

# International VIEWPOINT

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**SPECIAL: Giant step by Black labor in South Africa**  
**Marcos caught with hand in ballot box. The test of**  
**the Northern Irish by-elections. Israel's deportations**

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IN DEFENCE of the Fourth International against the split of the Australian Socialist Workers Party by *Ernest Mandel* is now available in the form of a special supplement to IV, issue No 93 and will be sent to subscribers. For individual or bulk orders for non-subscribers write immediately to 2, Rue Richard Lenoir 93108 Montreuil, France.

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# Marcos left isolated in face of rising mass movement

HUNDREDS of thousands of people (the Paris daily *Liberation* estimated up to a million) rallied in the center of Manila on Sunday, February 16, in response to "Cory" Aquino's call for a mass protest against Marcos' vote stealing. At the same time, the dictator's chief of the General Staff, General Ver, resigned.

PAUL PETITJEAN

Marcos has had himself proclaimed re-elected president by a National Assembly that he tightly controls. But the entire political operation he mounted abruptly, calling for early elections, has ended in disaster. He sought to give his personal power a new legitimacy nationally and internationally. He hoped to stabilize for some time a regime undermined by a more and more open crisis.

Now, the February 7 elections have bared, more than ever in the past, the dictatorial character of the existing regime. The wearing out of the political system imposed by martial law, the incompetence of the executive branch, the discredit of the regime — both in the islands themselves and in the western capitals — have never been so glaring.

Far from achieving a temporary stabilization of the situation, the official re-election of Marcos has opened a period of great fluidity and conflict. Both the bourgeois opposition and the revolutionary opposition can profit from this situation.

At this writing, it is still impossible to draw a complete balance sheet of the recent events. The official recount has no weight. Everyone knows that the elections were shamefully rigged. There is no doubt about what the will of the people was. Corazon ("Cory") Aquino was the voters' choice.

Denied victory by an unprecedented fraud, Cory was not defeated. Instead of being resolved in the wake of the elections, the test of strength that began before the February 7 elections is continuing after the proclamation of the results.

Cory's moral legitimacy stands in opposition to the de facto power of Marcos. A new configuration of forces is taking form. It is still too early to try to analyze it in detail.

But a certain number of elements can already be discerned.

The elections have dramatically confirmed the extent of the crisis afflicting the Marcos regime. The usual mechanisms of patronage, intimidation, and electoral fraud were not sufficient to keep the electoral process under control. After rigging the vote itself, it was necessary, on top of that, to rig the recount. However, despite all the regime's maneuvers and crimes, the verdict of the polls remained favourable to Cory.

Traditionally, the regime had managed to divide the opposition, smother its voice, and maintain a facade of respecting a minimum of democratic norms by silencing protests. This time it was unable to minimize the vastness of the fraud or camouflage it effectively.

The work of a movement such as Namfrel (1) is very revealing of the way the situation has developed. Of course, Namfrel could not stop the fraud. In many places, its activists were driven away from the polls at gunpoint. In that way, the president's agents got a free hand. Several members of Namfrel paid with their lives for their stubborn defense of the polls.

But this vast citizens' movement was able to limit the effects of the electoral fraud. Above all, it was able to expose the rigging at every stage in the voting procedure: massive vote buying, removal of opposition voters from the registers, fictitious voters, multiple voting for Marcos, ballot-box stuffing and replacement of ballot boxes.

The fraud was on such a scale that in some villages the official returns showed Marcos getting 100 percent of the votes, while many opponents of the regime in these

places were known to have voted for Cory.

Cornered by the pressure of the opposition, Marcos had to extend the fraud into the Metro-Manila region itself, where it could most easily be exposed. In addition, with 500,000 members and the support of the church, Namfrel managed to build its network in the countryside.

The international press, moreover, played a very active role in exposing the election rigging and the intimidation and terror carried out by a regime at bay.

The Namfrel network, which nearly covered the country, enabled it to thwart the regime's final maneuver, the falsification of the recount. Using its own system of tabulation, Namfrel was able to announce that Cory had won the election and to challenge the validity of the results announced by the regime's own body for overseeing the elections, the Comelec.

At the last minute, about thirty technicians charged with running the Comelec's computers took refuge in a church, explaining, floppy disks in hand, that the figures they fed in were not those announced by the agency.

Ferdinand Marcos' electoral operation was already totally discredited when the responsibility for announcing the results was shifted onto a rump National Assembly, two-thirds of whose members belong to the government party.

This failure, a politically very costly one, is not simply a conjunctural one. Marcos can still hold on to power. He still controls the military general staff, thanks to General Ver, and Washington has not withdrawn all support. But the dictator's logic seems to come down more and more to a "I am here, I am staying, after me the deluge."

The system of power set up with martial law in the 1970s is clearly breaking down. (2) The attitude of the Catholic hierarchy in this regard is particularly significant. The Catholic Church has just solemnly come out for Cory. After meeting for 48 hours, the Philippines Conference of Bishops issued a document on February 14 that denies any legitimacy to the existing regime.

"The people have expressed themselves, or at least they tried to," this document says, which is to be read in all the churches throughout the archipelago. "The government must respect the people's mandate, this is the precondition for any reconciliation."

1. National Citizens Movement for Free Elections.

2. Cf. "Election will not solve the crisis of the dictatorship," in *International Viewpoint*, No. 92, February 10, 1986.

"The February 7 elections were marked by unprecedented fraud — systematic denial of the right to vote, massive vote buying, deliberate manipulation of the results, intimidation, persecution, terrorism, and murder ... These irregularities and many others reveal a criminal use of power in the attempt to oppose the sovereign will of the people. A government that holds onto power in this way no longer has any moral foundations ... It cannot claim the allegiance of citizens."

"The time has come to stand up and fight Evil." (3) [retranslation from French.]

Before the vote, Cardinal Sin, archbishop of the Philippines, had already described the electoral campaign as a struggle between the forces of light (Cory) and the forces of darkness (Marcos). Both members of religious orders and lay Catholics joined Namfrel in large numbers.

But the results of the Conference of Bishops goes beyond anything the Church did before. Well known for not mincing words, in the past Cardinal Sin alternately denounced and supported the regime without committing the hierarchy, which is divided between a progressive minority, an extreme right wing, and a conservative majority. This time the hierarchy itself, collectively, has gone over to the opposition to Marcos.

### Locked step toward confrontation

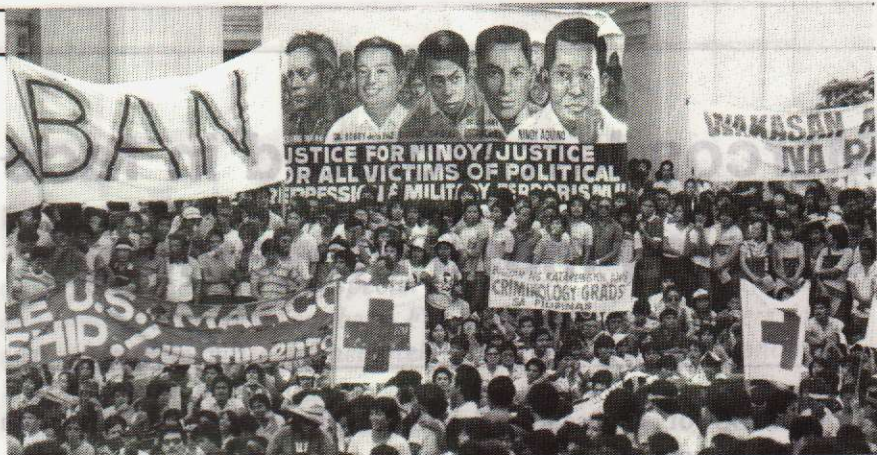
Regardless of what concrete steps the bishops take in the coming weeks, adopting such a position has a very great importance in an 85 percent Catholic country, in which the Church is the second material power (after the state apparatus) and the first moral power.

Moral legitimacy has been withdrawn from Marcos and given to Cory, who has called for a mass protest rally in the center of Manila on Sunday February 16.

One of the features of the presidential campaign is that Cory got personal support from the masses that sometimes took a semi-religious, semi-mystical turn. She became, at the same time as a moral alternative to the regime, a sort of "protecting Madonna."

If the Catholic hierarchy, the majority of which is conservative, committed itself in this way, it is because it knows that the stakes have become too great and that it senses the exasperation of the masses.

Since the assassination of Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino in 1983, Marcos has blocked by his intransigence the



Demonstration in support of 'Ninoy' Aquino, September 1983 (DR)

possibility for a gradual transition to a more democratic regime. Today, once again, he has responded to his electoral defeat by falsification of the results and by murder. Since the February 7 elections, several dozen oppositionists have been assassinated, including such an important personality as Ovelilo Javier, Cory's principal campaign manager, who was killed in the southern province of Antique.

Marcos' obstinacy, the underlying logic of a dictatorial and clientelist regime, the special interests of "relatives" and generals close to the administration, the blindness of the presidential team — the Marcos system in short — has blocked the "middle way" sought by the Church and Washington. That is, a controlled reform of the regime that would make possible democratic concessions and the reunification of the elites so that, under the aegis of Washington, they could fight more effectively against the revolutionary upsurge that is mounting throughout the archipelago.

This "middle road" is closed today. The Catholic hierarchy has drawn the conclusions from this. That is, it is necessary at all costs to bolster the credibility of a general bourgeois and pro-Western alternative to Marcos. Otherwise, the only alternative would be constituted by the revolutionary forces and the CPP guerrillas. So, the time has passed, as the bishops see it, for playing a waiting game.

Many eyes are turned to Washington. But the Reagan administration remains between its fear of seeing an uncontrollable mass upsurge if Marcos goes and its fear of a deteriorating situation if Marcos remains in the saddle. Reagan has tried to maintain, to the point of absurdity, the line that was reached through painful negotiations after the assassination of Ninoy in 1983, calling on Cory and Marcos to come to an understanding for forming a government.

This is what prompted New York congressman Stephen J. Solarz to say, "Here we have irrefutable proof that they're smoking hashish in the White

House." (4) [Retranslation from French.]

Marcos is holding on because Washington has not withdrawn its support, a fact that illustrates the role played by U.S. imperialism in the Philippines. But Washington has been unable to impose its policy and the compromises that it has made with Marcos and the opposition. This indicates the limitations in the maneuvering room of Washington in the face of such a deep political and social crisis, whose dynamic no one can control.

The moderate, bourgeois opposition has succeeded for the first time in these elections in offering a credible alternative to the Marcos regime, with the reinforcement of Unido (5) on the one hand, and on the other the focusing of the hopes of the masses around the personality of Cory.

However, now this bourgeois opposition has to continue its initiatives on another terrain — that of extra-parliamentary mobilization, where popular, revolutionary opposition is strongest. While they were pushed to the sidelines during the election campaign, the organized mass movement and the left forces can retake the initiative in the struggle against the Marcos regime.

The crisis of the regime has now become an open one. But the reaction of the army, the presidential palace, and Washington may be savage, as indicated by the murders perpetrated by government forces and the Pentagon's sending more Special Forces to the U.S. bases. The presence of such forces has already been revealed by the Philippine people's movement. (6)

International solidarity with the Philippine people's movement is needed more than ever now. □

3. Cited in an article by Patrick Sabatier in the February 15-16 issue of the Paris daily 'Liberation.'

4. Cf. the article by Bernard in 'Le Monde' of February 13.

5. United Nationalist Democratic Organization.

6. See the interview with Roland Simbulan in 'IV', No. 82, September 16, 1985.

# Sinn Fein setback in Northern special elections

THE 15 by-elections held in Northern Ireland on January 23 had virtually the character of a special general election to test the response of both the Unionist and nationalist communities to the Anglo-Irish agreement signed on November 15 by the Thatcher government and the cravenly neocolonialist FitzGerald government in Dublin.

GERRY FOLEY

The election was forced by the Unionists (who are divided into two main parties, the Democratic Unionist Party led by Ian Paisley and the Official Unionist Party led by James Molyneaux). The DUP and the OUP held all but two of the seats in the London parliament for the six-county enclave of Northern Ireland.

