan's USA is an imperialist power on the decline, and its government thinks it can use whatever methods it wishes to maintain world domination.

"Today," *Internationalen* stated, "Tripoli again stands in the world's limelight. Mohammed el-Qaddafi has taken the pasha's place as the special object of hate for the American president. Warfare has been modernized. But the goal is in principle the same."

After taking up its view of why Washington attacked Libya and condemning the hypocritical campaign against terrorism that was used to justify it, the editorial stated that "in the face of this conduct, the Swedish government's commentary is a pitiful exhibition and is submissive toward an imperialist big brother.

"Foreign Minister Sten Andersson 'regrets' — as [former Swedish Prime Minister] Tage Erlander once did at the beginning of the Vietnam war!

"The Swedish government is 'gravely disturbed' over the situation that 'has arisen' and urges other methods in the struggle against terrorism.

"To say something is to be 'regretted' is such cringing!" *Internationalen* exclaimed.

"After all the submarine hysteria, all the military collaboration with NATO, and the U.S.-dictated trade embargo against the export of high technology to the Eastern states, comes a little peep against a clear-cut gangster deed — and an academic debate on foreign policy responsibilities according to which paragraphs in the UN statutes state that the U.S. has the right to exercise 'reprisals'!"

**Workers
Press**

A weekly published in London by a wing of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The front page of the April 19 issue featured a letter to Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi signed by Dave Temple, Chairman on behalf of the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Editorial Board of Workers Press. "Dear Comrade," it began, "The Workers Revolutionary Party and the Workers Press unreservedly condemn the brutal and unprovoked attack on the People's Libyan Arab Jamahariya."

The rest of the front page was taken up with an article commenting on the U.S. bombing. "When Reagan's bombers flew from Thatcher's bases to murder the men, women and children of Tripoli and Benghazi, they attacked the working people of the whole world," it began.

"Only the action of the world working class, and especially the British labour movement, can answer this act of terrorism."

The article continued, "Only those sections

of the ruling class most parasitic on U.S. imperialism — Britain, Canada and the Zionists — could give Reagan open support on Tuesday.

"In Thatcher's Britain today, capitalism is pawning its assets to Wall Street hand over fist."

Workers Press devoted a number of paragraphs to criticizing the stance of the Labour Party leadership. Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock's "bleating protests only voice the reservations of Reagan's European imperialist critics. He questions the efficacy of Reagan's actions, not their aims."

The article then turned to Moscow. "But the political force most clearly exposed by Reagan's action is Stalinism and its 'peaceful coexistence' policies. For the past few weeks, Moscow had been using its methods of 'quiet diplomacy' to soften Reagan's reactions to the Middle East situation. . . .

"The Soviet leaders have limited their reaction to the Tripoli raid to sad head-shaking and the postponement of plans for the summer summit with Reagan. Now every fighter against imperialism must learn: from Moscow you get protests, loud or quiet, but nothing more."

Workers Press wound up by calling for mass protests to demand the ouster of the U.S. bases from Britain. It also called on the unions to pass resolutions "condemning Kinnock's craven support for Thatcher."

Its last paragraph concluded, "Defence of the Libyan revolution is our fight. Can a Labour leadership which capitulates to Thatcher on this question even begin to defend the rights and gains of the working class?"

INPRECOR

A fortnightly review of news and analysis published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

An editorial on the U.S. air strike against Libya in the April 28 issue stated, "Through this military aggression the United States shows once again how it aims to reaffirm and defend American hegemony over world politics. The bombing of Libya, like the invasion of Grenada in October 1983 and the dirty war against Nicaragua, seeks in fact to impose a kind of absolute right of imperialism over the entire planet. The United States is also seeking to drive its European allies into a corner and to demand that they shoulder their military responsibilities in the Mediterranean basin. . . .

"The U.S. intervention in Libya is thus a supplementary episode of the imperialist offensive in the Third World. It confirms that the militarization policy orchestrated by the European and North American governments is aimed first of all at the oppressed peoples and nations. Wars and the risks of war are being concentrated more and more in this region. The raid on Libya is both a warning to the subjugated peoples and a test of imperialism's in-

tervention capabilities. . . .

"Within this framework, the 'antiterrorist' propaganda is hypocritical. The United States, through the CIA, is the main center of world terrorism. How many coups, how many killings, how many destabilization operations have been carried out over the past 25 years by the American services? The United States has committed hundreds of acts of international banditry of this type, causing tens of thousands of deaths."

The *Inprecor* editorial continued, "The terrorism of bombs that Reagan denounces is nothing but a result of the deterioration of the crisis of imperialist domination in this entire region, a crisis to which no force has found a real solution. Desperate, without the least perspective of seeing their national and democratic demands satisfied, some groups have found in indiscriminate terrorist actions a shortsighted strategy for venting their hatred of imperialism. On this level, taking into account the overlapping interests of the different states in the region, the possibilities for manipulation are numerous. Such terrorism, the targets of which are most often civilian, cannot arouse the sympathy of the populations of Europe or the United States. It is an irresponsible form of political action. . . .

