

International VIEWPOINT

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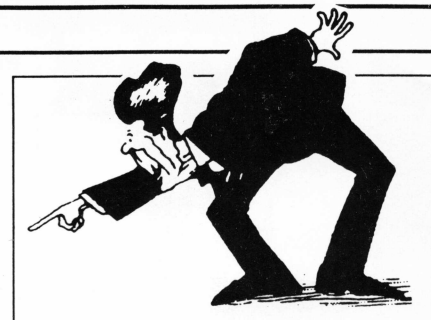
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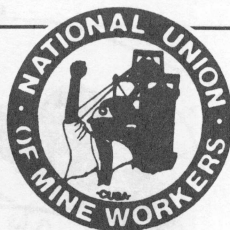
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A decisive battle for the rights of labor



ARMED POLICE surrounded the offices of the Confederation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) on April 29 and then stormed the building, systematically pursuing all the unionists who were there. In this way, the Pretoria regime launched an open confrontation with the country's main labor organization.

This assault came on the eve of two major political tests: May Day, which in 1986 was marked by the most massive strike in the history of the country, and the May 6 "white" legislative elections against which COSATU had just called for two days of peaceful protests.

This attack on COSATU came after a series of grave incidents. For several days repression had been escalating against the independent trade-unions, which in recent years have been one of the strongest links in the people's movement. On April 22, near Doornfontein, in the Johannesburg area, South African police killed six Blacks. This would only have been another item of news in reactionary and racist South Africa if it were not for the fact that this time it was six railway workers who were killed. On the same day the police also entered COSATU national headquarters in Johannesburg, causing serious damage. They were looking for strikers wounded in Doornfontein.

Moses Mayekiso is leader of the metal workers' union, MAWU, and of a

community organization in his township, Alexandra. With four comrades he has been imprisoned for months, and has just been accused of high treason for his role in leading neighborhood committees. On this charge, he faces a very severe sentence.

Under the state of emergency declared in July 1986, the mass movement in general has suffered very heavy blows. Now, COSATU has become a new target for the government.

The international workers' movement must go on the alert to defend COSATU and all the independent unions in South Africa. If the repression against COSATU continues, it will not simply complement the other forms of repression against the African National Congress (ANC), the United Democratic Front (UDF), the National Forum and so on. It would represent a new stage in the regime's repression against the mass movement.

The South African trade-union movement, and COSATU in the first instance, represent the highest level of unity and militancy reached in the country. Virtually every political and trade-union current participates in it and, within the framework of the union, discusses the future of its struggle.

The COSATU congress scheduled for July could, moreover, be an important stage in the consolidation of class-struggle trade-unionism.

Furthermore, COSATU has stepped up its collaboration with the community organizations, notably with components of the UDF. It has confirmed its decision to collaborate with the most active and radical forces in the communities, namely the youth movements.

The recent founding of the South African Youth Congress, uniting the youth movements who identify with the UDF, was marked by a certain number of contacts with COSATU.

All of this cannot be tolerated by the Botha regime. It cannot allow a workers' movement that is progressively consolidating its role as the backbone

of the mass movement to keep on indefinitely gaining strength and growing more radical.

In its April 26 issue, the London weekly *Observer* wrote, "A change has taken place in the resistance struggle of the Blacks. It has shifted from the terrain of the political and community organizations, which have been seriously disorganized by the activity of the forces of order under the state of emergency, toward that of the trade-union movement, which has come through the state of emergency intact and even seen its forces grow."

In fact, this movement itself has just taken a further step in its struggle. The strike by Black railway workers is the first of such scope in the vital public sector. It combines with a strike in the post office that has been going on now for 30 days. The state cannot tolerate such defiance. Moreover, it now faces another problem, the discontent of white public service workers who do not want to continue taking over the jobs of Black strikers, which they consider menial and degrading.

The railway and postal strikes amount to an unprecedented challenge. They only confirm the self-confidence of the workers after the big strike of the clerks in the OK Bazaar stores, which got very broad support from the population and other sections of the trade-union movement.

It is imperative that workers throughout the world get information about what is happening in South Africa. Trade-union delegations must visit the country and be able to see for themselves what the workers' and mass movement represents in the country. The unions that are fighting and suffering repression must be helped financially. South African trade-unionists who travel abroad to inform international public opinion about their struggles need to get the maximum hearing and active support.

It is essential to build broad, active support for the South African independent trade unions. ☆

Solidarity is needed

Messages of support can be sent to: COSATU, PO Box 1019, Johannesburg 2000, South Africa; and in solidarity with the campaign to release Moses Mayekiso to: MAWU, 6th Floor, Angus Mansions, 268 Jeppe Street, South Africa. (Tel: 4022210).

INTRODUCTION

THE following documents are of various types. The first is the new year message of the COSATU leadership to the membership of the union. It gives an account of the situation in COSATU. It stresses in particular the urgency of building one single, united union in each industry. The projected fusions are being delayed, and the leadership points out here that it cannot accept a continued inertia, which stems largely from the organizational weakness of some small unions or various forms of sectarianism expressed in previous debates.

Another key point in this document is the one on workers' self-defence. This is the first time that this has been posed clearly as a task. It reflects repeated attacks on trade-unionists, especially in Natal by armed groups following the lead of Inkatha.

The other major document, which concludes the dossier, is excerpts from a statement made by Sydney Mufamadi, assistant general secretary of COSATU, to the liberal white student organization the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).

This text is very significant, because before the launching of COSATU, Mufamadi belonged to a union linked to the UDF. He himself can be considered to belong to the "Chartist" current [that is the current that takes the 1956 Freedom Charter as its programmatic reference]. His statement about an uninterrupted revolution is therefore very interesting because it indicates rather well the present position of this current, which traditionally favored a strictly national and democratic revolution, but is today strongly drawn toward a socialist perspective.

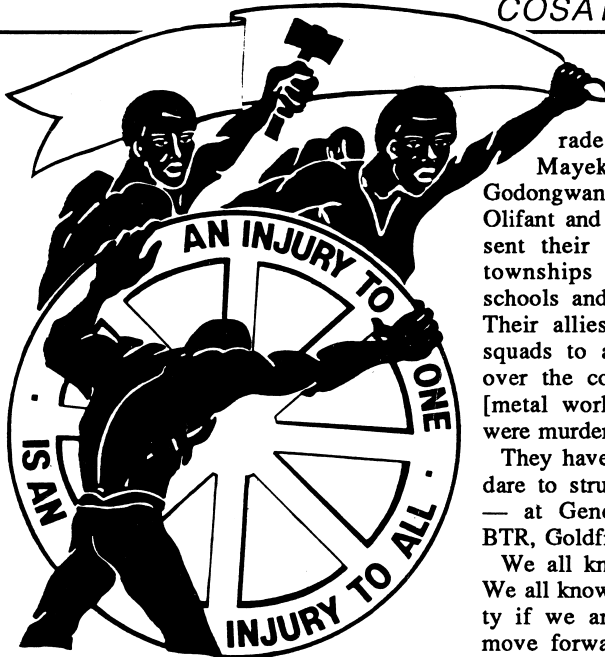
Moreover, Mufamadi mentions the negative balance sheet of the general unions in the past. This is the first time that a union leader coming from this current has clearly recognized the past weakness of this type of union, the major example of which was SAAWU. Most such unions adhered to the UDF.

Mufamadi's statement indicates the political recomposition underway in COSATU, a shift toward the left of the Chartist current, combined with the support of a united front with the UDF organizations by the bulk of the old trade-union left.

The middle part of the dossier is made up of articles that appeared in the March issue of COSATU's journal, which was devoted entirely to the minimum wage campaign. The articles reprinted here give a view of the general line on this question. The content is radical, very pedagogical, and openly anti-capitalist.

From this collection of articles, it is possible to get an idea of where COSATU and its 650,000 members are today (and also of the constant concern for internal democracy that exists in the union).

This is food for thought and debate for trade-unionists around the world. In this country of ferocious repression, a democratic, united, anti-capitalist class-struggle trade-union movement has developed that is undoubtedly one of the most radical in the world. ☆



"The future is in your hands"

COSATU's 1987 new year message

WE GREET you in the name of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

We greet you in 1987 — the year for the consolidation and decisive action of our movement.

COSATU is just over a year old. Today we are closer to the day when we — the workers and youth of our land — free ourselves from poverty, hunger, exploitation and racism. But a long and bitter struggle still awaits us.

Our struggle has come so far because of the struggle and unity of millions of people, led by the workers and the youth. The path we have travelled has not been easy, and although we have built COSATU into a mass workers' organization, we can see that the path ahead is even more difficult.

The possibilities before us are greater than ever before — but so are the dangers.

We are being attacked on all sides — the bosses, their government and their allies are panicking. They are confused — and in their crisis they can see we are getting stronger.

They want to stop us from advancing. That's why they have imposed a State of Emergency.

They have detained thousands of our comrades — among them Moses Mayekiso, Lizzie Phike, Enoch Godongwana, Noel Williams, Matthews Olifant and Amos Masondo. They have sent their army and police into our townships and into our children's schools and into our worker meetings. Their allies have sent vigilante death squads to attack and kill workers all over the country — like our MAWU [metal workers' union] comrades who were murdered at Mphopomemi.

They have tried to crush workers who dare to struggle for what they deserve — at General Motors, OK Bazaars, BTR, Goldfields and Impala.

We all know the situation is serious. We all know we need the maximum unity if we are to defend ourselves and move forward in our struggle. We all know we need to learn from our mistakes and setbacks if we are to consolidate our gains, strengthen our organization — and move forward in 1987.

Comrades: this year we have to overcome our problems. This year we have to overcome our divisions. This year we have to build the greatest possible mass united action under the leadership of the working class.

How can we do this?

One industry, one union — now!

We have to make sure all our structures — at the local, regional and national level — are consolidated and working properly. To do this effectively we need one union, one industry.

We promised at our launch that we would merge and form big industrial unions within six months. It is now 14 months and still we do not have one union in each industry. This cannot be allowed to continue.

We have a big job to do, comrades. We have to organize millions and millions of unorganized workers into our ranks. We have to bring the millions of unemployed, farm, railway, construction and public sector workers into our ranks. We can only do this by building strong and powerful industrial unions. Nothing must stand in our way.

Workers — make sure your union is coming together to form one big union in your industry!

Build and strengthen shop steward councils

All our structures must be strengthened, especially our local shop steward councils. They are one of the pillars on which COSATU stands. Make sure your views are represented by your shop stewards on the local COSATU shop steward council in your area. If there is no shop stewards' council in your area

then you must make sure one is formed. Build the COSATU shop stewards' councils as the organized voice of worker unity in every area.

Build worker solidarity action

At our launching congress, we said "An injury to one is an injury to all" will be our guiding light, and we adopted powerful resolutions to guide us in the struggle ahead. We have made some progress — but not nearly enough.

Too often we have stood back and watched while our comrades struggled alone against the bosses or the government — like at GM, Crossroads, Impala, BTR or OK Bazaars.

Too often we stood back and watched while our comrades were detained — even though we have resolved to fight every attack on our organization with united action.

And when we did take decisions for strong action — like the July 14 action against the Emergency or the December 1 action against the killings of our MAWU comrades — some problems and divisions in our movement weakened our protest.

This is bad, comrades. We must build our structures, our unity and our ability to mobilize more strongly and seriously — so that we can take action on what we decide instead of just having resolutions on paper.

The bosses and the government have seen this weakness too. They saw how we built June 16 and May Day into the biggest national general strikes ever, with millions of people taking action. They were scared. They saw how the NUM [miners' union] and some affiliates mobilized the biggest ever national industrial action, against the death of our comrades at Kinross gold mine. They were alarmed. But they also saw

how we failed to build July 14 and December 1 — and they grew more confident.

We must not forget that the base of our power is in the workplaces. We must ensure that every workplace has strong, democratic structures and active members. And we must not allow our differences to undermine our unity in action. Differences we will always have. They are necessary in every democratic organization to find the best ideas for the strongest way forward. That is what worker democracy means. But it also means that once we have made a decision, we are all loyal to that decision — and we do our very best to carry it out in a disciplined and comradely way.

To let differences lead to a split in a union, as happened in NUTW [transport workers' union]; or hold up the organization of a region, as happened in the Eastern Cape and Witwatersrand regions; or weaken a local, as happened in the Johannesburg local, is terrible comrades. Please, let's make sure these things do not happen and that we discipline people who try to divide us.

Campaigns

This year we will be working to turn our powerful resolutions into action. The campaigns for a living wage for all workers, for the organization of the unemployed under the banner of COSATU and for national united action under the leadership of the working class are crucial.

Already, all over the country, workers are building these campaigns in action. The heroic OK workers have been on strike for a living wage for weeks now. COSATU workers have blacked supplies to OK in solidarity with the workers. The youth and all progressive organizations have increasingly been drawn into solidarity action with the workers.

Build the Living Wage Campaign

Together, we in COSATU must take these campaigns forward. The struggle for a living wage will be COSATU's main campaign in this year. We must especially organize and unite our mass strength behind a clear, co-ordinated, united, national living wage campaign, and for the organization of the unemployed.

Our campaign will strike at the heart of the profit system. What we want is what we need to live decently. If the bosses' capitalist system can't provide us with what we need, then we don't need the bosses' system. We want the wealth we created to come back to us, so we can all have decent lives.

Build mass united action

Mass united action is our strongest weapon. As we move forward we must draw behind us support and solidarity from the millions of workers, youth and progressive democratic organizations outside our ranks.

In this way we will build a campaign of united action under the leadership of workers and around our demands.

In all our campaigns, we will get the best results and strengthen our leadership of the struggle if we take the initiative and build the widest possible unity in action behind our demands. This year we must make sure that our May Day and June 16 campaigns are much bigger than last year so that they truly are *our* national holidays.

We can expect the strongest resistance to our struggle for national united action from the bosses and the government. In their desperation they will try even harder than before to attack our movement.

They will try to create vigilante gangs, especially from the unemployed, to divide and intimidate us. They will try to encourage tribalism, racism, factions and division wherever they can to undermine our unity. We must not let them.

Organize the unemployed

We have to organize millions of unemployed under our federation to strengthen our common struggle for jobs for all at a living wage. We, the organized employed workers, can help the struggle of our unemployed comrades by implementing our resolution for a ban on overtime and a 40 hour week. Let us mobilize support for this campaign and join unemployed workers in fighting for the sharing of all work on full pay and a massive public works programme, paid for by the bosses, to create jobs and provide us with things that we need.



Build worker self-defence

We have to organize our own defence to protect ourselves and our struggle against attack.

Already, in many areas, COSATU workers are starting to defend themselves. We have to strengthen this a hundred times over, in every workplace and every township. These attacks are getting so serious, so many people have died, that we must organize self-defence in every workplace and every township to consolidate and protect the gains we have made.

No-one else will defend us or our struggle. We must do it.

Build democratic community and youth organizations

The problems facing us at work and in our communities are the same. Nowhere do we have control over the decisions that affect our lives: the rent we are forced to pay; high transport costs; terrible conditions in the townships.

These issues are directly related to the starvation wages workers are paid.

That is why COSATU workers are leading the struggle to build street committees in the townships. Like our unions in the workplaces, street committees will give us the democratic organization, unity and strength to fight for all the things we need — including control over every aspect of our lives through our own democratic organization under the leadership of organized workers.

There is a lot of discussion about alliances and allies in our struggle. The strongest, best and most reliable allies of the working class are the youth. Like us, the youth exploit no-one. They have nothing to lose and everything to gain by marching together with us to a workers' future.

We must do everything we can to build close links with the students and youth and their organizations; to share our experiences with them of building democratic organization — and to share our vision of our struggle and the future. At the same time, we must give maximum support to the struggle for people's education and the building of democratic Student Representative Council's and control over the schools.