The other two seats were held respectively by John Hume in West Derry, a representative of the Catholic bourgeois party, the so-called Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP); and Gerry Adams in West Belfast for the revolutionary nationalist party, Sinn Fein (SF). By-elections, therefore, were not held in these two constituencies.

The MPs for the two Unionist parties resigned en bloc, although there were some visible differences over the tactic, in protest against the Anglo-Irish agreement. They complained that it gives Dublin a voice in the internal affairs of the six-county enclave, thereby violating the national rights of the Unionist people as British citizens.

In fact, the treaty makes no concrete concessions to nationalist aspirations or interests. To the contrary, in signing it the Dublin government for the first time granted the Unionists the right to maintain their enclave as long as they choose. The agreement simply accords Dublin a formal consultative role, the minimum necessary to enable it to justify increased collaboration with British repression to voters in the supposedly independent part of the country.

The essential purpose of the agreement is to facilitate the political isolation and military and police repression of the national liberation movement. In fact, British secretary of state for Northern Ireland, Tom

King, was obliged to say as much openly in an attempt to tranquilize the paranoid reflexes of the reactionary Unionist colonial caste, as well as of rightist imperialist diehards on the "mainland" itself.

Nonetheless, the Unionist backlash was inevitable. Now, even more than in the past, any political maneuvering by British imperialism in Northern Ireland cannot avoid sooner or later jostling the colonial caste.

With the decline of the traditional Protestant-owned industries in the North, the privileges of the Protestants depend more and more directly on their political role as repressors of the nationalist population in the North and as a dam against Irish national aspirations.

In the elections, the Anglo-Irish political operation scored some points. The Unionist parties failed to bring out the vote of half a million that they were aiming for (the total population of the enclave is about a million and a half, about 900,000 of whom are Protestants).

At the same time, the bourgeois Catholic party, the SDLP, which has pinned its hopes for recovering political hegemony over the nationalist population on success of the Anglo-Irish maneuver, scored important gains. Conversely, Sinn Fein suffered its first important setbacks since the end of the H-Block movement.

At 418,230, the total Unionist vote in the 15 constituencies was only 5,291 more than in the 1983 general elections. Furthermore, tactical differences among the Unionists seemed to be sharpening, with a leading OUP MP, Harold McCusker, announcing that he would boycott the Westminster parliament.

The combined vote for the SDLP and SF, the only parties with a

nationalist program, was 109,500. Of this, the SDLP got 70,917 and SF, 38,821. Thus of the vote cast for nationalist parties, the SDLP got 64.5%, as against 25.5% for SF. This compares with the 43% of the nationalist vote that SF got in the 1982 Northern Ireland Assembly elections, which was the first time it participated in a general election. Its percentage in the May 1985 local elections was slightly less than that.

Moreover, the SDLP captured a second seat in the Newry-Armagh constituency, giving it now two MPs to one for SF. The SDLP's political maneuvering room increased more than the numerical results indicate, because its new MP, Seamus Mallon, represents the more nationalist wing of the party. Thus, the SDLP is now in a better position to claim to represent a broad spectrum of nationalist opinion.

The renegade ex-republican Workers Party (WP) increased its vote from a marginal 10,000 to 18,000, about half of the Sinn Fein vote. For all political purposes this party is a "left" Catholic Unionist party, but because of its republican past it seems to have collected a mainly nationalist vote by running candidates in Protestant majority constituencies where the nationalist parties did not put up candidates.

For example, the WP got 6,978 votes in the Upper Bann, where there was no nationalist candidate; 3,563 in North Belfast, where there was no nationalist candidate; and 3,328 in the Lagan Valley, where there was no nationalist candidate. In no constituency where there were nationalist candidates did it get over a thousand votes. Its most common score in such areas was about 500.

## SDLP gains

The SDLP vote increased relative to SF in all four constituencies with a potential nationalist majority — Mid-Ulster, Fermanagh-South Tyrone, South Down, and Newry-Armagh. In the first two, SF had been the majority nationalist party; in the second two, the SDLP.

In mid-Ulster, the SDLP came within less than a thousand votes of Danny Morrison, one of the main Sinn Fein leaders. An unknown very young SDLP candidate, Adrian Colton, got 13,021 votes against Morrison's 13,998. In the 1983 election, SF got 16,096 (1) votes

1. The traditional Catholic Unionist party, the Alliance party, a fervent supporter of the Anglo-Irish deal, got about 1,700 votes in Mid-Ulster in 1983. It did not stand a candidate in the constituency this time, so presumably its support went to the SDLP.

against the SDLP's 12,044. In Fermanagh-South Tyrone, where Sinn Fein first entered the electoral arena in the 1981 campaign that elected H-Block hunger striker Bobby Sands, the revolutionary nationalist party suffered a serious setback.

Owen Carron, Sands' campaign manager and political heir, got 15,278 votes against 12,081 for Austin Currie, a particularly odious Catholic bourgeois politician. Carron's vote was down from over 20,000 in the 1983 parliamentary elections. Moreover, immediately after the vote, the Sinn Fein candidate, who had been on bail on a charge of illegally possessing a firearm, went on the run, effectively removing himself from legal politics in Northern Ireland for the foreseeable future.

Where the SDLP had held a lead over SF before, this time it pushed it to the electoral sidelines. In 1983 in South Down, SF polled 4,074 votes against 20,145 for the SDLP. This time, the SDLP got 23,121, and SF less than 3,000. In Newry-Armagh, in 1983, SF got 9,928 against 17,434 for the SDLP. This time, it got 6,609 against 22,694 for the SDLP.

It is possible that the SDLP profited significantly from tactical voting in Newry-Armagh, since Mallon was the only nationalist candidate given a chance of winning a seat away from a Unionist. But this was only part of a much larger pattern.

Gerry Adams commented on the election results saying that SF had been opposed to letting the Unionists make them into a referendum but that the SDLP had played into the latter's hands:

"... we said before the elections to the SDLP that the elections should be ignored by nationalists to expose the so-called referendum or at least some arrangement should have been come to so that anti-Unionists could have had the opportunity to return their candidates."

According to the January 25 *Irish Times*, Adams said that if the SDLP had been willing to accept an electoral pact with Sinn Fein, six nationalist candidates could have been elected. The pact SF proposed was for dividing up the constituencies.

The SF leader minimized the importance of the election results, saying: "This was a very unique election ... I think some of our voters stayed at home and others backed the strongest horse." He went on to remark, according to a summary by the *Irish Times*, "Sinn Fein opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement was still the correct policy for a nationalist party and [Adams] said in the long term, as people came to realise that the agreement would not



Members of the Democratic Unionist Party demonstrate inside Hillsborough (DR)

change the Northern State, the SDLP gains would be drastically reduced."

Morrison said, "The outer ring of the party's support may have been susceptible to the promises of peace and reconciliation around the corner."

Some days after the elections, Tom Hartley, a central leader of SF, stressed to me in Dublin that the elections had showed that Sinn Fein had built up a hard core of electoral support that had held firm despite illusions in the Anglo-Irish agreement.

A few days before the vote, I talked to Martin Ward of the SF National Executive at the party's mid-Ulster election office in Omagh. Ward anticipated that the SF vote would decline some. He noted such negative factors as "illusions" in the Anglo-Irish accord, the fact many SF supporters did not see the need for fighting the election, and a notably better financed SDLP campaign.

On the other hand, Ward stressed that the election machine that SF had built up remained solid and was ticking over smoothly. For this area, it included about 150 workers, ten to twenty of them full time, although the party had no paid election staff.

(*Irish Times* correspondent Fionnuala O'Connor was impressed by the impecuniousness of the Sinn Fein campaign in South Down in contrast to a slick, well-heeled SDLP operation. SF did not even have enough cars, she wrote.)

I did not get the impression that either the SF workers or leaders expected the sort of setback that occurred. Generally they seemed confident in the effectiveness of the election machine they had built up.

SF activists and leaders seemed to think only in terms of their party steadily building itself up and the SDLP steadily discrediting itself. Some argued that SF had won the bulk of the youth, and that since young people were no longer emigrating as in the past, it was only a matter of time until they overcame their rivals. No one seemed to have much interest in initiatives to develop

broader campaigns.

In short, there seemed to be little or no sensitivity to the need for political strategy. This is despite the fact that at the time of the local elections last year some republican leaders talked of the need for a new strategy to take on the SDLP. (2)

Despite the historical self-confidence the republicans expressed about the eventual demise of the SDLP, their attitude toward it has gone through big swings. In the early stages of the H-Block movement, they tended to regard it as simply a traitor party that had to be treated as such. In this election, they offered to divide up the constituencies with it in the name of pan-nationalist unity, without any political conditions.

However, this election was about the Anglo-Irish agreement. The SDLP was for it; SF was against it. So, the SDLP vote was counted as a vote against SF. In fact, the most important stake the imperialists and neocolonialists had in this election was to insure an increased SDLP vote against SF. So, whatever points the republicans may have gained by showing that they were more interested in nationalist unity than the SDLP, were almost certainly far outweighed by the confusion this tactic must have caused among nationalist voters about what was at stake in the vote.

Moreover, the question of what the SDLP is seems still open in SF. Notably, rural SF leaders and activists seem to define it by subjective criteria ("cowardess," among other things). The Belfast leaders, on the other hand, tend to define it as a "class party," the majority of which at least consists of middle-class people irreducibly opposed to a revolutionary struggle. Neither attitude, in fact, seems to lead anywhere in dealing with a bourgeois leadership of a section of an oppressed nationality.

There was an apparent contradic-

2. See my article on the Northern local elections in *International Viewpoint*, No. 77, June 3, 1985, entitled "Victory for the Anti-Imperialist Movement."

tion between the republicans' denunciations of big money being pumped into the SDLP by imperialist and neo-colonialist godfathers and their claims that basically nothing very important was at stake in the elections.

For example, Paddy McManus, vice chair of the Belfast Executive of SF, told me the day before the vote that he estimated the SDLP had spent £20,000 on newspaper ads alone, as against £2,000 to £3,000 spent by SF for that. He pointed to the role of U.S. political agencies in building up John Hume and the SDLP.

No republican I spoke to seemed to link the republican electoral breakthrough in the North to the mass movement built around the H-block issue. Some explained that it was simply the result of the decision of the republican leadership to contest elections. The support had been there; it was just a matter of tapping it.

All the republicans I talked to said, in the same vein as Gerry Adams, that the Anglo-Irish Agreement operation would simply fade as it became clear that there really was nothing in it for the nationalist people, although some said it was part of a long-term political plan to isolate SF politically.

It is true that "illusions" about the deal have not yet had the disastrous effects that similar British and neocolonialist maneuvers had in the mid-1970s. But the wreck of those maneuvers on the reefs of Unionist intransigence did not in itself end the relative political isolation of the republican movement. It was only the rise of the H-Block movement that did that.

More fundamentally, it would be hard to explain the duration of the republican resistance since 1969 without the mass civil rights movement of 1968-1972. Although the republicans won the bulk of the Northern Catholic vote in 1955, the guerrilla campaign they launched subsequently ended in defeat in 1961, leaving the Irish national movement at its lowest ebb in this century.

At the very least, this election setback seems to mark the exhaustion of the impetus derived from the H-Block campaign, which was already announced by SF's failure to make a breakthrough in the South and the peaking of its vote even in the North. Hopefully, this warning will revive thinking about political strategy and how to broaden the national movement. The elections have pointed up the fact that SF does not have unlimited time. In the history of no country, not even Ireland, have people been willing to keep up a fight forever that seems to be leading nowhere. □

## A giant step for Black labour

THE FOUNDING conference of a united trade-union confederation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) held November 29-December 1, 1985, in Durban marked the end of a stage in the renewal of the independent trade-union movement. It concluded the period in which independent unions had emerged in a scattered way and discussed how to fuse. (1)

The formation of a 500,000-member federation has created a new situation, drastically altering the face of the trade-union movement. The founding congress of COSATU was a major step toward unity, and more than a symbolic one. But now in the superfederation, very important organizational and political questions are going to have to be debated and decided.