"If it increases its reliance on blind terrorism on the pretext of retaliating against imperialist aggression, the regime of Colonel Qaddafi will definitively isolate itself from the anti-imperialist forces and movements that are its sole objective allies on a world scale. The methods generally employed by Libya reflect the narrow nationalism of its political leadership."

The editorial concluded by stressing, "It is essential to mobilize in opposition to the American intervention against Libya. It is necessary to guard against complacency. To do nothing, to say nothing now would not only be a crime against the Libyan masses subjected to U.S. bombings, but would leave imperialism with the greatest latitude to escalate its aggressions against other peoples and other nations."

More food, yet hunger grows

As many as one-third of the people of the colonial and semicolonial countries in 1980 did not get enough nourishment to lead active working lives. About 730 million people in 87 countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America were acutely malnourished that year, according to a new study by the World Bank. Of these, almost half were found to be subsisting on diets so inadequate as to stunt growth and threaten health.

The Peoples Republic of China was excluded from the survey because of the unavailability of data, according to the World Bank.

The report pointed out that "the growth of global food production has been faster than the unprecedented population growth of the past 40 years. Yet many poor countries and hundreds of millions of poor people do not share in this abundance" because they are simply too poor to buy the food they need. □

'Pressure for fundamental changes'

Interview with a leader of the Haitian left

[The following interview with Moise Dorce, a representative of the Union of Haitian Patriotic and Democratic Forces, was conducted by Hugo Guzmán in Mexico City and appeared in the April 15-21 issue of *Analisis*, a weekly magazine published in Santiago, Chile.

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

* * *

Question. What finally led to Duvalier's fall?

Answer. Among the important factors were the social movement of the Haitian people, the opposition stance of the [Catholic] church, the concern of business and military sectors regarding the presidency for life, and the U.S. government's desire to carry out a change that would be in its own favor.

Beginning in November 1985 we felt that Duvalier would have to leave. Some conditions were missing, but the people's mobilizations, the brutal way they were repressed, and the people's defiance of the state of siege were creating a critical situation. But I think no one expected it would be so rapid.

Q. One gets the impression that the democratic parties did not have a big role in the events.

A. While it is right to note a lack of presence by the political opposition in Duvalier's fall, it is clear that the Haitian democratic forces acted with intelligence. They were able to call for great social mobilizations, and the church, which came forward, helped to unleash the events.

What happened was the result of local demonstrations throughout the country, demands and struggles for human rights and freedom of expression, and the struggle against the presidency for life.

Q. How did the United States act?

A. It is clear that the United States embassy intervened in Duvalier's exit and the installation of a Duvalierist military junta. They set out to make sure that there would be a favorable outcome for their policies in the region and for their handling of the reality of Haiti.

The attitude flowed from an overall U.S. policy of wanting to resolve the internal affairs of other countries to their own satisfaction.

At the same time, in the case of my country, the Americans want to block the opposition. They want to eliminate it from the reality of Haiti. The United States, the Reagan administration continues to intervene. It wants to

create divisions, to destroy the left, to guarantee the continuity of the military junta.

For the United States and the Haitian ruling class there is a problem: what do you do with the democratic opposition? They are in a fix. There cannot be a return to a dictatorship like Duvalier's — it's impossible — and they must confront a people and a people's organization that is pressing for fundamental changes.

Q. You mentioned the church's role in the events. What influence did it have in Duvalier's fall?

A. The church's role has been decisive. For many years the Catholic church and some 150 Protestant groups worked to lull the peasantry, who make up 80 percent of the population, to sleep.

The church played a role in favor of the ruling class, a role of supporting the repression, of attacking Voodoo, which is the national religion, and opposing changes in the country.

But a process of evolution began in the church, motivated by liberation theology, by the growing strength of the nationalist and popular movement, by the resurgence of Haitian culture, with the revival of Voodoo, and by a great anti-Duvalierist activity all over.

The national clergy began to stop disdaining the things that were essential for the people and took up reality. When John Paul II said in 1983 that the church had to be on the side of the humble and do something to change things, this was taken as permission for many bishops and priests to adopt more radical stances. The archbishop of Port-au-Prince, François Wolf Ligonden, who had a reactionary attitude, changed and began to take his distance from the government and to support the clergy in work with the people.

Q. I understand that in Haiti there is no organized right wing.

A. There is no organized right wing. An opposition apparatus does not exist as a bloc. The bourgeois class always supported Duvalier, although it was concerned by the widespread repression and, for example, the fact that Duvalier's father-in-law was expanding in the business and commercial sector with incredible guarantees given by the state. There was discontent with the tyranny in this sector.

Q. How do you explain the fact that the army supported the removal of its chief without greater opposition?

A. Within the Haitian army there was resentment, a kind of division between those

who were Tontons Macoutes* and those who weren't.

There were salary differences and differences in the possibility for making money.

The U.S. government did not like this and began to work with career officers, with sectors of the officer corps who seemed more intelligent and manageable.