Organize farmworkers

Farmworkers are starting to get organized under FAWU. As farmworker organization develops, a solid bridge will be built between workers in the cities and workers in the countryside.

Millions of rural workers — together with the rural poor — will join hands with organized workers in the cities to struggle, in the factories, mines and shops, for control over the land where they live and work. We must do all in

our power to build this bridge as soon as possible — and to make it as strong as possible.

Women workers come first

In our movement women workers have a special place because they carry the heaviest load of all. It is the duty of every COSATU worker to make sure that the demands, participation and struggle of women workers are strengthened a thousand times over. If our liberation does not succeed in creating free people equal to each other in every way, then we would not be liberated.

Our struggles for maternity rights, equal pay for work of equal value, child-care facilities that meet workers' needs, against sexual harassment and harmful work must have the highest priority in all our struggles today.

Our leading role in the struggle depends on the courage, determination and leadership of women workers.

One federation — one country — now!

Comrades — we are at a crossroads. We see a year of more struggle, more hardship and more suffering — and more hope. Now is the time. If we are to live, then we must go forward together against the bosses' system of profit and greed. We can see how far we have come. COSATU is the home for every worker in South Africa — employed and unemployed. That is why the old bosses' federation, TUCSA, has broken up. That is why the bosses are desperately trying to promote UWUSA [the Inkatha union] against COSATU. All their divi-

sive efforts are doomed to failure if we are united. There should now be no obstacle to all democratic unions to come together with us and form one federation in one country.

Our tasks

We are committed to the leadership of the working class in the struggle. This year we must show what this means by consolidating and uniting our organization, COSATU, in decisive united action with other progressive organizations under the leadership of organized workers.

To do this we will need the widest possible democratic debate, through all our structures, on our weaknesses and our strengths, so that we can come to our national congress in July with the program for the workers' way forward.

We must, through our organized strength and unity and clarity of purpose, really unite and really lead the vast mass of our people to a new, transformed society — a society where the needs of workers will be paramount.

How we build this society and what it will be like must be deeply discussed in our affiliates and in COSATU structures before the congress and after it.

Comrade workers — the future is in your hands. The struggle depends on you and you alone. Make sure your organization, COSATU, is united. Make sure your union is participating fully and actively in all the structures of COSATU. Make sure COSATU is democratic. Make sure COSATU is doing what you want under your control. The workers united can never be defeated.

☆

Workers can manage

FROM EACH according to abilities, to each according to needs.

Imagine what we could do if just the big seven companies were managed according to workers' needs and not bosses' profits. Workers would be at the steering wheel of the economy. Together, through our mass democratic organizations, we would plan what to produce according to what was needed most by all the people.

We would work for ourselves and the future. We know it would not be easy. We would have all the problems left us from capitalism to deal with. Things would not change overnight.

But we would look and see. We need houses. We need schools. We need roads. We need electricity. We need sewerage. We need running water. We need sports fields, theatres, halls and cinemas. We need buses and trains. We need food and clothes.

We would see how much we needed and where it was needed most. We would produce these things as our most important tasks. We would share among ourselves all the work. And we would share among ourselves the fruits of all our work.

We would not all be rich. No-one would be rich. We would not all be poor. No-one would be poor. We would be constantly working together to improve the quality of our life.

Planning together, working together, sharing together, learning together, we would move forward together against poverty, ignorance and suffering.

☆

End the cheap labour system

THE LIVING wage campaign is a fundamental challenge to capitalism in South Africa. The struggle for a national minimum living wage will strike at the heart of the oppressors' and the exploiters' system.

For apartheid, capitalism is built upon ultra-cheap, ultra-exploitable and ultra-controlled labour. The controls over the African working class began to be developed one hundred years ago. Apartheid — as these controls came to be known — was created to help the bosses make profits in the gold mining industry, which was the real base for the development of industrial capitalism in South Africa.

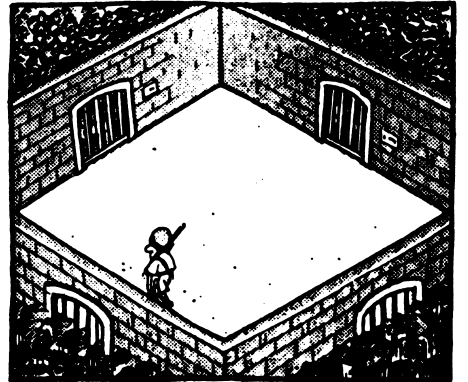
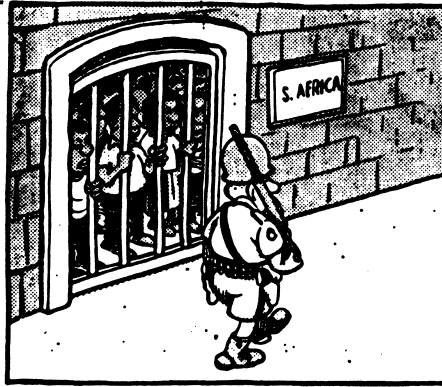
Profitability of the gold mines was limited because the gold rock was very deep and very low grade. Machinery to get the rock out of the mines was imported and expensive. These high costs could not be passed on to the consumer because the price of gold was fixed.

So the bosses believed the only way they could make a very high profit was by getting ultra-cheap labour — by exploiting workers far more than in other parts of the capitalist world.

After a long struggle the mining capitalists managed to force workers to work for very low wages. This was made possible by forcing Africans to depend on wages for their survival (by taking away their land through the 1913 Land Act and through imposing taxes); by controlling workers' movement (through the compound system and the pass laws) and their access to jobs (through the migrant labour system and the labour bureaux); by controlling where the workers could stay (through Group Areas, the pass laws); and by maintaining a huge reserve army of unemployed who would always compete for jobs and keep wages down.

In the beginning, this system of ultra-exploitation was created for the mines. But other capitalists involved in manufacture, farming and so on also took advantage of the controls over the working class. They, too, founded their businesses and profits on the base of ultra-controlled, ultra-exploited workers.

It has been the task of the government to maintain this system of exploitation and oppression to this day.



For the past century, successive governments have been dutifully keeping the working class under the thumb of the ruling class. They have been keeping and modifying the apartheid controls that exist to ensure high levels of exploitation.

The economy of today has thus been built upon the labours of many generations of ultra-exploited workers. Capitalist profit in South Africa has always depended on high exploitation. And what is high exploitation but returning as little as possible of the wealth workers produce back to them?

Basing an economy on such high levels of control and exploitation has brought its own political problems as well. While the few capitalists have reaped benefits, they also have created the seeds for their own destruction. More than ever before the working class is now organizing around, and struggling for, a program to transform society in a socialist direction.

There is an economic cost to apartheid capitalism as well. Paying very low wages has led to high profits. But it has also meant that there is a vast worker consumer market with many needs — for housing, food, clothing and so on — but with no money to buy these needs.

Because of low wages, the working class and the poor, which form the majority of the population, have little money to spend. This means small demand for goods and services, that industry is limited to providing very little for the working class and that there is a smaller manufacturing sector than there could be. In turn this means less economic growth in South Africa as a

whole leading to fewer jobs. So, in trying to get high profits through paying starvation wages, the capitalists end up with getting less profits because they pay little wages.

Instead of a growing economy which is able to provide for workers' needs, there is a shrinking economy which provides retrenchments and poverty.

This is a problem which the capitalists cannot solve. Their logic tells them to pay more so that more money is available to be spent on consumer items which could lead to higher profits.

Greed outweighs capitalists' logic

But their logic is opposed by their greed. Their greed tells them that the more wages they pay, the less profits they get in return. Being capitalists, their greed outweighs their logic. And the whole economy suffers as a result. The manufacturing sector remains small, there is very little economic growth and so too few new jobs are created each year to overcome unemployment.

If the bosses were forced to pay higher wages, they would worry that there would be a fall in their profits because of increased labour costs. If they then were allowed to pass on the increased labour costs to the consumer by putting up their prices, inflation would go up which would mean that goods would be more expensive. Which, in turn, would mean that even with bigger pay packets, workers would not be able to afford to buy what they wish. So, even

with bigger pay packets, workers and the economy would be back to where they started. That is, so long as the bosses are allowed simply to put up the cost of goods to keep their profits up.

The solution to this problem cannot be left in the hands of the capitalists. Workers and their organizations must seize the initiative and build control over the economy. Increasing workers' pay packets will go a long way toward bettering the position of the economy. With more money in workers' pockets, there will be more demand for goods and services. That will lead to growth and the creation of new jobs.

The demand for a living wage could have positive effects leading to economic growth, providing more jobs and providing a better quality of life for the working class.

But so long as bosses are allowed to put their interests first (their interest in high profits), this is unlikely to happen. Either they will resist wage increases or they will put up prices. Neither situation will benefit workers or the economy. ☆



Open your books

WE WANT to see your accounting books. We want to see how every cent we have made for you has been spent. We don't just want to see financial statements. We want to see all your receipts, cheque books and financial papers. We need to know about these things so we can see how much you are robbing us.

Capitalism in South Africa is completely undemocratic. The government does not allow Blacks to vote or have any power in deciding how the wealth of South Africa is going to be spent.

They do not even consult the consumers and workers when they are considering increasing bread or petrol prices. They do not consult when they are deciding how to spend the money they collect through taxes.

They refuse to let us have any say in the government at all. They use their power to keep the wealth in the hands of a minority.

It is just the same with the bosses. When the bosses decide on what they are going to do with the profits, they do not consult the workers who produced those profits.

In fact, they would not even consult us about our wage increases if they could. Just look where there are no un-

ions — like on the farms. There the bosses decide what wage increases — if any — are going to be given. It is only through the power that we have built up in our trade unions that we can force the bosses to negotiate about our wage increases.

For the bosses and the government, democracy is not a principle to be pursued. For them it is something to be fought. They try to crush our unions and break our strikes. They try to destroy our community, youth, women, student and political organizations and detain our leaders.

All because they want to hold on to their wealth and power. The last thing they want us to have any say in is what should be done with the wealth in the country.

Take, for example, the national budget. Every year the government gets billions of Rands taxes to spend on governing and running the country. Before they decide how to spend that money we are not consulted at all. The government simply goes ahead and works out its budget.

The accounting and budget books of the country should be opened to us so that we can see how the wealth we produce is going to be spent. We must have the power to decide on the priorities of the spending.

The same in the factories. We worked hard every day to produce the profits of a company. But the bosses keep their finance books closed to us.

Because it is us who produce the profits, we must have the right to see what is being done with the money. We must be able to study the company records so that we can decide how the profits should be spent. Also, we will be able to check that what the bosses say about profits is true. Often they hide profits, or spend a lot of the profits on wasteful things. We can make sure that this is the money we get for our living wage.

Sometimes the bosses' books will show us that there is very little money in the company. Then we must find out why. We can't support a system where we work hard only to find there is nothing for us. If all our work was part of an overall plan of production for the good of all, we would never waste our labour.

How can we see the books? We can see a summary of the company reports when the company is a "public" company. Public companies allow members of the public to buy a share of the company. They do this by issuing shares worth a certain amount on the Johannesburg stock exchange.

Individuals or other companies can then go and buy shares in that company. But there are a fixed number of shares that can be bought and so, if one or two people buy up most of the shares, they can control that company themselves — even though others have

shares in it.

These public companies have to issue reports to their shareholders. Because their shareholders are usually very many, they have to make their reports public.

In these reports are the chairman's report, a report on the activities of the company, a list of what other companies that company owns or controls, and a financial report done by the auditors of the company.

In the financial reports are listed the profits made, the taxes paid, the money they borrowed from the banks, the amount of profits given to the shareholders — and much more. These reports are usually available at public libraries, and anyone can go to the public library and ask for them.

Struggle to win a living wage

But because the reports are only summaries, they do not show the full details about how the money was made, how much salaries were paid to management, what workers' wages were, what machines were bought, from whom and for how much. In other words these — and other — very important facts are left out.

So workers who are employed by public companies can find out only a limited amount about their companies. A closer look would reveal a lot more. Finding this out is very important, if we are to learn the full story about how our companies are run, and where the wealth we made has gone. We can only see these books if we are strongly enough organized to demand, and to force, the bosses to open them to us.

Workers who work for private companies can, at the moment, find out even less without struggle and organization. The law says that private companies do not have to report their profits or losses to anyone except the government (who keep these facts secret).

If we are to find out about how these bosses are spending the money we make for them, then we must demand that they open all their books to us. The knowledge we will get from their books will strengthen our struggle and help build our control over what is going on where we work. If they have borrowed money from the banks of other businesses or a parent company then we must see the books of these companies as well.

The bosses will resist our demands with all their might. Nothing is more precious to them than these business secrets — except profits! We will have to fight to get the books open. That fight is a key part of our struggle to win a living wage. ☆

Unite by July

WE LIVE and work in the 20th most developed capitalist country in the world. Our economy is dominated by a handful of giant monopoly companies. Nearly 90 per cent of the wealth we produce is owned and controlled by just ten big companies.

Our struggle for a living wage is a struggle to make sure the wealth we produce comes back to us to meet our needs. We need strong and powerful organizations to challenge the mighty monopolies in the struggle for a living wage.

Experience has taught us that unions who organize in only one region, or unions who try and organize all workers no matter where they work are no good against the monopolies. They can never get the national industrial power we need to fight the monopolies who dominate the whole country and every industry.

That is why workers decided that a principle of COSATU must be to unite to form powerful national industrial unions in the major sectors. We have made some progress, but not enough. Now the CEC has decided that all unions in the same industry must merge and unite by July. By our next national congress in July there must be only one union for each major industry.

By forming one union in each industry we will gain massive strength and unity in our industries. COSATU will be a federation of giant industrial unions, linking together workers in all the major industries. We will be organized as never before in our history.

This national industrial organization is essential for mobilizing campaigns like our living wage campaign. Our will, our courage, our programme — we have these things. Now we need our organization to put them into action. One union — one industry. One federation — one country. That is the organization we need and that is the organization we will have.

Workers together, in each industry and throughout the whole country, will build the unity, coordination and solidarity we need to win in our struggle. We will build our national industrial unions. We will build our COSATU. We will build our campaign for a living wage. We will build our future. ☆

“National and class struggles cannot be counter-posed”

SYDNEY MUFAMADI is the assistant-general secretary of COSATU. He comes from a trade union that was affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF), before the founding of COSATU, and therefore represents a particular point of view. [See the introduction on page four.]

Mufamadi sent the following message to NUSAS [the liberal white student union], on December 2, 1986.

THE SALIENT features attesting to the validity of our exposition of the current conjuncture lie in the perceptible inability of the regime:

- First, to alter the general correlation of the forces in its favour;

- Second, to restore the confidence of business tycoons who are beginning to reconcile themselves to the inevitability of People's Power — their trip to Lusaka being a desperate search on their part, for a commitment from the ANC to underwrite them a political insurance policy;

- Third, to devise a strategy which will enable it to win the battle for the soul of the international community.

That objective reality being the one side of the body of evidence which leads to the inescapable conclusion that the gradual maturing of a revolutionary situation is in evidence, we need to look at the subjective factor — assess its role and its prospects. In view of the fact that the regime can no longer

claim to have a policy (during the day it claims to be the best reformist government ever seen in this country — at night it abandons all all pretences and resorts to naked terror), there is good ground for the assumption that this country can no longer be governed in the same old way.

The logical extension of that assumption is the stubborn fact that our people are beginning to render themselves ungovernable. In all spheres of society, people are gearing themselves up to take their destiny into their own hands. In the schools, universities, townships, villages, factories, shops and mines, you need more than the Bureau of Information to dissuade our people from forming alternative structures through which they can articulate their aspirations and pose as an alternative power. Teargas cannisters, rubber bullets and live bullets could also not do the trick. The resilience which township residents have exhibited in the face of state brutality (both in their capacity as people who are refusing to pay rent and as members of street committees), indicate their determination to storm and pulverise the fortress of apartheid.