PETER BLUMER

On the organizational side, there will now have to be real fusions of the unions in each industry in order to comply with the provision that there should be only one national union for each industry. Thus, different methods of work, as well as the different traditions of each of the components in this process of unification, will have to be melted together in the same crucible.

On the political side, COSATU and each of its member unions will have to take positions on such major questions as trade-union involvement in political campaigns, relations with the civic associations, relations with the United Democratic Front (UDF), and so on.

This whole body of problems will not be resolved overnight. The discussion will be long and complex. Up until the founding of COSATU, every component of the union movement had built its organization in accordance with its own special project, around which the leadership was consolidated. Now these different conceptions exist in the same organization.

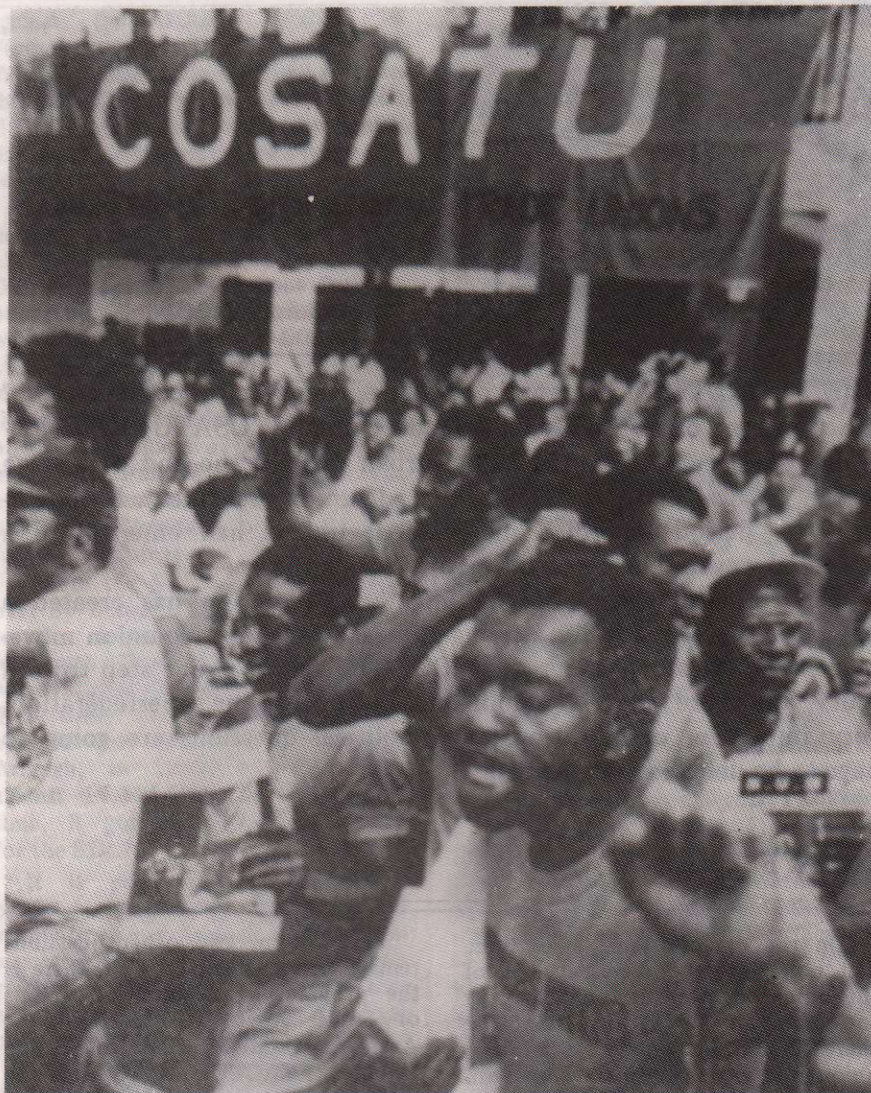
Therefore, the question of internal democracy will not be the smallest problem. (2) However, the most complicated one, at least in the short term, may be for COSATU to achieve some overall cohesion nationally and in the work of all its unions in the various industries. This may not be easy.

In addition, two other questions remain pending. First of all, there is the problem of Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU), which for the moment are not in COSATU. (See box.) Second, there is the problem of some unions that have come from the tradition of the Trade-Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), a white job-trust union movement that has under its leadership Black "parallel" unions, which are detaching themselves from it and showing an interest in joining the COSATU.

Many observers have tried to demonstrate that this process of unification has been dominated by a certain competition between two

1. On the debate over the process of trade-union unification, see the articles published in 'International Viewpoint', No. 8, December 9, 1985.

2. The structures proposed for democratically rooting the COSATU include coordination at the base through Shop Stewards Councils bringing together the various unions at the local level. The representatives of these Shop Stewards Councils will meet every four months in a regional congress, which will elect a Regional Executive that will meet monthly. Within this Regional Executive Committee, representation is assured for all the unions affiliated to the COSATU. At the national level, a Central Committee made up of two representatives for each affiliated union, including one worker, will meet every three months. Between the meetings of this Central Committee, a National Executive Committee will assure the functioning of the confederation. Finally, a national congress is to be held every two years.



At the launching of COSATU (DR)

traditions — that of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) and that of certain unions belonging to the UDF. Be that as it may, it is true that these two pre-existing currents have behaved in very different ways on a certain number of political questions. The general workers' unions belonging to the UDF are going to have to divide up along industrial lines in order to take part in the formation of united industrial unions.

### A complex unification

While FOSATU has built its base mainly in industrial sectors where the working class was quite highly concentrated, the unions linked to the UDF have above all but not exclusively focused on services. Thus, FOSATU's base tends to be constituted by the most stable section of the working class. This does not mean, of course, that antiunion repression by the bosses, relying on

the apartheid laws, cannot make the jobs of these categories of workers also precarious. A notable example of this was when the management of the semi-state enterprise SASOL [South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation] fired thousands of strikers and unionists in 1984. (3) However, the base of the unions linked to the UDF represents industries where the workers' status and sometimes also their dispersion are generally greater.

The industries in which the FOSATU unions were the biggest were auto, chemicals, metals, paper, textiles, and transport. In these industries as a whole, FOSATU had 111,500 members on the eve of the founding of COSATU. As for the unions linked to the UDF, they had a majority among the organized workers in agriculture, health, sectors of the railroads, construction, domestic work, and cleaning services, representing a total of 43,400 workers.

Finally, in a series of industries the majority unions were not attached either to FOSATU or to the organiza-

tions linked to the UDF. This includes the municipal workers, represented mainly by the Cape Town Municipal Workers Association (CTMWA), with 11,000 members; the retail clerks, for whom the main union was the CCAWUSA, the union of commercial, food, and allied-trade workers, with 50,000 members; the food workers, where the biggest union was the Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU), with 26,800 members; and finally, the mine workers, where the National Union of Miners (NUM) claimed a membership of 180,000.

This gives a general picture. But it is necessary to make some finer distinctions case by case. For example, the Farm Workers Union (FWU), which has adhered to the UDF and is trying to organize the farm workers, in 1985 claimed a membership of only 350. Such weakness is understandable when you consider that in principle agricultural workers in South Africa have no right to join unions.

Moreover, in several industries, alongside a dominant union there are other organizations with substantial strength, whose existence gives a correspondingly greater importance to the problem of forming single unions for each industry. The weight given to the membership figures of the various unions also has to be adjusted in accordance with the extent of organization of the respective unions' base.

In fact, most of the unions take care to distinguish between their members, in the broad sense of the term, and those who pay dues. Very often, the second figure represents only 40 percent to 50 percent of the first.

The debates in the trade-union movement are far from having ended with the founding congress of COSATU. We got a glimpse of such discussions in the final meetings held in preparation for the congress, when the metal workers' union affiliated to FOSATU, the MAWU and the NUM left the hall in protest against the persistent demand of some unions that each union, regardless of its size, have the right to equal representation in the national leadership of the future united confederation. Over and above the problems of organization and democracy, there are very specific political stakes involved in such debates.

The various proclamations of support for the founding of COSATU issued by the various political currents and groups in South Africa highlight

3. On the firing of the SASOL workers and the reinstatement of a large part of them after a victory of the local union, see 'TV', No. 80, July 15, 1985.



the stakes involved. Everyone understands quite well that the way that COSATU defines itself in the future will have major consequences for the political movements.

In an article hailing the establishment of the superfederation, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), for example, also hailed the affiliation of some unions to the UDF. Understanding clearly the debates that are going to arise in COSATU the article says the following: "SACTU does however stress that as long as the oppressive apartheid regime exists, where the aboveground trade unionists face detention without trial, torture and murder at the hands of the police, the occupation of their townships, and the brutal strike-busting tactics of the regime and bosses, there will always be a need for SACTU. SACTU will, through its underground structures, continue to guide, influence, and persuade the trade-union movement along the revolutionary course of our struggle ... SACTU, through its place in the Congress Alliance (ANC-SA), shows its total commitment to the destruction of the apartheid regime and to the implementation of the Freedom Charter." (4)

The message is clear. In other words, the creation of COSATU is to revive the debate on the relationship between the trade-union movement and the African National Congress (ANC) current. In the past, one could draw a dividing line between the unions sympathizing with the Chartist current, some of which identify explicitly with the SACTU, and unions maintaining independent or critical positions with regard to the ANC. But today everyone belongs to the same organization.

### New challenges

The establishment of COSATU will not mean just a greater sum of forces but will promote a qualitative advance in working-class action. This clearly appears already from a reading of the congress resolutions. Their general line bears a broad imprint of anticapitalist and anti-imperialist positions, while being based on the immediate economic and democratic concerns of the workers.

Some of these motions sum up and systematize a coherent political point of view on certain questions. Formerly, the elements of the response given in these documents appeared only in a scattered way in interviews by the union leaders, press communiques, and statements of congresses. The body of resolutions of the founding

## The unions that opted out

The Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions, have not joined COSATU. The main criticism they make of the superfederation is that it has not adopted as a principle the need for a "Black leadership," that is, in fact, it has accepted whites into the union leaderships. This is a significant difference between the approach of these unions and the "non-racialist" orientation of the unions in the COSATU.

To make its position clear, CUSA writes, "We do not want whites coming into our organisation from the top. We accept them joining us from the grassroots and working themselves up just like our black members do." (*Izwilethu*, November-December 1985.)

This argument may seem rather insensitive inasmuch as the whites concerned have been involved for a long time in building the independent unions. This question, however, is related to a more general assessment of the content of the anti-apartheid struggle. COSATU's "non-racialism" is not the reflec-

tion of the presence of some whites in its leaderships but the consequence of its conception of a future united, democratic, and nonracial South Africa.

For its part, the CUSA leadership seems to underestimate the process of unification underway when it writes: "Talk about a super-federation in South Africa is a myth since only about 15% of the working class is organised in this country."

COSATU certainly does not claim to hold a monopoly in the trade-union field. But it represents an acceleration in the history of the South Africa workers' movement that threatens to leave CUSA and AZACTU far behind. In a joint communique these two organizations defend their position as follows: "Our belief of a new federation is a federation which would unite the majority of organised Black workers in our country, expressing the true aspirations of Black workers and not accomodating the aspirations of a minority leadership." (*Izwilethu*, Vol. 3, No. 5-10, November 1985.)

congress of COSATU, which are published in the following pages, constitute a veritable action program for the trade-union movement, which in itself is an important step forward.

Some of these resolutions, moreover, indicate attempts to widen considerably the field of activity of the independent trade unions. The document on the Bantustans states that COSATU is determined to build its organization inside these reservations. However, in general, the puppet regimes of these Bantustans refuse to apply the labor laws won by the Black workers in the rest of South Africa. In the Bantustans of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, for example, no trade-union rights are really recognized. COSATU has thrown down the gauntlet to these "governments," which are really just pawns of Pretoria.

