

political affairs

JOURNAL OF MARXIST THOUGHT

JULY 1987

\$1

IRANGATE 1: BARING THE JUNTA *Tim Wheeler* • WESTERN EUROPE & NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT *William Pomeroy* • DEATH PENALTY, USA *Frank Chapman* • SOUTH AFRICA: CRACKS IN THE POWER BLOC
Joe Slovo



For a
Nuclear
Free
World

U
S
A

U
S
S
R



Copies of articles from this publication are now available from the UMI Article Clearinghouse.

For more information about the Clearinghouse,
please fill out and mail back the coupon below.

Yes! I would like to know more about UMI Article Clearinghouse.
I am interested in electronic ordering through the following
system(s):

- DIALOG/Dialorder ITT Dialcom
 OnFyme OCLC ILL Subsystem
 Other (please specify) _____
 I am interested in sending my order by mail.
 Please send me your current catalog and user instructions for
the system(s) I checked above.

Name _____
Title _____
Institution/Company _____
Department _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone () _____

UMI Article
Clearinghouse

Mail to:
University Microfilms International
300 North Zeeb Road, Box 91
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

political affairs

**Theoretical Journal
of the Communist Party, USA**

Editorial Board

Barry Cohen, Editor
Leonard Levenson, Associate Editor
Phillip Bonosky, Review Editor
Lou Diskin, Tom Hopkins
James E. Jackson, Carol Marks
James Steele, James West
Esther Moroze, Business Manager

Cover: Norman Goldberg

Political Affairs (ISSN 0032 3128) is published monthly by Political Affairs Publishers, Inc., 235 W. 23 Street, New York, NY 10011, ☎ (212) 989-4994, to whom all correspondence should be addressed.

Manuscripts are invited. If a return is requested, please enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Subscription rates: \$10 for one year (individuals); \$15 for one year (institutions); foreign subscriptions, including Canada, \$11 for one year; single issues, \$1. Second class postage paid at the post office in New York, NY. Postmaster: Send changes of address to: Political Affairs, 235 W. 23 St., NY, NY 10011.



July 1987 Vol. LXVI No. 7

Tim Wheeler

2 Irangate 1: Baring the Junta

William Pomeroy

9 Western Europe: The Impact Of Nuclear Disarmament

Frank Chapman

17 The Death Penalty, U.S.A. Racist and Class Violence

Joe Slovo

20 South Africa: Cracks in The Racist Power Bloc

Labor Department, CPUSA

27 The Trade Unions and The Transnationals

Pre-Convention Discussion

Michael Zagarell

33 Reviewing the First Year of The People's Daily World

Pre-Convention Discussion

Irangate I: Baring the Junta

TIM WHEELER

Last November, as President Reagan boarded a helicopter, a reporter shouted a question: "Was a Beirut newspaper report accurate that White House officials had flown to Teheran with a chocolate cake, a pair of revolvers, a Bible autographed by Reagan and a cargo-bay full of missiles?"

The report, Reagan shouted back, was "without foundation." But the stories would not go away and November 13 he vowed in a television speech to tell the "truth—and you know my name."

In that speech he scorned a report by the Danish Seaman's Union that a Danish freighter had delivered tons of Pentagon arms to Iran. He admitted he had approved "transfer of small amounts of defensive weapons and spare parts" that could "easily fit into a single cargo plane," deliveries that could not influence the outcome of the Iran-Iraq war. The mission was intended, he said, to open a dialogue with "moderates" in hopes of ending that war.

Since then, every one of these assertions has been exposed as a lie. The Danish freighter was one of many ships that delivered a billion dollars in Pentagon arms—including tanks, missiles, helicopters and jet fighters. Instead of a "single cargo plane," it was an estimated 20 plane-loads. It was enough to keep the war going and even tip the balance towards Iran. Instead of "moderates," it was the hardest hard-liners the Administration was flirting with—Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Iranian Parliament, and Sheikholeslam of the Revolutionary Guards who had led the takeover of the U.S. Embassy in 1979.

The Administration recognized these ultra-Right Islamic fanatics as anti-Communist, union-hating soul mates.

Ever since, Reagan's credibility has been pounded by an uninterrupted stream of new

disclosures:

- Attorney General Edwin Meese III's extraordinary November 25 news conference, revealing that \$30 million in profits from the Iran arms sale was diverted through a Swiss bank to the anti-Nicaraguan Contras.

- The Tower Commission revealed details of the Iran arms sale and the Contra fund diversion.

- Lawrence E. Walsh, named special prosecutor to prepare criminal indictments of wrongdoers, has already secured a guilty plea from Carl "Spitz" Channell who served as Lt. Col. Oliver North's partner in Contra fundraising.

- House and Senate Select Irangate Committees have concluded two months of hearings with more than 20 witnesses, many of them participants in the covert operation.

- A judge in Miami refused to dismiss a private lawsuit by the Christic Institute on behalf of journalists Tony Avirgan and his wife, Martha Honey, naming 29 members of a White House "secret team" in a conspiracy to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. Their affidavit accuses the "secret team" of serving as a counter-revolutionary strike force which for the past 25 years plotted assassinations, drug trafficking, gun running and other crimes.

Thus far, all the media reports of the covert activities—so scornfully dismissed by the White House when first reported—have been confirmed.

The people have listened in shocked disbelief as a procession of Rightwing terrorists, flag-wavers, con artists, hustlers and mercenary soldiers of fortune have testified in the Irangate hearings. Their command post was the basement of the White House. The picture sharpens daily to show that they were carrying out the orders of their boss, Ronald Reagan. They have been forced to divulge an enormous body of information, bolstered by thousands of pages of declassified memos from the National

Tim Wheeler is Washington correspondent of *The People's Daily World*.

Security Council, Central Intelligence Agency, and from Lt. Col. Oliver North's stable of conspirators.

HIGH STAKES AT THE HEARINGS

At the end of eight weeks, it is clear that the Irangate hearings have become an arena of struggle. A ferocious ideological battle rages between unrepentant witnesses like General John K. Singlaub, chairman of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and members of the House-Senate investigating committees alarmed by the menace to Constitutional government revealed in the testimony.

The moderates, like Senator Daniel Inouye (D-HA) and Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN), co-chairmen of the joint hearings must contend with vipers in their midst—Reaganites like Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT), Reps. Henry Hyde (R-ILL) and James Courter (R-NJ) who treat the conspirators like heroes. It is Congress that should be on trial, they insinuate, for the traitorous Boland Amendment that ties the President's hand in his holy anti-Communist crusade.

Of the 26 Irangate Committee members, 17 voted against the Boland Amendment. Yet the attempt to Reaganize the hearings has failed. Each successive poll reveals deeper erosion of Reagan's credibility with 55 percent believing he lied when he claimed to know nothing about the private fundraising for the Contras, about Maj. Secord's secret Contra arms airlift and the network of hidden Swiss bank accounts.

Reagan's plea of ignorance was so unbelievable that he recently changed his story. He not only knew about these activities, "it was my idea to begin with," he stated.

His line now is that he and his administration are not subject to the Boland Amendment. The newest wrinkle is his threat to veto a bill extending the Ethics in Government Act of 1974 because, he claims, the Special Prosecutor clause infringes on the President's powers. Six Special Prosecutors are investigating Reagan administration wrongdoing and his veto threat is

being compared to President Nixon's firing of Watergate prosecutor, Archibald Cox in the "Saturday Night Massacre."

The Reaganite's hopes have faded that the damages inflicted by the Irangate conspiracy could be repaired by removing North, Admiral John Poindexter, Chief of Staff Don Regan, Communications director Patrick Buchanan, Assistant Defense Secretary, Richard Perle and Navy Secretary John Lehman. The Administration is dead-in-the-water despite the departure of these arrogant Rightwing ideologues. Reaganism has suffered a staggering blow.

GOAL OF THE CONSPIRACY

What should be singled out as most important from the mass of sometimes confusing detail about the conspiracy? An understanding of the nature of the conspiracy is essential to rooting it out.

■ President Reagan, Vice President George Bush, Attorney General Edwin Meese III, the late CIA director, William Casey and others established a secret apparatus, unaccountable to Congress or the State Department, to wage covert counterrevolutionary wars around the world. Col. North, Assistant Sec. of State Elliot Abrams, active and retired military and intelligence officers served as field marshals in this apparatus. Now the White House describes North as a "loose cannon," a zealot who acted on his own, exceeding his orders. Polls show the public does not buy this alibi. This White House team, so arrogant that it is popularly known as the "junta," was under Reagan-Bush-Meese-Casey command.

■ The aim of the conspiracy was to destabilize and overthrow democratic revolutions that could serve as a model for the liberation of third world countries from impoverishment at the hands of U.S. multinational banks and corporations. The clearest exposition of the strategy came in a document by then U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Jeanne Kirkpatrick. It was a secret report, later disclosed by the Indian gov-

ernment, which declared:

We [the U.S.] must establish political dominance over key strategic zones—the Caribbean, the Mediterranean, Southern Africa, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, including the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and over regions producing essential raw materials.

How is this objective to be achieved?

A multiplicity of ends must be used for the purpose, including special operations to seize the sources of essential raw materials in the event of external or internal pressures, threatening suspension of their production or delivery. A corollary of this is a permanent military pressure in such areas.

■ The White House was recruiting a covert "axis" of Rightwing regimes and dictatorships. Israel, Taiwan, South Korea, South Africa, and Chile, served as conduits for delivery of arms, cash, narcotics, assassins, and other necessities for waging these paramilitary wars. Taken together, this was a step-by-step drive to establish the infrastructure for a permanent counterrevolutionary strike force that could be called a "fascist international" headquartered in the White House.

■ The most revealing blueprint for the infrastructure came in a memo to Oliver North by Gen. Singlaub, which Senator Paul Sarbanes (D-MD), a member of the Select Irangate Committee, called "the single most disturbing document" released in the hearings. Singlaub proposed creation of a secret multinational apparatus "mandating neither the consent or the awareness of the State Department or Congress" to provide a "continuous flow" of weapons to "freedom fighters." The Pentagon would secretly sell high technology weapons systems to Israel to be resold to countries like Taiwan, South Korea and South Africa at a substantial markup. The profits would then be used to buy "Eastern bloc compatible" weapons that would be funnelled through a "foreign trading company" to Contras. His memo included a flow chart of "arms to be dispersed as per U.S. instructions" to Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, Cambodia. Like multinational banks and corporations, it would be supranational, unaccount-

able to any government in the world. The White House secret team was implementing Singlaub's plan.

■ The White House recruited a gangster army of anti-Communist terrorists, drug traffickers, mercenary soldiers of fortune, veterans of counter revolutionary wars against Cuba, Vietnam, Angola. Bush, a former CIA director, provided them with a private air force of cargo planes and pilots of the CIA-connected Southern Air Transport in Miami, a network of airbases including Ilopango Airbase in El Salvador, safehouses, top secret communications encrypting devices.

■ A crucial role in the conspiracy was played by retired Air Force Major General Richard V. Secord, and his cohorts, CIA agents Thomas Clines, and Theodore Shackley. They were veterans of counterrevolutionary terrorism in Cuba. All had been in Laos and Vietnam where they implemented the "Phoenix Program" in which 40,000 persons were murdered. Heroin smuggling from the Golden Triangle was their specialty. Perhaps most important, they were experts in secret arms trafficking, in the "nitty gritty" of creating the secret infrastructure.

In 1981, Clines and Shackley were partners with Edwin Wilson in a firm called Egyptian American Transport and Services Corporation—Eatsco—which had an exclusive contract to ship billions of dollars worth of arms to Egypt. Secord was also reportedly a "silent partner" in the deal. Eatsco bilked the U.S. government of more than \$8 million in overcharges in this Contract.

Clines copped a guilty plea and paid a \$100,000 slap-on-the-wrist fine. Secord at the time was Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's chief for Middle East arms sales in the Pentagon's Defense Security Assistance Agency. He resigned under a cloud of suspicion and set up an arms export firm, Stanford Technology Inc., exporting arms for private profit.

THE IRANGATE HEARINGS HAVE LIFTED ONLY a corner on the secret activities of these arms exporters, their links to the giant multinational mili-

tary corporations, their "revolving door" ties to the Pentagon, billions in profits they are raking from their counterrevolutionary arms sales.

The sale of arms to Iran revealed that these profiteers have access to Pentagon weapons stockpiles in the U.S. and at NATO military bases in Europe. They have an obvious profit motive for perpetuating fratricidal wars like the Iran-Iraq bloodbath and counterrevolutions around the world.

A memo by Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams to Def. Sec. Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State George Shultz proposed an increase in "foreign assistance" to Guatemala "to compensate them for the extraordinary assistance they have given us" in providing weapons for the Contras. Appended to the memo were fake "end-user certificates," in Spanish, sent by the junta in Guatemala. The end-user certificates, required by the Arms Export Control Act, falsely certified that Guatemala had received arms that in fact went to the Contras. It was a massive arms-laundering operation.

■ At the service of these counterrevolutionary arms exporters was a network of dummy corporations and numbered bank accounts for the transfer of millions, if not billions, of dollars to finance the wars—and to provide profits for the merchants of death. It was revealing to hear Secord defend his markups—as much as 300 per cent—on weapons for the Contras. After all, his firm was in business to make a profit, he said. Without profits his "enterprise" would go out of business. And what would then become of Ronald Reagan's anti-Communist crusade?

■ The Reagan Administration was moving to establish a domestic counterpart of this "fascist international" here in the U.S., mobilizing Rightwing extremist organizations, Rightwing television evangelists, racists, and anti-union elements. The aim was to destroy the democratic movements of the people, to promote a "union-free environment."

This was a drive to seize control of Congress, to smash all opposition to Reagan Doctrine wars; to impose a permanent Reaganite

political realignment in the U.S.; to brainwash the U.S. with anti-Soviet Ramboism in preparation for worldwide direct U.S. military intervention. A contingency plan codenamed "Rex 84" called for incarceration of as many as 400,000 protestors at ten detention centers should Reagan decide to declare a "national emergency."

ELLEN GARWOOD, COORS AND OTHERS testified that they gave millions of dollars to Channell who auctioned off 15-minute private audiences with the President for \$300,000. The funds were used to purchase lethal supplies for the Contras—and redbaiting TV ads impugning the loyalty of Congress for voting against Contra aid. Abrams boasted in the memo that Channell's \$4.1 million campaign was responsible for intimidating "32 of the 51 Democratic districts that ultimately stood with the President" in voting to repeal the Boland Amendment.

Channell's bank records, indicate that PRODEMCA received \$80,000 from him to pay for pro-Contra newspaper ads. The revelation is important because this outfit, with boardmembers that include, Rightwing Social Democrats, like Teachers Union President Albert Shanker, has taken pains to conceal its links to the rabid Right. Yet PRODEMCA's Executive Director, Penn Kemble, a leader of the rightist Social Democrats U.S.A., is referred to repeatedly in memos by Oliver North's courier, Robert Owen.

■ The lawmakers say they have yet to find a "smoking gun" proving Reagan guilty of criminal acts. Anyone watching these hearings in the ornate Senate Caucus room, could count a thousand "smoking guns." Laws, like the Boland Amendment, and the Neutrality Act, and numerous treaties have been broken. Reagan flouted the Constitution which reserves to Congress the power to declare war and to appropriate funds.