Isolating the enemy in the struggle for power

Theoretically, the already alluded to scenario is informed by an approach which characterizes our struggle as a national democratic struggle. The social forces which were mobilized to bring us to the prevailing situation where we can safely say that our country is standing at the dawn of a major transformation do not lay claim to one particular class affiliation — both in terms of the place they occupy in production relations as well as in terms of their possible long-term objectives.

Our multi-class strategy for transformation is a strategy which seeks to isolate the enemy in the struggle for power — thereby making preparations for the enemy to lose power and vest that power into the hands of the democratic majority. Such, we believe, is the revolutionary approach to the movement for liberation.

Given the fact that other class forces which legitimately feature in the extra-parliamentary opposition lineup are not consistently democratic, the political influence of the working class must of necessity be brought to bear on them in order to help them to purge their outlook, and therefore their activities, of undemocratic admixtures. “Wise counselling” from the libraries holds that those who have discovered that socialism is the answer must write-off everyone else as a petit-bourgeois participant in the struggle. Needless to say, that outlook is not consistent with

working class discipline. It is an erroneous tendency which derives from an attempt to counterpose the national and class aspects of our struggles, as if these two live in two different worlds.

At least there is general agreement in that the working class must be in the forefront of struggle. Two things that we are convinced of are that that position cannot be negotiated for and that the working class cannot be in the forefront of a struggle in which it is not participating. Any dreams to the contrary have the fatal effect of making a socialist South Africa just another promised land.

November 29, 1986 marked the first anniversary of the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. The formation of COSATU was hailed by progressive forces, at home and abroad, as a giant step in the direction of liberating our country from the nightmare of national oppression and economic exploitation. A frank review of the process which took place in the run-up to the formation of COSATU will reveal a display of a tremendous degree of immaturity on our part as participants in what has historically come to be known as trade union unity talks.

At one stage we came to a conclusion that there was no basis for unity amongst the very trade unions which we defined and continue to define as progressive. We started grouping unions into factions of what we termed "like-minded" unions. Book-writers, rather than helping us extricate ourselves out of that seemingly stalemate situation, actually sustained the un-called-for hostilities by striving to prove that one faction was more working class than the other. Of course, the falsity of those positions was proved by the formation of COSATU which, at the time of its launch, claimed a total paid-up membership of almost half a million workers.

That formation of COSATU brought together 36 progressive unions which had two different structural formations: industrial unions and general unions. COSATU adopted a resolution which calls for the organizing of effective national unions and unifying them into a national federation. Clearly, this process calls for the phasing out of general unions. This does not in any way



imply that we undermine the historically important role which general unions have played in the development of the progressive labour movement in our country.

History itself has proved that general unions are vulnerable to the bosses, the state and Bantustan puppet administrations, who, in their notorious collusion, are hell-bent on crushing all progressive formations. This consideration, coupled with the need on our part to give organizational expression to the concept of unity, clearly indicate that general unions have outlived their usefulness. A transformation at that level will eliminate unnecessary competition among unions and will certainly bolster our capability to undertake effective campaigns on the ground.

"We are not an alternative political party"

It also needs to be pointed out that COSATU was born at a time when, in response to the ferment which is currently gripping our country, the regime declared a state of emergency over 36 magisterial districts of our lands. In the situation our task is to make that crisis much more substantial by harnessing the insurrectionary mood of our people and moulding it into an effective weapon for the seizure of power.

However, while realising the need on our part to undertake political cam-

paigns in the interests of our members and in the interest of the broader working class, we could not pose as a political party nor an alternative to one. The only way open to us was to undertake such political campaigns through our structures and in alliance with progressive community, youths', students', women's and political organizations which already existed. This makes us a component of the mass democratic movement of our country ...

The occupation of factories by workers has far reaching implications. It raises the question of who controls the factories and who should in effect control them? Spontaneous as it was, it should be seen as consciousness in its embryonic form. It is this type of activity which, if properly followed up, can rid us of the almost nightmarish speculations

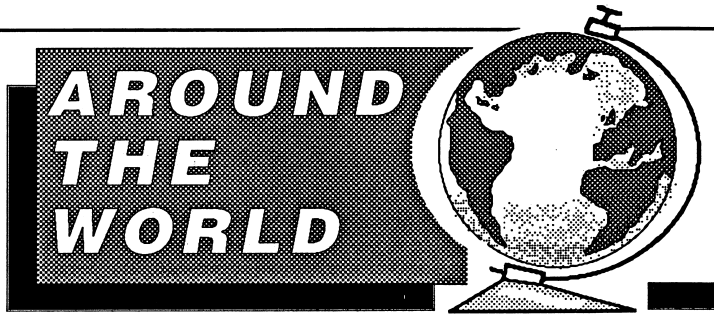
as to what is going to happen the day after the Springbok colours have been lowered from the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

However, it needs to be pointed out that strike struggle in itself cannot defeat capitalism. For the state apparatus which is clearly functioning in defence of bourgeois interests cannot be expected to melt because there is a strike at one big store, or in a goldmine for that matter. The real transformation of the state is secondary and derivative of the shifts in the balance of class forces.

Success at that level depends on the balance of forces in society and on the scope of the class struggle by the masses. That approach, which we believe is a correct one, clearly shows that working class struggle is not the sole province of COSATU. It is only armchair politicians who overemphasise the theoretical aspect of struggle at the expense of its dialectical complement — practice — who fail to come to grips with that simple fact of life.

Unfortunately, theory cannot reveal all the alternatives opening up in the revolutionary struggle, because life, struggle and revolutionary action turn out to be more complicated than the finest theoretical analysis. Theory, coupled with practice, will reveal that the national democratic approach envisages the two stages of our revolution as stages which are basically uninterrupted.

☆



BASQUE COUNTRY Attacks on Basque refugees

A FRENCH judge investigating murders of exiled Basques in the French Basque country will demand testimony from Jose Amedo Fouce, deputy commissioner of police in Bilbao, in the Spanish Basque country, the Madrid daily *El Pais* reported on May 4. Amedo is accused of having had contact in Lisbon with Jean Philippe Labade, who fled to Portugal to avoid prosecution for involvement in terrorist attacks on refugees from the Spanish Basque country living in the part of the Basque country incorporated in the French state.

Labade was arrested in France on June 16, 1984, a few days after he met with two men who travelled in a car with license plates reserved for the Information Brigade of the Jefatura Superior [Command] of the Bilbao police. Labade admitted to the investigating judge that he was working for the Spanish police and had hidden the murderers of Perez Revilla. But he was then released in a decision later revoked as improper by the Supreme Court. Labade fled to Portugal.

In February 1987, French police arrested Paulo Fontes, an ex-Spanish Legionary born in Portugal, who revealed that two terrorist attacks on Basque refugees had been carried out by mercenaries recruited by Labade in Portugal. The first took place on February 9 in Bayonne, when three men opened fire on the people in the Batzoki bar. Two children were wounded, along with two Spanish Basques and a French citizen. Five days later, another man opened fire on an alleged member of the Basque revolutionary nationalist organization ETA in a bar in Saint Jean de Luz.

The French magistrate investigating these incidents issued an order for the arrest of Labade and his companions. One of those arrested in Portugal, Mario Correia da Cunha, admitted that he recruited Portuguese mercenaries for the GAL, the self-proclaimed "anti-terrorist" organization that has claimed responsibility for a series of gangster-like attacks on Basque nationalists. He said that he had contact with Labade and two Spanish individuals in the Hotel Ritz in Lisbon on January 31 and

February 1. Deputy commissioner Amedo Fouce was staying at the hotel at that time with another person. He reportedly paid the bill for his hotel room, that of the other person and Labade's with his credit card. ★

JAPAN

Rail union attacked

THE FIRST stage of the privatization of Japan National Railways began on April 1, with the transformation of the JNR into Japan Railways (JR), a conglomerate of 12 regional companies. Later the stock of the new companies is to be put on the private market. But, according to the *Globe and Mail's* Tokyo correspondent, Thomas Walkom, writing in the April 1 issue of the Toronto daily, privatization is not the primary goal. "In fact, it is an object lesson of how a government can quietly break a troublesome union."

The beauty of the scheme for the bosses is that when the JNR was broken up, all its agreements with its employees were null and void. "Strictly speaking," Walkom wrote, "about 270,000 were out of work on the stroke of midnight."

"One minute after midnight, 205,000 of those 270,000 were automatically rehired by the constituent companies of the new JR [Japan Railways]....The point is that it was the new company alone that decided who to hire and who would leave."

The old unions also lost their bargaining rights at the same time. Moreover, the establishment of the JR allowed the rail bosses to establish a new set of work rules and wage levels. Walkom noted: "Some workers, according to a spokesman for the JR's preparatory committee may face a 'slight' reduction in pay."

This operation was aimed first of all at the militant rail union, Kokuro. Of 43,630 Kokuro workers who have asked for their jobs back, the new companies have already refused to hire about 10%, 4,771. But about 130,000 workers belonging to the right-wing unions have been rehired, and only 29 refused. Moreover, many remaining Kokuro workers have been assigned to "re-education centers."

"The union [Kokuro] produced photos

of veteran railwaymen relegated to making bamboo bird cages or cleaning toilets."

This cynical and ruthless operation has already had a terrible effect on Japanese railway workers. There have been over 40 suicides in the past year. Another chapter in the success story of Japanese capitalism. ★

SWITZERLAND

Funding apartheid

IN ITS April 24 issue, *La Breche* [the French-language paper of the Swiss Socialist Workers Party (PSO/SAP)], P. Girardet added up the investment of Zurich's gnomes in apartheid:

"In four years (1980-1984), credit from all Swiss banks to South Africa increased by 227%, and that of the big banks (SBS, UBS, CS, Banque Leu, Banque populaire) by 338%. In step with this, the Swiss share of the total South African debt rose from 15% in 1979 to 35% in 1984. It is no accident that the three biggest Swiss banks are participating in the Coordinating Committee (34 banks) that is negotiating the apartheid system's debt of \$24,000 million. At its March 24 meeting in London, this clique of profiteers decided to reschedule the debt, with the help of a \$14,000 million loan. The Swiss contribution amounted to \$1,400 million.

But that is not all — 59% to 60% of all the gold exported by the racist regimes passes through Zurich (where profits are of the order of 10% on the gold traded). This flow of gold represents 50% of South African exports. In other words, the Swiss banks are supporting apartheid by graciously giving it 25% to 30% of its total resources in currency. That is a decisive support for the survival of the regime!

This vulture-like behavior has a name — complicity with apartheid's racist club-wielders. ★

ISRAELI STATE

Fight for academic freedom

[From an article by Stig Järhult in the April 9 issue of *Internationales*, newspaper of the Swedish section of the Fourth International.]

THE HILLS that surround the Palestinian university of Bir Zeit are covered with blooming almond trees — and Israeli soldiers.

In its constant battle for academic freedom and with its concentration of 2,400 students, this university has been an important instrument in the struggle against the Israel occupation

authorities.

The fact that the daily clashes on the West Bank in February were centered in the nearby city of Ramallah is no accident.

One day at the beginning of the month, when I was to visit Bir Zeit to attend a solidarity rally with Lebanon, the military set up barricades. Some got through, others did not.

Last year, the roads were blocked 36 times. The objective, among other things, was to disrupt education.

On December 4, the military killed two students at a similar road block. The soldiers fired directly into the crowd that had gathered in front of the barricade in a peaceful demonstration. On Israeli TV, the local military commander, Ehud Barak, said:

"We are sorry for any person who is killed or wounded, *even if it is an Arab* [emphasis added]. But it is important to understand — students must study and teachers, teach. We will we do everything in our power to keep the roads open."

Road blocks are not the only way that the Israeli authorities use to disrupt activities at the university.

- Around the new year, Bir Zeit was closed for a month as a collective punishment for demonstrations. In 1982, Bir Zeit was closed for six months.

- Locally published books in Arabic are censored. Today, 400 books are on the banned list.

- Few Arabic periodicals are permitted at Bir Zeit. Many of these periodicals are permitted and available at the Hebrew University!

- At present, 14 students are under travel bans (or forbidden to visit certain regions). A whole village or town can get a collective "confinement to the locality." Researchers are prevented from travelling abroad.

- Before 1967, all higher education was exempted from taxes and charges. In the last academic year, Bir Zeit paid thousands of dollars in various charges.

Those are just some examples of the

daily Israeli oppression. But the worst thing is the unemployment the students face.

"I studied to be a sociologist," said a 25-year-old woman, a former Bir Zeit student. "Now I am unemployed, because no state authority will hire Bir Zeit students."

Of course, there is no official ban on hiring Bir Zeit students. On the other side, in fact very few are hired.

The unemployment problem has been aggravated by the fact that in the last two years Bir Zeit has been forced to charge high fees. The university is in economic difficulties. This problem is said to be related to the conflicts between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Jordan from 1984 on. Earlier, Bir Zeit was financed by the Joint Palestinian-Jordanian Committee, based in Amman.

On February 15, the University Committee had its first meeting in over a year, since Saudi Arabia contributed 9.5 million dollars.

(If any Swedish readers think that the university gets money from Israeli, since it is on Israeli-controlled territory, they would be quite wrong. Not a shekel of state money goes to Bir Zeit or any one of the five other Arab universities in the occupied territories.)

As I write this, there is extensive student unrest in all these universities. Bir Zeit has been closed for four days by the military authorities.

Some people are asking whether education for Palestinians is really possible under the occupation.

"Education is always a challenge," answers Dr. Gabi Baramki, Bir Zeit's administrative chief. "We have not only the usual challenges, but also one from the Israeli occupation.

"Giving up higher education is easy. That means turning away from reality. But giving up is an absurd idea. Sooner or later we will get our own state, and we have to be ready.

"History will not forgive us if we are not prepared when liberation comes." ★

ISRAELI STATE Arab war losses

ON APRIL 30, the Israeli Ministry of Defence announced that from the 1948 war onward, the total number of Israeli soldiers killed in the defence of the Zionist state was 16,200.

This figure breaks down as follows: dead in the 1948 war, 6,087 (1% of the Jewish population at the time); in the Suez invasion of 1956, 232; in the June 1967 war, 785; in the ensuing "war of attrition", 2,676; in operations against Palestinian fighters between 1974 and 1982, 1,936; in the Lebanon war, 1,154. Since the retreat from Lebanon, according to the Ministry, 294 Israeli soldiers have been killed in clashes of various sorts.

[From *Le Monde*, May 3, 1987.] ★

NICARAGUA

Award for Cardenal

THE POET and priest, Ernesto Cardenal, minister of culture of Nicaragua, received an honorary doctorate April 30 from the University of Valencia in the Spanish state. In his acceptance speech, Cardenal noted that he had been offered an honorary doctorate in Chile during the Allende government but had refused to accept it because "I represented no one." But today, "I have accepted this honor because it is not for me but for the people of Nicaragua who do deserve it."

Cultural renaissance in Nicaragua

Cardenal said that the democratization of culture was one of the Sandinista regime's major objectives. He took note of a great cultural renaissance in Nicaragua since the triumph of the Sandinista revolution. He also pointed to the role played by Christians in the revolution: "There is no conflict between Christianity and revolution."

But, he continued: "This is the revolution that the world's greatest economic power is trying to destroy, is sworn to to destroy." He said that the cost of the US military, diplomatic, economic, ideological and technology aggression against Nicaragua "can never be calculated." [From *El Pais*, May 1.] ★



The rise of Islamic fundamentalism

THE RISE of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East is one the political questions most commented on by observers of the region today. But it has been generally assumed that Turkey, with its secularist and Westernizing tradition — and because it is by far the most developed of the Muslim countries — was immune to this phenomenon. This article analyzes signs of growing Islamic activity in Turkey and what this means for the national democratic revolution carried out in the country 60 years ago.