Another resolution takes account of the existence of immigrant workers coming from neighboring countries and working mainly in the mines. COSATU announces not only that it intends to organize these workers but that it also wants to establish relations with progressive unions in southern Africa. No sooner said than done. In early December, Jay Naidoo, general secretary of COSATU, spent five days in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, where he met leaders of the Zimbabwean Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU).

According to the *Sunday Times* of

the Cape, Naidoo declared on that occasion that COSATU's "commitment to forging links with democratic African trade unions must be viewed in the context of multinational corporations operating throughout the continent. The meeting with ZCTU must therefore be seen as the first in a series of talks with trade unions outside South Africa."

It was evident that sooner or later COSATU would seek to measure its positions against those of the ANC. There are several reasons for this. First of all, there is the special weight of the ANC in the mass movement. But there is also the fact that in this new phase in the political situation — in which a lot of people, starting with the bosses of the big capitalist enterprises, are saying that it is necessary to negotiate with the ANC and some of whom have been going to Lusaka to discuss with the leadership of that movement — the unions could not remain apart.

On the other hand, inasmuch as the question of relations with the Chartist current is going to remain a disputed political question within COSATU, the leadership may decide to meet the problem head on and not beat about the bush.

This is undoubtedly why Jay Naidoo took advantage of his trip to

4. A complete version of this message was published in 'Intercontinental Press' (New York), January 27, 1986.

## Trade unions affiliated to COSATU

1. Amalgamated Black Workers Union	1,000
2. Brick Clay and Allied Workers Union	748
3. Cape Town Municipal Workers Association	11,097
4. Chemical Workers Industrial Union	20,700
5. Cleaning Services and Allied Workers Union	850
6. Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of SA	50,345
7. Food and Canning Workers Union	26,455
8. General and Allied Workers Union	19,076
9. General Workers Union	10,000
10. General Workers Union of SA	2,205
11. Health and Allied Workers Union	1,111
12. Metal and Allied Workers Union	36,789
13. Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union of SA	3,100
14. Municipal Workers Union of SA	9,249
15. National Automobile and Allied Workers Union	20,338
16. National General Workers Union and the Retail and Allied Workers Union (Pretoria)	6,057
17. National Iron, Steel and Metal Workers Union	976
18. Commercial Distributive Workers Union	1,600
19. National Post Office and Allied Workers Union	2,163
20. National Union of Textile Workers	23,241
21. National Union of Mineworkers	100,000
22. Paper Wood and Allied Workers Union	11,856
23. Retail and Allied Workers Union (Cape Town)	3,830
24. South African Allied Workers Union	25,032
25. South African Domestic Workers Association	4,500
26. South African Mineworkers Union	3,029
27. South African Railways and Harbour Workers Union	8,220
28. SA Scooter Transport and Allied Workers Union	4,700
29. SA Textile and Allied Workers Union	1,900
30. Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union	19,596
31. South African Tin Workers Union	581
32. Transport and General Workers Union	11,000
33. United Metal Mining and Allied Workers Union of SA	8,335

Harare to meet the leaders of the ANC and SACTU. According to the *Cape Times*, he said in passing that "it was apparent that representatives of organisations outside South Africa agreed with the necessity for COSATU to unite all workers while remaining independent and accountable to the needs and aspirations of the working class as expressed through its leadership and the structures of COSATU."

First of all, this was a response to Gatsha Buthelezi, chief of the KwaZulu Bantustan, who had just declared that COSATU was a "new front" of the ANC and had asked the Zulu workers to leave this federation. But it can also be understood as an answer to a nudge from SACTU to get COSATU to become a link between the trade-union movement and the ANC.

Moreover, it seems that COSATU wants as soon as possible to launch a union for agricultural workers,

who total 1.5 million in the country. But, as the *Sunday Times* noted, "COSATU could come up against a web of legal problems mainly because agricultural workers have no access to legal bargaining machinery or protection against sacking."

In addition to being excluded from the existing labor legislation, farm workers have no access to the unemployment compensation fund. Their wages start at 60 rand a month for more skilled (about 30 U.S. dollars), but they go down to 40 rand a month (17 U.S. dollars) for other categories on certain farms.

Organizing such a very special layer of workers would not be an easy task, nor without risks. However, even a partial organization of the agricultural workers could profoundly change the social situation, inasmuch as it would establish a link between the urban mobilizations and the first

steps in mobilizing the countryside.

Such are the great challenges the united federation took up at its founding. But eventually the independent trade-union movement in South Africa is going to be confronted with very important questions of analysis and orientation related to the political and economic situation of the country. No one could dispute the fact that South Africa has entered into a period of major political confrontations. But apartheid is not only being put in question by the revolutionary people's movement. It is also at the center of debates running through the ruling class and the political establishment. A part of the liberal current, that is, of big capital is beginning to challenge the main legislative underpinnings of apartheid in the name of seeking a solution to the economic crisis.

### Giving the working class a voice

Within the government itself criticisms and proposals are being raised that would have been considered inadmissible only a few years ago. The President's Council has set about dreaming up substantial reforms of apartheid. In a report entitled "An Urbanisation Strategy for the Republic of South Africa," dated September 1985, the Council proposed a policy involving the abandonment of the goals of territorial segregation and advanced the idea of an abolition of Influx Control (which regulates the movements of Black labor) and the laws on internal passports (passes) for Blacks.

This report starts off from the principle that the urbanization of the Blacks is both inevitable and economically necessary. Linking the search for a new doctrine to a determination to limit the rise of the people's movement, the report of the President's Council looks to a sort of dispersion of the residences of non-whites, or a reduced concentration, which would require a major change in the allotment of residential zones based on the racial criteria set up by the Group Areas' Act. President Botha himself has just declared that "apartheid is outmoded." (5)

While it would be wrong to think that the South African bourgeoisie is going to saw off the branch that it is sitting on, it is necessary to take all these debates seriously. A part of the ruling class, and not just bourgeois liberal circles, is looking for a long-term structural solution to the present social and economic crisis.

TABLE 1:

	1983	1985
SHOP STEWARDS	6,000	12,462
SHOP-STEWARDS COMMITTEES	—	1,443
FULL-TIMERS	—	306
WORKPLACES ORGANIZED	756	3,421

Source: A Survey of the South African Labour Bulletin, cited by John Lewis and Estelle Randall in the *Weekly Mail*, November 29, 1985.

5. Cf. 'le Monde', February 1, 2, 1986.

The trade-union movement is going to be confronted with this political question in particular since it often finds itself in day-to-day struggles at grips with bosses who proclaim liberal positions outside the workplace.

COSATU will have to put its proposals loudly and clearly in this debate, because, while it has not brought together all of the independent union movement, it is seen as its backbone. In fact, it may be the troublemaker in the great debate that is starting up on the future of the country and of its institutions. For example, it was not without malice that the South Africa economist Duncan Innes wrote in the *Weekly Mail* of January 10, 1986:

"Gavin Relly flew off to Lusaka to ask the ANC what kind of South Africa they would like to see in the future. I can't help wondering why Mr. Relly doesn't also put that question to the hundreds of thousands of Black workers who are employed on its mines and factories. Our current rulers are forever telling us that racial Black political organisations like the ANC, UDF and Azapo don't really represent the views of the people. The best way of finding out whether or not this is true is simply to ask people. And where better for the business community to start than in its mines, farms, factories, shops and offices? ... We have already heard cries of horror emerging following the formation of COSATU, which is seen to be a more militant trade union federation than its predecessors. Businessmen and women may well feel reluctant about approaching a federation of this kind either directly or through its affiliates. But if they don't talk to organisations like COSATU, then whom do they talk to? It would be foolhardy in the extreme to ignore an organisation with a membership of half-a-million because one is afraid of the views it holds." (6)

In the immediate future, COSATU will have to count more than ever on the tradition of grassroots organization associated with some of the big industrial unions affiliated to it. Such organization is reflected by the rooting of the trade-union movement at the shop-steward level. Table 1 gives an idea of this.

There is no question about the fact that the independent trade-union movement has first organized the most stable layers of the Black proletariat. The emergence of the miners' union was an initial spectacular step in organizing the broader layers whose jobs and the conditions under which they are hired could be a lot more precarious. The great mass of the proletariat has not yet been organized by the trade-union movement. But under the conditions of

apartheid and repression, could anything else have been expected? The trade-union movement has already contributed a great deal by giving a voice to the industrial working class as such.

The trade-unionism represented by COSATU is qualitatively superior to that of the Industrial and Commerce Union (ICU) of the 1920s or even the SACTU of the 1950s. (7) The Black working class of South Africa has changed. Its weight, its concentration, and its level of consciousness have risen apace with the economic development of the country and the industrialization of the last twenty years.

If you look at the last ten years that have seen the formation of most

of the unions that have now created COSATU, you can see that one of the main contributions of this trade-union movement is that it has given an organized and centralized form to the struggles of the industrial working class. In so doing, COSATU has emerged in the mass movement as the specific expression of these working-class layers.

6. Gavin Relly is one of the bosses of the powerful Anglo-American Corporation. He led the delegation of bosses that met the ANC leadership in Lusaka, Zambia, in September 1985. This meeting inaugurated a deliberate policy by liberal and later church representatives of holding open contacts with the ANC.

7. The SACTU is the exile trade-union organization linked to the ANC. The ICU was the first attempt at organizing Black workers, an experiment that came after the first world war.

## Resolutions of the founding congress of COSATU

BELOW WE publish the resolutions of the founding conference of COSATU which took place on November 29-December 1 in Durban. COSATU already has 449,679 affiliated members. The resolutions are taken from the official bulletin of the conference, *Congress News*, published in Cape Town.

### Migrant labour

This federation noting:

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

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

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

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

5. That if the apartheid regime persists threatening to repatriate migrant workers to the homelands and neighbouring countries.

Resolves to;

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

2. Fight for the right of workers to seek work wherever they wish and to reside with their families wherever

they wish and that proper housing will be provided for them.

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

*Proposed by the National Union of Mineworkers*

### Unemployment

Believing:

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

Noting:

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

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

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

4. That the unity of employed

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

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

And further noting:

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

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

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

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

5. That unemployed workers are not organised in SA.

Congress therefore resolves to:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9. To give full support to efforts

by retrenched and dismissed workers to establish co-operatives based on the principles of COSATU.

#### Composite resolution

### National minimum living wage

Seeing that:

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

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

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

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

We hereby resolve:

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

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

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

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

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

Proposed by CCAWUSA  
[Commercial Catering and Allied  
Workers Union]

### Women

This Federation noting:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Resolves to fight:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. Against sexual harassment in whatever form it occurs;

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

Now commits itself:

1. To actively campaign in support of these resolutions;

1. Under the migrant labour system, unemployment benefit is paid to the government of origin of the worker concerned, if they come from outside South Africa.

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

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

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

5. To budget for the workings of such a sub-committee;

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

*Proposed by CCAWUSA*

## Centenary celebrations

This Federation noting:

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

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

Therefore resolves:

1. To organise a boycott of all centenary celebrations;

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

*Proposed by NUM*

## Federalism

This congress noting that:

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

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

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

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

Resolves to:

1. To reject as a total fraud the new proposed federal solution.

2. Re-affirms our belief in a unitary state based on One Person One Vote.

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

And further believes that:

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

*Proposed by the Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union*

## Disinvestment

This Congress:

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

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

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

*Proposed by the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAUSA)*

## State of emergency

This Inaugural Conference believing:

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

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

Calls:

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

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

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

*Proposed by the General and Allied Workers Union*

## Right to strike

This federation noting:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Therefore resolves:

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Composite resolution

2. *The main bourgeois opposition party, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), is the chief proponent of restructuring South Africa along federal lines. Under such a system, the country would be divided into various political units which would include the bantustans. Aspects of this proposal are now being taken up within the National Party itself.*

## Bantustans

The Congress noting:

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

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

Noting in particular:

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

Hereby resolves that:

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

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

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

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

*Composite resolution*

## Southern African Union cooperation

This federation noting:

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

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

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

trade unions.

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

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

6. That the problems faced by the workers of Southern Africa are integrally linked and that their futures are tied together.