This is not your strong, homogeneous, monolithic Latin American army. On the contrary it is a force humiliated and beaten down by Duvalier himself, by the Americans, and by the Tontons Macoutes.

The Military Academy was closed for many years, and the way the officers rose was simple: those who were linked to Duvalier and his family were the ones who got ahead.

When the academy was opened, only children of Duvalierists and the tyrant's family members attended. There is even a record of many officers being shot on suspicion of subversion, corruption, and links with François Duvalier's daughter.

Q. It has been obvious that the people reject the military junta that was formed.

A. The military junta is made up of men without any political desire for change, definitely unsavory men who are Duvalier's associates, who obeyed Duvalier's criminal orders.

The people demand its replacement. The junta can no longer do anything more than make small changes like replacing the Duvalierist flag with the original national emblem.

We should add that the struggle against Duvalier was not a struggle against one person. It was a struggle against the system that made possible the existence of the dictator and the repressive elements, the existence of a dictator who spent \$180,000 buying flowers in Holland for his wedding day. This is the background to the matter.

Q. Do you think that the democratic opposition has been able to make progress in facing up to this new stage?

A. For the democratic forces something was won with the fall of Duvalier, but much still remains to be won, and also to be lost, because this advance can be lost. Everything will depend on the development of the social struggle.

Q. How do you think the left is concretely

*"Bogeymen" in Haitian Creole, the common name given to the Volunteers for National Security, the Duvalier regime's paramilitary force. — IP

facing up to the new situation in Haiti?

A. Thus far there is nothing explicit in terms of a worked out perspective by the Haitian left. There are not many differences, but they stand in the forefront. All this is due to historic weaknesses.

But I think that it is becoming clear to all that reality forces us to unite, to lend mutual protection, to act from a common accord, to no longer fight among ourselves for position. I saw it as a positive thing that no one on the left claimed to be the main force in the fall of Duvalier nor in what is happening today.

There are no official calls from any organization to establish a front, but we are having conversations. We feel that the solution is to form a Patriotic and Democratic Front that includes broad progressive and revolutionary

sectors, because it would be self-limiting to raise the idea of a force solely of the left.

The challenge we face is to be Haitians, to seek the forms to do things that are in accordance with our reality, in accordance with our identity, without being interested in reproducing schemas.

Q. In this sense I would like to ask you if you see similarities between what took place in your country and what can happen in Chile?

A. There is a similarity with Chile in terms of the existence of a dictatorship. But there are big historical differences in terms of the struggle of the two peoples.

In Haiti mass organizations did not exist. There are no union organizations. Until 1950 there were unions, which Duvalier set about eliminating. The Interunion Federation was the

only one that remained, but in 1960 it ended up breaking apart and perished as a result of the repression and the state's maneuvers.

The peasants, who have carried out rebellions, are politically a very backward sector, victims of historic repression by the military. The peasant movements in Haiti never came out of structured organizations, but from spontaneous movements, from partial aspirations.

Nor has there been organizational development in the urban sector. In Haiti, for example, none of our political organizations has a national scope.

In Chile there is an organized and united left. There are mass organizations. There was the experience called People's Unity. There they speak about socialism with the greatest naturalness as the aspiration of many social sectors, meaning there is an alternative. □

France

The election victory of the right

Interview with LCR leader Alain Krivine

[In the March 16 parliamentary and regional elections, the governing Socialist Party of President François Mitterrand suffered a significant defeat. The largest bloc of seats in the National Assembly was won by a rightist coalition of the Assembly for the Republic (RPR) and the Union for French Democracy (UDF). RPR leader Jacques Chirac became the new prime minister and named a new cabinet. Mitterrand remains president, with wide-ranging powers.]

[The following interview assessing the elections is with Alain Krivine, a leader of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International. It is taken from the April 7 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Footnotes and bracketed insertions are by *International Viewpoint*.]

* * * *

Question. What is your overall assessment of the election results?

Answer. Of course, generally it was a victory for the right, less significant than had been expected, but compared with the situation when the left was voted in in 1981, the situation has been reversed. On the electoral level, therefore, there is an increasing erosion of the balance of forces between the workers' movement and the bourgeoisie with a general movement to the right inside society. That is the result of the policies of the Socialist Party (PS) in government, of the demoralization created by this, and of the absence of an alternative politically or organizationally to the left of the

Communist Party (PCF) and the Socialist Party.

This movement to the right by the society as a whole is a function of the different developments of the political parties. That is to say that as the PCF continues its collapse, a section of the working class is voting social democrat (that is PS), the bourgeoisie is strengthened, and a section of the bourgeoisie has radicalized to the far right. So overall there's a general development to the right.

The elections represent a real defeat for all those who are to the left of the left or among the far left. Since 1981 there had been the phenomenon of abstention from the left — that is, there are hundreds of thousands, even millions of workers who did not want to vote for the official left anymore.

This time the left abstention rate was around 5 percent. This was less than before because many turned out to vote PS.

So what the elections show is a recomposition of political forces in France.