FUAT ORCUN

IN JANUARY the Islamic fundamentalist movement gave a demonstration of strength in Turkey, taking as a pretext a decision by the High Council of Education (CSE) that banned female students from wearing the "turban," the modern version of the *chador*. This is used by fundamentalist female students to cover their heads and get around the previous rules laid down by the CSE. These also banned moustaches and "ideological" beards for men and low-necked dresses for women.¹ The fundamentalist actions have continued recently, notably with an occupation of the ground floor of the ruling party's building in the Turkish capital by students in the theological faculty of the University of Ankara. A whole series of protest actions were organized by groups of fundamentalist students. This movement, which began in the universities, subsequently spread to other social layers. Erbakan, the chair of the National Salvation Party (MSP — Milli Selamet Partisi, a moderate Islamic party banned after the 1980 coup d'état), participated in a banned demonstration in Istanbul on January 18 that included 4,000 people, where slogans were raised such as "You can't ban the chador," "Muslim Turkey," "We want the *sharia*."²

A second demonstration of 4,000 took place the following day in Konya, in central Anatolia, a traditional bastion of the fundamentalists. On January 21, there was another smaller demonstration in the Anatolian city, reportedly of about 700 people. In a number of towns, Islamic students occupied the post offices to send telegrams of protest to the government.

These protests have given impetus to discussions about the political power of Islam in Turkey. Premier Turgut Ozal, who was a candidate on Erbakan's slates in 1977 but was not elected, has said that the threat of Islamic fundamentalism should not be exaggerated in Turkey, since it represented only a "potential" danger.

Expulsions from military schools

On the other hand, President Kenan Evren said that there was a grave danger. According to Evren, the fundamentalists even tried to infiltrate the army, and nearly a thousand students are said to have been expelled from military schools for fundamentalist activism.

However, it was Evren himself who made courses in religion obligatory in the primary and secondary schools, thereby seriously breaching the tradition of secular education left by Mustafa Kemal. Evren has also systematically used "Koranic" vocabulary in his speeches to mass audiences in order to get their support for his projects.

The potential Islamic vote in Turkey is about 8 to 10 per cent. The ruling Party of the Motherland (ANAP) has an Islamic wing. Moreover, the Welfare Party (RP), which took the place of Erbakan's party, got 4.76 per cent of the vote in the 1984 municipal elections, and 5.6 per cent of the vote in the September 1986 partial elections. Finally, besides the moderate Islamic currents organized in political parties, there are more radical currents that refuse to organize in the classical party form. Both currents to-

gether have daily papers with a press run of 150,000 and about 30 magazines and journals.

One of the official reasons for the 1980 coup was precisely the growth of this Islamic movement. Paradoxically, this movement experienced its biggest boom since the establishment of the republic under the military dictatorship and the transitional regime that has followed it.

During this entire period, the Islamic cadres not only gained influence within the state apparatus but they also acquired a certain prestige. They were substituted for the cadres of the political movements blacklisted by the regime. For the first time, a government claiming to be Kemalist tried to take Islam out of its traditional oppositional role and make it into an ideological complement of the state. And this operation was carried out at the same time that the leadership of the MSP were being tried by this regime.

The military have not supported Islam as an activist ideology but as one of the factors that could promote the depoliticization of society. The result has been quite different. Instead of becoming a conciliationist ideology under the control of the state, Islam has gained a stronger political and ideological identity of its own, and today its influence in daily life is much stronger than its weight at the polls.

Since the Ottoman empire, the process of secularization in Turkey has developed differently than in the other Muslim countries. It was in this area that the republican ideology took its most radical forms. Islam, as an "oppositional" ideology could not be expressed openly for a whole period. Its adherents confined themselves to supporting the parties that opposed the founding party of the modern Turkish state, the Republican People's Party (CHP). And by operating in this way, they were able to play a real role in the opposition movement.

For decades, the political cleavages did not correspond clearly to class differences, and the the conflicts between "secularists" and "religious," between "progressives" and "reactionaries," or between "Kemalists" and "anti-Kemalists" were accepted as the keys

1. Far left students were said to be distinguished by wearing a beard and floppy moustaches, while far right students were supposed to wear short moustaches. One of the first acts of the dictatorship at the time of the coup d'état was to ban such facial displays of ideological identification.

2. The *sharia* is the religious law comprising the whole of the obligations that derive from the Koran and the Sunna (the tradition of the prophet's teachings). It embraces all aspects of the individual and collective life of Muslims.

3. In Turkey, the term "reactionary" includes all religious currents, as well as all "conservative" currents in general, since in official terminology there are only progressives (Kemalists) and "reactionaries" (everybody else).

for understanding and analyzing the society.³

Over the last 20 years, class antagonisms have asserted themselves and have forced a clarification of the political cleavages.

After a topsy-turvy phase, Islam has more choices about its role in society than it did before the coup d'état of 1980.

The rise of Islamic cadres in the state

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

In 1919, at the end of the First World War, the victorious allied powers occupied a dismantled Ottoman empire. English, French, Italian and Greek forces took up positions in Turkey. Gradually they encountered opposition from a 38 year-old Turkish general, Mustafa Kemal. He reflected a twofold reaction, firstly the need to expel the invaders and secondly to build a secular and progressive republic on the ruins of the Ottoman empire. From 1919 to 1923, he involved himself in military resistance and later in political action. In 1920, he established relations of solidarity with the Bolsheviks, while clashes were developing between the Turkish army and the occupying troops.

On October 29, 1923, the Turkish republic was proclaimed. Mustafa Kemal became its president. The Kemalist revolution, a bourgeois revolution, was clearly modernist. It took over from the Turkey of the sultans and Islamic dominance. It was the fruit of four years of political-military struggle against the great powers of Europe.

Kemal died on November 10, 1937, after directing a vigorous and forceful modernization of the country — abolition of the califate [monarchy], unification of the educational system, elimination of religious ministers, new penal and civil codes, as well as economic reforms. In 1927, a law was adopted to stimulate industry, and in 1934, the first five-year plan was drawn up.

In April 1930, a law was passed giving young people the right to vote and to be elected in municipal elections. The fight for secularism and literacy continued. The regime ran up against major clerical resistance.

But other problems emerged. Intensive "Turkification," tight control in the name of "national unity" leading to the Kurdish insurrection in February 1925, and repression against the communists, began in the same year.

Kemalism was codified in the form of six fundamental principles of the bourgeois revolution — republicanism, secularism, progressiveness, populism, statism and nationalism — represented symbolically by six arrows on the party emblem.

It is this Kemalist heritage that the various factions of the Turkish bourgeoisie claim to embody today. ☆

apparatus has opened up possibilities unthought for before. Another significant phenomenon in the education of the new generations is an exceptional rise in the number of students of the religious schools.

In fact, we are seeing a deliberate and systematic attempt by the political power to gain a social base and cadres that will perpetuate a conservative ideology to overcome the historic and artificial cleavage between the secularists and religious. The objective is to achieve a social peace based on social integration, starting with the youth. And the cement of this is to be religion. The coup d'état accelerated this process, which was set in motion before 1980.

The phenomenon of political Islam, whose internal differentiation should not be underestimated, deserves study. The whole question is whether Islam — including both its moderate and radical wings — is opposed to the bases of capitalism or to the rights and democratic gains of the workers in this system, an openly reactionary movement opposed to socialist democracy.

In the 1960s, the left press in Turkey made an amalgam between the right, reactionary and the religious currents. While the fascist currents had not yet manifested themselves at that time, the left tended to see the hand of the United States behind every expression of this militant Islam. The latter organized in "circles for fighting communism," having its own legal and clandestine organizations.

In 1969, for the first time, this activist force arrayed itself against the left and asserted its own political identity at the time of the anti-American demonstrations against the visit of the Sixth Fleet to Istanbul. It has to be remembered that the attitude of the left toward this current, which was grouped essentially in the ruling Justice Party (AD — Adalet Partisi) of Demirel was not one of class independence.

Failure to take a class position

The left placed itself in the framework of Kemalism, and could not rise above the ideological cleavages existing within the bourgeoisie. It confined itself to attacking Islam with Kemalist concepts and terminology, failing to base itself on a class position.

It was only on the eve of the 1971 coup d'état that Islam formed an independent political party, with the founding of the National Order Party (MNP — Milli Nizam Partisi) of Erbakan.

So, the appearance of Islam on the political scene in its own right goes back to a conflict between the government and the commercial bourgeoisie of



The slogan says "Struggle for Islam" (DR)

Anatolia.

The revival of Islam dates from the 1940s, when the country was ruled by the secular Kemalist party, the CHP. At the end of its reign, the CHP wanted to widen its popular support by opening up to the Islamic layer and relaxing the secularist pressure. But it was its rival, the Democratic Party (DP), the ancestor of Demirel's Justice Party, that was to profit from this opening.

Independent political identity for Islam

Over the ten years that the DP ruled the country, from the 1950 elections until the 1960 coup d'état, the "secularist vise" was to continue to loosen. But, contrary to a belief that is widespread within the Turkish left, the Democratic Party remained fundamentally "secular."

At the end of the 1960s, when industrialization, urbanization, and the development of capitalism reached a high point, Islam gained an independent political identity. While it had been thought that it would disappear as Turkey modernized, it manifested itself more powerfully than before.

It is wrong to think that the growth of capitalism is sufficient to "modernize" the people and secularize it. Quite to the contrary, Islam has grown parallel to capitalism, and what is more is speaking a language of opposition to capitalism, which Islamics termed an "invention of the foreigners."

The MNP was dissolved by the regime that came out of the 1971 coup. But in 1972, the Islamic movement returned to the political scene with the founding of



the MSP by the same Erbakan. The unexpected success of this party in the 1973 elections — 11.8 per cent of the poll and 1,265,771 votes — and its rise to power in a coalition government with Ecevit's CHP aroused major discussions in the left.

What social strata did this party represent? What was the place and function of Islam in Turkish society? The analyses shifted with the alliances made by the MSP. The MSP tilted "to the left" when it came closer to the CHP, and "to the right" when it moved away. Finally, the facts settled this discussion.

When the MSP took a place in the nationalist front coalition with the AP and the Nationalist Action Movement (MHP), the fascist Grey Wolves' organization, it became clear to the left that it was a right-wing party. The 1977 elections provided more evidence about the party's social base.⁴ It was very similar to the MHP's, and in some places in the country even had an "ethnic" character, owing to its links with the religious brotherhoods [*tarikatslar* — the Sufi religious orders] and traditionalist social relations.

It was, moreover, by basing itself on such relations, which might be called tribal, that the MSP mainly gained a social base in Kurdistan and thereby compensated for some of its electoral losses in the western regions of the country. To a large extent, it took on the task of dampening and combating the national consciousness of the Kurdish people.

On the other hand, the resemblance of their social bases and their resulting rivalry led the MHP and the MSP into conflict. This struggle sometimes took the form of physical confrontations, in which the Islamics often came out on top.

After the 1980 coup d'état, many people in Turkey expected a severe repression against the Islamic party and its activists. On the eve of the coup, a big demonstration in Konya, the Islamics' main bastion, had been described by the junta as a quasi-insurreccional action by the "obscurantist" forces, and had been one of the main pretexts given for the coup d'état, especially for the West.

The reality was to be quite different. Unlike their traditional Kemalist predecessors, the putschist generals headed by Evren no longer considered Islam as an "obscurantist" element but as a factor of social integration. They wanted to use it to legitimize their regime among the people, to compensate for the depoliticization, and in order to control an element that they could not afford to ignore.

The state cannot want, and could not afford, to let radical and activist Islamic groups develop. From its standpoint, no conciliation was possible with such groups. But paradoxically, these attempts to absorb it into the state gave a new legitimacy to moderate Islam and a new momentum to militant Islam, which had no intention of letting itself be pulled into the lap of the official ideology.

Return to a Koranic state

Far from undermining the base of radical Islam, this ideological readjustment only strengthened it by allowing it to work openly and legally. Radical Islam cannot accommodate itself to the present Turkish society, to its "Westernization." It has another project, return to a Koranic state. And these two antagonistic projects must, sooner or later, clash. On another level, it seems that we are no longer seeing the traditional frictions between Kemalists and moderate Islam.

What lesson should be drawn from this surge of militant Islam?

First of all, it refutes the thesis that religion will decline parallel to the development of industry and culture. The Islamic movement has gained a place in Turkish society, and it is by no means prepared to give it up so quickly.

Secondly, the now established presence of this element obliges us to make a serious study of Turkish society, of its moral values, of the different ideological currents running through it and of the specific forms assumed by the class struggle.

The project of eradicating religion by force has failed, even if Kemalism achieved some partial successes.

Sixty years ago, the regime of Mustaf Kemal banned the brotherhoods and other Islamic organizations. Today, in

view of the revival of Islam, we can say that he totally failed. Islam has to a large extent taken its own back from the secularists who reduced it to silence by police methods.

In taking that course, Kemalism betrayed the fellow traveller with whose help it won the national struggle in the 1920s and which helped it to found the republic. But it was not able to impose itself on the society as a whole, and ended by betraying itself, owing to its inability to cope with the new, real social struggles. The secularist ideology is not indispensable for the maintenance of bourgeois society.

Collaboration with imperialism when necessary

Regardless of the extent of the repression and the efforts made to keep it from becoming institutionalized, Islam managed to maintain itself in an organized form apart from the state.

What is more, the restriction of democratic freedoms under Kemalism prompted a section of the religious masses to embrace an ideology that they believed to be liberating, when it was just as undemocratic.

The fact is that the Islamic political ideology is fundamentally anti-democratic and anti-pluralist. Its anti-capitalist or anti-imperialist phraseology boils down to anti-Westernism, which does not prevent it from collaborating with imperialism when need be. The example of the financing of the Nicaraguan contras by the product of the arms sales to Iran is a striking proof of that.

The fight for democracy and socialism therefore involves a confrontation with the Islamic current. Socialists have no need either for "Turkish style" secularism or radical Islam. But they cannot ignore the phenomenon of Islam in a 99 per cent Muslim society. It is inevitable that the Islamics will be present in the mass movement, as the existence of an Islamic union confederation (Hak-Is) — although a relatively small one — confirms.

We cannot ask the Muslim workers to give up their religious beliefs as a condition for participating in the class struggle. Such an attitude would be putting obstacles in the way of the necessary class unity. The fight for democratic rights in Turkey involves a struggle against the state, among other things, for freedom of religion, as well as a struggle against militant Islam, which is an anti-working class and reactionary current. ☆

4. The MSP got 8.6%, or 1,269,918 votes. The MHP got 6.4%, or 951,544 votes, while in 1973, it got only 3.4%. The MHP gained in those regions where the MSP suffered relative losses.

Women in the land of the generals

IN EVERY respect, women in Turkey bear the brunt of the various oppressions imposed by dictatorship, economic deprivation, enforced ignorance and religious bigotry. This is reinforced at all levels of the society, and remains unchallenged by the majority of the left, who oppose feminism as a "bourgeois" current.

ELIF KESKIN

THE ROLE of women in Turkey as housewives, mothers and workers is similar to elsewhere. Of those who work outside the home, 90 per cent do jobs similar to the tasks that they do in the home, 40.8 per cent of female industrial workers are in the textile industry, and 53.1 per cent in tobacco. Only one per cent work in traditional "male" industries, such as metal, auto and chemicals, where the best paid jobs are.

Other industries in which women are employed are banking, hospitals, and lower ranking positions in administration. Very few women hold leading posts. For example, out of 74 deputy directors of the Labor Bank (one of the biggest in Turkey), only four are women. In the same bank, the coding system used in the contract for calculating seniority provides for a coefficient of one for a woman after 20 years of service, while it is five for a man!