Therefore resolves:

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

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

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

*Proposed by NUM*

## National Industrial Unions

Noting:

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

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

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

Therefore resolves:

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

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

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

Food and Drink;  
Textile, Clothing and Leather;  
Paper, Wood and Printing;  
Mining, Electrical Energy;  
Metal, Motor Assembly and Components;  
Chemical and Petroleum;  
Commercial and Catering;  
Transport, SA Transport Services, Cleaning and Security;  
Local Government and Public Adminis-

tration including Education, Health, Posts and Telecommunications;  
Domestic Workers.

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

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

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

*Proposed by the Chemical Workers Industrial Union and the National Union of Textile Workers*

## Regional Areas of the Federation

That this congress resolves:

1. That the regional areas of the federation be:

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

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

*Proposed by the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union*

## Education

This federation noting:

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

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

3. That the present education system is aimed at fostering divisions

and anti-democratic values within the working class.

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

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

Therefore resolves:

1. To establish a national, regional and local education programme for the federation to:

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

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

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

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

2. To establish a federation newspaper which will:

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

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

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

3. To organise and commemorate the important cultural events and resistance days in the working-class calendar, for example, May Day and June 16 (3) and Federation Day.

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

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

a) regional and local committees of workers.

b) union representatives.

*Proposed by NUM*

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

## A new political force

THE FOLLOWING article was published in the South African *Financial Mail*, December 9, 1985. It gives an idea of how seriously the foundation of COSATU is taken in political circles. We publish it for the purposes of information only and do not necessarily share the analysis given.

'A giant is born' went one of the most enthusiastically acclaimed lines in Cyril Ramaphosa's opening address to the Durban conference at which the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was launched last weekend. No doubt these words, spoken by the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and chairman of the conference's 'credentials committee,' are appropriate.

The committee convened the meeting and attended to details of representation.

COSATU is now by far the largest worker organisation in South Africa, representing 450,000 paid-up union members and 33 unions. And doubtless overall membership of affiliated unions will continue to grow appreciably.

The public speeches made at the conference show clearly that the organisation sees its main role as a political one. Its political approach will be aggressive and uncompromising.

Conceived more than four years ago, COSATU's gestation period has been long and difficult. It has lost one of the main earlier participants, the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), which decided it could not reconcile its belief in a Black exclusivist approach to leadership of unions with COSATU's non-racial ideology.

And it was only a few months ago that more than half of the affiliates — mainly small unions aligned with the United Democratic Front (UDF) — decided on participation.

Inevitably, the question of the recently formed, Black Consciousness (BC) alliance between CUSA and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) was raised. COSATU's leadership was at pains to emphasise that the door would remain open for rapprochement.

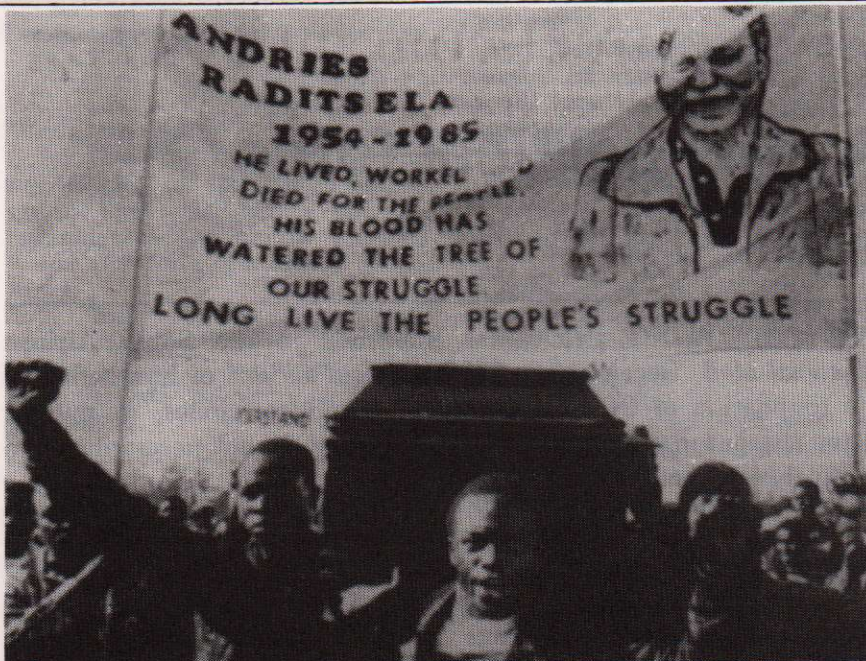
But, knowing that it was talking from a position of strength, COSATU made it patently clear that any future alliance would be on its terms.

Hence the split in the emerging trade-union movement between the BC and non-racial schools of thought will remain — mirroring the split in militant Black politics.

The launch was skillfully orchestrated to create an aura of maximum unity. But in the coming months, as COSATU begins to formulate detailed policies and strategy, some of the old ideological conflicts may re-emerge. And moves toward fulfilling the slogan 'one industry, one union' are likely to be slower than some of the larger industrial unions would hope.

The newly elected leadership of COSATU is a reflection of the prominence of the larger unions — and of youth. The exception is NUM vice-president Elijah Barayi, who was elected president of the new body. He is a seasoned political figure, more than twenty years older than any of the other five executive com-





In May 1985, 30,000 people attended the funeral of trade-union leader Andries Raditsela, victim of police repression (DR)

mittee members elected at the conference. First vice-president Chris Dlamini is ex-president of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), which will now dissolve. Dlamini is a clerical employee at Kelloggs in Springs and also president of the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union (SFAWU).

Second vice-president is Makhulu Ledwaba, president of the 50,000-strong Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union and a clerk at the Metro Cash and Carry head office. The treasurer, Maxwell Xulu, is the southern Natal chairman of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, COSATU's third-largest affiliate. There are two full-time paid officials. General Secretary Jay Naidoo was a student activist at the University of Durban-Westville before becoming General Secretary of SFAWU. Assistant General Secretary Sydney Mafumadi, is a well-known UDF activist as well as a top official of the General and Allied Workers' Union.

In considering COSATU's role in the political arena, the question the conference debated was not whether it should take an active role, but how this should be best achieved. The emphasis was on working in close cooperation with 'progressive' political organisations. But there is an important precondition placed on such cooperation: that COSATU should control the direction of political campaigns.

To outsiders this may seem like an unnecessary distinction, particularly given the rather vague terms in which it has been formulated. But if COSATU succeeds in its aim of becoming the dominant force in Black politics, this will have important

consequences for the future of militant Black politics as a whole in South Africa.

First, trade-union membership tends to be more organised and disciplined than the community and political organisations of the Black townships.

While campaigns run by the major unions have proved to be no less effective, there has been far less of the anarchic-style politics that have become a feature of the township violence of the last 15 months.

Second COSATU can be expected to develop a clearer and more sophisticated socialist content in its political programme. Speeches this weekend were littered with phrases about the need to 'restructure society' and that 'the wealth created by the workers must be owned, controlled and shared by the workers.' And in his speech to a rally of 15,000 supporters, Barayi threatened the nationalisation of the mines and other large industries in a future South Africa.

While such talk is still at the level of rhetoric, the leadership of COSATU and its affiliates have the capacity to refine it into a serious economic programme, which many unionists believe to be lacking in organisations such as the UDF.

Achieving a dominant position in Black opposition politics is a priority for the new organisation. Leaders of the major COSATU unions are painfully aware that during the upheavals which began in September last year the initiative has been taken by the UDF and its supporters. Reversing that trend will be no easy task, particularly in that it will have to be done without alienating a large section of the UDF. And it must be borne

in mind that many COSATU unions are affiliated to the UDF and have found it possible to operate there without any apparent reservations about UDF policies.

The conference failed to complete debate on all the issues before it — a number of resolutions have been referred to the organisation's Central Executive Committee (CEC) for consideration at a later date. But it nevertheless formulated policy on a number of important issues.

COSATU passed a hard-hitting resolution condemning the homeland system as well as those Blacks who participate in it. This was to be expected. KwaZulu's chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has already interpreted COSATU's attitude as a personal attack. And when asked for clarification, COSATU leaders did not try to hide the fact that the resolution referred to KwaZulu as much as any other homeland.

This is something of a break with the past. The ex-FOSATU affiliates have a powerful presence in Natal and until now, have steered clear of open confrontation with Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement. Thousands of FOSATU members are, in fact, also members of Inkatha. It remains to be seen whether this is the beginning of a serious conflict between COSATU and Inkatha or whether they will be able to reach, at least, an uneasy truce. A failure to do so will obviously leave those with allegiances to both organisations facing a serious dilemma.

COSATU also passed a resolution rejecting federalism as a 'fraudulent' scheme designed to maintain real power in white hands and affirmed its vision of a future South Africa operating under a system of 'one person, one vote in a unitary state.'

Demands were made for the lifting of the State of Emergency, the withdrawal of security forces from the townships, the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of political organisations.

COSATU came out strongly in favour of intensified international pressure against South Africa, including disinvestment. This appears to be a leftward shift compared to the old FOSATU policy, which argued that while pressure for disinvestment was constructive, actual disinvestment would be disadvantageous to workers directly affected. There is a rider to COSATU's resolution, however: it wants the assets of companies that pull out of South Africa to remain in the country. (It is difficult to see foreign companies selling up and giving the proceeds to the workers.)

The conference called for sexual equality, union education programmes, a national minimum wage, the aboli-



tion of the migrant labour system, and close links with other unions in southern African as a counter to the strength of multinational companies.

The conference also resolved that affiliates should negotiate mergers so that ultimately there will be single unions in the following major industries: food and drink; textile, clothing and leather; paper, wood and printing; mining and energy; metal and motor; chemical and petroleum; commerce; transport, cleaning and security; local and national government services; and domestic workers. These are sectors in which COSATU affiliates already have a sizeable presence. In addition, COSATU is looking towards establishing unions for construction and agricultural workers. Some progress towards rationalisation has already been made. In the food sector, SFAWU and the Food and Canning Workers' Union have made significant progress towards merging.

They are likely to be joined by the Retail and Allied Workers' Union which has organised dairy employees in the western Cape and the OFS [Orange Free State]. The Transport and General Workers' Union and the General Workers' Union have done the same in the transport sector, as have two small unions representing municipal workers.

But difficulties are likely to arise between the large industrial unions and the UDF-aligned general unions. The UDF unions, as well as some of their small industrial allies, have always expressed an aversion to splitting up and being swallowed by the large industrial unions.

This tension was apparent when the UDF unions expressed less than wholehearted support for a resolution setting a six-month deadline for mergers to be completed. The extent of the UDF-aligned unions' commitment to unity with their erstwhile ideological and organisational competitors will be measured in terms of their adherence to the deadline.

There are some controversial issues still to be discussed by the CEC. One of the most difficult to resolve will be over relationships with international trade-union organisations. The South African Allied Workers' Union has proposed that COSATU disassociate itself and refuse financial assistance from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which it accuses of 'subversion' and 'imperialism'. Although none have official links, many COSATU affiliates have maintained a close relationship with ICFTU and have benefited financially from that relationship.

Clearly the South African political arena now has a new, major contender for power. Will it get it? □

## Interview with Elijah Barayi, president of COSATU

WE PUBLISH below an interview with Elijah Barayi, the first president of COSATU which was published in *Congress News* (the official publication of the founding congress of COSATU). Born in 1930, Barayi had several jobs before going to work in the mines in 1960. His first 'real contact', in his own words, with the trade unions came after the formation of the National Union of Miners (NUM), of which he was elected vice-president at the founding conference in 1982.

*Question. What is your view of an ideal union?*

*Answer.* The union must represent the views and interests of its members. The union must be democratic and under worker control. This must be the foundation of any organisation.

*Q. Did the overnight prominence as COSATU president effect you in your life?*

*A.* Well obviously there are now many new pressures placed on me. But I have not changed at all. My lifestyle is still the same. I still have to work a full day.

*Q. As president do you see yourself as a man who takes decisions or who carries out the wishes of the workers?*

*A.* I am a servant of the workers. I was elected to carry out their wishes. As a worker leader I have a duty to see that workers' interests are advanced.