■ The unrepentant fanaticism of many of the witnesses, Singlaub for example, compels one to the conclusion that if this conspiracy had not been uncovered, the administration would have

moved, step by step, to destroy the Bill of Rights and impose the brand of police state dictatorship they so admire in South Korea, Chile, and South Africa.

■ Over the past six years, the Administration perjured itself. In one notorious example, Col. North paid an agent of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's CAUSA International \$2,500 to impersonate a Roman Catholic priest and testify to Congress that reports of Contra atrocities were "Communist propaganda." Abrams denied reports the Administration was fundraising for the Contras, in testimony to the Senate Intelligence Committee.

Abrams himself had solicited \$10 million from the Sultan of Brunei a few weeks before this perjured testimony. Asst. Att. Gen. Charles Cooper testified that Meese permitted North's files to remain unsecured for an entire week after discovery of the "diversion memo."

Fawn Hall testified that while the FBI dawdled, she and North, shredded memos, forged others and smuggled some in her clothes.

WHY THE PUSSYFOOTING BY THE LAWMAKERS

The lawmakers on the panel, even anti-Reaganites, have avoided supersensitive subjects—narcotics trafficking and assassinations for example. Senator David Boren (D-OK) asked North's courier, Robert Owen, about reports that the White House secret team had been involved in drug trafficking. Yes, Owen replied, the CIA had supplied a cargo plane for the Contra arms airlift that had been used to smuggle drugs and "I thought it was a stupid idea." Such a stunning confirmation by Owen begged for follow-up questions: How did Owen know it had been involved in drug smuggling? When? Where? Boren quickly shifted to another topic.

Similarly, when Joe Fernandez, alias Tomas Castillo, CIA station chief in Costa Rica testified in a closed door session, he confirmed drug trafficking. In a sanitized transcript of his testimony, he said he could "name names" of contra leaders associated with Contra chief, Eden Pas-

tora, linked to drug trafficking. The lawmakers dropped the subject like a hot potato.

Glenn Robinette, the former CIA agent, told the hearing General Secord hired him for \$4,000 monthly to "dig up dirt" on ABC Newsman, Tony Avirgan, his wife Martha Honey and their Christic Institute (CI) associates for a counterattack against their law suit. But instead of aggressively probing Robinette on his activities against Avirgan-Honey-CI, the lawmakers spent hours questioning him about the installation of a \$14,000 security fence and gate at Lt. Col. Oliver North's home in Great Falls, VA.

The lawmakers are hot on the trail of venality, personal profiteering. Secord, the first witness, presented himself as a patriot selflessly implementing President Reagan's anti-Communist gameplan. The anti-Reaganites on the panel succeeded in ripping aside this facade, exposing Secord as a sleazy profiteer. This was their approach to Secord's partner Albert Hakim and appears to be their approach as well to North.

At this writing, North has begun to testify under a limited grant of immunity from prosecution. A closed door session reportedly focussed on what President Reagan knew, and when, about the Iran arms sale and the diversion of profits to the Contras. North begins his public testimony, July 7.

That emphasis on "profiteering" has served a certain purpose. It is doubtless revealing to masses of television viewers to learn that anti-Communism goes hand in hand with swindling, profiteering, money laundering, the disappearance of millions of dollars from numbered Swiss bank accounts. The money was used to purchase Porsche sports cars, private luxury airplanes and visits to "fat farms." Anti-Communism, to paraphrase Samuel Johnson, is the "last refuge of a scoundrel."

The problem is that this emphasis covers up other and deeper aspects of the conspiracy. The implication is that the activities of the White House secret team would have been acceptable had they not been tainted by Secord's embezzling.

Gen. John K. Singlaub was treated by some Irangate panelists as a national hero because,

unlike Secord, he boasted that he accepted not a penny of profits in delivering tons of arms and ammunition to the contras. It was a sorry sight to hear the lawmakers heaping unctuous praise on this coldblooded fascist. It was the delivery of those arms that constituted the real crime. Nicaraguans victimized by Reagan's terrorist war must wish that Secord had stolen all the money earmarked for purchase of Claymore mines that are blowing off their childrens' legs.

Other Capitol Hill hearings, however are filling in the gaps from the Irangate hearings. The Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Terrorism and Narcotics convened a closed door hearing, chaired by Senator John Kerry (D-MA), to hear testimony from Ramon Milian-Rodriguez, a money launderer for the Medellin cocaine cartel in Columbia. Milian-Rodriguez, now serving a 35 year prison term in Miami for laundering drug profits testified that CIA agent, Felix Rodriguez, a personal friend of Vice President George Bush, had solicited contributions for the Contras from the Medellin gang. Milian-Rodriguez testified that he had personally given Felix Rodriguez \$10 million in cocaine profits for the contra "freedom fighters."

A Subcommittee staff spokesman told this reporter Milian-Rodriguez's disclosures are so explosive that more witnesses will be subpoenaed. A team of Foreign Relations staff investigators is travelling to Florida and other locations gathering more evidence of the CIA-Contra "cocaine connection." This line of investigation is exposing more and more White House links to the criminal underworld.

Rep. Howard Wolpe (D-MI), chairman of the House Africa Subcommittee, meanwhile, convened a hearing to take testimony from a California businessman, Sam Bamieh, revealing that the Reagan Administration was already working to establish the infrastructure for counter-revolution in November or December of 1980—before Reagan was inaugurated. Bamieh, with extensive business ties to the Middle East said he delivered to President Reagan a letter from the then Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia, urging Reagan to approve accelerated delivery of advanced weaponry to the Saudis.

Later, he said, Prince Fahd told him he had reached agreement with the Administration that, in exchange for delivery of AWACs aircraft and other high tech weapons system, Saudi Arabia would supply arms to "anti-Communist movements . . . anywhere the U.S. wants."

At that time, before the Boland Amendment outlawed CIA aid to the Contras, the main priority, Bamieh said, was circumventing the Clark Amendment which barred delivery of arms to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA terrorists in Angola. Prince Fahd, Bamieh testified, also mentioned the contra mujahaddin in Afghanistan as recipients of this covert arms laundering arrangement.

THE BORK PERIL

The resignation of Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell amid the Irangate revelations and President Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert Bork to replace him has pushed the nation to the brink of a potential Constitutional crisis. Bork, handpicked by Reagan's Attorney General Edwin Meese III, now personifies the link between the two greatest threats to Constitutional democracy in this century—the Watergate and the Irangate.

Bork, in October 1973, was the Justice Department Solicitor General and carried out then-President Nixon's "Saturday Night Massacre," the firing of Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox. If Bork is confirmed by the Senate, he may well cast the deciding Supreme Court vote on the findings by six special prosecutors now investigating criminal wrongdoing by Meese and other Reagan advisers. He is the vote the Administration needs to tip the Supreme Court balance towards upholding President Reagan's imperial claim that he is above the law.

Bork is an agent of the Rightwing extremists. In 1973, he justified Nixon's Presidential "seizure of power" that was the heart of the Watergate. On the Supreme Court, he would be prepared to rationalize the presidential "seizure of power" that is the essence of the Irangate.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) signalled this crisis when he declared on the Senate floor, that Reagan:

should not be able to reach out from the muck of Irangate, reach into the muck of Watergate and impose his reactionary vision of the Constitution on the Supreme Court and on the next generation of Americans.

IN JUNE 1981, THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA convened an extraordinary conference in Milwaukee at which the Party sounded the warning that the election of Ronald Reagan signalled a dire threat to democratic rights. A coterie of Rightwing extremists had taken over the Republican party and with Reagan's election, were now positioned to move step by step, towards a seizure of power. That conference issued a call for the formation of an "All People's Front Against Reaganism." A "front" against Reaganism has gradually coalesced—organized labor, oppressed minorities, the movement for women's equality, farmers, the peace movement, environmental and community organizations. The Party emphasized the importance of breadth, of avoiding issues that divide, of emphasizing issues that unite. It should be an open multi-class alliance to repel the ultra-Right danger.

In 1987, the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution, the correctness of that strategy is fully confirmed. Reagan, reelected in a so-called "landslide" in 1984, nevertheless went on to defeat in the two Congressional elections that followed. Last fall, the Reaganites lost control of the Senate despite Reagan's strenuous campaigning in which he called the election a "referendum" on his policies. To understand the historic significance of that defeat, one need only consider where we would be today if he had won! Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-KA) would have carried out his proposal for a special session of Congress last December to "get this thing behind us."

The Reaganites are now waging a ferocious rearguard action, resorting to stonewalling and diversionary ploys, struggling to regroup for a

counterattack. The escalation of the Contra war on Nicaragua, the drive by Reagan for reflagging Kuwaiti ships in the Persian Gulf, his campaign to throw the Democrats on the defensive on the 1988 budget, especially against a series of arms control amendments, and, most recently, the Bork nomination, are all parts of this strategy of counterattack. The Irangate conspiracy has sustained heavy damage. But it is still operational.

Given the continuing menace, it is all the more important for the movements that comprise the "all people's front" to make themselves heard in 1987. The first blow of the year, on April 25, was the demonstration by over 200,000 (half of them trade unionists) in Washington and San Francisco, for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa.

Now a powerful movement is springing up to demand that the Senate kill the Bork nomination. Congress is the focus of this and other demands:

- Full disclosure of the Irangate; the prosecution and imprisonment of all the conspirators, no matter how highly placed.

- Dismantling and jailing of the secret team; termination of all covert wars; termination of all funds for the Contras; an end to U.S. attempts to overthrow the Sandinista regime, and governments in Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Cambodia, etc.

- U.S. support for a negotiated peace settlement in Central America and termination of U.S. military support for the Duarte regime in El Salvador; U.S. support for UN initiatives to end the Iran-Iraq war.

- Completion and Senate ratification of the U.S.-Soviet INF treaty removing medium range missiles from Europe; an end to Reagan's "evil empire" policy of anti-Sovietism and a new foreign and military policy that bars nuclear weapons in space and opens the way to arms control agreements and a drastic reduction in U.S., Soviet, and world military expenditures.

- Transfer of those funds to end third-world indebtedness, unemployment, poverty, homelessness at home and abroad. □

Western Europe: The Impact Of Nuclear Disarmament

WILLIAM POMEROY

At the present time, the most important feature of the relations between the capitalist and socialist countries of the world is the process leading toward nuclear disarmament and a scaling-down of the military confrontation between the two world systems. That process is slow and complex, littered with obstacles, starts and stops, because it involves more than argument over certain categories of weapons. Although, perhaps yet to be fully projected, it has to do with the approaches to a new form of detente, broader and deeper than before, with the firmer substance of real peaceful coexistence as its content.

The previous period of detente in the 1970s, reached a peak with the achievement of the Helsinki Agreement on Security and Cooperation. But further progress, including the full implementation of that agreement itself, was made difficult, in large part, by the failure to achieve a complementary agreement on arms control and reduction.

U.S. imperialism, late in the Carter administration and throughout the Reagan administration, undertook to destroy detente and to reembark on a drive to try to reverse the trend to peaceful coexistence, to reverse the historical development of liberation and socialism, to assert U.S. dominance globally, and to attain the means and position to destroy the Soviet Union. It sought to use the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as one of the main vehicles of its ambitions.

In Western Europe, the reactionary, militarist, anti-Soviet sectors which had joined in the creation of NATO and had resisted the detente process went along with the regressive U.S. stance. This attitude was enhanced by the capture of most Western European governments by Rightwing political parties in that period.

In December 1979, NATO's central councils, under U.S. urging, adopted the doctrine of "flexible response." That doctrine was an open

assertion of a "first use" policy on nuclear weapons. Under this concept, NATO asserted that if a Soviet-led Warsaw Pact conventional force began to get the upper hand in a conventional war, NATO would "flexibly respond" by resorting to a first use of nuclear weapons. Projecting a vastly inflated scare of a "Soviet military threat," and the false claim of a massive "Soviet military buildup," the U.S. pressured the Western European members to engage in a "modernization program." The essence of that was the acceptance of 572 new medium-range U.S. nuclear missiles on their territories, targeted on the Soviet Union.

Such a step was presented to the people of Western Europe as an alleged defensive necessity against the Soviet SS-20 missile. That missile was installed in the western Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and in Czechoslovakia specifically to counter the heavy advantage in missiles held by NATO in land-based, airborne and seaborne weapons. The Soviet Union has never been the first to deploy new categories of weapons anywhere, but has followed the policy of matching those introduced by the U.S. and NATO.

The SS-20s, for example, were improved replacements for the outdated SS-4 and SS-5 missile systems. To keep the balance, for every two SS-20s introduced, three old-style missiles were withdrawn. Thus, while the Soviet Union had 600 ground-launched, medium-range missiles in Europe before the SS-20 was deployed, these had dwindled by the 1980s, to a total of 335 in number of which one-third were still in the obsolete category.

NATO's "modernization" program was not a reaction to the SS-20s—the Pershing II ballistic missile and Tomahawk cruise missiles when introduced were new types that had been readied long before the SS-20 was known to NATO. The first contracts to produce the Pershing II were awarded in 1969, and the Tomahawk had gone into production in the early 1970s. Their deployment was carried out, not as a replacement or

William Pomeroy frequently writes for *Political Affairs* on international relations.

upgrading of existing emplaced systems but as a landbased addition to the seaborne and airborne missile arsenal of NATO. Furthermore, both the Pershing II and the cruise missile are obvious offensive weapons designed to reach deep into the Soviet Union in ten minutes from sites in Western Germany. As their deployment neared in the early 1980s, massive movements of protest were aroused all over Western Europe.

A total of 572 medium-range weapons were set for deployment by the 1979 NATO decision. By January 1987, all 108 Pershings and 256 of the Tomahawks were in place. Installation of the rest was to be completed in 1988.

AFTER REYKJAVIC

The Reagan-Gorbachev Summit meeting in Reykjavic in October 1986, the wide-ranging disarmament proposals that were made, affected both long-range strategic nuclear missiles and those of medium range. It was proposed that the long-range weapons should be eliminated by the U.S. and the Soviet Union within 10 years (50 per cent within five years), and that negotiations should begin immediately to remove all landbased medium-range missiles from Europe. That would mean the removal of all Pershing II, Tomhawk cruise and SS-20s.

The confusion and disarray that have affected NATO councils since then have stemmed essentially from the alliance's preconceived, distorted and rigid views of the Soviet Union, its social system and foreign policy. That outlook had governed the 1981 proposal of President Reagan for the "zero option" of removing nuclear missiles from Europe. It was made in the confident, unlightened belief that the Soviet Union would not accept it.

When Mikhail Gorbachev picked up the proposal and carried it even further, NATO leaders were unprepared for such reality. With no ready strategy to put in its place, Rightwing groupings in both Western Europe and the USA could only throw up one obstacle after another, each to be swept off the table by Soviet counteroffers for more advanced agreement. NATO

showed itself to be unreasonable and ridiculous—guilty of a foreign policy that "moved the goal posts as the game went against it."