In the last six years, the number of working women has declined by 36.5 per cent. The growth of unemployment has thus hit women hard. Women's lack of skills, and the massive entry into



Kurdish women — politically persecuted by Turkish regime (DR)

the computer market have played an important role in this phenomenon. In unsteady jobs, working women have been driven to accept flexible hours, night work and overtime.

The general drop in the standard of living of working people in Turkey over this period put an additional burden on women. The only way that modest homes could make ends meet was to save money on housekeeping expenses, and thereby increase women's work in the home. This put a double burden on working women. The situation is made still worse by the fact that they do not have the same access that women in the European countries do to household appliances. This means that most housekeeping tasks depend on the physical labor of women in the home.

Work in the kitchen to prepare food takes up a lot of time, because what takes precedence over all else is preparing good food as cheaply as possible. Moreover, industrially prepared foods have not yet come into general use.

Women are tied to the kitchen

Also, in most dwellings, the kitchen is a particularly disagreeable place: small, with little air and no facilities (little or no running water, to say nothing of hot water, frequent cuts in water and gas and electricity, and so forth.) And this is where women spend most of their time.

To this has to be added the fact that parents who have to be cared for because of illness and disability, as well as other reasons, are the responsibility of the women of the house. There are few, if any, specialized institutions to

assume this task, and those that exist are too expensive for modest households to afford.

In the rural areas, many more women work than men, and 92.5 per cent of them are not waged but work within the family. Some 62 per cent of women are illiterate. They have to work both in the fields and in the home. They have no rights of inheritance, and cannot even freely choose their husbands.

An acute problem is the countryside is the tradition of the "head price" [*baslik*]. In order to be able to marry, men have to pay a "head price" to the young woman's family. After a fashion, they have to "buy her" from her parents. This reinforces the view of women as commodities.

As a general rule, marriages are arranged through brokers — that is, the future spouses do not meet each other. Moreover, the average age of marriage is very low (in general, it occurs at puberty). Even though there has been an improvement in this respect in the cities, virginity is still considered "sacrosanct" and inviolable. The same of course goes for marital fidelity.

Every year dozens of women are murdered by their husbands or even by their children or their parents for having "besmirched the family honor"! For women, marriage means satisfying their husbands' sexual needs and the duty of bearing them children (preferably males). Men, as well as most women, consider women to be the object of sexuality. Many women do not even know their own bodies, and anything that has to do with sexuality remains taboo, both in the family and in the schools.

Little, if anything, is known about contraception, and this even goes for

many women in the cities. It is true that the state clinics offer a free service of inserting coils — in the name of birth control! But often they lack personnel and material means — above all in the remote areas of Anatolia — and there is inadequate information. Backstreet abortions are very common.

Moreover, 70 per cent of births take place without the attendance of medical personnel (neither doctors or licensed midwives). Every year, almost 10,000 women die as a result of pregnancy or childbirth. On the other hand, sterility is always a shame for women, especially in rural areas, and is grounds for "repudiation." Although polygamy is formally banned by the civil code, it exists through religious marriages (Koranic law allows men to take up to four wives).

Thousands of women subjected to repression

Under the military dictatorship, thousands of women have been imprisoned, tortured, raped and subjected to other forms of ferocious repression. Women activists in the unions or left and far-left political parties, wives or mothers of political activists, women workers in the militant plants, peasant women in Kurdish villages, female inhabitants of the shantytowns that were controlled by the left before the coup d'etat — tens of thousands of women activists have died under torture or resisting their hangmen, resisting humiliation, torture, sexual maltreatment and rape. They have resisted along with their male comrades, and have participated in every form of struggle, including the hunger strikes.

In particular, the mothers of prisoners have supported their children in such suffering. They have continually appealed to the authorities for information about the state of their children's health. They have demonstrated in front of parliament, signed petitions and so on demanding an end to torture and ill-treatment in the prisons. They in turn have been tried as parents of the accused and for demonstrating; they have been subjected to all sorts of pressures, insulted and humiliated. Even if it has not reached the level of organization of Argentinian women, this resistance by Turkish mothers should be highlighted.

A second phenomenon that deserves to be noted is the rise of the Islamic movements, with all that this implies for women. It should be pointed out, however, that there are a great many women, above all young women of the post-coup d'etat generation, in the Islamic groups. Recently, they demonstrated in the actions in the university. They wanted to protest against the rule imposed by the administration against

their coming to classes in a scarf or a turban that would cover their hair according to the Islamic rules.

A third social phenomenon has also marked the last six years from the standpoint of women — a spectacular increase in prostitution. Economic disaster for many working-class families, massive unemployment and poverty have driven more and more women to seek to earn money by any means. In the big cities, especially in Istanbul, prostitution has increased enormously according to official police statements.

The mayor of Istanbul has said that "love cities" should be built to put a more "respectable" face on this proliferation. In a village near Milas, on the southern Aegean coast, every family, without exception, has prostituted its daughters in order to survive economically! Prostitution of girls and young women from 10 to 15 is becoming more and more widespread. There is no protection for them.

The constitution imposed by the military junta in 1982 repeats almost word for word the provisions with respect to women in previous constitutions, that lock women up in the framework of the patriarchal family. All the inequalities

and the reactionary and discriminatory measures are still in force.

Obviously, the general political restrictions of political and trade-union rights, the right of association, censorship and so on also affect women. They are an additional obstacle to the politicization of women. The new police law gives arbitrary and exorbitant powers to the repressive forces, including with respect to relations between men and women. Couples who walk holding hands can be taken to police stations for identity checks and prosecuted for indecency. Female students wearing "low-cut" dresses can also be taken in by the police for the same reason. The new law on "public morality" permits repression in all aspects of the public and private lives of women.

On the political level, the constitution bans the formation of women's groups or factions in the political parties, and thereby limits women's participation in public life. In fact, women in Turkey had won the right to vote and be elected to office in municipal elections back in 1930 and the right to be elected to parliament in 1934 — before many European countries!

With the abolition of the *sharia* and

"What sort of country am I living in?"

"WHAT SORT of country, what sort of society, what sort of age am I living in?" I asked myself that last week as I was reading the papers. Three reports struck me particularly and made me ashamed. I was ashamed as a human being. I was also ashamed and felt humiliated as a woman. The pain of my shame and my humiliation was increased because I was a woman. Here are the three reports, taken from *Cumhuriyet* of September 3, 1986 and *Bulvar* of September 5, 1986. Here are three women in Turkey, among so many others.

● The forces of order went into her village to look for the wife of a member of the PKK [a Kurdish nationalist organization] who had been hunted for two years. The police took this woman to a doctor to subject her to a gynecological examination to see whether she had had sexual relations recently. In this way, they wanted to check if her husband, whom they wanted to arrest at any cost, had stayed in the village in the preceding days. Since the medical report did not satisfy them, they demanded a second examination ... Questioned by reporters about this affair, the prefect of Tunceli [a town in Kurdistan] found this all quite normal and legal: "Where's the problem?" he dared to ask.

● Three people, a young man, his uncle and a female friend were jogging in the Belgrade woods [in Istanbul]. It was 7.00pm. They returned home in a car. The police arrested them. They made an identity check. They became angry because the family names of the man and woman did not correspond. No, this time they did not send the woman for a gynecological check [the hospital was far away]. They held them for a good while, lectured them and finally released them, having forcing the man to swear [on the Koran] that he would soon marry the woman to put an end to such a scandalous situation.

● His wife was about to give birth. The husband took his wife from Manisa to Izmir [towns in the Aegean region]. At the University of the Aegean, the doctors who examined the woman at the gynecological service told her: "The baby is sideways; we will have to do a caesarean. But that is going to cost you 80,000 lire [about \$150]. The man did not have that kind of money. So, they threw the couple out. And the woman gave birth to her child in front of the hospital door, in the street. [Zeynep Oral, *Milliyet*, September 1986.]

the adoption of the Swiss civil code in 1926, there was a real improvement in the legal status of women in Turkey. Women, moreover, benefitted from a campaign of social advancement under the Kemalist regime. All of this created more than a few illusions in the "progressive" character of Kemalism.

These reforms represented above all an attempt by the government to Westernize. In practice, these legal and social liberalizations went hand in hand with emergency laws, the banning of opposition parties and unions and the establishment of a totalitarian regime based on a single party — to say nothing of ferocious repression against the Kurdish national movement. Moreover, in 50 years, only 100 women have ever sat in parliament.

No strategy for women's liberation struggle

Until today, the left in Turkey has not been able to work out an overall conception of the struggle for women's liberation. The waves of mobilizations by women in Europe and in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s had no echo in Turkey. The left has remained under the dual sway of Kemalism and Stalinism. It has apologized for the traditional structures (the family, honor, marital fidelity) in the name of the revolution, counterposing a primitive populism to "decadent bourgeois life styles."

Blinded by their illusions of a revolution right around the corner and conceptions that relegated all these problems to the "post-revolutionary" period, devoting themselves entirely to abstract propaganda for revolution, most of the revolutionary groups have ignored this question outright. The pro-Soviet groups have paid a bit more attention to it.

The Turkish Communist Party had a real influence over layers of working women through its

parallel association, Progressive Women. But it confined itself to trying to recruit them to the party, without concerning itself with their special demands and problems and without, of course, a thought of giving impetus to an independent women's movement.

From the standpoint of male activists in the left movements, women were, of course, comrades and also activists — but they had their limits! They were above all "sisters," and therefore sacrosanct (their honor had to be protected) and desexualized. They were supposed primarily to take care of cleaning the headquarters, preparing the meals and tea, serving as couriers and transporting material, as well as hiding activists sought by the police.

All of these tasks were, of course, considered political, but they were all supposed to be women's work! As for the women activists themselves, their general attitude was a resigned acceptance of this tradition. Some tried to compete with men on their own ground, to strike "virile" poses, to swear a lot, to swagger, to try to prove their value by playing "men's" roles. The rare women activists who got into leading

positions in these organizations preferred to keep quiet about this subject.

It is no accident that International Women's Day, March 8, was never celebrated in Turkey, nor even been discussed. The left organizations converged in their opposition to feminism (which was seen as a "bourgeois" current) and in a view of the working class as being made up exclusively of men.

An important element in left recomposition

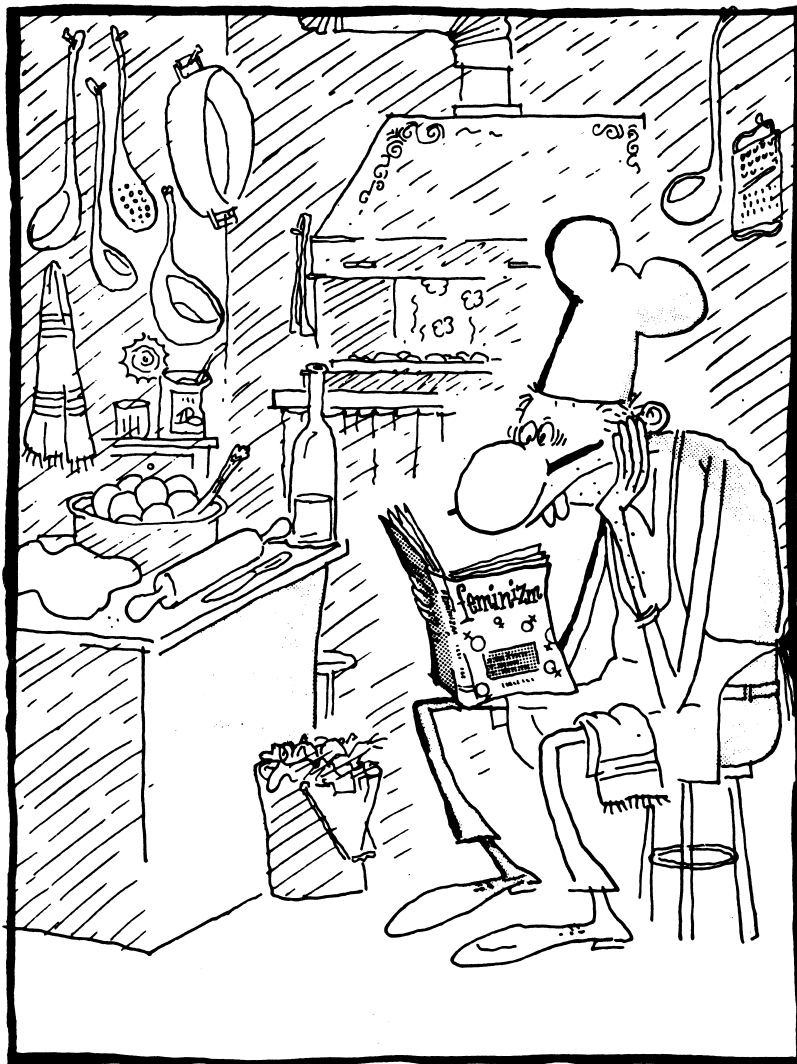
Of course, after the coup d'etat, with the influence of the exile milieu and the encounter with political currents in the countries of exile, there has been a certain development on the women question. Some revolutionary organizations have begun to undergo serious change on this question, while others are making it a point of honor to continue to combat feminism.

In Turkey itself, a circle of feminist women has been formed, and has begun to publish books and pamphlets on this question. Various articles have also begun to be published in the magazines

of the legal left. In 1986, for the first time, March 8 was celebrated in Turkey at the initiative of the feminist circle, and a petition bearing several thousand names was submitted to parliament advancing several demands concerning women.

In Turkey there are hundreds of women activists or former activists who have spent years in the ranks of the various left groups and have held out during the period of repression and reaction after 1980. This is an important element. It has to be taken into consideration in thinking about the recomposition of the left in Turkey.

Under the influence of their own experience and the new discussions on feminism, it is possible that this layer of activists may turn toward feminism and provide the cadres for the development of a real women's movement in Turkey. ☆



Pinochet's bitter pill

THE OPENING of electoral registers in February, and the passage of the law on political parties in March, were important stages for the dictatorship in the process that is supposed to lead to a plebiscite in 1989.

According to the 1980 constitution, which was the first milestone on the road to Pinochet's version of "democracy," only one candidate for president — civilian or military — chosen by the military junta in power, can be proposed.

Christian Democracy, despite its repeated protests against these laws and its launching of a campaign for free elections finally agreed to play the game according to the dictatorship's rules. It is going to register as a party and is calling on its membership to sign up on its electoral register.

This policy has not failed to provoke tremors within the party. The trade-union wing of Christian Democracy, through the voice of the bank workers' union leader Ricardo Hormazabal, opposed registering and called for an alliance with the left.

Rodolfo Seguel is president of the National Workers' Command (CNT), a united-front trade-union organization, and one of the most popular figures in Christian Democracy. After the failure of the CNT's March 25 mobilization, and after seeing the opposition parties' lack of enthusiasm about supporting mobilizations, he declared: "The only thing that interests the politicians today is the seats they can get in parliament with or without Pinochet as president." (*Latin America Weekly Reports*, April 9, 1987.)

As for the Nuñez and Briona Socialist Parties (named for their respective leaders), which are in the process of fusing, they have just taken the same path as the Christian Democrats. Moreover, General Mathel, the airforce's representative in the junta and undoubtedly one of the military officers most courted by the bourgeois opposition, has declared for the legalization of these parties, saying "The socialists are not anti-constitutional." He hastened to add that "Marxist or Leninist parties" are clearly banned by the constitution." (*El País*, January 17, 1987.)

The left, grouped in the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP), has clearly rejected these two laws and called on its ranks not to sign up on the electoral registers.

In beginning a new stage in the preparation of 1989, Pinochet has acted intelligently. He has managed to divide the opposition deeply — and perhaps in a lasting way — between those who are to get legality and those who are not, between those who will participate in the plebiscite and those who, at least for the moment, refuse to do so.