*Q. What to your mind is the foremost challenge facing you as president?*

*A.* First, to see the mergers of unions so that we get national industrial unions established. Second, to get the federation operating in a unified way by getting the locals and regions going. In this way COSATU's policies can take effect. Thirdly, to organise those workers who are not organised and presently not in our federation. Simply to mobilise the entire working class is the most important long term objective.

*Q. What do you regard as the most difficult part of your job?*

*A.* Getting all the unions to act

in unity. We are a new-born baby. We need time to consolidate various levels of COSATU structures.

*Q. Can you clarify the extent to which COSATU plays a political role?*

*A.* One thing is clear. We as trade unions are directly effected by the political system in South Africa. So we cannot divorce ourselves from the political struggle. COSATU's political policy has not yet been decided so our exact programme of action will only be clear once this decision is made. But political involvement will be decided, depending on the issue, whether it is local or national, by the appropriate structure of the federation. Our relationship with other organisations will depend on whether they agree with our aims and objectives. I can't say more than that until COSATU adopts their political policy.

*Q. COSATU has been accused of being a front for the ANC and labelled a communist organisation by government analysts and other critics. How do you respond and can you clarify your relationship with the ANC, UDF and other organisations?*

*A.* These accusations have no substance. They are premature. On what basis do they make these accusations? The government is very stupid if they wish to take up this position. COSATU is an independent trade union federation and represents over half a million members. We have no links with any organisation. Our relationship with progressive organisations will be decided when we discuss our political policy. But it must be clearly stated that COSATU, as a workers' organisation, will put the interests of workers first. □

# Solidarity must be stepped up

THE FORMATION of COSATU should make it possible to step up support for the South African workers and their organizations that are independent of the racist regime. In the main industries, united class-struggle unions are now going to be set up that will be anxious to find effective internationalist and class-struggle trade-union solidarity in the industrialized countries.

Subscribing to the press of the independent trade-union movement in South Africa, support for the strikes that take place there, inviting South African trade-union activists to the congresses of trade-union organizations in the Western countries, as well as sending delegations to South Africa, are now elementary acts of solidarity that the unions must perform in order to build relations with, and support the independent South African trade-union movement.

In consultation with the independent trade-union movement, special campaigns for boycotting and exposing imperialist interests in South Africa can be built. Industry by industry, company by company, it is possible to organize special actions.

The addresses of the individual united industrial unions are not yet known. Some fusion processes must deepen further in the coming months. The superfederation COSATU can be contacted at the following address: COSATU, c/o 2 Godhope Street, Belville South, 7530 Cape Town, South Africa.

\* \* \*

IN BRITAIN ... The declaration issued at the end of the international conference initiated by the seafarers' and dockers' unions on October 30-31, 1985, calls for complete international solidarity in adhering to the oil boycott against South Africa adopted by the United Nations.

The resolution in part calls on governments to "endorse and implement the UN resolutions on apartheid, in particular those on the oil embargo" and to "immediately lift

any legislation which restricts trade union solidarity with the Black people of South Africa."

It further urges trade-union organizations representing seafarers, port, dock and other transport, oil, and chemical workers throughout the world to: "take direct action against the vessels of any companies involved in supplying oil to South Africa in order to tighten the UN oil embargo and to increase the risks and costs of supplying South Africa with oil." It also urges the exchange of information among the unions represented on ships violating the embargo and calls for a campaign among their members for "solidarity action with the Black people of South Africa."

Among the 28 unions with delegates were the National Union of Marine, Aviation and Shipping Transport Officers; the National Union of Railwaymen; and the National Union of Seamen from Great Britain. The United States was represented by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. From India came the Madras Port United Labour Union and the Forward Seamen's Union; and from Canada, the Fishermen's Union.

There were also representatives of other trade unions and anti-apartheid organizations from all over the world including the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the US United Mineworkers, and the British Trade Union Congress.

IN THE UNITED STATES ... The divestment campaign around the country and on the college campuses continues unabated. Eleven states and at least 35 cities have passed legislation ending or limiting their investments in companies doing business with South Africa. And, according to Dumisani Kumalo, project director for the American Committee on Africa, 29 other states are currently debating such bills.

"The Student Anti-apartheid Newsletter" has reported that more and more universities are being forced to accept total divestment of their South African holdings in their investment and retirement funds. Among the latest are the University of Minnesota (21 million US dollars) and the University of Miami (17 million US dollars). Other universities with large investments that they have been compelled to withdraw by the student pressure are Columbia University (33 million US dollars) and the State University of New York (11 million US dollars).

On the artistic front, "Sun City," the powerful recording sponsored by Artists United Against Apartheid, has been bolstered by a music video and a new book, "Sun City — the struggle for freedom in South Africa," with an initial press run of 75,000 copies.

The Sun City complex in Bophuthatswana is a 90-million-dollar pleasure dome that includes an enormous concert hall, the "Superbowl," where many American pop-music stars have performed despite the United Nation's call for a cultural boycott of South Africa. One verse of the title song, "I ain't gonna play Sun City," admonishes:

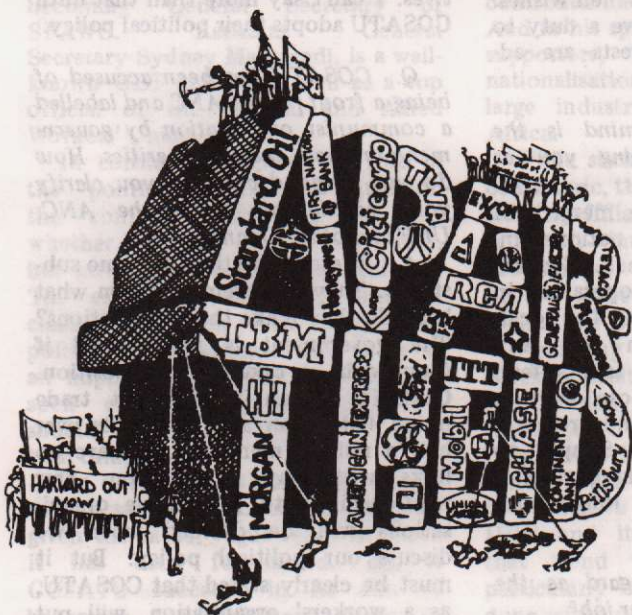
"Linda Ronstadt, how could you do that?

Rod Stewart, tell me that you didn't do it.

Julio Iglesias, you oughta be ashamed to show your face!

Queen and the O'Jays what you got to say?"

The recording, written by Little Steven Van Zandt, former lead guitarist for Bruce Springsteen's band, is a scathing indictment of apartheid and Ronald Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement."





Workers on strike in South Africa (DR)

Another new book, "an anthology of visual and literary art work in solidarity with the struggles of the people of southern Africa," is being published this month by Art Against Apartheid, a coalition of artists and arts organizations. The anthology includes artists such as Mfundu Vundla, Dennis Brutus, and Alice Walker. For information, contact Art Against Apartheid./NCBL, 280 Broadway, New York, NY 10017.

**IN BELGIUM ...** Two thousand people demonstrated in Antwerp on February 1 against apartheid and fascism. The demonstration, organized by the Anti-Fascist Front, was called in response to a fascist demonstration in November 1985 that supported apartheid. The Anti-Fascist Front is composed of the main trade-union federation, [FGTB], the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, POS-SAP [the Belgian section of the Fourth International] and other progressive groups.

The mayor of Antwerp tried to prohibit the demonstration because of the sometimes violent confrontations that have been occurring for the last two-and-a-half years. He was finally forced to withdraw his prohibition, but so late that confusion around his actions deterred many people who would have otherwise come out. Nevertheless many trade-unionists, teachers, and members of the FGTB and POS-SAP were there to hear an address by the representative of the African National Congress in Belgium.

The next demonstration has been called for March 21 in Brussels.

**IN FRANCE ...** The ten-year-old Anti-Apartheid Movement (MAA) held its sixth congress January 25-26 in Toulouse. Representatives from a dozen cities where local groups exist were present. The balance sheet of the MAA's activities demonstrated its vitality both as the center of initiatives in the fight against the racist regime in South Africa and as a source of information on all of southern Africa.

The positions adopted by the movement rest on a campaign aimed at the total isolation of the apartheid regime and the denunciation of its supporters. In particular, the electoral campaign [the French legislative elections will be held on March 16] will be the occasion to demand of the candidates that they come out for legal sanctions against Pretoria.

Among French firms, CFP-Total has been chosen as the chief target for denunciation because of its particularly large involvement in South Africa. In fact, Total holds an exclusive contract to furnish fuel to the South African army, which is occupying Namibia, and to the police who are mounting the repression in the townships. □

## Pass Laws confusion

**CONFUSION REIGNS** in South African officialdom over the status of "pass-law" policy. President Pieter W. Botha's statement in his speech to the opening of the South African parliament that "influx control" should be replaced by "orderly urbanization" only repeats his statement made last year that "influx control was costly and out-of-date." (*Le Monde*, February 2-3, 1986). This latest statement followed a recent recommendation of the President's Council that the pass laws should be abolished.

The change will have to be enacted by Parliament, and even if passed, it is not known how the change will affect apartheid. Mr. Chris Nicholson, director of the Centre for Juridical Research in Durban, says that, even if a common identity document is issued to people of all races under the new policy of "orderly urbanization," only the Blacks will be stopped and obliged to produce the identity document." (*Le Monde*, February 2-3).

In the meantime, however, prosecutions for pass-law offenses have dropped off dramatically although no new policy has yet been set. Between September 1984 and June 1985, in the Johannesburg Commissioner's Court 10,874 cases were prosecuted under Sections 10 and 15 of the Urban Areas Act (Section 10 strictly limits the right of Blacks to be in so-called white areas). Between July and December 1985, a total of 1,991 cases were heard but on a declining scale: 577 in July, 37 in December (Department of Justice statistics reported in the *Weekly Mail* (South Africa) January 24-30, 1986).

While prosecutions have declined, however, pass raids and harassment of Blacks continue, according to Sheena Duncan president of Black Sash, an organization that monitors rights violations in South Africa. □

## Rhapsody in green

WHILE AUSTRIA is providing financial help for the project, Hungarian environmentalists are building a campaign against the construction of a "Super-Hainburg" [a dam project successfully blocked by Austrian environmentalists], - Gabcikovo-Nagymaros. On Saturday, January 18, the Duna Kor [Danube Circle] exchanged experiences with Hainburg and Wackersdorf activists in the first open public meeting in Hungary since 1956.

### HERMANN DWORCZAK

The meeting was at 4:00 p.m. in the Hotel Penta in Budapest. From there the participants went together to the Zoldfa ("Green Tree," a prophetic name) restaurant. Six "undercover" agents of the state security forces turned up but did not intervene. The first public meeting in Hungary since the 1956 revolution went ahead.

Last October, the planned "Alternative Culture Forum" could not be held publicly because at the last moment the rooms that had been rented in the Duna-International were locked, and the participants had to go off into private lodgings. But this time there was no veto from above.

About sixty persons came. Among them were members and friends of the Duna Kor, which has made mobilizing against the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros power plant its axis, as well as Hainburg activists from Austria and Wackersdorf activists from West Germany. Several representatives of the Hungarian samizdat press such as *Beszelo* and *Hirmondo* were present.

Notably absent was the entire official press of the country, although it had been invited to the meeting.

After greetings from the jurist Laszlo Solyom, Janos Vargha from the Duna Kor summarized the main arguments against the planned dam-system project. He pointed out among other things that, unlike Austria, Hungary lacks mountains like the Alps and that "part of the drinking water supply will come from the area threatened by the power plant."

He also challenged the economic calculations for the project, since "for twenty years two-thirds of the power will have to be exported to

Austria in order to pay off the latter's aid."

Janos Vargha concluded, "We are not going to sit by and watch this thing go through."

Gunther Nanning brought solidarity greetings from Austria and talked about the possibility of an "international democratic environmentalist movement." He strongly condemned Austria's financial participation in the project. "As long as there was no money in Hungary for building the project, there was a certain room for criticism. With Hainburg they started hitting people on the head and other parts of their bodies, when the money was there."