Q. The PS has claimed that its result is a success? What is meant by this?

A. It is true that the PS has never had such a good result except of course in 1981 and that was an exception — that was after Mitterrand's victory in the presidential elections during which a certain dynamic was built up. So, apart from in 1981, the PS has never had a score of 32 percent of the vote. They are the first party in the country now.

But the success is ambiguous. First of all it is an electoral success. In terms of capacity for organization, implantation in the factories and the unions, there is no equivalent. In this re-

spect they are still very weak. The majority of workers vote for the PS, but the majority are not organized by the PS in any way. This is the crucial weakness in their success. The PS may try to change this, but it is still a weakness.

The PS vote can be divided into three categories. There are a section of voters who vote PS because they believe there is no alternative to reformism in the context of an economic crisis. There is a crystallization around social democratic policies and ideology, if you like, which is a new thing in France.

There is a whole section of the working class who are demoralized and disoriented and who have been won over to social democratic ideology. We must make no mistake about this. This was part of the PS vote.

Amongst these voters there were former PCF voters also, who are now voting PS for political reasons. That is to say that they no longer believe in the possibility of the anti-capitalist struggle and take up the PS ideology as a kind of lesser evil.

There is another section of workers who voted PS who are difficult to quantify but who took part in what we call the "vote utile" (tactical voting). Amongst these were large sections of the far left who do not agree with the policies of the PS but who, because of the new system of voting and the possibility of the right coming back to power, voted PS for tactical reasons. This was very widespread and explains to a certain extent the failure of the far left and the ecologists.

During our election campaign there were many workers within that minority which is to the left of the PS, who said: "We agree with your policies but on the electoral level a vote for you will serve no purpose." Some said:

"We will give you money, we support you, but we will vote for the PS." This includes sympathizers who are very close to the LCR.

As I said, it is difficult to know how many, but it is possible that in the region of hundreds of thousands of workers voted for the PS without supporting in any way the ideology of the PS and only in order to defeat the right.

So the election was a success for Mitterrand's strategy, which he has been developing for some time and which involved, first of all, smashing the Communist Party. Here he has obviously succeeded, since the PCF got less than 10 percent of the vote. In five years the PCF has managed to lose half its electorate. That is, they have lost 2.5 million votes. Many people have left the PCF, and it will continue to decline.

Mitterrand's strategy was to prepare for a system of alternation such as exists in other countries in the West. This goes hand in hand with a strong Socialist Party fortified with a reformist and class-collaborationist ideology and developed at the expense of the PCF. This has succeeded. What is missing is that this huge PS is not linked to a huge and powerful trade union organization.

Despite the losses of the PCF, it is still the most important force in the factories, and, in any case, the trade union movement is extremely weak. But the main thing is that no party has hegemony inside the working class in terms of organization. The CGT [General Confederation of Labor], dominated by the PCF, in five years has lost 25 percent of its members, the CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor], dominated more or less by the PS, has lost almost as many. Today over 75 percent of French workers are no longer in trade unions. This is not new but it is important.

But we are moving in France towards a two-party system with a strong social democratic party. This is the main conclusion.

Q. What about the PCF's vote? Why did it drop so dramatically and to whom did they lose votes?

A. This is a historic crisis for the PCF which we had underestimated. They got less than 10 percent of the vote, the same as the National Front.

I won't go into details but there are huge internal debates in the PCF.

There is no organized current and in any case that is forbidden in the PCF, but there is discontent at the base which has never been seen before.

The opposition is very confused. Some criticize the sectarianism of the PCF towards the PS; others criticize the PCF for having participated in a government which stinks.¹ But in



FRANÇOIS MITTERRAND



JACQUES CHIRAC

general the criticisms are coming from the left, especially from among workers. They say that the PCF was in government for three years during which time it was responsible for a policy of austerity and now we are paying for it. They also say that the PCF is not credible any more because the leadership keeps changing direction (five times in 10 years).

The debate is going right through the party, even to the level of the Central Committee. People, including leaders of the PCF, are now taking public positions. Some are going on radio and television to demand a special congress. Where this will all lead it is difficult to say. I stress that it is all within a very confused political framework, but this could even end in the break-up of the party. It depends how the leadership reacts. But let's just say that at the moment these criticisms of the PCF involve deputies, members of the Central Committee, and whole federations on a local level.

On where the PCF votes went. Some voters abstained, a tiny part voted for the far left, a large section voted for the PS, and finally a small but very real minority voted for the National Front (FN).

Q. What type of government will be provided by the UDF/RPR. Will they have to rely on the votes of the National Front to get what they want?

A. The right in France is very divided between two main formations — or even three now. The fascists, the Gaullists of the RPR, and the UDF, made up of several small parties. There are some tactical divisions amongst the right which are very important. The PS will try to play on this in order to break the whole thing up. The classical right [the RPR-UDF coalition] only have a majority of two deputies. So they will be constantly under pressure from the fascists, who have 35 deputies. The right-wing's majority is very weak, and the PS will use this, in the context of cohabitation.