What is more, despite their indignant and vehement statements, the bourgeois opposition and its allies, such as the Nuñez SP, have swallowed Pinochet's bitter pill and accepted *de facto* the 1980 constitution.

As for the MDP, at least its social-democratic and Communist component, the question is whether it is going to maintain its present firmness. For the moment, it is in its interest to do so. That enables it to put pressure on the contradictions within Christian Democracy and to appear as the only political expression of the popular masses confronted with the Christian Democrats' capitulation. But the political concessions that it has made in recent months indicate clearly that its present firm attitude is only conjunctural.

The following article was written by the For Socialism Group, whose members identify with revolutionary Marxism. It takes up the main questions in the Chilean political situation.

ORLANDO SERRA

IN JUNE 1985, when Pinochet lifted the state of siege that had been declared after the general strike of October 30, 1984, he found himself in a position of extreme weakness.¹ A whole series of scandals had besmirched the regime. The most important was over the affair of three Communist leaders found in March 1985 with their throats cut, and the subsequent trial of the *carabineros* [militarized police]. The heads of the police were at stake. The chief of the *carabineros*, Cesar Mendoza, was forced to resign in August 1985.

The unity of the armed forces, the pillar of the regime, was far from being re-consolidated by the state of siege, and was more and more problematic. There were a growing number of statements by members of the high command of the three armed services other than the army — the airforce, the navy and the *carabineros* — taking a certain distance from Pinochet. It was an open secret that they were meeting regularly with the bourgeois opposition.

The bourgeois opposition itself went on the offensive, signing the "National Accord for Full Democracy," an agreement linking 11 political parties of the center-right and right, the backbone being Christian Democracy.

Mass opposition intact

However, above all the active mass opposition remained intact, as shown by all the mobilizations that followed during July to November, culminating in the big *protesta* of November 4-5, 1985. The situation could not be more favorable for envisaging a head-on assault on the dictatorship. Everything then depended on the proposals to come from the leaderships of the mass movement.

But the bourgeois opposition grouped in the Democratic Alliance, which is dominated by the Christian Democrats and the left forces that take an opportunistic position toward them, was to avoid the challenge and to keep putting off the perspective of a frontal assault on Pinochet. This is the situation that has prevailed since September 1985.

The CNT refused to put on the agenda the perspective of a general strike against the regime — a general strike that was not to be called before July 2-3, 1986. And when the students went on strike in April 1986, they were totally isolated and suffered a grave defeat. In other words, between the moment most favorable for calling the strike and when it was actually called, a

1. The lifting of the state of siege did not mean a return of normal life, far from it, but rather a return to the state of emergency in force in Chile since September 1973.

year passed, and in the meantime Pinochet had regained the initiative.

What was unthinkable at the end of 1985 started happening in March-April 1986. Massive repression, unimaginable when the state of siege was lifted, reappeared. About forty *poblaciones* [shantytowns] were ransacked by the army in April and May. Some 15,000 people were arrested, that is about 20 per cent of the population of these settlements! The army systematically attacked street demonstrations, which did not happen in 1983-1984.

Attacks against the Church

Attacks were mounted against the Church, in particular against the Vicariate for Solidarity, which organized defence of political prisoners, denunciations of violations of human rights and so on.

Pinochet stepped up his pressure against all sectors.

On July 2 and 3, when the general strike was finally called, it took place too late, at a time when confidence in mass mobilization had begun to decline. That explains why the general strike was semi-failure, semi-success. The mobilization was large, but did not measure up to what could have been expected of a 48-hour general strike. It was a success on the first day, and virtually a failure on the second. Most importantly, no perspective was proposed.

Throughout the first six months of 1986, the mobilization crumbled, owing to a lack of political perspectives.

On the basis of this attrition, the bourgeois opposition, that is, in the first place the Christian Democracy, took the initiative of breaking the unity of the opposition as a whole that was achieved around the formation of the Civil Assembly on April 1986. This rupture was carried out on a derisory pretext: a statement by a Communist leader to the Chilean paper *El Mercurio*, in which he alluded to a private committee of opposition political parties in the Civil Assembly.

The Christian Democrats' move led both to a decline in the authority of the Civil Assembly, which was no longer a unifying body, and a paralysis of the mass movement, an increase in the disarray that was felt after the July general strike. In doing this, the Christian Democrats were clearly seeking to remove any obstacle to dialogue with the armed forces, who have made a break with the Communists one of the conditions for any pact with the bourgeois opposition.

The attempt by the Christian Democrats to revive the National Accord, which had fallen into a decayed state,

by broadening it still more to the right — even though this failed — pointed in the same direction. From July to September 1986, the mobilizations went into a downward spiral, and the September 4 day of action was clearly a failure. If the assessment of the July general strike has to be mixed, the September 4 action was an unmitigated flop.

The day of action had been called by two leading bodies, in an extremely formal way — by the Civil Assembly, which wanted "a day for democracy"; and by the MDP, which sought to steal a march to the left by calling a general strike, for which it lacked the authority. The CNT could call a general strike, because it is a united body, but not the MDP.

A final factor of confusion for the more radical sections of the mass movement, the shantytowns, was the growing opportunism of the left toward the Christian Democrats.

The Christian Democratic Party is a bourgeois party with populist features. It has a social base in sections of the masses, especially among trade unionists. To judge the relationship of forces existing between the Christian Democrats and the left in the mass movement, you have to look at the three "sectors" of the movement.

Among the students, the Christian Democrats still hold a very slight predominance, reflected in the elections in the November 1986 elections in the Chilean Student Federation (FECh).² In the shantytowns, the left, and its most radical sections, clearly predominate. In the unions, there is an equilibrium. But this is not reflected very clearly in the leaderships, because of the conditions under which the union elections have been held. But a significant event occurred in 1986. In the big mining center of Chuquicamata, one of Chile's main copper mines, where the Christian Democrats had held the leadership of the union for years, they lost out to the left.³

The opportunism of the left toward the Christian Democrats is exemplified clearly by the case of the Civil Assembly. This body was formed on the basis of a correct idea — the need for coordination of all forces opposing the regime and for unity in mobilizations. But from the beginning the cards were stacked in favor of the Christian Democrats, because the Civil Assembly was formed on the basis of one organization, one vote.

Thus, the petty bourgeoisie, which is organized in Chile in professional groups, associations of lawyers, doctors, merchants and so on, was over-represented relative to the workers' movement. The latter was represented in the Civil Assembly by the CNT, and the CNT had one vote, like the association of truckers or journalists.

In these assemblies, the more militant sections were totally overshadowed, and from the political point of view, that meant automatically that the assembly would be led *de facto* by the Christian Democracy. The latter was over-represented politically in comparison to its real weight in the mass movement.

The Christian Democrats do represent a section of the masses. That is an undeniable fact. But the left's policy of accepting the way of functioning of the assembly imposed by the Christian Democrats meant abandoning the leadership of the mass movement to the bourgeois opposition.

Another illustration of this opportunism of the left toward the Christian Democrats concerns the proposal made by the MDP before the July general strike, which was a revision of its 1983 founding program, and hardly a secondary one. It involved looking favorably on the possibility of an "emergency" government presided over by a "personality enjoying the support of a consensus," who could be a military officer.

Attempt at negotiated solution

So, in June 1986, the left started to make the same distinction as the Christian Democrats between good and bad military officers, in the attempt to find a negotiated transitional solution involving dialogue and accord with the armed forces.

This programmatic backsliding by the MDP, this major concession to the bourgeois opposition has grave implications for the mass movement [see the interview which follows with Gabriel Valdes]. But it has also become an element of crisis in the MDP, and in particular in the main force within it, the Chilean Communist Party.

One of the new elements in these last months has undoubtedly been the emergence of a crisis within the Chilean Communist Party. Broadly speaking, this is a conflict between the traditionalist wing of the party, which is opposed, if not to armed struggle, at least to any insurrectionary perspective; and those who we might say "took serious-

2. In 1985, the Christian Democrats got 33.2% in the FECh elections against 33% for the MDP. In 1986, with a bit more than 40%, the Christian Democrats slightly outdistanced the MDP, by a few tenths of a percent. The advance of both forces has been at the expense of the classical right, whether pro-Pinochet or not.

3. The elections to the leadership of the Copper Workers' Confederation in April 1987 confirmed a major shift to the left. The president of the union is now a Socialist, and of the 15 seats in the leadership, seven went to the MDP, 3 to independent unionists and only 5 to the Christian Democrats, who held sway by a wide margin in the union up to the resignation of Rodolfo Seguel in August 1986.



ly” the CP’s tactical turn at the beginning of the 1980s, which was reflected in the formation of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) in 1983.

It would be wrong to think that for the moment there are two well-defined lines in the CP. There are rather two sorts of sentiment, which in the long run are incompatible.

In this connection, the attempt to assassinate Pinochet on September 7, 1986, was probably not the most important element, even if it was the most spectacular. More significant, undoubtedly, was the “arsenal” affair.

After the general strike of July 1986, the army intelligence services made an extremely convenient discovery of arms stocks in northern Chile. There were more than 50 tons of material, valued at \$10 million — more than 2,000 rifles, hundreds of bazookas, explosives, ammunition and so on.

According to the CIA, this was the biggest arsenal uncovered in Latin America since the armed movements of the 1960s. At the time, everyone, including the bourgeois opposition, thought that the affair was fabricated by the army itself, with the help of the Americans. Retired General Gustavo Leigh, chief of the airforce at the time of the 1973 coup d’etat, publicly cast doubt on the statements of the security services.

The most astonishing thing was that a few months later, in November 1986, the FPMR was to take responsibility for the arms stocks, to offer evidence of this and to specify that the Front had a guerrilla school in the region.

How can this development be interpreted? Until last year, the FPMR was an organization that accompanied the mass mobilizations. It carried out some sabotage actions, such as dynamiting electrical pylons and some spectacular bombings, and even assassinations of officers.

Likewise, it is nearly certain that it has been doing clandestine work aimed at the soldiers and non-commissioned officers in the army, work that led in particular to the desertion of soldiers and a young officer to the ranks of the

FPMR. This defection was announced publicly by the Front.

Moreover, the FPMR has set the goal of forming “militias” in the shantytowns. Obviously, in this context, the presence of these thousands of individual weapons takes on quite a different dimension.

These events have scarcely been accompanied by a clear political message. But the differences that have appeared publicly in the statements made by various CP leaders, especially after the assassination attempt on Pinochet, have to be highlighted.

A crisis has opened within the CP between the “traditionalist” wing that calls for dialogue with the armed forces and negotiated transition, and the “youth” who are following the “people’s rebellion” line that gave birth to the FPMR more than three years ago. It is impossible to say today how this crisis may develop, even if its emergence is unquestionably one of the most important elements in 1986.

After the assassination attempt, Pinochet declared a state of siege, which was not to be lifted until January 1987. But, despite some arrests and searches in the shantytowns and all sorts of murders, he was unable to take advantage of this new apparently favorable relationship of forces to regain the political initiative.

On the contrary, the political initiative is with the bourgeois opposition and those sections of the army that favor a liberalization. Three members of the junta — the representatives of the navy (Merino), of the airforce (Matthei) and the *carabineros* (Stange) — have had regular contacts with the opposition. While there is no public debate, discussion has centered around the possibility of a constitutional reform modifying the mechanisms of the transition scheduled to go into operation in 1989. Concretely, this means replacing the plebiscite by direct general elections.

Pinochet and his gang of loyal lieutenants

Pinochet’s lack of political initiative reflects a reality that could be described as follows: Today in Chile there is a bunker, Pinochet and his gang. It draws its strength from the support of Pinochet’s loyal lieutenants in the army.⁴ However, if you compare this bunker to the great fortress that the dictatorship still represented six or seven years ago, it is a very small redoubt, since the three other armed services are backing a very different political line from Pinochet’s on the question of transition to a civilian regime.

The Chilean armed forces want to bedeck themselves with the virtues of “professionalism,” in opposition to the

ideological conception of the army held by Pinochet.

If you add up all the forces that today want a transitional solution in 1989, you get a pretty impressive total. The bourgeois opposition parties as a whole, a good part of the armed forces, US imperialism and certainly the left parties would line up with a solution of this sort.⁵ But until now there has been a substantial obstacle to this — none other than Pinochet himself.

But what can he do? Under the pressure of a part of the junta, he could take the initiative himself of reforming the constitution and organizing early elections in order to forestall any unity of the bourgeois opposition that might lead to the presentation of a single candidate in direct presidential elections. But even then he would be far from certain of being able to win those elections.

“After me, chaos — or, worse, Communism!”

Another solution would be to stand pat and maneuver up until 1989. The 1980 constitution gives him the right, because he alone sets the date for the plebiscite. But if the regime sat back, that could enable the whole liberalization bloc to organize itself and possibly come to an agreement on a single candidate, civilian or military, who would get the junta’s endorsement at the expense of Pinochet.

Finally, Pinochet could do what Marcos did in the Philippines under the cover of martial law — put off the elections to an unspecified date, and remain as head of state. Pinochet keeps up a continual blackmail, in this regard, waving the threat of “After me, chaos — or, worse still, Communism!”

The latest reshuffles in the top command of the army, marked by the return in force of the “ideologues” of the National Information Center (CNI), the euphemistic name of the political police, are an encouragement to everyone to take this threat seriously.

There is a major unknown factor in

4. Even this loyalty has been breached, notably by the statements of General Danus, who gained attention for his protests against the assassination in September of the journalist Jose Carasco, a member of the MIR and editor of the magazine Analisis, and by his attendance at a memorial mass for Salvador Allende. General Danus was retired in December.

5. US pressures are exercised through a discreet blackmail involving the credits Chile has asked for from international bodies — the IMF, the Inter-American Bank for Development (IBD) and the World Bank. But since Pinochet has made it a point of honor to pay the debt on the button, Chile has easily obtained its lines of credit. On the other hand, foreign investors are turning up their noses at Chile, since the social situation there does not inspire confidence: “The whole question is whether it going to go into the street,” the representative of a big American bank said recently. (*Latin American Weekly Report*, March 21, 1986.)

all these speculations — the state of the mass movement.

We think that it is necessary today to fight along two axes.

First, it is necessary to fight for a democratic break with the dictatorship against all policies trying to maintain the heritage of Pinochet, which imply an "Argentine-style" solution or worse of the human rights problems. This approach can be summed up as "all is forgotten, all is forgiven." It means maintaining the repressive apparatus intact, or at least leaving the military an important institutional role, as provided for in the 1980 constitution.

It is necessary to fight for a democratic break, which means the overthrow of the dictatorship and the election of a constituent assembly. The latter must reflect such a democratic break on both the political and social fronts, opposing the accords with the IMF, opposing payment of the foreign debt and defending national sovereignty. This is the first axis of the fight, which is essential for maintaining a real left policy today in Chile.

Battle to organize the mass movement

The second axis is the battle to organize the mass movement. The setback of 1986 very clearly revealed the organizational weakness of the mass movement, a weakness that has enabled the bourgeois opposition to establish its hegemony, as it did through the Civil Assembly.

It is necessary today to lay the bases for a counter-offensive by the people's movement, to take a step forward in the organizational recomposition of the workers' movement, and to pose the problem, without delay, for refounding the United Confederation of Workers (CUT). This has to be done immediately, and not in two years, as provided for by the CNT's last agreement.

It is urgent to build an instrument that would go far beyond the strictly trade-union sphere: a rebuilt CUT along the lines of the Bolivian Workers' Confederation (COB); a center of gravity for all the people's forces fighting for their demands; for a democratic break; and against a policy that would involve in fact a total negation of all the working-class and popular demands.