Hans Dieter Reichhelm, press representative of the Bavarian Greens talked about the experience of Wackersdorf. "This is the most ag-

gressive project in Western Europe since the war. Economically reopening the site is unprofitable because the world-market price for uranium is very low. Militarily, on the other hand, it makes a lot of sense. At a very small additional cost, plutonium suitable for atomic weapons could be produced. This is one of the biggest threats to world peace."

The architect Tamas Toth referred to a statement by seven Soviet writers against the diversion of Siberian rivers, whose protest was publicized in the Soviet press. "We will strive to make contact with Soviet defenders of the environment, not least importantly because of the example the Soviet Union represents for Hungary."

I spoke as a member of the initiative group "Gewerkschafter gegen Hainburg" ("Trade-Unionists Against Hainburg"). "The rulers East and West like to belittle questions of the environment by claiming that they are playthings for youth and intellectuals. The blocking of the Hainburg project, however, has led to a certain rethinking in the Austrian trade-union movement itself, especially among white-collar workers in the private sector. It is important to respond to environmental problems that overspan borders with concrete international solidarity."

I also read solidarity greetings from the Breitmaulfrosche Factory Council in Voest-Alpine, in which it was said, among other things, "What Austrian finance capital and the Austrian energy industry have not succeeded in doing in their own country, they are now trying to do in Hungary. This is a stab in the back not only to the ecology movement in Austria but above all to the efforts of the critical and progressive forces in Hungary."

There is no telling today whether the Hungarian authorities' present

### The Budapest Declaration

WE GERMAN, Austrian, and Hungarian defenders of the environment protest against the plan of the Austrian, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian governments to transform the Danube from Hainburg to Nagymaros into an energy-producing canal and thereby to endanger the fauna of the river, the meadows, the reserves of drinking water, and the landscapes and cultural legacies that are already protected or should be.

Without reducing the responsibility of the other two governments, we protest in particular against the participation of Austria in the building of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam system. Since by dropping the Hainburg project the Austrian government has recognized that the planned installations were harmful and without value, its participation in the work in Hungary can be described as a deliberate exporting of destruction of the environment.

We intend to use all democratic, peaceful, and constitutional means to get the aforementioned governments to change their plans and to respect the true interests of all the peoples living in the valley of the Danube. We call on everyone to support our statement of protest.

Budapest, January 18, 1986. Signed: Gunther Nanning, Janos Vargha, Hermann Dworczak, Laszlo Vit, A. Englander, Eva Hauk, Laszlo Hollos, Laszlo Solyom, Hanns-Dieter Reichhelm, Lajos Gyorgy, Wolfgang "Fos" Sadik, Gunther Schobesberger, Gabor Pajkossy, Mihaly Kolba, Tamas Toth, Lorant Hideg, Attila Ertsey, Balasz Lados, Olga Dioszegi, Zsolt Keszthelyi, Agoston Peterffy, Anna Perczel.

line of quasi-toleration of the protest will be maintained. The "new evil," the Stalinist hardliners, might strike and push for a graveyard peace.

A good pretext for such hardliners could be the article in the January 22 issue of *Pravda* in which the Hungarians were warned against more extensive economic collaboration with the West and the "spread of bourgeois ideology and anti-Soviet propaganda" that would accompany it.

The Duna Kor, in any case, is determined to press ahead. Its next step is a "stroll for environmentalists" on Margaret's Island on February 8. This action has been announced in a leaflet which says:

"On February 8, 1986, we are holding a study trip on Margaret's Island. The theme is 'Our daily drinking water and the Danube dam.' We are meeting at 12:30 p.m. on the Batthyany Square alongside the trolley station."

From *'Die Linke'*, journal of The Austrian section of the Fourth International.

\* \* \*

The demonstration took place. In its February 10 issue, *Liberation* reported "A demonstration of about eighty Hungarian and Austrian environmentalists was dispersed Saturday [February 8] by the Hungarian police. They were protesting the building of Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam on the Danube, which had already provoked a petition campaign in 1984 that collected 6,000 signatures." □

## New Arabic journal published

A new journal in Arabic called *Al Mitraqa* (the Hammer) has just been launched under the auspices of the sections of the Fourth International in Lebanon and the Israeli state in conjunction with the sympathising section in Tunisia. The first issue came out in October 1985, and the journal will appear quarterly.

The journal will include an analysis of events in the Arab region as a whole and will also carry articles and features on general international issues.

For more information and orders write to S Jaber, c/o 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil, France.



العدد الأول أكتوبر ١٩٨٥

# 'Respectfulness' on the way out in the unions

HUNDREDS of thousands of workers struck in West Germany in the days leading up to Christmas against a bill proposed by the Kohl government that would undermine the unions' right to strike. The biggest and most powerful union, IG Metall, intends to make the 35-hour week a central issue in the campaign for the 1987 parliamentary elections. West Germany is facing a crucial test of strength between the government and the unions.

PETER BARTELHEIMER

Johannes Rau, the SPD's [Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands — German Social Democratic Party] freshly anointed candidate for chancellor in the parliamentary elections to be held at the beginning of 1987, had his nerve. The public relations firm handling his campaign put full-page ads in all the papers with a wider than regional circulation, in which he appealed to his "dear fellow citizens, male and female," to take up the fight along with him against "an erosion of political propriety."

The motto of Rau's campaign, which has just been set in motion, is "reconciliation instead of division." This is supposed to mean making both world peace and social peace more secure.

"Needlessly," Rau complains, the Christian Democrat-liberal coalition brought on the "most dangerous conflict since 1945 between the parties to labor-contract negotiations." As far as the mood in the unions goes at least, Rau has made a fundamental misassessment.

It is true that the posters and buttons that the IG Metall put out appealing for people to defend the right to strike are still in the national colors — black, red, and gold. But the activists will no longer listen to the magic words of the years of the *Wirtschaftswunder* ["economic miracle"] and "social partnership," such as "social peace," "conciliation," and "propriety."

About 150 such activists "disrupted" the traditional annual "meeting of the three kings" of the liberal coalition party, the FDP (Freie Demokratische Partei), on January 6 in Stuttgart. They mingled with the guests, and during the speech

of economics minister Bangemann they waved money. This was to point up the Flick concern's "payments" to FDP politicians. At the same time they chanted and sang workers' songs.

## They stepped on his honour's toes

A few days later, the mayor of Frankfurt and deputy chair of the Christian Democratic Union, Wallmann, had to run a gauntlet of about eighty workers when he wanted to participate in the New Year reception of the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB — German Confederation of Trade Unions) in the Frankfurt trade-union building.

As they did with strike-breakers during the fight for the 35-hour week in 1984, union activists poured a flood of scorn and abuse on the top politicians of the ruling Christian Democrats. The speech that Wallmann gave later was drowned out by uninvited demonstrators in the hall whistling and chanting. "Wallmann und Kapital — raus aus unserem Saal" ["Wallmann and capital, out of our hall!"].

After it was all over, Wallmann claimed that he had been trampled on and beaten. Trade-unionists present compared the scene to a "crowd at a late winter sale." But for days Wallmann was assured of national headlines, apologies from the DGB, and a solemn repudiation of all "violence" by the SPD.

In the two opposition parties in the parliament, only Rainer Trampert, the speaker for the Greens, found the courage to say anything positive about this "turmoil and

disturbance." He did so in a debate in the Frankfurt union hall a few days after the incident, winning the applause of the Frankfurt trade-union left.

The events in Frankfurt and Stuttgart are only episodes in a confrontation that is testing the right of the West German trade unions to strike. In fact, the almost inconceivable lack of respect shown to officials before the holidays indicates a change in the climate in the West German trade-union movement.

After 650,000 people took part in trade-union rallies against austerity in October 1985 and 500,000 workers staged brief stoppages in December throughout the country against the planned limitation of trade-union rights, 1986 promises to be a "hot year."

A year before the crucial parliamentary elections, the government has made its fate dependent on another test of strength with the unions. If the government wins, the wing of the trade-union movement that is ready to fight could lose its capacity for resistance. If the government is obliged to retreat, then a governmental crisis is possible, and an electoral defeat for the right likely.

What is this conflict about? In no other parliamentary democracy in Europe is the right to strike so greatly restricted as in West Germany. This right, which is not explicitly guaranteed by the West German constitution, has been subjected to more and more regulation by court decisions.

Thus, according to the accepted legal precedents, "political" strikes (that is, those aimed against decisions of the government or parliament) are illegal, along with "wildcat" strikes (that is, those not called by the union leadership) and international solidarity strikes.

Of fundamental importance for labor law is a ruling by the Bundesarbeitsgericht [BAG — Federal Labor Court] in 1955 in which it was stated: "Labor struggles (strikes and lockouts) are in general undesirable, since they involve harm to the economy and damage the social peace that is in the interests of all."

From this ruling, it follows that strikes are legal only in exceptional circumstances and within narrow bounds. On the other hand, in accordance with the so-called "principle of equal armament," lockouts have essentially been legalized, although for example, they are forbidden by the constitution of the state of Hesse.

In a subsequent decision in 1980, the BAG granted employers the right to respond to any strike action by the unions with a lockout of 25 percent of the workers in the struck area.

In scarcely any other West European country have the employers resorted so extensively to lockouts. For example, in the 1976 printing workers' strike, there were 90,000 locked-out workers as against 16,000 strikers. In the engineering industry in the Stuttgart region in 1978, 80,000 workers struck; 200,000 were locked out.

In the consciousness of the West German workers' movement, the unions have a vital protective function to fulfill in paying their members compensation in the event of strikes and lockouts. The extent of such payments is linked to the workers' contributions and their length of membership. In general, they amount to two-thirds of the take-home wage.

In order to undermine the readiness of workers to strike, the employers are relying increasingly on a second form of "cold" lockout. Plants outside the struck areas are being closed for "technical reasons." In 1971, in the Stuttgart-Mannheim region, IG Metall called out 120,000 workers on strike. In the struck region, the engineering industry employers locked out 300,000 workers. Some 280,000 more were victims of "technical plant closures" on the national level.

With the support of the Social Democratic chancellor at the time, Willy Brant, the unions won the right for workers subjected to "cold lockouts" to get indemnities from the unemployment assistance fund (which after all is financed by contributions from the wage earners).

In 1984, the employers and the rightist coalition tried to break the strike for the 35-hour week by means of a "cold" lockout. IG Metall started selective strikes at key points, calling out 55,000 strikers. The employers responded by locking out 170,000 workers in the areas involved in the conflict. Throughout the country, moreover, in a few days another 373,000 workers were put on the streets by factory closings.

### The government's objectives

At the same time, the Kohl government forbade the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (the unemployment insurance agency) to make payments to the victims of "cold" lockouts. Under the impact of the trade-union mobilization — more than 230,000 people demonstrated on May 28, 1984, in Bonn — the courts ordered the labor offices to pay compensation.

Last fall, the Kohl government, under pressure from the FDP and the employers' associations, decided to deny payments to the victims of "cold" lockouts by changing the law.

Under the new provisions, workers would not qualify if the union made the same main demand in all regions. Article 116 of the Labor Demand Law (which regulates unemployment insurance) had previously allowed compensation to workers who lost time owing to strikes, if the demands of the union in the regions differed slightly from each other.

With its offensive, the government is pursuing three goals.

1. It wants to force the unions, under threat of the possible strike costs, to largely regionalize their bargaining policy, and, in regions with higher unemployment, to accept lower wages and worse working conditions.

2. It wants to force IG Metall — which, along with IG Druck und Papier [the printing-workers' union] won a 38.5-hour week in 1984 and which in September 1986 might demand new negotiations for the 35-hour week — to choose between renouncing a new national struggle for this common and uniting objective or having to face the risk of seeing hundreds of thousands of workers thrown penniless onto the streets by "cold lockouts." Giving compensation to hundreds of thousands of victims of "cold" lockouts would empty its strike funds in a matter of days.