The policies of the two ruling parties are not actually very different from those implemented by the PS. They will carry on with the restructuring of industry, compulsory redundancies, austerity measures, and proimperialist poli-

cies. That is why during this election campaign there was no debate on policies. The right has no real alternative, and, even if they don't say so, the bosses were reasonably happy with the PS policies. They were quite happy with, for example, the weakness of the unions and the "social peace" that is prevailing. Now all the bourgeoisie wants is for this policy to be continued but at a higher level.

The RPR/UDF puts forward a program of privatization, the implementation of redundancy policies that would bypass the official structures in France which exist for this. The right is proposing that the bosses can sack workers directly instead of going through the established procedures. They are likely to roll back a whole series of progressive measures taken by the PS, such as, for example, reimbursement for abortions.

But we have to take two factors into account: first, the smallness of the right's majority; and second, the fact that Mitterrand has the power to either dissolve parliament or call presidential elections by resigning, although theoretically the presidential elections will take place in two years' time. This means that the right will hesitate to apply its policies to the full. For example, the right has put forward the proposal to lift price controls totally, which could cause an increase in inflation. One of the major achievements of the PS government was to get inflation down from 12 to 4 percent.

Also, if the right goes over the top in taking anti-working-class measures, it would break the so-called social peace and provoke workers into struggle. At the same time it would destroy its own credibility and allow Mitterrand to call immediate elections. I think then that the right will be prudent for a year or so, but it will have the National Front on its heels. In this situation, and given the enormous constitutional power of the president, we are entering into a period of profound crisis at the level of government.

In this context Mitterrand and the Socialists will try to allow the rightists time to discredit themselves in order to call for further elections and even take over the government again. This is not totally out of the question. The policy of

1. In the June 1981 legislative elections the PCF got 15 percent of the vote, and from 1981 to July 1984 it participated in successive cabinets headed by PS Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy. In 1984 the PCF withdrew on the formation of Laurent Fabius' government.

the PS in government will be to vote systematically against the right.

Under the constitution, laws can be made by decree, and it is possible that the ruling coalition will have to resort to this because every time it introduces something it will come under pressure from the FN. The FN has even said that it would vote with the left against certain laws.

If laws are introduced by decree they have to be signed by the president and then the whole problem of cohabitation comes in again. Mitterrand would probably sign most of them, but he could veto one or two just to prove that the PS is the left and that it is a force to be reckoned with.

At the level of the institutions, therefore, we are entering a period of instability. Cohabitation could work for a few months, but it is not necessarily the case that it can work for two years.

Q. What about the National Front's vote? Surely this is the biggest shock of the election. How do you explain this? Among which layers in society is their support growing?

A. This is the direct result of the inability of the PS to resolve the key issue, which is the issue of unemployment. There are now 3 million unemployed in France, and there were 2 million when the PS came to power. The presence of several million immigrants (a number which, in fact, has not gone up in 15 years) and increasing unemployment has enabled the National Front to draw together two sections of the population.

On the one hand, it is strong among the middle classes, the small shopkeepers and the liberal professions, and on the other, it now has an important echo among the popular masses, not just among lumpen layers, but among workers who are unemployed or demoralized and who accept Jean-Marie Le Pen's explanation that immigrants are responsible for unemployment.

The FN is made up of former members of the OAS [Secret Army Organization] from the Algerian war, ex-soldiers, etc., and also of a small section of the traditional right who radicalized following the PS victory in 1981. The FN succeeded in winning over certain cadres from the "official" right — mainly from the RPR. Out of its 35 deputies, there are about 10 who come originally from the RPR and the rest are real out-and-out fascists.

The FN votes came from all over the country especially from the main urban centers where there are very large immigrant populations, including of course in PS and PCF controlled areas. In Marseilles, where there is a very high immigrant population, the FN got 25 percent of the votes. This makes it a fundamental political force in that particular department.

The FN vote was weaker in the countryside. It does get votes amongst the peasantry but many fewer than in other areas. In areas like Brittany, which has a small immigrant population, the FN vote was much lower. It was in areas of high immigrant concentration, in in-

dustrial areas, where the FN vote was highest and that is very, very worrying.

Q. The votes for the far left and others were extremely low. How do you explain this?

A. The alternative and the far left lists of course suffered mostly from the "vote utile" phenomenon. The ecologists nationally got 1.2 percent of the vote. The far left as a whole got 1.5 percent on a national level, though they did not stand in all areas.

The LCR got the lowest score [about 60,000 votes for the 20 LCR lists] amongst the far left because it was most affected by tactical voting given the type of education and the ideas of the united front put forward by the LCR. It is obvious that those who would vote for Lutte Ouvrière [Workers Struggle — an organization about the same size as the LCR which refused to stand on alternative lists proposed by the LCR] are much less aware of the debates around tactical voting. They represent a much more stable electorate if you like.