If there is a negotiated transition, if there are negotiations with the armed forces, this can only be at the expense of the people as a whole, both socially and politically, because such an outcome would certainly involve a social pact that would keep the workers from recouping their losses, after their rights have been systematically trampled underfoot for these last 13 years. ☆

"We are ready to come to an agreement"

THIS INTERVIEW with Gabriel Valdès, president of the Christian Democracy, is from APSI, September, 1986. It summarizes perfectly the two political axes of Christian Democracy: negotiations with the armed forces and maximum isolation from the MDP.

QUESTION. *From the point of view of Christian Democracy, what is the only rational policy for the present situation in Chile?*

Answer. There is no rational policy other than coming to an agreement with the military officers to get them to assume their responsibilities and demonstrate their political will to open up a process of transition. This is a government of the armed forces; they have conceived of it as such. They have promised to restore democratic constitutional rule to the country and have not done so. They must do this now before it is too late.

Q. *You are asking the military officers to assume their responsibilities. What does that mean for Pinochet?*

A. It is clear that Pinochet is the obstacle, and we think he should step aside.

Q. *If that happened, and another officer took the head of a transitional government, would you support him?*

A. Certainly.

Q. *What conditions would you advance?*

A. We would support him, if his only objective was to lead a transitional government. We would give him our full support. I think that there are good reasons for thinking that it will, in fact, be a military man who will lead this process.

Q. *The National Party is seeking the formation of a center-right bloc to negotiate a solution with the government. This formula also seems to suit the US State Department. I would like to ask you if you would be ready to take the head of such a grouping?*

A. No. We are not for forming a center-right bloc. We are an integral part of the Democratic Alliance. We want to pursue the possibility of a governmental accord with the National Party but also with left parties, notably the Socialist Party (Nuñez and Briona). Our objective is, therefore, not a center-right bloc. It is the broadest possible accord for a future government.

More precisely, we think that it is necessary to come to agreement on a constitutional proposal that would have the support of all Chileans.

Over and above this constitution, there needs to be the broadest possible governmental agreement and, finally, a political accord to support the transitional government and to present a governmental formula before the end of the transition.

The Christian Democracy is extremely interested in seeing the Socialist Party participate in this governmental formula. We think that cooperation between Chilean social democracy and Christian Democracy is the key to political stability and social progress for the country. This is our position.

We want MAPU and the Christian Left to participate, but we do not intend to be the core of any center-right schema. That would be too narrow a vision of things, and I think that it would make a future governmental pact untenable.

Q. *Who would such a pact include?*

A. This pact should be made within the framework of the National Accord.

Q. *What is going to be your attitude toward the Communist Party? I ask you this question because, on the one hand, you cannot exclude it from the future democracy, but on the other, you cannot make a pact with it, because that would delay a possible solution to the present situation.*

A. We think that the CP must define itself once and for all. It must say whether it is and intends to remain a democratic party, or whether it wants to continue hunting with the hounds and running with the hares. On the one hand, it says that it wants to be considered as what it has historically been — a democratic party — but on the other it supports violence. This facing in two directions does serious harm to the process of democratic reconstruction, and is giving Pinochet justifications for considering the CP a violent organization. The CP has to define itself, not only in words but also in deeds, with

regard to the violence and the terrorism.

Q. The last proposal made by the Alliance was received favorably by the MDP. What might the next step be?

A. The following stage consists of the armed forces studying and revising this proposal. When a proposal gets a favorable response, not only from the MDP but also from the forces of the center and the right, it has to be taken into consideration by the armed forces. They are not foreign. They are also made up of Chileans, and they have to realize that in acting as they are doing now, they are departing every day further from their professional responsibilities.

To preserve their professionalism, they must come to an agreement with the civil society. This is how a democratic reconciliation could operate in Chile. If the military officers think that they can defeat the civilians, they are mistaken. By following that road, they can only isolate themselves further.

As for us, we do not want to defeat anybody. What we want is to come to an understanding with them, and the formula that we propose has been put in writing. It is the formula of the Democratic Alliance, and it cannot be anything else than coming as soon as possible to a vote, because neither we nor the military own this country. And Pinochet owns it still less. Like all dictators, he is coming to think that he is God. He believes that he represents the national feeling because his stooges and intimates applaud him. Batista, Somoza, Trujillo, Hitler and Mussolini were like that — they are all alike.

Q. Most people in Chile think that the situation is getting tenser by the day, and they are demanding that the political leaders come up with concrete solutions. What does the Christian Democracy propose?

A. For its part, the Christian Democracy is conscious of the fact that this situation has to end in order to get back to something very simple, practical and always valid — a plebiscite to find out what Chileans think; a plebiscite by means of a free vote and a secret ballot.

Q. The only problem is that General Pinochet is never going to hold such a plebiscite. So, how do you think you can reach an agreement for this with the armed forces?

A. I have already said that General Pinochet was the obstacle, not only to a plebiscite but to a normal transition to democracy. With regard to what we intend to do, we will continue to stress verbally and in writing, in Chile and abroad, so that the armed forces will understand, that we are ready to come to

an agreement on a formula that includes responsibility, dates and objectives.

This is one point. Next, we are going to continue to promote mass mobilizations in which the society can express in a peaceful but concrete way its rejection of an institutionalization of the regime in power which, having no legitimacy, has lost its credibility.

Q. You want to reach an agreement

with the armed forces. But what concrete proposal are you making to enable the military to define themselves?

A. So that the armed forces can define themselves and make their decisions, they have to know that there is a coalition of parties that are determined about being allies, that have clear ideas, concrete programs and personnel capable of assuming responsibility. ☆

The Communist Party's twists and turns

THE TWO statements which follow are by Luis Corvalan, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, who has lived in Moscow since 1976 after being exchanged for the dissident Vladimir Bukovsky.

The first of the following two documents is an extract from an article that appeared in October 1985 in the Soviet weekly *New Times*. The second is an interview given to the Chilean magazine *ASPI* in August 1986. There is less than a year intervening between these two statements, and nonetheless, they are very different.

DOMINIQUE LEGRAND

THE FIRST, the 1985 article, talks about "people's rebellion" and a "mass uprising" as the form that the fall of the dictatorship will take.

In the second, Corvalan puts a great stress on dialogue with the armed forces (and in an especially shameful way when he speaks of the episode under the Allende government), and there is no allusion to any insurrectional objective.

What is more, while in 1985, he talked about "the need for employing the most diverse forms of struggle, both peaceful and violent," any allusion to violence has been effaced by the 1986 turnabout.

This is not an isolated statement. Last December, there appeared an "Appeal for dialogue for democratic coordination" (See *Le Monde*, December 10, 1986), signed again outside Chile by Corvalan for the CP, Luis Maira for the Christian Left and Clodomiro Al-

meyda for the Socialist Party. In this statement, things are clarified: "It is possible with the active participation of the people to agree with the armed forces on certain conditions for a real process of transition to democracy." It excludes both "the road of military defeat [of the dictatorship] and of negotiations within the system" in favor of "defeating the dictatorship politically, a difficult but sure road."

The CP therefore seems to be betting on Pinochet's departure as a result of political maneuvers with the military, the bourgeois opposition and the imperialists. And it seems to exclude any perspective of overthrowing the dictatorship by a mobilization of the Chilean people, which would impose democracy, free elections and a constituent assembly.

Thus, a drastic turn has occurred. This fact in itself is not astonishing. The novelty is that it has generated a crisis

in the CP, because it collides with a practical course that has been followed for nearly four years.

The emergence of the first big anti-Pinochet demonstrations around 1982 brought whole sections of a more radical youth into the streets, a youth that had grown up in the poverty of the shantytowns and wanted to put an end to Pinochet. It was, of course, not very receptive to the soothing proposals of the bourgeois opposition. The class difference was too great.

Searches and murders in the shantytowns

The violence of the repressive forces almost naturally produced a violent response from these youth, for whom the dictatorship meant massive searches and murders in the shantytowns, unemployment, soup lines — having to struggle to survive day by day. It should be remembered also that for several years, the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria — Movement of the Revolutionary Left) has been carrying out armed actions.

It is in this context that the "people's rebellion" turn of the CP, and in particular the founding of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) in December 1983, have to be understood. Quickly the Front became the best known and the most effective of the armed organizations. On this level, even if it failed, the attack on Pinochet in September 1986 gave a spectacular display of the FPMR's level of preparation and organization.

There is no formal link between the CP and the FPMR. What is more, CP members who join the Front automatically leave the CP. The FPMR seeks to be "the armed wing of the Chilean people," and is not "a new political party."

However, the change in the attitude of the CP has become a source of crisis both within the party itself and in its relations with the FPMR. In fact, the political course defined by the perspective of "popular uprising and rebellion" has made its mark on the activity of the CP members, above all among the youth recruited on this line, most of whom know nothing of the CP's policy before 1983, during the People's Unity period under Allende.

The FPMR has had no political line of its own up until now; the CP's line has served this function. But its very existence and its armed actions, which have resumed since the repression suffered during the state of siege, are hardly reconcilable with the dialogue the CP wants with the armed forces.

The coming months should indicate what course this crisis will take. ☆

A popular uprising ...

FROM 1956 until the fascist coup d'état, in the struggle for progressive and revolutionary transformations, our party supported the thesis that it was possible to achieve change by the peaceful road. It followed this road firmly and consistently in the face of attacks from the right and incomprehension from the left....

The peaceful road corresponded to the conditions of the time. Salvador Allende's victory in the 1970 presidential elections and the revolutionary transformations carried out by his government showed that the Communists were right. We followed the road that we proposed for a period of a thousand days.

The defeat suffered in 1973, in our opinion, did not invalidate the thesis that we held. But it would be naive to think that in the present conditions, under a ferocious terrorist dictatorship that seeks to perpetuate itself by the force of arms, that we could believe in the possibility of a peaceful road or exclusively peaceful forms of struggle, as the center-right opposition would wish us to....

Right of the people to rebel against tyranny

The concrete forms of the struggle in the present conditions are a question that is answered in a constant process of practice and theoretical and political elaboration. In September 1980, on the basis of the new political situation, we supported the right of the people to rebellion against the tyranny. We did that a few days before the plebiscite by which Pinochet imposed his fascist constitution, subjecting the people to a permanent state of emergency.

We had to make a decision. Should we sit back and wait for time to do its work, remaining, at best, a relatively

comfortable opposition for the dictatorship? Or should we reject the fascist laws in word and deed, and therefore advance rebellion and build a militant and many-faceted mass struggle?

We chose the second road. That was our duty as patriots and revolutionaries.

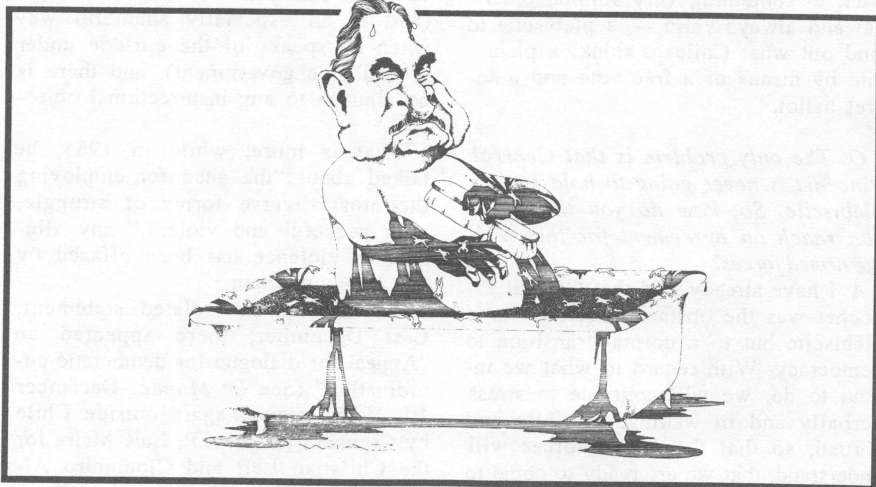
The gains of these last years are not the result of our efforts alone. But if in 1980 we had not understood what the institutionalization of fascism meant and if we had not perceived the changes that were taking place in the peoples' consciousness, we would not have understood either the requirements of the struggle.

More concretely, if we had not upheld the people's right to rebel, if we had not said firmly that it was necessary to employ the most varied forms of struggle, both peaceful and violent, if we had not shown in that area that we were able to go beyond words to actions, Pinochet and his court would have had nothing to worry about, and the center-right opposition would be sitting back waiting for something to happen.

Everything that has been done in recent years to give impetus to the multi-form determined struggle of the masses, to harass the tyranny by every means, to give it no breathing space, has been a fundamental factor in the creation of a new political framework in the country. It has opened up new perspectives and forged a strong fighting spirit in a considerable section of the people. This explains clearly the haste with which American imperialism and some sections of the bourgeoisie are looking for a solution to this conflict-ridden situation that would suit them.

The Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front has also made its contributions to bringing about this climate through such actions as sabotaging electric pylons, which require advanced specialized knowledge, organization and daring.

We Communists think that the most likely course of events will lead to a decisive confrontation between the people and the dictatorship. As the report to the last plenum of our Central Com-



mittee said, "We see this as a mass insurrection that will embrace the entire population, the bulk of the political and social forces and, we would hope, also a part of the armed forces opposed to the dictatorship.

"It is necessary to reach a level of general rebellion that can paralyze the country — popular uprisings in the main urban centers, with determined participation by the industrial proletariat, the students, the middle layers and the peasants. Such actions would be reinforced by major blows that will accelerate the paralysis of the country and will help to speed up the political and moral collapse of the repressive forces. This process would culminate in the seizure of the principal political centers of the country by the masses."

Moreover, the social mobilization impelled by the National Workers' Command (CNT), as well as the ideas of civil disobedience and active non-violence that have appeared in the parties that make up the Socialist bloc or the Democratic Alliance, are gaining ground.

Making the country ungovernable

The proposal of working for a national strike making the country ungovernable for Pinochet also has broad support in the opposition.

Our position on a possible uprising, the proposals and ideas I have just referred to, represent, in our opinion, the main elements that could give rise to an original road, which could not be identified either with the armed road or the unarmed road. It can in practice approach one or the other, be more or less violent, more or less peaceful, depending on the breadth of the movement, on the determination and fighting capacity of the masses, and on changes that might occur in the mentality and conduct of the armed forces and in the attitude they take at the decisive moment.

There is no Chinese wall between these two forms of struggle. They are neither opposites nor irreconcilable but complementary. We speak of rebellion and an uprising by the people. Others talk about civil disobedience and making the country ungovernable. We might wonder what is the conceptual difference between them? If there is there one, it is a question of nuances.

We see, in all these proposals, a different posture in the struggle against the dictatorship, a revolutionary position. To a certain extent, those forces actively involved in the social process are learning from each other, and we are learning and assimilating what comes from the practice of the masses. ☆

...or negotiations with the military?

Q *UESTION.* A lot of people think that the opposition should present a common proposal, and thereby offer a clear alternative that would help to focus the will and activity of the maximum number of people against Pinochet.

Answer. Our party is ready to sit down at the negotiating table with all the other opposition parties at any moment, and talk until an agreement can be reached. We think that it is possible to come to an agreement on a compromise consisting of three or four points, on which, anyway, we are practically in agreement. These can be found in the various proposals that have been made following the one from the MDP, which, as you know, made a big impact.

Q. So, what is happening then? Why has such a common proposal always been put off?

A. I prefer not to add fuel to the flames. I prefer not to name those responsible for this delay.

Q. Hasn't the CP's attitude to violence been an obstacle to an agreement on a single proposal by all the opposition parties?

A. Frankly, no. This is much more a pretext. What is sure is that since the fascist coup in 1973 violence has dominated political life in Chile because of the application of the so-called National Security doctrine that has led the armed forces to unleash a war against their own people. We cannot close our eyes to this reality. It is necessary to get out of it by starting from the beginning, that is, by putting an end to the tyranny.