The disarmament process, given serious impetus at Reykjavic is complicated by relationships within the NATO alliance, involving contradictions between the U.S. and its Western European partners. These assume the form of economic rivalry that hovers on the brink of trade war; of interpenetration of each other's markets; and, of near-piratical financial policies in the fields of currency exchange and interest rates.

The Reagan administration aggravated these intercapitalist conflicts and tensions by its foreign policy dedicated to promote U.S. "national interest." At Reykjavic, the U.S. carried this tendency further than ever—toward unilateral understandings with the Soviet Union on disarmament, without consultation with its NATO allies who would be intimately affected by the suggested agreements. The result has been debates and disputes within the Western alliance that have impeded the process of negotiating a nuclear arms agreement.

THE CONFLICTS WITHIN NATO

U.S. spokesmen have sought to turn Western European attention away from differences with the U.S. by playing up the old bogey of "the Soviet threat," and charging that the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union are intended only to drive a wedge between the U.S. and its European NATO allies. For over a decade, a questioning of U.S. leadership of Western capitalism has been increasingly voiced, and it has been more pronounced during the period of the Reagan Administration and its aggressive "go it alone" style of promoting U.S. interests.

Unwillingness of other NATO members to accept stationing of the U.S. neutron bomb and the new binary chemical weapons on their soil was an early sign of this. And it was shown, more recently, in their refusal to be pressured into aiding the U.S. air attack on Libya (except for Britain's Thatcher government) and by non-support for the U.S. intervention in Lebanon.

The current refusal to join the U.S. military intervention in the Persian Gulf, has underscored a growing desire to dissociate from U.S. policies and actions. The decline of President Reagan's personal leadership, which is a facet of this process has been markedly evident.

To a large extent, a more independent Western European attitude is accounted for by the increasing growth of the European Economic Community as an integrated bloc, rivalling the other two capitalist centers, the U.S. and Japan. In the uneven development of capitalism of which this is an example, a reflection has been bound to occur in the military relationship as well. Over the past 40 years that relationship has been dominated by the U.S., whose power in terms of nuclear weapons has kept Western Europe subordinate to the "nuclear umbrella," the ultimate factor in NATO strategy.

DEEPENING DOUBTS OF U.S. PURPOSE

The tendency, however, of U.S. imperialism to pursue its own interests, disregarding alliances, has for some time caused the questioning of U.S. leadership to extend to a questioning of U.S. readiness to carry out its "umbrella" pledges in case of a war in Europe. In short—its readiness to risk its own nuclear annihilation in defense of Western Europe.

This line of reasoning was augmented, rather than eased, by the projection of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI/Star Wars). In Western Europe, a belief grew that SDI was a U.S. strategy of looking out for itself while its NATO allies had little more than a trip-wire expendibility in the event of a war. Such a belief was not lessened by the Reagan administration's tactic of gaining Western European support for SDI by promising a share of the colossal contracts involved. Although Rightwing NATO governments were temporarily sold SDI on the basis of hoped-for rich pickings, this aspect soon faded as the promises failed to bear fruit. While billions of dollars were first dangled by Reagan emissaries, actual contracts awarded throughout the NATO alliance totalled well under \$100

million. Further, the U.S. imposed clauses which gave it alone the property of all research developments and findings.

The Reykjavic summit and its startling proposals for removing nuclear missiles from Europe added to the feeling that the U.S. was taking another step away from commitment to NATO. One of the acknowledged motivations behind the U.S. decision to emplace its Pershing II and Tomahawk missiles in Western Europe was to demonstrate its sincerity in "defending" its allies. Potential U.S. withdrawal of those missiles was bound to leave an opposite impression. In Western Germany and France, fears were expressed that a withdrawal would "uncouple" the U.S. from the defences of Western Europe.

Such feelings were additionally stirred by repeated voicings of the U.S. threat to withdraw its troops from Europe, usually linked with the excuse that the NATO allies were not sharing the burden of defence by increasing their arms budgets to match those of the U.S.

One of the significant proposals that came out of Reykjavic, however, was a major speech by Britain's Foreign Affairs Minister Sir Geoffrey Howe at the Institute of International Relations in Brussels on March 16. It was significant because it came from an important member of the Thatcher government, considered the closest ally of the U.S. in NATO.

Howe put forward the argument that Western European NATO governments must begin to prepare for the day when the U.S. might reduce its defence commitment to NATO. He proposed a European defence strategy centered on the Western European union, to be based on European conventional forces and, most importantly, on the British and French nuclear deterrent, not the U.S. umbrella.

The Western European union (WEU) was founded in 1954 with seven members—Britain, France, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and Luxembourg. It aimed at forging political and military unity but the concept faded as NATO and the EEC and its related bodies gained full attention. However, a revival of interest in the WEU began at the end of the

1970s. According to Howe, the Reagan administration at that time "did not conceal its anger" at this step and warned against such undermining of NATO. This development simmered until the U.S. SDI was proclaimed, whereupon the WEU was more fully resurrected. Early in 1987, the Soviet Union gave it serious attention by inviting a WEU delegation to Moscow.

In his Brussels speech Geoffrey Howe said that "decoupling would be perverse" on the part of the U.S.; that the U.S. was increasingly preoccupied with the Pacific, southwest Asia and Central America; and, that "Europe no longer dominates American thinking." He called for closer cooperation through the WEU on a wide range of military projects.

The Howe speech was but one expression of these themes in the spring of 1987. In May, the 13-nation Independent European Program Group met and put forward the concept of an "entente militaire" in Europe as essential for the IEFG to pursue security through industrial and technological cooperation. A Brussels think tank, in May, produced a report which concluded that NATO will not survive beyond the year 2000 and that a European defence effort must be devised, perhaps built around the British and French nuclear forces.

At the beginning of May, a Koenigswinter conference of British and West German politicians devoted its attention to "circumstances compelling Western Europe to coordinate defence policies" including the need to minimize dependence on the U.S..

At the end of May, the WEU itself held a meeting in Luxembourg at which a response to the Soviet nuclear disarmament proposals was discussed. Despite diverse positions, insistence on maintaining a nuclear deterrent and excluding British and French nuclear missiles from an arms agreement, prevailed.

At the heart of the concept of a "European defence system" is the reliance on the British and French "nuclear deterrent." The British component of this "deterrent" is a submarine fleet armed with Polaris and advanced Trident II missiles. France's nuclear armaments—wholly French in design, production and deploy-

ment—comprise short and long range, both land-based and sea-borne missiles. France jealously keeps this nuclear arsenal away from any disarmament process.

All told, Britain and France have between them 162 long-range missiles with more than 400 warheads, which they both refuse to have included in the arms agreements and negotiations undertaken by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. These weapons are kept outside the medium and short-range "double zero" decisions despite West Germany's complaint that France's Pluton and Hades missiles could only fall on West German territory. Despite the British and French intransigency, the Soviet negotiating team has stressed that an agreement, even if it does not immediately produce major cuts in nuclear forces, would pave the way to eventual reduction of all nuclear arsenals "by all nuclear states."

One of the interesting effects of the post-Reykjavic steps toward the "double zero" negotiations has been France's tilt away from its rigid position of military independence from NATO. But the French intent is, undoubtedly, to give it leverage in the nuclear negotiations so as to prevent reduction of its "nuclear deterrent." This it could do by tying up the negotiations in protracted complex processes.

THE REAL MEANING OF 'EUROPEAN DEFENCE'

The impulse in Western Europe toward a relatively independent "European defence" posture, stimulated by Reykjavic, does not represent a progressive turn by those in power. It reflects the fears of the conservative political and military sectors—fears rooted in the rigid concepts which have gripped NATO and characterized its propaganda throughout its existence.

Rational thinking about Europe's security has been impeded by concepts of "the Soviet threat," of alleged "Soviet military superiority," and that "nuclear weapons have kept the peace for 40 years." Present reaction, in general, has been one of alarm at the "denuclearization" of Western Europe. It conceives not a breakaway

from U.S.-led policies but restructuring them within mainly a Western European context.

Thus, during her visit to the Soviet Union in April of this year, Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher proclaimed over Soviet television that she could not agree to the "denuclearization" of Europe. Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany, upholding "flexible response," said there was "no alternative to this strategy in the foreseeable future." French Defense Minister Andre Giraud warned "Beware of another Munich."

These attitudes were reinforced by statements emanating from NATO quarters.

The attempts within NATO and its individual countries to erect obstacles to missile reduction and removal were countered by Soviet proposals to include short-range missiles in an agreement, along with those of medium-range and for moving immediately to negotiations on the elimination of chemical weapons and the reduction of conventional forces. NATO members, including Britain, West Germany and France, finally agreed reluctantly to the "double zero" proposals, and the NATO meeting of foreign ministers, held in Reykjavic on June 11, endorsed them as well.

This grudging acceptance by the Western European NATO powers of the proposals to remove land-based nuclear missiles from Europe, eight months after the Reykjavic summit, is far from being whole-hearted or complete. It is weighted down by dishonest and crippling conditions that will require much more struggle to remove.

Prior to the NATO foreign ministers' meeting, the defense ministers of NATO met in Stavanger, Norway on May 14 and agreed upon a "compensatory response" decision. Under this, every cruise missile removed from Europe is to be replaced or "compensated" by adding an equal number of cruise missiles to NATO naval vessels and strike aircraft. In other words, NATO nuclear arms would be boosted by the same number of missiles that are removed.

While Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher was announcing acceptance of the "double zero" option, British Defense Minister George

Younger was voicing total agreement with "compensation." In Britain's case, a medium-range agreement would result in sending home the U.S. cruise missiles installed at Greenham Common and Molesworth U.S. air bases in England, locations of huge peace demonstrations and peace camps for years. But it would promptly be followed by the arrival of cruise missiles for arming both U.S. F-111 bombers stationed at air bases in virtually the same areas of England, and U.S. nuclear submarines berthed in Scotland.

Chancellor Kohl's West German government has resorted to an effort equally cynical. While endorsing "double zero," Kohl has insisted that 72 Pershing IA missiles which West Germany possesses must remain. The warheads of these are owned by the U.S. but the missile itself, claims Kohl, comes under the "third country system" category that is outside a U.S.-Soviet agreement. The Pershing IA, however, can easily be modified into a medium-range missile and is at any rate a short-range weapon. The Soviet Union insists on its abolition along with the rest of the "double zero" missiles.

The sabotaging nature of these western positions is all the more glaring in view of the real weapons situation of the NATO countries. On May 19, U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger admitted that "the vast majority of NATO nuclear weapons would be unaffected by the Intermediate Forces (INF) deal and fears of 'denuclearization' are exaggerated." He pointed out that 4,000 nuclear weapons would still remain in NATO arsenals, made up of the air and sea borne strategic missiles, the shorter-range (under 500 miles) missiles, the nuclear artillery, and other tactical weapons. In other words, the doctrine of "flexible response" remains in being.

The argument in Western Europe of the necessity for a "nuclear deterrent," which NATO councils continue to insist upon even while endorsing the "double zero" removal of medium and short-range missiles, is based on the claim that the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies have overwhelming superiority in conventional armed forces. It is argued that these are so supe-

rior that NATO's conventional forces could not stop an invasion by them which would sweep rapidly over Western Europe, and that only a first-strike "flexible response" with nuclear weapons could halt their advance.

Negotiations on reduction of the conventional forces have actually been going on for 14 years in Geneva, the Mutual Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) talks, but these have constantly been bogged down in niggling by the West on troops and equipment equivalents. In the recent period the Soviet Union has unilaterally withdrawn from central Europe 20,000 troops and their armor, as a stimulant to mutual reduction, and has offered to withdraw 20,000 more if the U.S. withdraws 13,000 of its own. The offer has not been taken up.

The Warsaw Pact countries have put on the table a proposal for a mutual 25 per cent reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons by 1990. These moves have been responded to in the standard NATO verbiage of "usual propaganda."

NON-CONFRONTATIONAL CURRENTS

Claims that Warsaw Pact forces are superior on the ground have been negated on numerous occasions by research institutes in the West itself (such as the conservative Institute for Strategic Studies in London and the Brookings Institute in Washington). These refutations cover troop strength, numbers of tanks, anti-tank weapons and rocket systems.

The Political Consultative Committee Treaty Organization, on May 29, called for talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact on "a number of urgent measures connected with the minimizing of military confrontation," such as: averting the threat of a surprise attack; withdrawal of the more dangerous attack weapons; and, reducing zone forces and arms to a minimum agreed level. The NATO attitude toward this, in contrast, was put forward at the same time in the meeting of its defense ministers in Brussels. That meeting announced a decision to increase conventional forces as medium and short-range nuclear missiles are withdrawn.

There are other currents in Western Europe, however, besides those of a confrontational character. Considerable more contradiction and disunity has existed within the NATO alliance than is reflected in the communiqués that issue from its committee meetings. It took strong U.S. pressure to gain the 1979 agreement on deployment of the medium-range missiles, but even so nearly half of NATO members have refused to accept nuclear weapons on their territories, including Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Spain and Greece.

In the Netherlands the powerful anti-nuclear weapons movement, while it did not succeed in blocking formal acceptance of the 48 cruise missiles allotted that country, has stalled their installation.

The establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe has received top-level backing throughout the Scandinavian region, which embraces NATO members Norway, Denmark and Iceland, as well as Sweden, Finland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Aland Islands.

Since Reykjavic, and particularly following the successive Gorbachev offers that keep widening the range of disarmament negotiations, the reaction has been especially noticeable in small NATO countries. A tendency has grown to withdraw from military commitments to NATO.

ECONOMIC PRESSURES FOR ARMS CUTBACKS

These trends in NATO countries are linked with an increasing inability to pay for the military burdens being placed upon them by both the nuclear and conventional programs of NATO. Economic stagnation and decline have affected virtually all NATO members. For the past two years, the Netherlands, Belgium and Denmark have seen strikes and demonstrations against cuts of social welfare spending while military budgets remain high.

In view of these circumstances, the call by NATO defence ministers, in May, to aim at a 3 per cent annual increase in conventional arms spending over the next 5 years is remote from reality. Furthermore, the unreality does not

hold true only for NATO's smaller members. The budgetary problem is acute for the country that has been the most willing to fall in line with the U.S. demands made upon NATO partners—Britain where the hawkish Thatcher government is forced to engage in sharply cutting its military spending rather than boosting it.

To live militarily within its means, the government is slashing its overall military budget by 8 per cent in real terms over the next five years.

Indeed, serious military and political analysts contend that economic necessity will ultimately compel cancellation of the Trident missile program designed to maintain Britain's "independent nuclear deterrent" position.

If the mounting burdens of the NATO arms programs have created growing political liabilities for Western European governing parties, the increasing likelihood of nuclear war as the weapons accumulate, is a volatile factor in elections. A relative receding of the mass peace movements of the early 1980s had followed the deployment of the Pershing IIs and Tomahawks they had unsuccessfully tried to prevent. But it was rekindled after the nuclear accident at Chernobyl.

THE PEACE FALLOUT FROM CHERNOBYL

Although reactionary sectors attempted to create anti-Soviet propaganda over the incident, the radioactive cloud that drifted over both east and west demonstrated, as no other argument could, the insanity of a nuclear-war policy, and of a first-strike "flexible response." A nuclear attack would remorselessly destroy the attacker along with the attacked as the radioactivity drifted back as well as forward.