The LCR had a two-pronged approach. We supported 20 alternative lists and we put up 20 LCR lists. Our main aim was to stimulate unity amongst the "left of the left" and to provide a real alternative. We achieved this mainly with one party, the PSU (Partie Socialiste Unifiée).²

The alternative lists existed mainly in the regional elections. They got slightly better results, by which I mean that they got 2 percent and sometimes 3 percent. But obviously this did not succeed in creating a real dynamic for an alternative. This is because it was done too late. It did not involve all of the far left, and it was not based on real mobilizations within the country, since there have been very few of those since 1981.

Also this first aspect of our policy could not completely succeed because a rather important section of the far left, Lutte Ouvrière, rejected this regroupment and was very sectarian. Many workers saw these divisions in the far left and decided that it was not an alternative. This is especially true of those workers breaking from the PCF who did not want to end up as part of a divided left.

In many cases, though, the poor results mask the fact that some very good campaigns were mounted. Often the electoral results had little to do with the implantation and activity on the ground. There are now unified collectives in 40 departments. These involve sections of the far left — the PSU, ex-Maoists — and independents from the trade unions, the women's movement, ex-members of the PS and the PCF. In some areas these collectives involved about 200 activists and yet electorally they did not succeed.

Where there were no unified lists, the LCR stood on its own with the theme of its campaign being "Voyez Rouge" ("See Red" —

2. The PSU originated as a left split from the PS during the Algerian war. It grew up after 1968 through identifying with the social movements and self-management and the left of the CFDT. Since then it has suffered major splits to the PS.

Rouge is the name of the LCR's weekly newspaper). The idea of this was to regroup all those who are disgusted by PS policies, to rehabilitate the idea of socialism and the revolution. On this we have to be very clear — it was a total failure.

It is clear that the LCR's score was very weak, and apart from all the reasons I have already put forward there is a further, important reason for this. That is the decline in the level of consciousness generally in France today. The very fact that we are called "communist" and that we have a hammer and sickle as our emblem means that many workers put us in the same category as the PCF. The very word "communist" at the moment in France is an obstacle. This could even explain why Lutte Ouvrière, for example, did marginally better than we did.

Q. The Greens were expected to do better than they did. What happened there?

A. The situation here is different from that in West Germany. There is an awareness of the ecological issues in France, but it has not been tapped.

There are two types of organizations. There are the local collectives that work with revolutionaries and others. Then there is the Greens party, which adopted the name in order to pick up votes. It did not do so. It is a very particular organization. It has only 400 members nationally. It is very bureaucratic and declares itself apolitical. We have the strange situation, therefore, in which the LCR now has better relations with the German Greens than the Greens in France have with them. This year the German Greens cut off funding for the elections to the French Greens because they considered them sectarian and thought they should have supported alternative lists with extraparlimentary groups. The French Greens paid a high price for their sectarianism.

Q. You say that the electoral results did not necessarily reflect what the LCR and alternative campaigns achieved. Can you give us some examples of what the campaign did achieve?

A. Despite the poor vote, we have had a good campaign in which we have managed to reenergize the LCR. The end-of-the-campaign rally in Paris had more than 1,500 people present. We have appeared on local radio and television and had national TV time. We even set up new branches in some areas out of this campaign.

The same goes for the alternative lists which we animated or participated in. But, here again, the success of the campaigns was not always reflected in the vote and vice versa.

To give you an example: in the department of Loiret, where we got the highest number of votes — about 3.5 percent — there was a collective but it did not have a huge implantation. But in the department of Orne in Normandy there was a collective of about 150 people including trade unionists, a committee of the unemployed, and a group of peasants. We even

held a meeting of peasants which attracted about 60 people. We had a real mass implantation and yet the vote was only 0.5 percent.

In another town, in Ardennes, we had a committee made up of unemployed workers and steel workers. They got about 2 percent of the vote and they had a very good local implantation.

As a final example, in the Paris region we participated in a list headed by a former leader of the PCF who is very well known, and one of our comrades, a worker at Renault-Billancourt, was second on the list. In another department — the Val de Marne — we participated in a list headed by a young immigrant who helped organize the antiracist marches in Paris. On this list there was also a PS deputy who had just left the PS. In the support committee there was a PS councillor. This was a very broad-based alternative list and support committee and yet it only got 0.5 percent of the vote.

Q. What are the perspectives for revolutionaries in this new context?

A. Well, we have to be frank and say that this is a very difficult situation. But although there is demoralization and disarray in the working class, this has not been a massive defeat — it is not a Chile here in France.

We think that there will be an offensive against the working class but that this will unleash struggles by the workers now that the left is no longer in government. Many workers drew back from struggle under the PS government because they did not want to play into the hands of the right. Now they will feel that they can fight, because with the right in power at least you know who your enemy is.

I don't think there will be general movements, but there will be a reaction if the right carries out its policies. So there will be struggles but in a context of a general decline of the workers' movement and a crisis at the level of the trade unions and political parties.

We will have to be present in the mobilizations and be ready to mount a real unified struggle against the policies of the right.

One area which will be a big preoccupation is the issue of racism and the FN. Following the success of SOS-Racisme³ we are convinced that the first mobilization under the new government will be against Le Pen and in defense of immigrants.