Q. Don't you think that the opposition is not reaching an agreement because some people do not want a pact with the CP?

A. Yes, to a certain extent. The problem is that unless such a proposal comes from the opposition as a whole, it will be like the National Accord, a wobbly proposal. It will not be a common proposal, it will not have the support of all the people, and therefore it will not have the authority and the force that we need.

Q. Has the Communist Party come out for dialogue and an agreement with the armed forces?

A. Yes, in the same way as the other



opposition parties, which, it should be said in passing, is a very important point of agreement.

Q. But a lot of people say that the armed forces don't want an agreement and dialogue with the Communists.

A. We have *de facto* a dialogue with the armed forces, or rather with members of the armed forces.

Q. With the generals as well?

A. I don't think so, not yet at least. But we have contact with officers, and of course with the non-commissioned officers and the soldiers. I recognize that the armed forces are not distinguished by their sympathy for the Communists. Nearly all the officers have gone through the Pentagon's schools, and they have all been trained in the most irrational and primitive form of anti-Communism. But who is to say that they can't change?

Let me tell you something. At the moment of Salvador Allende's victory, in the very tense days between his election and his inauguration, we Communists made contact with the top officers of the armed forces. Modesty aside, I can say that we helped establish a certain understanding between them and the new president regarding some problems.

In that period, we had many meetings with the generals. Little by little, they came to know us, to know our way of thinking, our behavior. They learned to know us on many levels. I do not need to add that ideologically and on many points there was a great distance between them and the Communists.

But many of them learned to know us and to respect us for our seriousness and our honesty. That is clear. In his memoirs, Carlos Prats mentions several Communists that he got to know best in those moments, and he treats them

all with respect, or even affection.

Q. You told me that the CP was having dialogue with members of the armed forces. But let us take a hypothetical case. Say the armed forces as an institution accept dialogue with the opposition but not with the CP. What would you do then?

A. The most probable thing is that such a dialogue would not be conciliation in order to apply a policy aimed at "wiping the slate clean," giving a safe conduct to those responsible for the crimes that have been committed and leaving the military institutions more or less intact. That would not be a good thing. In any case, we will examine the facts and act accordingly.

Q. In a letter sent to the Christian Democracy on July 8, the National Party proposed a pact between political parties from which the Communists and the MDP should exclude themselves or be excluded. What do you think of that?

A. The self-exclusion or exclusion of the Communists or the MDP from any political pact does not depend on the National Party or on the Christian Democracy or anyone. We are convinced, and many others are with us, that the MDP and the CP represent a force that cannot be relegated to the sidelines in the struggle against the dictatorship and which is going to play a still more important role in the future.

Q. But the does the CP not propose to be an integral part of a provisional government that takes over after Pinochet?

A. That is another matter. At present, we cannot say categorically that that is going to be the situation when the dictatorship falls. We will fight for the dictatorship to be replaced by an advanced democratic regime pointing in the direction of socialism. That is a possible solution, and in our opinion it would be the best one and the one that will come to pass finally, even if it does not at first.

But at the present time, I insist, the outcome is not clear, and that is why no party makes it a condition that it will participate in the government that will replace the dictatorship, which undoubtedly will be a consensus government. We do not think that it is essential that we participate. Of course, we would not participate in a government that would not go beyond just changing the personnel in La Moneda [the government palace] or would try to leave the structures of the fascist state intact.

We will participate in the government when the people's will imposes this. That is why we are fighting. But this is not on the agenda today. It is necessary to get rid of the dictatorship. ☆

Summit protests

THE SUMMIT meeting between Ronald Reagan and Canadian Premier Brian Mulroney on April 5-6 was touted as an important move to smoothe out frictions that had been growing between the two North American states, in particular over acid rain, since air pollution from US industries is becoming a serious threat to Canadian agriculture. Barry Weisleder reports.

Because their talks accomplished nothing, the leaders of the two imperialist governments were barely able to save face by grasping at diplomatic straws. Both Reagan and Mulroney sought to use the Ottawa Summit to divert attention from domestic political crises.

The best Reagan could come up with was the claim that "nothing went wrong." Mulroney's equally limp contention, in a slight departure from his prepared address to the Canadian parliament, that Reagan made concessions on the issues of Arctic sovereignty and acid rain strained the already battered credibility of the prime minister.

Reagan's speech to parliament was heckled briefly by several New Democratic Party (NDP) members when the president defended his Star Wars policy and the US funding of Contra mercenaries who are waging war against the people of Nicaragua.

Many workers and NDP members felt that the whole NDP parliamentary caucus should have loudly protested against Reagan's speech, if not staged a walk-out when he defended the Contras.

But the real political action was *outside*, rather than inside the hallowed chamber, and there Mulroney got his fair share of abuse.

On April 5, over 9,000 people marched and rallied in two separate actions in front of parliament to protest

the policies of both right-wing governments.

Chanting, waving placards and flags, and carrying colourful banners, the youthful crowd attending the second and larger of the two rallies demanded an end to the US war against Nicaragua, restrictive Canadian immigration/refugee policy, US/NATO weapons' testing, acid rain/toxic waste dumping, apartheid in South Africa, attacks on women's rights, and the attacks of both governments on social programmes and workers' rights under the guise of "free trade".

Opposition to the US war in Central America, and to Canadian government complicity with US militarism emerged as a dominant theme of the day. Eight of the twelve speakers at the bi-lingual rally delivered an anti-war message. Particularly well received were remarks by Alison Acker of the Central America Solidarity Network who denounced Washington's war as "obscene", and the presentation by Jean-Pierre Duchesneau speaking for the Quebec Coalition to Aid Nicaragua, who pointed to recently revealed sales of arms and planes to the Contras by Quebec-based corporations as a glaring example of Canadian complicity.

After the rally, Duchesneau spoke to a packed forum of over 50 activists sponsored jointly by the Alliance for Socialist Action and Gauche Socialiste.

March past NATO embassies

On April 6, 150 people demonstrated against Canadian "defence" policies at the Department of National Defence building in Ottawa. Thirty-five were arrested when they attempted to block the entrances in an act of civil disobedience. Sixty activists continued the protest by marching past several NATO country embassies, chanting anti-war slogans. That afternoon, seventy-five students protested against Nancy Reagan's visit to a local high school.

In the final analysis, the leaders' Summit achieved no new policies — and the protests did not change any old ones.

But the days of protest activities brought together a broad range of social movements, including labour, who possess the potential to stop the war in Central America, and to go on to establish a government in this country in the interests of the majority — in English Canada and Quebec — a workers' government.

The next small step in this long march forward are the demonstrations against US intervention and Canadian complicity in Central America planned for June 6. ☆



4 NEWS FROM THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

DENMARK

Over 40 years of anti-racism

ON THE seventieth birthday of Børge Trolle, a veteran of the Danish section, the April 23 issue of *Klassekampen* (paper of the Socialistik Arbejderparti) recalled an action by the Danish Trotskyist group during the war in which Trolle was involved:

"As socialists we fight not only for five pennies more an hour but we also have our ideals about how people should live together, and we fight every form of oppression, economic or racist."

That is what the International Communists wrote in *Klassekamp* in November 1943. The reason was the persecution of the Jews that started in Denmark on September 30 of the same year. The International Communists were a Trotskyist group affiliated to the Fourth International. And one of the members of the group was Børge Trolle....

"The Danish resistance helped the Jews the most"

The members of the International Communists were involved in helping Jews get out of the country after the persecutions began.

"We took part in evacuating Adelgade and Borgergade. That was a neighborhood where poor Jews lived, whom no one had thought about. They were small traders, tailors, shoemakers, second-hand goods dealers, and so on.

"Moreover, the Danish resistance movement was the one that most helped the Jews. Denmark was the German occupied country where the Nazis got the least Jews."

It was because of their work transporting Jews that a section of the comrades in the International Communists were arrested and sent to a concentration camp.

"After the transportation of the Jews, we went underground, but the Gestapo had an agent in the people around us.

"First they arrested Georg Junglas and me and other people involved in the transportation. [Junglas was a German refugee and a driving force in building the Trotskyist group in Denmark after the mid-1930s].

"Then they arrested five more. Two got to Sweden. The rest were with Knud Ellegård and were arrested."

The same issue of *Klassekampen* had a centerspread defending the right of political asylum in Denmark today, which the right-wing Schlüter government has been making more and more restrictive:

In the last couple of years the problems of hunger, oppression and political persecution around the world have indirectly become a problem here. Several thousands of refugees have come to this country in the hope of finding protection here that he could not find in their own countries....

In October the frontiers were virtually sealed. That was done by demanding that the refugees have a passport and visa to come into the country. It is impossible for most to get such documents.

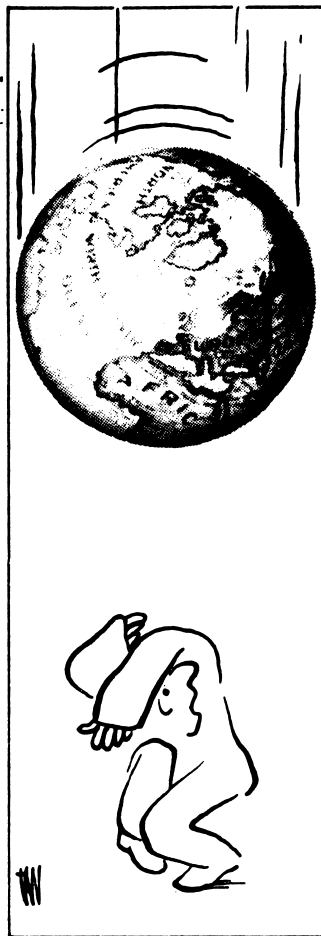
The Socialistik Arbejderparti proposes to support a campaign to get this law changed, so that refugees will be able to get asylum in Denmark. We intend to oppose every expression of racism, whether it comes from right extremists, young green-jackets, the police or from the government itself, in the form of laws....

The Socialistik Arbejderparti sees the fight against racism and for the right of refugees to asylum as part of this struggle. It is one that we wage not only in Denmark but together with the Fourth International, in which the SAP works with revolutionary parties and organizations in other countries. ★

ITALY

Election accord

ON MAY 5, the leadership of the Lega Comunista Rivoluzionaria (LCR) and the leadership of Democrazia Proletaria signed an accord for the parliamentary elections that will take place on June 14 in Italy. The agreement called for the publication of a joint political statement and for including LCR members on the Democrazia Proletaria slates either in the elections for the Chamber of Deputies or for the Senate. The coming issue of *IV* will carry material on the situation in Italy and the significance of the coming elections. ★



ISRAEL

Special appeal

ON THE front page of its March issue, *Matzpen Marksisti*, the Hebrew-language publication of the Revolutionary Communist League, the section of the Fourth International in Israel, notes that it was hard hit by the closure of the Alternative Information Center (AIC) in Jerusalem on February 17. [See the last three issues of *IV*]. The AIC functioned as service center for all the left organizations, and, among other things, offered help with printing, which is difficult for anti-Zionist groups in Israel.

"With the closure of the Alternative Information Center and the confiscation of its equipment and the printed material that was there, the editorial board of *Matzpen Marksisti* lost the journal's archives, the list of subscribers and all the layout material that we had, since the editors of the journal used the center for printing, writing, and proofreading."

It made a special appeal for subscriptions in order to assure continued regular publication.

At the time of the raid on the AIC, the Center's director and a leader of the RCL, Michel Warschawsky, was arrested and still faces charges of "rendering services to an illegal organization," specifically the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. A fund has been set up to aid in his defence. Contributions can be sent to the Release Michel Warschawsky Fund, 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil, France. ★

"A new consciousness in this country"

ALTHOUGH THE *International Herald Tribune* reported that 75,000 people attended the April 25 rally in Washington DC against US intervention in Central America and apartheid in South Africa, this summary of the American prestige press (the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*) offered neither reporting nor direct commentary on what it itself acknowledged was a massive demonstration.

GERRY FOLEY

NONETHELESS, some days later, on May 2, the *Herald Tribune* presented an opinion piece on its editorial page, dismissing the demonstration as a belated expression of the spirit of the 1960s.

It did not make any attempt at objectivity. The article was a combination of lampoon and the hailing of a new era of triumphant free-enterprise: "The great April 25 Mobilization for Justice and Peace was a melancholy affair, an indication of just how spent is the spirit of the Sixties."

And it ended with this vision of the future: "Americans have been losing the competition with the Japanese not for lack of scientific creativity. What Americans lack is the Japanese talent for rote productivity, their grim-faced efficiency, their assembly-line discipline. Americans are not good at singing the company song. Competitive-ness is the pursuit of material values; it will not do to be shocked to find youth in hot pursuit."

It is hard to say whether the article was a lament that the "spirit of the 1960s" was taking so long to die, or a denunciation of those who stubbornly refused to admit that it was dead.

The April 25 demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco were a powerful refutation of the image of the "post-1960" age that the publicists of the right have been trying to build up for a decade. Even the estimate of 75,000 given by the *International Herald Tribune* is massive enough. But estimates by supporters of the demonstration ran up to 150,000. At the height of the anti-Vietnam war movement few demonstrations were bigger than that.

In the first place, the demonstrations included a large contingent of unionized workers, far greater than the anti-war demonstrations of the 1960s. Reporters for *The Militant* — the newspaper that reflects the point of view of the Socialist Workers' Party, an organization in fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International — estimated that union contingents represented about 20 per cent of the Washington demonstration.

William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, marched with his union's contingent. Several thousand workers joined with the contingent from the New York City Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees Local 1199. The largest contingent, according to *The Militant*, was from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). In New York City alone, District 37 of AFSCME had chartered 70 buses for the demonstration.

"Look at all the unionists!"

"As the cheering, banner-waving hospital workers strode by, they had an impact on other marchers," *The Militant* wrote. "Look at all the unionists," said one man."

There were 19 union presidents among the endorsers of the action. The trade unionists backed the mobilization and came out on April 25 despite a letter from AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland and local AFL-CIO bodies ordering them not to endorse the Washington and San Francisco actions. This letter was also backed up by a red-baiting campaign

against the mobilization by the bricklayers' union president John Joyce and American Federation of Teachers president Albert Shanker. The fulminations of these right wing unionists were given a big play in the capitalist press.

"The demonstration's youthfulness was striking"

"Signs and banners also identified delegations from the American Federation of Government Employees; Communications Workers of America; National Education Association; American Postal Workers' Union; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; Farm Labor Organizing Committee; and Hotel and Restaurant Workers," *The Militant* wrote.

Moreover, the "youthfulness of the demonstration was striking." A great many were highschool and university students. A lot of them were affected by the Contragate revelations. *The Militant* quoted one highschool student from a town in Maine as saying, "We came here because so much has been covered up, with all the lies we've been told about Central America. This march could be the beginning of a new consciousness in this country."

In San Francisco also the crowd was youthful. "The overwhelming majority of the young crowd were highschool and college students, many attending their first demonstration," *The Militant* wrote. It estimated the West Coast demonstration at 75,000. Twenty-two buses arrived from Los Angeles, including one chartered by the United Auto Workers and another by the United Electrical Workers, the latter carrying many Salvadoran UE members. Buses came from as far as Portland and Seattle, and students arrived from Santa Barbara, San Diego and many other cities.

"A ten-car train brought marchers from San Jose, stopping to pick up International Association of Machinists contingents from the Lockheed and Westinghouse plants in Sunnyvale, and airport workers in Burlingame."

The largest contingent of unionists came from the Service Employees' International Union. There were also, among others, contingents from the Machinists; the Longshoremen's Union; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; AFSCME; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Musicians; American Federation of Government Employees; and United Electrical Workers.

The young people who were at these rallies, many for the first time, seemed to echo the sentiment of the tens of thousands of West European youth who have demonstrated in the last year that the 1960s were OK, but the end of the 1980s will be better. ☆