Chernobyl has had a further effect in Western Europe. It has raised the question of the catastrophic consequences of a war fought even on conventional terms. The presence today of scores of nuclear power stations in both Eastern and Western Europe, many of which lie in the logical path of conventional warfare. Their destructive power (more than 30 are in the Germans alone), poses the possibility of a radioac-

tive disaster no different from that of a nuclear war. The prospect has led some military specialists to talk wildly of international agreements not to bomb nuclear installations (like the "open city" declarations never adhered-to in the past.)

Soviet disarmament proposals have consequently been enormously welcome in Western Europe, from top to bottom of society. This is well-illustrated by the results of polls published this spring. One showed 77 per cent of people in West Germany approving the "zero-zero" option and expressing the desire for all missiles to be removed from Europe, compared with only 6 per cent who said they want missiles to remain.

In France (where anti-Soviet propaganda had been particularly intense in the past few years) 45 per cent favored the Gorbachev proposals in contrast to 16 per cent for the position of Reagan.

Another poll by Gallup, in Britain in May, revealed that 86 per cent of those polled do not believe the Soviet Union to be a military threat; 67 per cent said there should be no use of nuclear weapons to destroy cities or the civilians of another country, and 60 per cent said that a British prime minister should never give the order to use nuclear weapons even if the country was about to be "invaded by Soviet forces" (in effect, a rejection of the "nuclear deterrent" policy).

Government representatives at the Western European Union meeting in Luxembourg, held at the end of April, felt this breath on their backs as they discussed the maintenance of the nuclear deterrent. It was reported that fears were expressed of the "public relations impact" of steps to deploy more modern nuclear missiles to replace those removed by a "double zero" agreement. The same fears were voiced at the NATO defense ministers' meeting in Stavanger where the bringing into Europe of the nuclear-armed B-52 bombers in place of medium-range missiles was finally ruled out because "it would arouse anti-nuclear protest."

All of the schemes for installing new missiles in place of those removed come up against the fact that, while the Pershing IIs and Tomahawks could be replaced with the excuse that the Soviet SS-20s had to be countered, an

agreement to remove the SS-20s would mean that new NATO missiles would have no justification whatever.

POLITICAL GAINS FOR PEACE FORCES

The West German government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl has had a taste of the widespread anti-nuclear feeling resurgent in Western Europe. Kohl's coalition partners, the Free Democrats, with their leader, Hans Dietrich Genscher in the key post of foreign minister, have swung to the support of Gorbachev's proposals. For months Kohl and his Christian Democrats stalled on declaring support for the "zero-zero." In mid-May the popular response to this came in elections of parliaments in two of the West German states, Rhineland Palatinate and Hamburg. In the former the Christian Democrats had held an absolute majority for 16 years and in the latter they confidently expected to overturn a shaky Social Democrat control. The elections were a disaster for Kohl's party: in the Rhineland Palatinate it had the worst result since 1963, its vote falling from 51.9 per cent to 45 per cent. In Hamburg it failed to oust the Social Democrats; the Free Democrats, campaigning against nuclear missiles, doubled their vote. After the election Chancellor Kohl hastily had a re-think and announced support for "zero-zero." Kohl's doubletalk on this, however, has returned the peace movement to full-blown demonstration levels. On the weekend of June 13 an anti-missile demonstration of over 100,000 again was on the streets of Bonn.

Peace movement issues have actually been taken up and pressed by the political parties of the left and center. This is the case, with varying degrees of emphasis, in all of the NATO countries. A political shift in Western Europe from the present conservative governments back to Labor and Socialist governments could, under present circumstances, change the whole perspective for disarmament and detente. In

Britain, the Labor Party has taken perhaps the furthest and most forthright step in its adoption of a unilateral nuclear disarmament position which asserts that a Labor government would cancel the Trident program, scrap the Polaris missile and recall its submarines from patrol within hours, remove cruise missiles from Britain, and compel the removal of all U.S. nuclear bases and facilities from British soil and waters.

The Reagan administration has repeatedly intervened in British politics to denounce Labor's unilateralist stand as "a betrayal of NATO and the free world" (voiced especially by Caspar Weinberger and Richard Perle). In the midst of the recent British general election in June, President Reagan himself, interviewed by the British media, condemned the "grievous errors" made by the Labor Party on defense and praised Margaret Thatcher's position. During the campaign, the Tories concentrated attacks on Labor as the "party of surrender" for its nuclear disarmament program.

Although Labor was defeated and Thatcher's government returned, it could not be said to be because of the Labor anti-nuclear program. Labor increased its overall vote considerably, it won overwhelmingly in some regions of the country (Scotland, for example, where the Polaris and Trident bases lie), and a number of its candidates identified with the peace movement (including the erstwhile chairperson of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Joan Ruddock) were elected. The reelection of the Thatcher government was due to other issues. The peace and disarmament questions are left wide-open in Britain.

As the currents around the new stage of peace and disarmament swirl in Western Europe, they are bound to carry away old rigid military-bloc concepts and postures. They will bring to the surface new systems of security without nuclear threat in a climate of peaceful coexistence. □

The Death Penalty, U.S.A. Racist and Class Violence

FRANK CHAPMAN

The imposition of the death penalty in the United States is both racist and class biased. Justice Thurgood Marshall noted that "the disgraceful distorting effects of racial discrimination and poverty continue to be painfully visible in the imposition of death sentences." From our point of view this is the reason why the abolition of the death penalty in our country must be raised as a fundamental democratic demand.

Opposing the death penalty on a purely moral basis, that is, on the basis that no one (including the state) has a right to kill people, is fine in the metaphysical realm of absolute truth but in real life the death penalty is a perpetrator of racial and class injustice. Therefore, the abolition of the death penalty is not only a religious-moral imperative; it is also a political necessity for all who fight for racial equality and an end to class exploitation.

In this article I want to focus on the racist and class nature of death sentencing in the United States, not because I think the moral issue is unimportant, but because I believe moral authority is determined by the oppressed and not the oppressor. It is wrong, and in violation of internationally accepted democratic norms for our government to legally murder people because they are non-white and/or poor. It is wrong to kill juveniles and the mentally-retarded. And, we maintain, that these human rights violations inevitably arise in our country because for the last two centuries our criminal justice has been fundamentally rooted in racist and class oppression. In other words, the system is fatally flawed and so the racism and class bias imbedded in death sentencing is due to the criminal justice system as a whole which historically was created by our government to protect the rich and punish the poor.

Frank Chapman is executive director of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Oppression.

The death penalty then is a political weapon used by those in power against the racially and nationally oppressed and working people. How the death penalty is imposed, who gets it and who doesn't, is determined by a legal and political system for which law and order are merely code words for repression. The following historical and statistical data make precisely this point.

WHO GETS THE DEATH PENALTY AND WHY

Hugo Adam Bedau in his study *The Death Penalty in America* (Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 1) estimates that, from 1622 to 1980, there have been 18,000 to 20,000 legal executions. Of course these figures don't include summary executions of runaway slaves, slave rebels, captured Indians, striking workers, etc., which were also legal executions. At any rate it wasn't until 1930 that national records of state-imposed executions were kept. Based on these records, which were compiled by the Department of Justice we can establish:

- ◆ 1. That during the '30s, i.e. the decade of the depression, 1,667 people were executed; in the '40s, 956; in the '50s, 717; in the '60s, 240; in the 70s, 3; and, in the '80s, 75 to date. It is obvious that there is an overall decline in executions decade by decade with a virtual moratorium on executions in the '70s. In the present period of crisis of the Reagan regime, they have been on the rise again. And in no instance has a rich person been executed.
- ◆ 2. As to the racist character of the death penalty between 1900 and 1967 over 50 per cent of all executions were in Southern, former slave-holding states. This increased to 60 per cent between 1930 and 1967. And from 1930 to 1964 about two thirds of those executed were Afro-American. In instances where the charge

was rape of a white woman, those executed were almost exclusively Afro-American; for example 405 of the 455 executed for rape after 1930 were Afro-American.

One does not need to ponder long the data set forth above to understand how in fact the death penalty is carried out. Who gets sentenced to death is determined by skin color and class, with color and class often merging into a single category. For example, in 1972 when the U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Furman v. Georgia*, struck down most death-penalty statutes 50 per cent of the 600 prisoners on death row nationally were Afro-American and in Florida (a former slave-holding state) there were twice as many Afro-Americans on death row as whites. Today 48 per cent of the 1,901 on death row nationally are Afro-American, and everyone on death row, regardless of color, is poor and working class. So not much has changed from 1622 to the 1980s. The rich still get richer and the poor still are forced to become poorer, imprisoned or sentenced to death. Such pains does it take to maintain the status quo of class exploitation and racist oppression in our country.

KEY DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT

As indicated above, 1972 was the year in which the death penalty was virtually suspended in U.S. law. In a 5 to 4 decision, the Court ruled in *Furman v. Georgia* that the death penalty, as it was applied, violated the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. This led to more than 600 prisoners being freed from death rows across the land. What is most important about the *Furman* decision is that it addresses the racist and class bias inherent in death sentencing. In this regard Justice Douglas stated:

... the discretion of judges and juries in imposing the death penalty enables the penalty to be selectively applied, feeding prejudices against the accused if he is poor and despised and lacks political clout, or if he is a member of a suspect or unpopular minority, and saving those who, by social position, may be in a more protected position.

Justice Douglas then goes on to point out that never in the history of our Republic has a rich man been executed. So the question is how can the situation be changed so that the death penalty can be applied without regard to race and class. And the answer must be that, so long as class bias and racism exist, there can be no equitable application of the death penalty. But the Supreme Court had a different answer, and that is that the death penalty could be reinstated under a system of "guided discretion." Therefore, since the Court didn't rule the death penalty as such unconstitutional, many states proceeded forthwith to reintroduce it. By 1975, 33 states had revised and reintroduced death penalty statutes pursuant to the *Furman v. Georgia* decision.

Had the Court taken the position articulated by Justices William J. Brennan, Jr, and Thurgood Marshall (that the death penalty given its racist and class-biased application was inherently a mode of "cruel and unusual punishment") then the death penalty would have been legally abolished as opposed to letting the states, under the guise of the hallow doctrine of states rights and "non-arbitrary" guidelines, reintroduce the death penalty.

Addressing the question of discriminatory application of the death sentence is not merely a matter of legal opinion but also a matter of political struggle. To make my point, I only have to mention the cases of Sacco and Vanzetti, Tom Mooney, the Rosenbergs, Willie McGhee and others who have been murdered by federal and state authorities for their political convictions and the color of their skin. Consequently, the political struggle must be directed against state and federal authorities and the objective must be to abolish the death penalty.

This is not to say that legal challenges to the death penalty are of no consequence. We must support and make legal challenges in the ongoing struggle to stop executions. But we must not ignore the role of congress and state legislatures. We must support Congressman John Conyers' legislative initiative to declare a moratorium on the death penalty. We must demand

that Congress pass legislation abolishing the death penalty.

THE CONTINUING DEMANDS OF THE FIGHT

If we reject an above class and race approach to abolishing the death penalty then we have to fight on the basis that the death penalty violates the most basic of human rights, the right to live, of mainly Afro-Americans and working people. In this regard we should not overlook the fact that our government is violating international law and internationally accepted democratic norms. For 48 per cent of the death row population in our country to be Black is clearly practicing genocide when you consider that Afro-Americans are only 12 per cent of the population. Also the execution of juveniles and the mentally retarded is internationally outlawed and our government is guilty here too.

Like Johnny Imani Harris there are an unknown number of innocent people on death row, most of them are Black. Campaigns to stop the execution of innocent individuals and victims of racist and class injustice must also be seen as an essential element in the political struggle to abolish the death penalty.

Finally a recent Supreme Court decision, *Sumner v. Shuman*, which strikes down mandatory death sentences for prisoners will free Harris and others from death row. This is a singular important victory for the movement but it does not abolish the death penalty for most of the 1,901 facing execution. We must build on and use every victory to achieve the final victory and that is to abolish the death penalty so that those who oppress us will not have this deadly weapon to use against our people and our class. □

South Africa: Cracks in The Racist Power Bloc

JOE SLOVO

The forces ranged against our liberation front are still strong, having at their disposal considerable resources and the support of powerful allies within the imperialist camp. This reality obliges us to continue to set our sights on a protracted struggle. At the same time, it is clear that the situation has within it the seeds of a very sudden transformation. Why do we believe this to be the position?

Although the process is not yet complete, clear signs have emerged in the last two-and-a-half years that there is developing in our country the kind of nationwide crisis affecting both the exploiters and the exploited which, according to Lenin's classical formulation, sets the stage for a major social transformation.

In the first place, it is important to note that two psychological barriers of great importance have been permanently breached and these breaches have a great impact on the struggle equation in our country.

On the side of the people, the feeling of impotence inculcated by over three-hundred-and-fifty years of colonial domination has been very severely eroded. *The people are now convinced that however long it may take, race rule can be destroyed* and they are prepared to sacrifice life to bring this about. This new mood is, in important respects, connected with two factors: the inspirational impact on the emerging political forces of the activities of the armed wing of the liberation movement, and the confidence guaranteed by the successes of the Southern African liberation process right on our country's borders.

Conversely, on the side of our ruling class and its support constituency in the white community, another important psychological barrier has been breached. In the face of years of

uninterrupted upsurge and resistance, confidence in the permanent survival of race rule has been very badly eroded, triggering off fragmentation, defections, infighting and other symptoms of *the beginnings of political disintegration of the previously monolithic racist power bloc.*

In general, South Africa's economic and political crisis has reached endemic proportions. Since the Soweto uprising of 1976, there has been a steady decline in every single department of the economy. Between 1964-1975 the annual rate of growth of the economy was five per cent. Between 1981-1986 it has been reduced to an average of one per cent per annum. Unemployment has passed the four million mark. The inflow of foreign capital has virtually dried up, setting the stage for continuing stagnation. Giant multinationals like General Motors, IBM, Coca Cola, Kodak International, Barclays Bank and many others have been forced through a combination of political pressure and economic wisdom to announce that they are "pulling out." In some cases it is clear that backdoor arrangements have been made to ensure a continued stake in the apartheid economy. But even where the measures are limited, they have a significant impact in the boardrooms of potential Western investors.

South Africa's manufacturing sector has a reasonable capacity to meet trade isolation by import substitution. But it is not adequately equipped for this in the capital goods sector, ninety-five per cent of whose needs has to be imported. The virtual drying up in the flow of foreign investors' capital and the nonavailability of large-scale loans will increasingly deprive the economy of the required resources to maintain and develop the needs of this sector.

There is general agreement (even by the government's economic pundits) that most of these problems are closely connected with the

Joe Slovo is general secretary of the South African Communist Party. This article first appeared in the *World Marxist Review*, June 1987.

political upsurge. But there is yet another factor with longer-term implications, viz., the changing relation between racism and profit which affects key sectors of the ruling power bloc. Apartheid and its inherited social framework has, in certain key sectors, begun to act as a brake on the development of the productive forces. South Africa is poised to move into a higher technological level of production and this advance is hampered by a shortage of skilled and semiskilled labor resources brought about by race barriers. In addition, for political reasons, South African exporters have only limited access to their natural markets in our African continent. To this must be added the astronomical costs of defence and the subsidies which have to be found to maintain and defend the puppet administrations in the so-called "bantustan homelands."