During the election campaign a group of fascists murdered a trade union militant supporting the PS. They killed him while he was putting up posters. This provoked shock waves in France but little active reaction because the PS wouldn't do anything. There was a silent demonstration which the LCR participated in, and we used our last television slot during the election campaign to pay homage to this militant. The PS and the PC didn't mention it.

3. SOS-Racisme is a national organization of antiracist groups initiated by individuals from the Socialist Party and others. Its success followed massive mobilizations of immigrant youth in national demonstrations in 1983, 1984, and 1985.

So the first task will be the fight against the fascists and the second task is linked to that. That is to respond to the historic crisis of the workers' movement. The situation is gloomy, but there are tens of thousands of workers who want to build a real left — what with the crisis of the PC and the radicalization of the youth. There is a willingness to fight.

The policy of the LCR in this context will be to popularize the need to build a real left, a united left. It flows from our policy in the elections. In the factories and in the different areas we will be fighting for united actions to regroup what we call the "left of the left." At the same time we will build the League, fight for the idea of real socialism and internationalism, for we are practically the only people who still do this.

Q. You have emphasized the crisis of the PCF coming out of these elections. Can revolutionaries relate to this in any way?

A. The crisis of the PCF is so important be-

cause it influences the most class-conscious and militant workers.

This is much more so than in the case of the PS for example. There are militants in the PS who were unhappy with the policies of the government, but after these elections the debate will be very quickly stifled because the whole orientation will be to prepare for taking power again.

We have now built up a lot of contacts with PCF militants, especially during the election campaign.

We held about 50 meetings at which a large number of PCF militants were present, and in some cases they were local officials of the party. We have to make a special point of relating to the disarray inside the PCF. Many of us come from there originally and we act as a sort of conscience for some of them.

In a lot of factories the PCF cells are no longer meeting, and the militants are concentrating on organizing in the union and in the factory. There are very important debates coming out of the CGT in that context. □

10 AND 20 YEARS AGO



May 31, 1976

U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon visited Santiago [Chile] May 7 following Pinochet's announcement of the token release of four leading figures of the ousted Allende government and forty-five other political prisoners.

Hailing the release as a "positive sign," Simon announced that he would ask Congress to maintain the scheduled \$90 million in economic aid to the Chilean military junta — with no cuts and no conditions.

Simon said he made the decision on the basis of assurances from the Chilean junta that human-rights conditions would be further improved.

In a brazen display of hypocrisy, Simon made no mention of the estimated 4,000 to 7,000 persons remaining in the cells of Pinochet's military prisons. Nor did he refer to the recent United Nations report that concluded there has been "no substantial change" in the systematic violations of human rights that began with the coup in 1973.

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

(Predecessor of Intercontinental Press)

May 20, 1966

The conscription of adolescents for service in the armed forces under highly undemocratic

regulations has been an irritant to the American people since the practice was instituted in 1940 and then made permanent in 1948. The deferment provisions on the basis of scholastic performance have recently been singled out for special attack.

A series of nationwide tests, the first on May 14, the others May 21, June 3, and the end of June, were scheduled by the Selective Service System of the U.S. government. The grades made by those taking the tests are to be utilized by draft boards as one of the elements in deciding on who goes into the army and who is left free to continue school.

Adam Clayton Powell, a Democratic congressman from Manhattan, attacked the tests on May 10 as "reminiscent of Hitler," as the foundation for a "racial aristocracy" and a device to send a disproportionate number of Negroes to the "Vietnam slaughterhouse."

Powell made his comments at a news conference in the committee room of the House Education and Labor Committee, of which he is chairman. His main point was that the tests penalize unfairly the poorly schooled Negro, and thus "bring the history of racial discrimination full cycle."

"First we provide an inferior education for black students," he continued. "Next we give them a series of tests which many will flunk because of an inferior education. Then, we pack these academic failures off to Vietnam to be killed."

Scoring the war in Vietnam, Powell said that a "higher percentage of black soldiers is already dying in what is ingloriously being referred to in many areas of the black communities as a 'white man's war' against a brown people."

Arms sales to Nicaraguan 'contras'

Newspaper reveals government shipments via Honduras

By Juan Gasparini

[The following article is reprinted from the April 26 issue of *La Brèche*, the French-language fortnightly of the Socialist Workers Party (PSO), the Swiss section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Raúl Alfonsín's government in Argentina is selling arms to Honduras, which are in all likelihood destined for the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary forces (*contras*) based in that country. This bombshell was revealed on March 26 by the Buenos Aires publication *El Porteño*. Let's look at the facts.

In a signed article by one of its editors in chief, Jorge Lanata, *El Porteño* reveals that in 1985 ships were regularly dispatched to deliver cargoes of light and medium weapons, spare parts, troop transport trucks, rockets, cannons, and ammunition for the Honduran army.

With the exception of the trucks built by the Argentine subsidiary of Mercedes Benz, the rest of the matériel comes from the factories of Fabricaciones Militares, a state company run by military officers appointed by the civilian government, which has a monopoly on producing weapons in Argentina.