As always, it is the Black working majority which takes the main brunt of crisis conditions. But the current recession (the longest and most serious in our history) is also beginning to make inroads into living standards of the white community in general and, more particularly, its working-class sector. White worker unemployment (which has been statistically insignificant in the last fifty years) has begun to rise perceptibly and there are initial signs of the emergence of poverty conditions on the fringes of white society. A combination of a hard pressed ruling class and growing dissatisfaction within its main political support-base—the white ethnic community—has important consequences.

The newly-formed, openly fascist organizations, like the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), find a fertile recruiting ground for white workers who fear that even the very limited reform process (forced on the racist regime), and deteriorating economic conditions are making inroads into their privileged status. But, at the same time, prospects are beginning to shape (however dimly) of loosening somewhat the white workers' historic embrace of the ruling class in return for privileges which have so long

separated them from their Black class brothers. Desertions, some of them on the left, culminated in the recent (December 1986) dissolution of the white-dominated Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), previously the biggest and most influential trade union federation. This event underscores the new fluidity within white organized labor and a search for direction which requires an input, more especially by our Party.

Growing numbers among the white middle class are becoming aware that, in the long run, a defense of the status quo is not feasible and will lead to sharper and more violent conflict. Significant numbers are deserting the extreme racist white laager and, in some cases, acting in defiance of the regime's laws. White youths have launched a campaign to oppose conscription and many of the leaders of this campaign have been detained during the current state of emergency. Students at the white universities are beginning to express themselves more openly in favor of many of the important platforms of the liberation movement. Stellenbosch University, the very high church of apartheid ideology, has witnessed student activities which would have been inconceivable some years ago—demands for the release of Mandela and the dispatch of student delegations to engage in talks with the ANC in Lusaka in defiance of the regime's wishes. And, above all, many more whites than in the past are actually entering the ranks of our liberation movement and its armed wing.

The previously monolithic wall of white solidarity is also developing cracks at the level of the ruling class. We have already noted that apartheid is, in important respects, frustrating economic growth and isolating key sectors of the economic power bloc from their vital international life-blood. But, in seeking solutions to these problems, the bourgeoisie face an historic dilemma of their own making.

The massive exploitation of cheap Black labor in labor-intensive production was always the foundation for the generation of their superprofits. The rationalization of this objective at the level of the superstructure spawned the practice and ideology of race and national domi-

nation which antedates, by centuries, its more "scientific" variant in contemporary apartheid. This ideology, in its different variants, has been deeply embedded into the minds of the white community by a State apparatus representing the dominant bourgeois interests.

Ideology continues to have a momentum of its own, long past the point when its economic foundations have become eroded. It is not surprising, therefore, that a community which has been saturated with race ideology to help maintain bourgeois supremacy, should now become an obstacle in attempts by the very same bourgeoisie to move away from those aspects of race domination which no longer serve them. In the result, those among the bourgeoisie who are reform orientated have no mass political constituency and, for the moment, find themselves in a political wilderness.

The relationship of the ruling class with imperialism is also in a state of uncertainty. The West has begun to lose faith in Botha's capacity to save South Africa as an important strategic bastion of capitalism and Western military alignments. On the other hand, they stand in great fear of the most powerful alternative to the Botha regime—the liberation front led by the African National Congress. The search for a middle force of the Muzorowa variety has so far met with little success. Buthelezi, the KwaZulu tribal chief, who was a possible candidate, has lost credibility as a viable national leader because of his support for the regime on many vital issues.

The policy of encouraging the emergence of a bigger Black middle class with an economic stake in the status quo has not yet thrown up a significant "middle force" with any kind of mass following. The regime's inability to mobilize Black middle-class collaboration on a major scale is very closely connected with the status of this class.

Although some previously forbidden zones of economic activity have, in the recent period, been opened up for Blacks, they continue to share most of the major disabilities suffered by

the nationally-dominated majority. A Black millionaire—and there are a few—has less political, social and economic rights than an unemployed white worker. All this helps to explain the approach of the main organ of Black business—the National Federal Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC)—which engaged in a friendly exchange with ANC leadership and whose president, Motsuenyane, recently told the world media, "We do not at all fear an ANC government."

Another important aspect of the crisis facing the regime is the almost total failure of its much publicized reform initiatives, leaving it without a visible strategy except for the escalation of brute force against the people. The regime itself no longer believes that the bantustans (the fragmentation of the country into so-called independent ethnic "homelands") can serve as a solvent of the present crisis.

Lately, even some of the bantustan leaders have been making overtures to the ANC. The 1984 Tricameral parliament, which attempted to co-opt Indians and Coloreds into a white-dominated parliamentary structure, met with an overwhelming boycott and has since sunk into virtual oblivion. All attempts to impose forms of third-class urban municipal representation on Blacks have collapsed. Indeed, these and other reform initiatives, far from diverting the people's energies, have tended to become catalysts for heightened mass upsurge.

Externally, the regime's diplomatic offensive in our subcontinent has landed on the rocks. The Southern African states refused to be tempted by schemes such as the Constellation of Southern African States and the Pretoria-based Development Banks. Neither were most of them sucked into Inkomati-type agreements which, as experience has shown, are used by the racists to diminish the level of support for our liberation struggle while continuing to destabilize their neighbors. But Pretoria is discovering that there are limitations to a policy based solely on bullying tactics and naked aggression. Despite the fact that the newly independent states of Southern Africa face serious hardships, there is a growing realization among them that, in the long term, *their survival as sovereign en-*

tities can only be assured by a people's victory in South Africa.

The failure of the internal reform process and the external diplomatic offensive, and the resort to naked force as the main instrument of policy both inside the country and on its borders, is the measure of the deepening crisis. It has become abundantly clear in the recent period that the racist regime and its supporters no longer have the confidence that they can continue to rule in the old way. But the absence of a cohesive political strategy for emerging from the crisis serves to deepen divisions and fragmentations at the top—a process which has a vital relevance for our immediate tactical approaches.

In the camp of the oppressed majority there is a clearly growing conviction that *it is impossible to continue living in the old way*. This is evidenced by the fact that our country has experienced a virtually uninterrupted state of ferment and upsurge since the middle of 1984. This ferment has generated an unprecedented spurt of mass activity and has also shown itself in spontaneous and semi-spontaneous eruptions.

The most important ingredient of this development is *the emergence at national, regional and local levels of a variety of forms of people's organizations as vital contingents of the liberation process*. The United Democratic Front (UDF) has an affiliation of over seven hundred community, trade union and other organizations with a total membership of over two million. The birth and growth of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has added a new dimension to the mass organized strength of workers' power.

The dramatic growth of the Black trade union movement is underlined by the fact that, whereas fifteen years ago the Black workers constituted less than 10 per cent of all organized labor, it has now reached 65.7 per cent and continues to grow. The granting of legal status to Black trade unions has clearly failed in its original objective of separating them from the liberation process. During 1986, in response to calls

by COSATU (supported by the UDF and the community organizations) millions of workers downed tools in two general political strikes, on May 1st and June 16th, in support of some of the most basic slogans of the liberation movement.

There is yet another phenomenon of exceptional importance, i.e., the proliferation at grassroots level of embryonic organs of people's courts, etc. It is a process which resembles the mass creativity which gave birth to the Soviets, early in the century, in the struggle against Tsarism. In addition, among the youth and sections of the workers there have emerged combat formations and people's defence committees which have engaged in organized armed activity against the enemy forces which occupy the Black ghettos. These structures constitute a promising potential for the growth of the people's army.

The call to make the country ungovernable has had a resounding response in the urban Black ghettos. The regime still has the power to surround, to occupy and to suppress large-scale street manifestations. But in the overwhelming majority of these areas, civil administration is dead; the authorities are unable to collect rents; and, collaborators and isolated policemen face continuous harassment from the communities. The detention of over 20,000 top-ranking and middle-level people's leaders during the present state of emergency (proclaimed in June 1986) has failed to dampen the people's morale or their militancy. They remain defiant and ready to press home the offensive. Tactics of struggle are responding to the changing conditions and forms of organization better suited to the growing repression are developed. New layers of popular leadership underground are continually emerging to fill the gaps created by enemy action.

The spurt in grass roots organization is one of the most encouraging features of the ferment. But a subjective factor which is of seminal importance is *the existence of a revolutionary movement whose leadership is accepted by the masses and which has the strength and capacity to guide the buildup towards victory*. How does

our revolutionary alliance measure up to this challenge?

There is no doubt that the African National Congress, as head of our liberation alliance, enjoys the trust and confidence of the overwhelming majority of the oppressed. Both inside and outside our country, the ANC is increasingly no longer being regarded as an agitational opposition but as an alternative power to the racist tyranny. The regime itself and most of its allies in the West are becoming more aware that there can be no solution of the present crisis which does not involve the ANC-led liberation front. This explains why Lusaka (the ANC headquarters) has become a Mecca for so many pilgrims who come from South Africa from the various social sectors to exchange views on the future.

These exchanges have involved some of the biggest industrial, mining and finance tycoons, representatives of middle classes and virtually every church in South Africa, students, trade unions, etc. Even the U.S. administration (for long, apartheid's main prop with its policy of constructive engagement on the side of the racists) has begun to take into account the strength of our revolutionary movement.

This is illustrated by the recent meeting between the U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz and ANC President Oliver Tambo. Despite their continued description of the ANC as a terrorist organization "dominated" by our Communist Party and "tied" to the Soviet Union, the State Department explained that it was meeting Tambo because a negotiated solution of the South African crisis was not possible without taking the ANC into account.

And, as much as it may irk our enemy and its Western friends, our Party, both as an independent workers' vanguard force and (in the words of Oliver Tambo) "one of the two fundamental pillars of the liberation alliance," has continued to grow in strength and popularity. Reaction is now aware that the ANC can not be destroyed and it is therefore beginning to pin its hopes on divisions between what they describe

as "communists and nationalists" in the ANC.

The general survey we have made of the crisis within the ruling class, the mood among the oppressed and the level of organization in the revolutionary camp point in the direction of a transformation. But it would be unrealistic to claim that the racist regime is already so weakened and that the liberation forces are already so poised that an immediate all-round seizure of power is on the agenda. The social raw material for such an outcome is at hand. But it still needs much fashioning and moulding.

The challenging period ahead requires a great amount of tactical finesse. A number of theoretical and practical questions need to be posed and answered with greater immediacy than ever before in our history. Let me touch on some of them.

In organizational terms, the ANC-led liberation alliance contains the main contingents of the key revolutionary forces. In class terms, the core of these contingents consists of urban and rural working people in alliance with other classes and strata among the nationally oppressed majority such as the Black petty-bourgeoisie (and even the relatively small Black capitalist class), whose objective interests will be served by the kind of revolutionary transformation envisaged by the liberation alliance. But the crisis and ferment which we have described have also led to the emergence of new groupings which can not be ignored as part of the *forces for change* but which can not necessarily be regarded as part of the *revolutionary forces*.

An important group that falls into this category is made up of that sector of the bourgeoisie whose class interests are no longer served by the old style apartheid. They seek the kind of transformations which go beyond the reform limits of the present regime but which will, at the same time, preempt the longer term objectives of the revolutionary forces. This sector senses the inevitability of change and is beginning to seek a change involving the extension of varying forms of political democracy within the framework of capitalism and the retention, by some, of the ownership of all or most of the means of production.

Despite these limitations, the reform-oriented bourgeoisie can not be regarded as part of the main enemy camp. A serious revolutionary movement must work to broaden the base of opposition to the *main* enemy, implying ever-widening varieties of opposition, some of which may not be motivated by revolutionary intentions. The same reasoning applies to the churches, disaffected sections of the white middle strata, the growing liberal wing among white academics and students, and so on. It is well known that our liberation movement has encouraged an ongoing dialogue with all these forces. The question is, however, continually posed whether a negotiated solution to the crisis is possible.

No revolutionary movement is in principle opposed to negotiating with an enemy. Indeed, virtually every revolutionary struggle in the postwar period reached its climax at the negotiating table. Our approach on this question has no ambiguities. *The bottom line for engaging in serious negotiations must be an acceptance of the principle of majority rule (one person, one vote) in one united democratic South Africa.* Once this is accepted as a starting point, many other questions can be tossed about, including a legislative provision to secure the rights of the individual, the safeguarding of the diverse cultural and linguistic heritage of the ethnic entities which make up our nation, and the precise shape of the democratic institutions which will replace the apartheid tyranny.

Another vital question relates to the post-liberation economic structure. In approaching this question, two imperatives must be reconciled: the need to begin bringing about changes in relations of production in the direction of economic egalitarianism, and the need to meet people's economic requirements and expectations. In the long term, there is harmony between these two imperatives; indeed, the one is the necessary precondition for the other. But enough experiences have been accumulated of disastrous great leaps forward to teach us to be

wary of clumsy and overhasty pole-vaults into socialism. In our South African context there will clearly be a place in the post-liberation stage for many levels of non-monopoly private enterprise.

But, equally, a balanced process for the redistribution of wealth must begin. Liberation does not consist merely of the vote, a new anthem and a new flag. The exclusion of the majority from the political process is only one aspect of the national domination whose basic roots lie in the economic sphere. Early steps would have to be implemented for the redistribution of land (one of the key foundations of national domination in our country), 87 per cent of which is presently allocated by law for white ownership.

The racist regime and its allies are going on an all-out offensive in their attempts to break the alliance between the African National Congress and our party. Increasingly, the South African Communist Party has become the spectre which is haunting Botha, his government, the U.S. State Department and most of South Africa's Western Allies. Although the assault on this alliance is growing, we are confident that it will not succeed. The unique relationship between our Party and the ANC is supported by our people and is visibly applauded in the streets of struggle. Our flags are being raised next to that of the ANC on most of the public occasions when the people demonstrate. Streets and schools are being named after Party leaders by the people. The concept of socialism as a future way of life is being accepted by a wide spectrum of our working people and youth.

The alliance between the ANC and our party has very deep roots in our South African condition. There are no secret clauses of the relationship, and the participation of individual Communists in the leading echelons of the national, trade union and other mass movements has its roots in our Party's historically-evolved style of work in relation to the mass movements. We have always respected and defended the independence, integrity and the inner democratic processes of the mass organizations. To act otherwise is to suffocate them as creative or-

gans and to confuse manipulation with leadership.

There are no differences between our Party and the ANC on the immediate objectives of achieving victory for the national democratic revolution, essentially a struggle to destroy racism and to build a united democratic South Africa based on the Freedom Charter. Nor do we differ on the immediate shape of post-apartheid society. Our party does not, however, hide its commitment to a socialist South Africa. Indeed, it concentrates considerable part of its energies to spreading socialist perspectives and working-class organization. Nor do we hide our belief that the winning of democracy will facilitate an advance towards socialism. But equally, the struggle to put an end to all forms of racism is in itself a most necessary and desirable advance in the human condition and requires *an alliance covering a broad spectrum of society*.

Our alliance with the ANC coincides with this approach; it is not and should not be premised on the acceptance by the ANC or any other anti-racist force of socialism as the ultimate liberator. We have every reason to believe that in a truly democratic South Africa the advance towards real social emancipation may well be settled in debate rather than on the streets

In the coming period, we will continue to face many serious challenges not only in the theoretical field but, more importantly, in the field of revolutionary practice. The internal underground leadership, both of the Party and of the national liberation movement, has to be strengthened. New ways have to be found to enable the mass legal organizations to adjust to the conditions of siege in

which the country has been placed by the emergency. It is clear that room for open mass manoeuvre has been narrowed. High profile street actions are no longer the answer and other ways have to be elaborated to sustain the offensive.

Armed blows against the enemy have to be escalated. Revolutionary violence remains a most essential ingredient of political struggle. Nineteen eighty-six saw greater numbers of armed activities against the enemy than ever before in our history. But the narrowing of opportunities for mass legal and semi-legal opposition makes ever greater demands on the armed wing of our liberation movement. One of the key tasks is to find effective ways of providing links, leadership and logistical support to the combat units that are emerging among the youth and among the workers.

In general we are also called upon to streamline the organizational framework for broadening the base of the liberation front, to help bring even greater unity to the trade union movement, and to continue to develop appropriate tactical responses to the enemy's counter-offensive in a situation which remains filled with promise for revolutionary advance.

Particularly in the recent period, there has developed a growing revulsion throughout the world against South Africa's race tyranny, and the prospects for its international isolation have grown immeasurably. Communist and workers' parties in every part of the world have always been in the front rank of those who have mobilized their people to ensure action by world forces against apartheid. We highly appreciate the endeavors which have reinforced our own historic commitment to fraternal internationalist solidarity with all sections of the world workers' and communist movement. □

preconvention discussion

This heading introduces a feature of Political Affairs in preparation for the 24th National Convention of the CPUSA to be held in Chicago, August 13-16, 1987. It carries selected items from discussion responding to the Draft Convention Resolutions prepared by the Party's Central Committee. (See, Political Affairs, April 1987.

The Trade Unions and the Transnationals

LABOR DEPARTMENT, CPUSA

This article is based upon a discussion in the Labor Department. It makes no claim to providing all of the answers nor even to raising all of the questions that must be discussed and answered if a movement to challenge the power of the transnational corporations is to succeed. Ours is a limited objective, focused on strengthening the Party's work toward two objectives:

- 1. To help the working class—particularly the trade union movement—of the United States move into the front ranks of the fight to curb the power of the transnational corporations in a world economy dominated by U.S.-based TNCs.

- 2. To find the ways of defending the jobs of U.S. workers—and with these jobs, the economic viability of the country as a whole.

It should be noted that we use the term "transnational corporation" rather than "multinational corporation" for several reasons. First is that this term is generally accepted throughout the world labor movement as well as by a growing section of the U.S. labor movement. And secondly, coined by Salvadore Allende in a speech before the United Nations, it is used in all international discussion of this subject.

And there is a difference, albeit a rather fine one: A transnational corporation is owned and managed by capitalists in a "home" country despite the fact that profits and capital may be

generated in several countries. In the purest sense of the term, a multinational corporation is owned and managed by capitalists in more than one country. Royal Dutch Shell and Lever Brothers, both owned by British and Dutch capitalists, are perhaps the best known multinational corporations. Obviously, the operations of these companies are transnational in nature.

The Department also stressed the need for an international meeting of Communist Parties to develop a worldwide program of struggle against the policies and activities of the transnational corporations and banks.

TNCs A CLOSER LOOK

In simple terms, a transnational corporation (TNC) is a multinational monopoly that controls a substantial part of the world market through its internationally organized production. By that definition, there are about 20,000 transnational corporations in the world. Together they have 100,000 foreign affiliates worth 700 billion dollars. The fifty largest TNCs control about half of all.

Now able to transfer technology, capital and production anywhere in the world, these giant conglomerations of capital are responsible, one way or another, for the problems facing workers everywhere. Developing the unity that will make it possible to handcuff these monsters is the biggest challenge facing the world trade union movement today.

TNCs have "something for everybody." In developed capitalist countries that means deliberate deindustrialization, producing rust belts and wasted communities with millions of productive workers condemned to chronic joblessness and falling living standards. Developing countries are saddled by the TNCs with massive debt and robbery of their natural resources.

The TNCs alone benefit from the military

and financial support they furnish to the apartheid regime in South Africa and by the brutal dictatorships they fasten on many other countries. These TNCs that profit most from the manufacture and sale of weapons of mass destruction bear responsibility for the crushing weight of ever-larger military budgets and for the supreme danger of nuclear annihilation.

Of the world's 50 largest TNCs, 21 are based in the U.S., 6 in the Federal Republic of Germany, 5 in Japan, 3 in Italy, and 2 each in France, Great Britain and South Korea. A dozen other countries, including Kuwait, Brazil and Mexico have one TNC each. Two others are jointly owned by British and Dutch capital.

TNCs operate on the scale of entire national economies. In 1985, General Motors, one of the world's largest TNCs, had gross sales greater than the GNP of every country in Africa and every Asian country except Japan, China and India. They topped the GNP of every country in Latin America except Mexico and Brazil; every country in the Middle East except Saudi Arabia and such European countries as Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium and Austria.

U.S.-based TNCs, either directly or indirectly, employ about 10 million people outside the United States. Production of goods in these foreign operations, by 1983, had already reached an annual rate of between 660 and 700 billion dollars. Income from these investments grew from \$12 billion in 1970 to \$85 billion in 1981. Foreign assets of these corporate giants increased from under \$120 billion to nearly \$620 billion during the same period.

THE EXPORT OF CAPITAL

General Motors' recent decision to close more than a dozen U.S. plants is a dramatic expression of the threat TNCs pose to the security of U.S. workers and to the stability of the U.S. economy. While GM's actions, including its threat to quit producing cars in the United States altogether, may be an extreme example of TNC arrogance, corporate disinvestment has been ravaging the national economy for years. In no industry has the process been more ruth-

less than in auto.

GM has sunk 7 billion dollars in its European operations since 1980. GM also owns a substantial share of Isuzu and Suzuki in Japan and Daewoo Motors in the Republic of Korea.

In addition to large holdings in Europe, Ford owns 25 percent of Mazda in Japan, 10 percent of Kia Motors in South Korea and has a wholly-owned manufacturing subsidiary, Lio-Ho Motors, in Taiwan.

Chrysler recently bought a major Italian exotic car manufacturer, has taken over American Motors Corporation from Renault, and owns 30 percent of Mitsubishi.

Both GM and Ford have invested heavily in production facilities in Brazil and Mexico in recent years, and Chrysler recently announced an agreement with Mitsubishi to manufacture 100,000 cars per year in Thailand for shipment to Canada.

Today, Ford Motor Company has almost two-thirds, GM more than a third, and Chrysler about a quarter of their assets located abroad. No one knows how many jobs have been lost because outfits like auto's Big Three have decided to disinvest in the United States rather than in South Africa. Labor economists estimate the number of U.S. industrial jobs lost to capital flight since 1979 at more than two-and-a-half million.

DEBT, TRADE AND JOBS

From 1983 through 1985, developing countries paid \$7 billion per year in interest, with a big hunk of that going to outfits like Citibank, Chicago First National, Chase Manhattan, and Manufacturers Hanover. By 1986, annual interest payments had risen to \$11.5 billion and by 1990 is likely to be \$15 billion. (By way of contrast the international community raised less than \$5 billion for African famine relief in 1985-'86.)

U.S. jobs are directly affected by this indebtedness. Prior to the first crisis of Latin American debtors in 1981, the UAW had 108,000 members making agricultural implements and construction machinery for compa-

nies like Caterpillar, John Deere and J.I. Case. By 1986, employment in those industries fell by more than 50 per cent to just over 50,000. While several factors contributed to this huge decline, the loss of export markets played an important role, with U.S. exports of such equipment to Latin America shrinking by about 30 percent.

No exports means no sales. No sales means no jobs. According to the Auto Workers Union, about 400,000 U.S. workers have lost their jobs and another 400,000 U.S. workers didn't get jobs because the Latin American export market dried up. The interests (and the interest) of U.S. commercial banks conflict with those of U.S. workers in many manufacturing industries and with family farmers who suffer because of the austerity programs forced down the throats of debtor nations in order to meet the interest payments owed to the commercial banks. (The Joint Economic Committee of Congress reports that U.S. farmers lost five times more in grain exports because of the Latin American debt crisis than they did because of the grain embargo on the Soviet Union.)

The debt crisis has been managed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in conjunction with international banks, many of them U.S.-based. Their traditional program has been to force debtor nations to run large trade surpluses to generate the money to pay interest to U.S. and other banks.

A recent National Science Foundation study reports that U.S.-based TNCs operating abroad maintained their share of world manufactured exports while the share of world exports produced in the U.S. declined. All in all, about half of all U.S. imports are products "sent home" by foreign affiliates of TNCs or are raw material inputs imported for use by these firms. And these trade patterns, which go far in explaining the "hollowing out" of the nation's economic base can not be answered by such measures as those put forward in the Gephardt Bill.

The IMF program of debt management does further damage to the economic well-being of workers in debtor nations by demanding the elimination of government subsidies to industries and the lifting of price controls on con-

sumer staple goods. Pressing relentlessly for on-time, in-full debt repayment as the Reagan Administration is currently doing, puts our government on the side of those who push worker rights clear off the list of priorities.

It's one thing for TNCs to make investments in developed countries in order to penetrate each others' domestic markets—Honda, Toyota, Mazda and Mitsubishi and other Japanese transnationals' investments in the United States or IBM and other U.S.-based TNCs in Japan, for instance. But it's another thing when TNCs invest in developing countries with no other intention than to export the product back to the United States—cars from South Korea, steel from Brazil, light manufactured goods and automobile components from Mexico.

While not every one of the top U.S. weapons manufacturers meets our definition of a TNC, the largest U.S.-based TNCs have a hefty stake in the arms race.

Throughout the 1960's and '70s more than 40 of *Fortune* magazine's 100 largest corporations were also to be found among the 100 top beneficiaries of Pentagon generosity. A 1979 study found the four top dogs among *Fortune*'s largest 500 Industrial Companies to be Exxon, GM, Ford and Mobile—ranked 24th, 33rd, 26th and 48th respectively in the list of Pentagon contractors. And now, with its 1984 acquisitions of Electronic Data Systems (price: \$2.5 billion) and Hughes Aircraft (price: \$5 billion), General Motors is the largest contractor for Reagan's hair-brained—and hair-triggered—"Star Wars." Clearly, most TNCs have a stake in the arms race and share responsibility for the insane tempo of military spending.

Moreover, TNCs are, by their very nature, reactionary. They owe no allegiance to anything but the dollar (or yen, pound, franc, or mark). And, as the Rust Belt mutely testifies, they are fully prepared to lay waste the substance of their "home" country's economy. The more fully a TNC is integrated into the military-industrial complex, the more all-encompassing its commitment to reaction. The Thyssens and the Krupps brought Hitler to power. The Ross Perrots are their U.S. counterparts today.

FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE-UNION UNITY

Unions representing about 300 million workers are affiliated with one of the three international labor centers: More than 200 million belong to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), founded in the aftermath of the Second World War and representing the first successful effort to launch a universal world labor movement.

Another 75 million workers, including the AFL-CIO, belong to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) which came into being following World War II, as part of the Cold-War offensive. Unions identifying with the Catholic Church and representing about 20 million members, belong to the World Confederation of Labor (WCL). Were these international organizations united in common struggle against the TNCs we'd live in a very different and far better world. But they are not—and we do not.

Any way one looks at it, the arguments for international labor unity are so compelling that no rational person can oppose them. Why, then, does the level of unity fall so far short of what is needed?

This question confronts trade unionists in all countries. But, since "our" TNCs are causing most of the grief, trade unionists in the United States bear a special responsibility to address it.

The existing division is partly accounted for by objective difficulties. TNCs have scattered their workers so far and wide that it is difficult even to locate production facilities, let alone establish union-to-union contacts. Secondly, union-busting governments frustrate efforts toward unity. In Chile, South Korea, South Africa—the list goes on and on—TNCs can depend on brutal government terror, including military force, to rob workers of most elementary trade union rights.

Nor does the United States Government stand above such tactics. From as far back as Commodore Perry's "visit" to Japan, the Spanish-American War and the crushing of the people's rebellion in the Philippines that followed, the military has been corporate America's dependable hit man in creating havens for the for-

eign investments of U.S.-based TNCs.

Marine General Smedley Butler, twice winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor, put the matter squarely:

I spent 33 years in the Marines being a high-class muscleman for big business, for Wall Street and the bankers. On shore, I was a racketeer for capitalism. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers. I helped make Mexico safe for American oil interests. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests. I helped make Haiti and Cuba decent places for National City Bank boys to collect revenue. I helped in the rape of half a dozen Central America republics for the benefit of Wall Street. I might have given Al Capone a few hints.

Consistent with this record is the U.S. government's campaign to prevent contact and exchanges between unions in the United States and unions in socialist countries or other those affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions. Except during the period of the anti-fascist coalition of the 1940s and again briefly in the mid-70s, the State Department has routinely denied visas to representatives of trade unions from socialist countries who have been invited to visit the United States.

THE OBSTACLES TO UNITY

But the obstacles to world labor unity that most urgently cry out for corrective action are those imposed from within.

The International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO, set up by Jay Lovestone, a renegade former Communist, has long been notorious for its ties to the TNCs—and to the CIA. Its role in the overthrow of Allende and its current activities in South Africa and Nicaragua have been well documented. Much secrecy still shrouds the relationship among the American Institute for Free Labor Development, the National Endowment for Democracy, the Free Trade Union Institute, Oliver North's Project Democracy and Tom Kahn, Director of the International Affairs Department. Enough, however, has become known as the Contragate conspiracy is exposed,

to justify a fullblown investigation.

Over the years these agencies have worked assiduously to create, deepen and perpetuate divisions in the world labor movement. The absence (until recently) of an open challenge to these activities left the world labor movement with the mistaken impression that they are sanctioned by most of U.S. labor.

A second artificial obstacle to international labor solidarity is the "No Contact" policy that the AFL-CIO leadership has sought to impose on its affiliates in order to cut off association with member unions of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Unions can ignore, as several have, this asinine policy, and, following the lead of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, establish reciprocal relations with unions in Socialist countries or with other unions affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions. But they cannot ignore the policies of the U.S. government nor, in the final analysis, the policies that a handful of anti-communist, anti-Soviet zealots and Rightwing Social-Democrats have imposed on the AFL-CIO through their control of the International Affairs Department and their relations with other unsavory institutions. To challenge these policies—to fight to change them—is at the heart of the fight to build international trade union solidarity in action. And if these policies are to be permanently reversed, the International Affairs Department must be abolished.

WHAT'S NEEDED TO ACHIEVE UNITY

Unity and solidarity is a two-way street. To fight for international trade union unity and solidarity is not an act of generosity or a "do good" contribution to the welfare of others. Just as the United States will benefit as much from disarmament as the Soviet Union—so U.S. workers stand to gain as much as, perhaps more than workers in other countries, from a united battle against the transnationals.