Edén Pastora the client

The investigation conducted by *El Porteño* deals exclusively with Central America.*

On Dec. 15, 1985, the *Punta Brava*, an Argentine ship belonging to the Botacchi company, arrived at Puerto Cortés, on Honduras' Caribbean coast. The cargo that was unloaded and photographed by *El Porteño* included 50 Unimog troop transport trucks, 23 containers filled with light and medium weapons, as well as 40 boxes of spare parts.

During the unloading, which took three days, the workers openly stated that the weapons were destined for Edén Pastora (one of the contra chiefs), who was waiting for them in a neighboring city.

Officially they were designated for the Honduran army. On the upper portion of the containers were the words: "Commander in chief of the Armed Forces, Tegucigalpa, DC, Honduras."

In tracing the thread back to Argentina, *El Porteño* was able to learn that the *Punta*

Brava, with a capacity of 7,000 tons, had left Dock B of the port of Buenos Aires on Nov. 18, 1985, under the command of Captain Caldi of the Argentine merchant marine, and his second-in-command Copello.

That day, the cargo was inspected on site by noncommissioned officers and soldiers of the Argentine army.

The ship's sailors were informed of the contents of the cargo because they got a wage premium for transporting dangerous material.

Legal traffic

This was not the first trip of this type made by the *Punta Brava*, states *El Porteño*. In late 1983, shortly before the military left power in Argentina, the Radical Party trade unionist Horacio Tolosa, then secretary-general of the October 12 Grouping of Maritime Workers, pointed out that on Nov. 12, 1983, the *Punta Brava* had left Buenos Aires with 40 containers of weapons for Honduras. This news was reported by the newspaper *La Voz*. At that time the press in Buenos Aires also reported that other ships (*Neuquén* and *Río Calingasta*) were engaged in the same type of traffic.

The *Punta Brava* affair led *El Porteño* to dig deeper in its investigation. The journalist met with Captain Canestracchi, head of the Soles company, which organizes maritime shipments of military matériel. Canestracchi had until six months previously been associated with the Botacchi firm, which owns the *Punta Brava*.

In his office on Esmeralda Street in downtown Buenos Aires, Canestracchi stated that in 1985 Botacchi had sent more than four ships to Puerto Cortés carrying weapons from the factories of Fabricaciones Militares. He stated:

"The shipment last November was not the only one to Honduras. Last year we initially sent 22 containers, then 29, with small and medium weapons, crates of rockets, and separately the equipment to launch them. Last January we also sent several containers of munitions. . . . We limit ourselves to transporting a cargo from one place to another. These operations are on the up-and-up and completely legal. What use is made of these weapons later is not our concern."

And Canestracchi told the journalist from *El Porteño*: "Delegations from various governments or private companies come to see us. They must show us an authorization furnished by the Argentine diplomatic authorities in the country the shipment is destined for. Once the sale is arranged with Fabricaciones Militares, we must also have the authorization of the minister of foreign affairs to proceed to trans-

port it. All sales of war matériel also require the agreement of the minister of defense."

Foreign policy aligned with U.S.

President Alfonsín had made a commitment to do everything possible to prevent the militarization of Central America. Several days after he came to power in December 1983, he solemnly ended all Argentine participation in the region, in terms of men as well as war matériel.

Today, he acknowledges having sent weapons to Honduras, which shows a change of attitude in his foreign policy.

In addition, Foreign Affairs Minister Dante Caputo stated with regard to Nicaragua: "That country cannot be a base of the East [and Argentina] cannot defend a Marxist-Leninist regime."

This position shows Buenos Aires' estrangement from the views of the Latin American countries that support the Contadora group, which is trying to find a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Central American conflict. These countries have asked, as a priority, for an end to U.S. military aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*. □

Peruvian military detains 38,000 in three months

The Peruvian government reported May 8 that more than 38,000 people have been arrested for curfew violations in Lima since early February. War Minister Jorge Flores Torres also admitted in a newspaper interview that soldiers had shot and killed four people in the same period.

President Alan García imposed a state of emergency on Lima and the neighboring port of Callao on February 10. At that time he cited a weeklong "series of attacks, fires, kidnappings, blackouts, and assassinations" as justification for the crackdown, adding that "the state cannot remain impassive."

In addition to the 1:00 a.m. to 5:00 a.m. curfew, the emergency decree suspended the constitutional rights of assembly, movement, and habeas corpus and empowered the military to make arrests without cause. Nineteen provinces were already subject to emergency rule, but it was the first time since 1977 that a curfew had been imposed in the capital.

The war minister did not specify how many of the 38,111 detainees were still in jail, though he asserted that the "immense majority" had been released.

*Another affair of a similar nature has also come to light: the sale of weapons destined for the movement in Ghana opposed to Jerry Rawlings' government. The cargo was accompanied by a dozen U.S. mercenaries recruited through the "specialist" magazine *Soldier of Fortune*. — *La Brèche*