Despite the obvious need for it, unity will not come about spontaneously, or on the wings of persuasive oratory. The job involves a stub-

born, step-by-step struggle to achieve coordinated bargaining on a global scale. We have to start from where things are and, when we do that, we've got two things going for us.

• First. All three international trade union centers have defined the issues—peace, jobs and justice—essentially the same terms, creating a favorable climate for trade union unity in action on a world scale against the TNCs.

• Second. Since peace is the prerequisite for human survival, workers everywhere hunger for peace. This desire, uniting all workers, also enjoys the support of unions representing a majority of U.S. trade unionists.

The task, then, defines itself: To find the way to convert common desire into common action as the guarantee of common victories. True, defining the task is one thing, meeting it another. But perhaps the candle of common sense will light the way.

Under the harsh spur of Reaganism, our labor movement is shrugging off the shackles of class partnership. The demagogic, self-defeating "Buy American" agitation of yesteryear is giving way to demands for curbs on the export of capital. The developing labor campaigns for divestment from South Africa, labor's strong initiating role in the April 25th demonstrations, the growing anger over AIFELD's dirty, divisive games—all are portents of a new and higher level of consciousness. And with these stirrings comes a deepening recognition in the ranks and among the leadership that the TNC is the enemy. This is the new and still developing ideological framework within which U.S. workers fight to protect their jobs.

Communists bear a responsibility to help find the tactics that get results. Whatever the specific answer, they will be found within a framework of proletarian internationalism that serves the class interests of workers in all countries.

Workers in developed countries have the right to prevent shifts in production by TNCs that will cost them their jobs. Workers and their unions in developing countries have a right—and a responsibility—to fight against TNC policies that block their social and economic devel-

opment. Thus the common enemy creates the basis for common struggles.

The crucial question is how to curb the TNCs. On the one hand, how to limit their ability to export production and jobs from developed countries. On the other hand, how to prevent them from exploiting the underpaid labor and natural resources of developing countries in the fevered pursuit of maximum profits.

A number of unions in the United States are already demanding enactment of legislation restricting the export of capital or the prohibition of imports from countries that deny trade union rights or decent minimum wages, etc. In developing countries, the fight against the transnationals more and more focuses on demands to limit the amount of profits that may be shipped back home; on nationalization, with or without compensation; or on rejection of austerity programs whose sole purpose is to guarantee payment of interest on debts and, in a number of countries, repudiation of the debt owed to U.S. or other large banks.

But whatever the level of struggle or the specific demands, one thing is clear: Trade unionists in the United States cannot allow the Reagan Administration—or the International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO—to line them up against workers and governments in countries who are prepared to take over foreign firms or to limit their power. Nor can they allow themselves to be lined up against the trade unions of the Socialist countries whose economic system precludes even the possibility of a transnational corporation.

FIRST STEPS FIRST

As we said earlier, trade union cooperation and solidarity across national boundaries—the internationalization of the working-class struggle, without regard to economic or social system, will not blossom automatically. Rather, it is a process. Therefore, first things first:

As a bare minimum, steps should be taken to organize financial and political assistance to workers in other countries who are involved in strike and organizing struggles with U.S.-based

TNCs. Then there are the need—and the possibility—of building solidarity actions against plant closings and out-sourcing. Other first steps could include building coordinated struggles for trade union rights and working out ways to exchange information with counterpart unions in other countries and working out ways to organize conferences of all unions representing workers employed by the same TNC.

Then there are the tasks of establishing trade union contacts with unions in socialist countries or other unions affiliated with the WFTU; of supporting the initiatives of the Newspaper Guild to repeal the Baker Amendment which gives the State Department the right to refuse visas to trade unionists from Socialist countries or members of unions affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

In some instances it may be possible to set up union fact-finding committees to explore the possibilities of expanded trade with socialist countries.

And, on the broader front, the U.S. labor movement should launch a campaign to force the U.S. Government to sign ILO Covenants protecting the rights of workers to organize and to compel the United States to end its resistance to an effective United Nations Code of Conduct for TNCs.

Further down the line is the need to organize coordinated trade union struggles in capitalist countries for legislation that will place restrictions on trade with countries that deny minimally-agreed-to trade union rights. As a corollary to this, work should be done to establish the minimum standards that would be acceptable to the workers in every country and based on a formula worked out by the world trade union movement.

There are a number of battles that U.S. workers have to take on here at home if the power of TNCs is to be effectively challenged on the world scene:

The demand for restrictions on the flight of capital has to be made more concrete, with the Communist Party's proposal that every dollar invested abroad by a TNC be matched by five dollars invested in the United States. The de-

mand must be made that the export of capital by banks and corporation be turned over to international agencies outside the domination of those that are controlled by the capitalist world. These two demands offer possibilities for sharpening the struggle here at home.

Sooner or later, progressive trade unionists will have to take the lead in fighting for repeal of the many laws on the books that provide tax breaks that effectively subsidize plant closings or guarantee the foreign investments of U.S.-based TNCs against nationalization.

Divisions in the world labor movement, no matter what their origin or historical development, are a luxury that workers in the United States can no longer afford. It is not a matter of choice. The internationalization of capital demands the internationalization of the struggles of labor. □

Reviewing the First Year of *The People's Daily World*

MICHAEL ZAGARELL

During the past year, the entire Party has worked intensively to build and use the new *Peoples' Daily World*. Now, with a regular circulation of 70,000—reaching an estimated 200,000 people—the paper has become an important focus of mass work and experience. It tests how well the Party has estimated mass thinking and how effectively it has responded to it. This entire experience should figure prominently in preparations for the coming National Convention.

When the paper was launched, there were three concepts that influenced every aspect of planning its form, content, and organization.

They were:

1. Given the information explosion and the revolution in technology, the Party, in order to increase mass ties, has to put greater emphasis on work with its paper. And the paper itself

must reflect this if it is to win mass confidence.

2. Given the structural crisis, wide sections of people are being forced to look for more radical solutions to their problems. Even those who do not support the Party can be won to support its paper.

There is less of a basis today than ever before for any separation between a paper that speaks for the Party and one that serves as a powerful tool of the healthy Left and democratic forces of our country.

3. In such a period, we concluded, it is crucial that the Party place work with the press at the very center of activity; that this would not divert from our mass work, but would add to it, strengthening the Party and the mass movements.

THE CHANGES MADE

To apply these concepts journalistically, we made several key changes in the paper's content and format.

They were:

1. In the area of technology: In addition to creating a coast-to-coast, phone-transmitted high-tech paper, we sought to use the new technology to create a modern look for the paper, using color and graphics; and, to create regional editions. These combined the Leninist concept of the necessity for a nationwide newspaper with the specific experience of working people in our country who are used to reading local newspapers.

2. We foresaw a paper that would serve working people who had varying levels of commitment to its ideology, appealing to politically committed Party members and the healthy Left as well as to those who only sought a weapon for use in day-to-day mass struggle.

3. We looked for forms to express our attitude toward other positive forces in the movement whom we knew would be receptive to our efforts.

We aggressively entered selected mass struggles, such as the USX strike, the Great Peace March, and April 25, and we prepared many special editions for conventions—the

Michael Zagarell is editor of *The People's Daily World*.

NAACP, CBTU and others. We set aside three pages especially designed to cover key industrial struggles, and regularly printed workers' letters from those fronts.

We also added the People page and Q&A interviews in the Magazine, both of which featured many non-Party people.

4. We introduced *Nuestro Mundo* in place of the separate *Voz del Pueblo* with the idea that a united, bilingual staff would be stronger in both Spanish and English.

5. We worked to develop a general style of work in circulation that would involve non-Party people in organizing events, projecting the Party as a fighter for unity.

WHAT WAS ACHIEVED

How did these concepts work out?

If circulation is any test, it is clear that we have met with important success; readership has significantly grown, and with it, respect for the Party and its influence. We expanded our circulation by more than one-third, the largest single increase in the last decade. Beyond this gain, our paper also produced eleven special editions with circulation runs ranging from 80,000 to a quarter of a million.

More importantly, in this last year our ties with masses radically expanded. Many non-Party leaders have established warm relations with the paper, and, at times, have used our pages to speak publicly to masses. This was most pronounced in the Q&A interviews, which have involved mayors, congresspeople, leaders in the peace and civil rights movement and top labor leaders.

The PDW has become accepted as the most influential and prominent paper on the Left. In the broader movement, as we correctly estimated, it has emerged as a voice for both Communists and other democratic forces. In our own ranks there is growing confidence in the paper and readiness to circulate it.

In general the paper has been strong in the field of labor, increasing its coverage and ties with workers. It has also taken the initiative in the pursuit of new concepts and on mass issues.

These marked the many widely circulated special issues of the paper, especially during the USX strike and the 1986 electoral struggle.

LESSONS LEARNED

The results of the past year offer important lessons, not just for the paper, but the Party and the entire workingclass movement.

First among these is that the Party's correct estimates of mass currents and the basic forces moving them.

Second, while there remains great room for improvement, the journalistic changes introduced over the year have also been proven basically sound.

Third, the past year's experience reaffirms basic ideas about how to build the Party. It shows that growth of the Party and enhancement of its public image are done best when related to mass struggles and the fight for peoples' unity.

Fourth, while we saw that the structural crisis would impel masses to seek deeper answers and, thus, make them more receptive to our paper, we still underestimated the new possibilities.

In the last year, the emergence of the peace struggle as a battle to save humanity from destruction has taken hold in a much deeper way than many of us foresaw. This struggle has brought into activity masses, who learn that most other papers are controlled by the transnationals, and they become open to a relationship with our paper.

In the coming year, therefore, the potential for even broader support of the paper will present the possibilities for a truly mass paper.

To emphasize the new and changing conditions we should take a closer look at the circulation of the paper. Right now it is at 70,000. This can be greatly expanded—conservatively to 100,000, the figure we didn't achieve last year.

Reaching that figure would mean duplicating the highest point of circulation of the *Daily Worker*. But when the *Daily Worker* had a 100,000 circulation, the Party had about 90,000 members. Clearly, our paper has a far different ratio of Party to non-Party readers than the

Daily Worker ever had. But it is not different ratios but different historic periods that determine possibilities and how to make the most of them.

That impels us to look at the paper in a totally new way. Clearly, while the Marxist-Leninist essence of what we are doing remains the same, any concept that the form can repeat Communist papers of the past is clearly wrong.

As we said a year ago, and as life is proving, the new paper is a product of this period in history and must have its own unique character. So far, the general outlines of that character appear to have been correctly gauged by us.

To reflect this moment, the paper must develop a form that is even more popular. At the same time, it must be a more convincing fighter for the Party's line and for the Party itself.

It is clear that the paper is now the most important organized point of contact between Party and non-Party people, and to a great degree Party recruitment hinges on the effectiveness of the paper's arguments for the Party.

To be convincing, the paper must be both aggressive in showing the true image of the Party and, at the same time, skillful and flexible. It must be creative and deep, and should not confuse mechanical promotion of the Party, with the presentation of living, convincing material about the Party.

PERSISTING WEAKNESSES

Against this background, we should look at some of the paper's weaknesses. Two are most basic. One is that the paper's form is still not popular enough. The other is that content needs further deepening. On both of these counts, the paper is making headway. But it has a lot further to go.

We can move toward popularization in a number of ways:

- Improving the general appearance of the paper by using 3-color separations as we did in our April 25th special issue
- Expanding our cultural coverage to match the current explosion in the field
- Widening the range of personalities interviewed in the Magazine's People page, espe-

cially so as to zero in on mass concerns such as youth problems, seniors concerns, etc.

- Improving the Magazine as a whole through better prepared, more probing and shorter articles.

Depth of content is closely related to the problem of popularizing the paper. While we have made real progress in this area, our analytical articles are still generally weak. They are often not well-researched and don't break new ground.

Few contributors write on areas that are at the edge of our collective knowledge. Yet a mass paper needs that. Two particular weaknesses that are related to this are in the field of Black equality and in the fight for the Party as an organization.

Our coverage of the struggle for Afro-American equality has been too uneven. For example, the paper has done a great deal on reporting the increase in racist assaults across the country. Yet it has done little to show the national pattern and roots of the attacks, how they are linked with the over-all Reagan policies, why they are increasing at this moment, etc.

There has been a weakness too in our coverage of Party activities. Widening the paper's appeal does not rule out giving more coverage to the Party. On the contrary, it is more important. The paper is now a key point of contact between the Party and many people interested in it. How the paper treats the Party can determine how many of those wanting to know more, will actually join. Many of the newer people reading the paper, especially mass leaders, want to know what the Party is thinking and doing. For them, the paper is the best avenue to find out. It is, in fact, one of the important reasons why they get the paper.

We also need more polemical articles defending the Party's views against those who challenge our principles and concepts.

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

As one knows, it is far easier to name a problem than to point a way to solving it. While identifying the problem is helpful, solving it is the real

challenge.

One part of the solution is the need for an educational campaign—one that will be organized jointly by the Education Department of the Party and the editorial board. Frankly, we all greatly underestimate the centrality of the paper to our work. In education for example, we plan and prepare schools for many comrades but forget about the staff of the paper. Yet it is the paper's staff that is educating most of our potential recruits.

To a great extent, the rosters of potential recruits will be drawn from the list of the paper's readers. Their receptivity will depend on the effectiveness of the paper's staff. For its development, for example, we might consider a regular series of small, in-house study groups at the paper. A reading program should be worked out with key members of the staff.

We need better and greater connections with the Party's commissions. Although, it should be noted, weaknesses in the commissions have, at times, tended to be carried over to the paper.

To improve the depth of the paper it is necessary to change still further some of the ways of organizing its work. For example, for the Magazine to guarantee depth in its articles, the editor must be able to develop—either before conferring with the writer or in the course of doing so—a clear outline of the approach to the writing assignment.

For most other magazines, a written outline for an article is required even before work begins. But for us, only the topic and perhaps some general concensus precedes the writing. The exact approach to be taken, style, etc., seldom become known to the editor until the article is actually finished. In many cases the pressure then is to accept it under the demands of the deadline.

The Magazine should contain the key, or flagship article of the paper for the week. It should, therefore, be written by the best writers. But, in most cases, it is impossible to free our best from daily production for even a few days: never mind the weeks that would be required for real investigative reporting.

In the Daily, work would also be improved if the editor could be released from more of the daily pressures, in order to concentrate on planning issues, speaking with staff writers and discussing critical articles with key outside contributors.

On this question of cadre, I want to emphasize that there are mothers on the staff who say frankly that when they get home from work, they have neither the time nor the energy to adequately study.

Additional cadre are needed to solve these problems. Even more critically important, is the need to solve the problem of cadre turnover. Each time a staff member leaves the paper the productivity and the quality of the work requires at least another year to be fully restored. In addition, other comrades are diverted from their tasks to teach the replacements and to fill the gaps. The result is a lowering of the level of the whole collective.

In short, if the paper is to continue moving forward, it is decisive that our cadre policies be carefully reviewed.

Related to this question is the fight for writers' bureaus. In the last year, we have made important headway in this area, and this is a help. If volunteer writers are skilled and dependable enough, we could utilize them to cover many stories. Our more experienced full-time writers could then concentrate on more in-depth writing. So far, however, this level of skill and dependability is not yet present. To develop it, we need to do a lot more work on the problem.

Districts need to pay more attention to who is part of these bureaus, who is assigned to them and their effectiveness. The paper, in turn, needs to invest more time in their training and education.

TO BUILD CIRCULATION

The experiences of the past year show that the possibilities for boosting circulation are very significant. Yet the goals planned in the past year were not fully attained. Thus, while we projected a regular circulation of 100,000, we achieved only 70,000. Why?

Probably the most critical reason was the massiveness of the original undertaking, and our apparent underestimation of all that was involved. In a little over a year, the Party and the paper, had to raise large amounts of money to launch and finance the paper, learn the use and upkeep of new technology, design a paper from the bottom up, build a national distribution apparatus, support the opening of new printing facilities with all the skills that that required—all this, while mobilizing for the 1986 Congressional elections, the USX strike and several other key struggles.

Considering all this, the accomplishment, even though short of the goal, was considerable. The question now is, from where will the increased circulation come?

An important aspect of the outlook for the coming year should be the complete fulfillment of the concept of a bundle for every club. This goal has been completed by about 80 per cent.

Increasing that figure to 100 per cent will be a significant achievement. But even more important is the job of boosting the size of the bundles, and that is related to another figure, the percentage of the club members circulating the press. Here the number is much smaller, involving only an estimated 20 per cent of club membership. Enlarging this figure is key.

To build a wider distribution apparatus, however, would need many new approaches, for example: setting up truck deliveries to key distribution points; organizing to deliver the paper to sidewalk racks, etc. Such problems require solution, if a truly mass circulation is to be achieved.

Over the last year, the Party has accumulated great experience in building a mass workingclass press. The lessons drawn from this experience point clearly to even greater possibilities ahead. □

International Affairs, CPUSA

This is a summary of the highlights of the CPUSA's internationalist expressions in the last six months. It is a semiannual feature in Political Affairs.

DELEGATIONS

Denmark

The 28th Congress of the Danish Communist Party took place in Copenhagen beginning April 16, 1987. Margrit Pittman, member of the National Council represented the CPUSA and said in her speech:

"We are . . . aware of the great internationalist traditions of your people, for which the Danish Communists have been a catalyst for almost seven decades . . .

"The U.S. government, on behalf of its masters in the transnational corporations and the military industrial complex, has brought the world to the brink of nuclear disaster, squandering the wealth produced by the people and sowing misery throughout the world . . .

"[T]he consistent peace initiatives by the Soviet Union and its allies have begun to break through the morass of the anti-Soviet, anti-socialist media pullution in our country."

Greece

The 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece took place in Athens beginning May 12th. The report of the CC of the CPG was delivered by General Secretary Hilaris Florakis. Simon Gerson, member of the Central Committee, represented the CPUSA and in his

speech said:

"We have special reason to recall the great struggle of the Greek people when the British government, after World War II, turned over to the U.S. the task of suppressing the revolt against royalist reaction, it was Washington that took up the dirty work . . .

"Today we in the U.S face a variant of the Truman Doctrine—the Reagan Doctrine which not only supports reactionary regimes but actively organizes counter-revolutionary forces against progressive and independent governments such as Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique and Afghanistan . . .

"[F]rom the basement of the White House, a conspiracy of ultra-Rightists . . . was operating . . . to subvert the entire democratic structure, the Constitution and the Congress—with the backing of the most reactionary, anti-labor, racist and anti-democratic sections of monopoly capital . . .

"That the people want sharp changes in foreign and domestic policy was already demonstrated in the 1986 elections when Reaganites were defeated . . . Today every poll shows that the people want an arms agreement with the Soviet Union and an end to the nuclear threat."

West Berlin

The 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin (SEW) took place in West Berlin, beginning May 15, 1987. The report of the Board was delivered by General Secretary Horst Schmitt. Margrit Pittman, member of the National Council, represented the CPUSA

and said in her speech:

"We are honored to have been invited to your Congress. It offers us a chance to set the record straight about another U.S. delegation to your city.

"A few weeks ago a Congressional delegation visited here on the occasion of the city's 750th anniversary. They brought a resolution commending the people of West Berlin 'for their staunch courage in the face of historical adversities.'

"These adversities were, unfortunately, 'made in the USA' by abandoning the Potsdam agreement in favor of the Cold War concept to 'roll back communism' in order to impose U.S. hegemony.

"[P]opular mass pressure in the United States . . . has been building as a result of widespread fear of a nuclear holocaust and because of the hope for peace inspired by the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist community [and] also based on the economic decline.

GREETINGS

African National Congress

On the occasion of the 75th Anniversary of the African National Congress on January 8, 1987:

"The heroic ANC . . . embodies the will and determination of the struggling people of South Africa to put an end once and for all to the evil, oppressive system of white minority colonial domination and to replace it with a new, democratic and non-racial political and social

order . . . The Communist Party, USA and the democratic majority in the United States join with them in fighting for the complete eradication of apartheid, the total severance of all U.S. governmental and corporate ties with apartheid, the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions on the apartheid regime, the termination of the state of emergency and the release of all political prisoners, first and foremost Nelson Mandela".

Lebanon

On the occasion of the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Lebanon in January 1987:

"Your rich, courageous and historic struggles . . . have had to combat the heritage of colonialism which deliberately provoked and implanted deep fissures amongst the peoples of Lebanon on an ethnic and religious basis...implanted in order to forestall people's unity on the march toward a fully independent Lebanon.

In this period the world's most aggressive imperialist power, the U.S., with its partner in the U.S.-Israeli strategic military alliance is continuing where the former colonial powers left off. Their aim is to divide the peoples of Lebanon in order to carve it up as part of their aim of hegemonism in the entire Middle East."

The Democratic Front For The Liberation of Palestine

On the occasion of the 18th Anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine in February 1987.

"Your continuing struggle . . . for the formation of an independent Palestinian state, under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people has won the respect and support of democratic forces

around the world . . .

"The exposure of the duplicitous policies of the Reagan Administration and its surrogate Israel in the selling of arms to Iran has made clear to millions of Americans the real aim and dangerous drive of U.S. imperialism for world hegemony . . ."

Bangladesh

On the occasion of the 4th Congress of the Communist Party of Bangladesh in February 1987.

"The leadership your Party has given in the tremendous struggles for democracy, and on behalf of the working class and people of Bangladesh has been an inspiration to all people fighting against exploitation and repression. Your struggle for unity of the democratic and peace-minded forces has made possible the achievements of the people of Bangladesh, in the recent period, against the military dictatorial stooges of imperialism . . ."

Sri Lanka

On the occasion of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, in March 1987.

"Your Party's heroic struggles under the banner of Marxism-Leninism to defend the democratic rights of the working class and people of Sri Lanka and your democratic institutions, as well as your leadership and determination to solve the national question and achieve the unity of all the people of Sri Lanka, has made you a leading political force in your country."

Peoples Democratic Republic of Korea

On the occasion of the 75th Birthday of Comrade Kim Il Sung, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea in April 1987.

"We hope that for many years to come you will continue your out-

standing contribution to the reunification and progress of the Korean people, to regional and world peace and the building of socialism in the PDRK . . ."

Spain

On the occasion of the 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain in April 1987.

"For more than a half century, the experiences of Spanish communists have been unsurpassed in welding the unity of the working class, in extending that unity to all who aspire and work for true democracy, and in exemplifying international proletarian solidarity . . ."

Tunisia

On the occasion of the 9th Congress of the Tunisian Communist Party in June 1987.

"The Tunisian Communist Party has always been in the forefront of the struggle for democracy and democratic rights as well as for the economic well being of the Tunisian people . . ."

CONDOLENCES

Cuba

To the Communist Party of Cuba on the death of Comrade Blas Roca:

"Please accept our most heartfelt condolences on the death of Comrade Blas Roca, outstanding internationalist leader in the Cuban Revolution, against U.S. imperialism, for world peace and socialism and for the friendship of the Cuban and U.S. peoples . . ."

"His life, his memory is a bright beacon heralding the freedom and friendship of the peoples of the western hemisphere among themselves and with the peoples of the world."

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Nicaragua

On November 8, 1986, James Steele and Judith LeBlanc, members of the Political Bureau of the CPUSA, participated in the 25th Anniversary celebrations of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) held in Managua.

Lebanon

The Central Committee, CPUSA sent a letter, March 17, 1987, to the Lebanese Communist Party condemning the attacks on the LCP.

"We received, with great concern and alarm, news of violent at-

tacks against the Lebanese Communist Party and the assassination of a number of its leaders and active cadre. It is clear that these outrages were hatched in reactionary circles by sectarian forces in league with agents of imperialism . . .

"We join in the demand . . . that these assaults . . . be brought to a halt . . . and their perpetrators found and punished."

Peoples Democratic Republic of Korea

The Central Committee, CPUSA sent a letter, in March 1987, to the Workers Party of Korea condemning the "Team Spirit '87" war maneuvers.

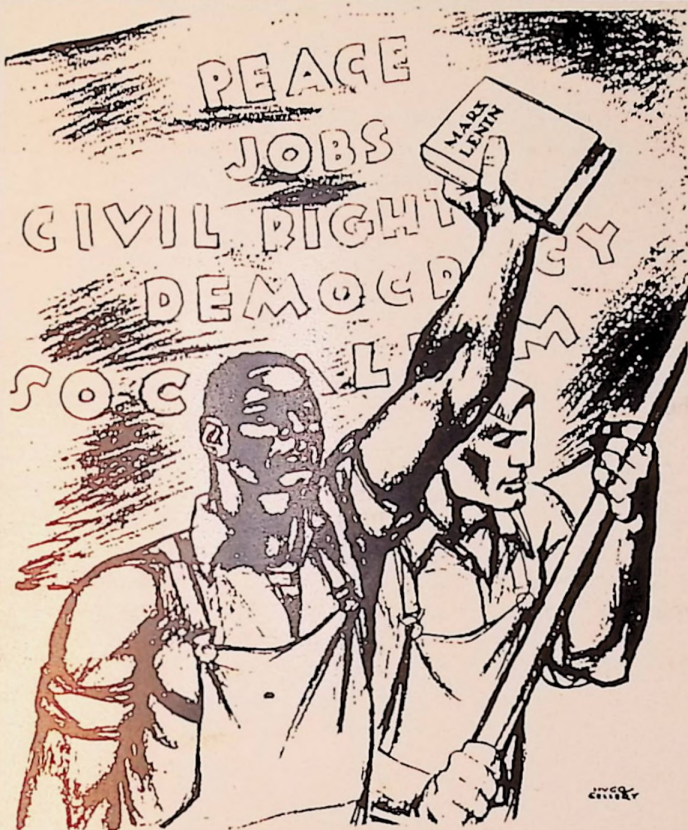
"The CPUSA strongly condemns the continued, provocative,

yearly "Team Spirit" war maneuvers of United States imperialism along with South Korea . . .

"The many peace initiatives of the PDRK along with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries provide a realistic basis for lessening the tensions and bringing peace to the Korean peninsula and the Asia-Pacific region."

Soviet Union

In May 1987, Michael Zagarell, member of the Political Bureau of the CPUSA and Editor of the *Peoples Daily World*, participated in a celebration and conference of editors of Communist and progressive papers, on the occasion of 75th Anniversary of Pravda. The conference took place in Moscow. □



political affairs

Journal of Marxist Thought

BOOKSTORES

where *Political Affairs* is available, along with a broad selection of books, magazines and pamphlets in all the areas of people's struggles.

LONG BEACH, CA 90804

International Book Shop
4120 E. Anaheim
☎ (213) 494-1694

S' FRANCISCO, CA 94110

The Book Center
518 Valencia St.
☎ (415) 626-2924

SAN JOSE, CA 95110

Bread & Roses Bookshop
950 S. First St.
☎ (408) 294-2930

LOS ANGELES, CA 90019

Progressive Bookshop
1251 S. St. Andrews Pl.
☎ (213) 732-8435

CHICAGO, IL 60608

Modern Book Store
1642 S. Blue Island Ave.
☎ (312) 942-0800

BALTIMORE, MD 21201

New Era Book Shop
408 Park Ave.
☎ (301) 539-6364

CAMBRIDGE, MA 02139

Ctr. for Marxist Education
550 Mass. Ave., 2nd fl.
☎ (617) 868-5620

DETROIT, MI 48203

Global Books
16145 Woodward Ave.
☎ (313) 883-4940

MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55414

Paul Robeson Bookshop
424 13th Ave. S.E.
☎ (612) 379-2881

NEW YORK, NY 10011

Unity Book Center
237 W. 23rd St.
☎ (212) 242-2934

CLEVELAND, OH 44113

All Peoples Books
4307 Lorain Ave.
☎ (216) 281-7141

PORTLAND, OR 97204

John Reed Bookstore
519 SW 3rd Ave.
☎ (503) 227-2902

PHILADELPHIA, PA 19143

W.E.B. DuBois Bookstore
601 S. 47th St.
☎ (215) 724-2672

PITTSBURGH, PA 15224

Careathers/Foster Bk. Ctr.
5024 Penn Ave.
☎ (412) 661-3839

PROVIDENCE, RI 02905

Center for Workers Education
P.O. Box 25015

SAN ANTONIO, TX 78292

All Points of View
P.O. Box 321
☎ (512) 732-6660

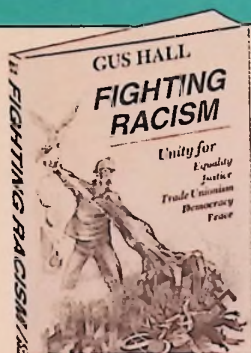
SEATTLE, WA 98122

Co-op Books
1406 18th Ave.
☎ (206) 323-5077

MILWAUKEE, WI 53203

Forum Books
606 W. Wisconsin Ave.
☎ (414) 271-2910

Two Great Offers If You Subscribe to Political Affairs Now!



A \$15 value
only \$7.50

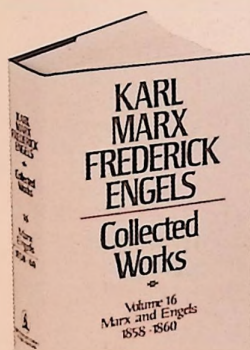
Introductory offer for new readers

One year of *Political Affairs* (regularly \$10)

plus

Autographed copy of *Fighting Racism*

by Gus Hall, general secretary of the
Communist Party, USA (regularly \$4.95)



Value over
\$350.00
only \$125!

Once-in-a-lifetime combination offer

Ten years of *Political Affairs* (regularly \$100)

plus

All twenty one volumes published to date
of the fifty-volume *Marx / Engels Collected
Works* (regularly \$262.50)

(Limited to one set per subscriber)

To: **Political Affairs, 235 West 23rd St, New York, NY 10011,**

☎ (212) 989-4994

Please send me the following selection:

- Introductory sub and an autographed *Fighting Racism* for \$7.50.
- Ten year sub and 21 volumes of the *Marx/Engels Collected Works* for \$125.
- Payment enclosed

Card No. _____ Exp'n Date _____ Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____