On the other hand, if IG Metall directed its members to the state social-welfare offices, it would split the fighters into those with, and those without, strike compensation. The victims of "cold" lockouts could in no way count on getting social assistance.

3. Above all, the offensive is aimed at IG Metall and some smaller unions that in recent years have waged successful strike struggles. It is designed to win over a "moderate" wing of the unions grouped around IG Chemie, Papier, Keramik, to collaborating with the government. The DGB would thus be split.

The chair of the IG Chemie, Papier, Keramik, Hermann Rappe, who in 1984 already refused to extend solidarity to the struggle for the 35-hour week, has been quick to come out for a compromise on this occasion. He proposes a solution whereby the existing legislation on wage struggles would remain unchanged, and only the right to strike for qualitative demands would be limited.

In IG Metall, it was the women who insisted on actions in the factories in the face of a wavering leadership. In the IG Metall Women's Conference in November, they demanded that their leadership heed the article of the constitution assuring the right of resistance in accordance with the statutes of the union, and go on strike against the proposed legislation.

Only a few days later, on November 20, 1985, IG Metall chair, Hans Mayr, who had warned the women against a general strike earlier, said at a national conference of union officials in Frankfurt: "We have to get out of our heads any notion of an alternative calling for extensive mobilization."

On December 10 and 18, throughout the country, 55,000 metal workers took part in warning strikes. In cities such as Cologne and Dortmund, the busses and trollies were also stopped by solidarity actions. One result of the actions was that the Christian Democratic members of the DGB demanded that "their" minister of labor, Blum, modify his bill or withdraw it altogether. Their association, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) — Social Committees, is threatening a split.

The DGB leadership still did not want to hear of a general protest strike. Under the pressure of the IG Chemie, Papier, Keramik chair, Rappe, it decided that a general-strike call could be issued only by a special meeting of the National Council [Vorstand].

However, at a press conference in Frankfurt on January 16, the IG Metall National Council reaffirmed its determination to step up its actions while the debate in parliament on the bill continues (as it may until May). Hans Janssen, representative of the wing of the IG Metall leadership that is ready to fight, said in an interview: "Our resistance will be enough to keep the government from amending the act." (*Konkret*, January 1986). [The proposed legislation is in the form of amendments to Article 116.]

Hans Janssen also represented the union activists who in this situation are proposing a new mobilization for the 35-hour week. In the January 14-15 meeting of the National Council, this position won a partial success: The IG Metall leadership not only "recommended" to the regional bargaining committees that they raise demands for raises of 6 percent to 7.5 percent in the wages negotiations that are to open in March. It also expressed its intention to end all the agreements on working time by the end of the year at least, and thus to make the 35-hour week a central issue in the parliamentary elections.

Together with the Greens, Social Democrats, and unionists, the GIM, German section of the Fourth International, is supporting a national call appealing for solidarity in the defense of the right to strike. At the same time, this statement calls for a legislative initiative to ban lockouts. The Greens' parliamentary fraction has already drawn up such a bill. □

## Palestinian leaders face deportation

"THEY ARE important political leaders whose deportation will hamper the struggle against military occupation," stated Israeli defense attorney Felicia Langer. The appeal of four well-known Palestinians was to be heard before the Israeli high court on January 30.

"Discontinued in 1980 in response to international criticism, deportation has been resumed in Israel on a scale that suggests a serious escalation. At stake is the direction of Israeli policy toward the indigenous Arab population at a crucial juncture in its history," wrote Search, the respected Washington-based organization in a recent background paper.

### MICHAEL STEVEN SMITH

The case has gotten international attention. The Palestinians are being represented by a team that includes Felicia Langer, Lea Tsemel, and members of the West Bank-based Arab Lawyers Committee.

The Palestinians were roused from their beds, blindfolded, handcuffed, and led away by machine-gun-carrying Israeli soldiers in the dark morning hours of last October 28.

They were charged with secret unspecified "security offenses" — Nelson Mandela's "crime" — and their deportation seems to be of a piece with the government's renewal of its "iron fist" policy.

No act of or advocacy of violence is alleged against them. They are not charged with a crime and were not given a trial with due-process protections.

Last summer a number of Israelis were killed by Arabs, providing the government with a pretext for their arrests. Twenty-one Palestinians were deported in September; 104 were placed under administrative detention, which requires no charges and can be extended indefinitely.

A delegation of American attorneys recently returned from Israel and the occupied West Bank and Gaza where they had undertaken a fact-finding tour regarding the deportations.

The delegation included National Lawyers Guild president and vice president Marc Van Der Hout and Mary Rita Luecke; as well as Michael Steven Smith, a member of the editorial board of *Guild Notes*, the publication of the group; Wilhelm Joseph, co-chairman of the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL); and Abdeen Jabara of the Palestine Aid Society's advisory board.

They spent eight days meeting with

Israeli governmental and military officials, American officials, and Palestinian political and cultural leaders.

The delegation observed that to date over half the territory of the West Bank has been taken by Israelis for exclusive Jewish use and illegal settlement. Opposing this and calling for a just peace and an independent Palestinian state is the true "crime" for which the Palestinians were arrested, the group concluded.

At a packed press conference that was held in Jerusalem and broadcast on Israeli TV on November 20, Guild president Marc Van Der Hout, speaking for the delegation, demanded reversal of Israeli deportation plans.

While affirming the Guild's support for the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign state, Van Der Hout stated, "As a Jew I feel a special obligation to draw attention to the violation of human rights by Israel. The present deportations have no basis in Israeli or in international law."

To support the deportation, Israel is relying on a British emergency regulation from 1945, which the British themselves revoked. Prior to the establishment of Israel in 1948, Mr. Yaacov Shimson Shapira, who was to become the first legal advisor to the new Israeli government, said that "even in Nazi Germany there were no such laws," that "they are unparalleled in any civilized country," and that "no government has a right to draw up such laws."

Ms. Langer was not optimistic about the Palestinians' prospects of avoiding banishment. Although Article 49 of the 1949 Geneva Accords, which Israel signed, explicitly forbids the deportation of civilians from occupied territories, a

fate suffered by many European Jews, Ms. Langer said that "in the past the Israeli High Court has taken an attitude of total rejection of Article 49."

The four Palestinians the government seeks to deport have all been outspoken in their resistance to Israeli designs vis-a-vis the West Bank and Gaza. They are:

— Hasan Abd al Jawad, a journalist who heads the Bethlehem Press Service and is a leader of the Dheshieh refugee camp, where he lives. He is the sole support of his wife, aged parents, and his cousin's family. His cousin has already been deported.

— Ali Abu Hilal is the founder and secretary of the Workers Unity Block, a large organization of 52 affiliated unions of Palestinian workers on the West Bank. Although the union is legal, members told the delegation that most of their leaders were in prison, that their last convention was banned — unsuccessfully — by the Israelis, and their headquarters raided.

— Dr. Azmi Shu'aibi is a dentist who served as city councilman in his West Bank town of El-Bireh until it was dissolved by the Israelis in 1982. He suffers from an acute and incurable lung disease but has nonetheless been adjudged fit for deportation. His wife told the delegation that should he be set across the border, she fears the worst. He has two young children.

Mrs. Suheir Shu'aibi said that her home was invaded after a knock on the door in the middle of the night. Her husband frankly discussed his political views with the soldiers. Thereafter he was taken away. When, in the morning, her children asked for their father she told them the truth but left room for hope.

She told the delegation that the soldiers confiscated their books on economics and Marxism. Her husband talked them out of taking a copy of the 1984 Amnesty International report on the torture of Palestinian prisoners. The military authorities have a list of 300 banned books, which are indexed and forbidden.

— Zaki Abu Steiteh was married upon his recent release from prison. He is accused of having made nationalist speeches and singing Palestinian songs at his wedding. The attorneys visited his mother and his wife at their one-room home under an Israeli machine-gun tower at the Jabalya Refugee Camp in the Gaza strip near Egypt.

His mother said that she left her farm in 1948 under a rain of Israeli bullets, carrying a year-and-a-half-old child. Her shawl fell from her head, but she didn't have time to pick it up. She went back to the land the next year and viewed it through a fence. She goes back yearly now, she said,

and rubs the dirt into her hair.

At a meeting with American Ambassador Thomas Pickering at the U.S. mission in Tel Aviv, the ambassador told the American attorneys that it is the U.S. position that the deportations are an illegal violation of the 1949 Geneva Accords. He said he believed the Israelis were deporting the men because of their opposition to Israeli plans to set up a semi-autonomous West Bank under Israeli control. This plan is generally derided by Palestinians as a "Bantustan" solution.

The attorneys met with Meir Gabay, director-general in the Ministry of Justice and Renato Jarach, the state prosecutor handling the deportations. Mr. Jarach conceded that the deportees had not been involved in violence and stated that the reason they were being banished from their homes was for their involvement in organizing, in his words, "pre-state formations."

He said that a network of informers supplied him with secret evidence that the four Palestinians were supporters of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, two member groups of the PLO — "Extremely ferocious," added Director General Gabay.

"It's so troubling meeting with Israeli government officials and seeing how they totally deny what's going on," Chicago attorney Mary Rita Luecke told the weekly Palestinian newspaper *Al-Fajr* (The Dawn). "On one hand, they say these are people trying to set up a pre-state government. In a sense, that recognizes the national liberation character of the struggle — and it's very clear to me from my visit that it is a national liberation struggle that's going on here. But the Israelis' whole emphasis is on trying to characterize these Palestinians as criminals. They refuse to acknowledge the mandates of the Geneva Convention and paint these people who are sincere and legitimate leaders in their own communities as 'terrorists'. The use of that word is a red herring."

Daoub Kuttab, *Al-Fajr's* editor, underscored this point at a meeting with the group. He showed them an editorial he had written denouncing terrorism as being counterproductive and supporting Yasser Arafat's condemnation of the highjacking of the Achille Lauro. Every single paragraph was crossed out by the Israeli censor and he was not allowed to print it. He said that even obituaries are scrutinized and crossword puzzles are censored. The word "homeland" for instance is not allowed.

In the occupied West Bank, 52 percent of the land has been seized. The number of settlers in the West

Bank is about 50,000. The number of Palestinians there is more than 850,000, that is, seventeen times greater, he explained. But only less than one-half of the land of their homeland is intended for their benefit. Two-thirds of the Arabs on the West Bank are now forced to work in Israel, making about five dollars a day, when hired.

Within the borders of the pre-1967 Israel, 90 percent of the land has been taken for exclusive Jewish use. All the world's Jews may become citizens of Israel, but Arabs who left or who were driven out during the various wars are not allowed to return.

It is forbidden to open any new factories that will make products for sale to inhabitants of the territories themselves. All Israeli exports to the territories are not only allowed but actually encouraged. At the same time, for all practical purposes all imports from the territories to Israel are prohibited.

Upon returning to New York, Wilhelm Joseph of the NCBL and Michael Smith testified before the United Nations' Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Effecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. Joseph told the Special Committee that, "I find the parallels between Israeli treatment of Palestinians in the occupied territories and South Africa's treatment of its Blacks to be absolutely frightening."

"For example," he testified, "West Bank Palestinians must carry passbooks which limit their freedom of movement. A Palestinian from the West Bank may sweep the streets of Tel Aviv by day, but must be back on the West Bank at midnight. Collective punishment, house and town arrest, and the bulldozing of Arab homes is routine practice. Incidences of torture were related to us by a number of Palestinians."

The last group to be deported were 18 Palestinians who, on September 15, were blindfolded, stripped of all papers including records of ownership of land, and dumped at gun point under the desert sun into Jordan in a mine field south of the Dead Sea at Wadi Araba.

Protest messages are effective and should be sent to Prime Minister Shimon Peres, the Knesset, Jerusalem, Israel, and to George Schultz, United States Department of State, Washington, DC 20520, with copies to attorney Lea Tsemel, 2 Abu Obeida, Jerusalem.

Michael Steven Smith is an attorney who practises law in New York City. He is a member of the National Lawyers Guild and has been active in the civil rights and peace movements. □



# A study of political extradition in Ireland

THE RE-EXTRADITION of the alleged former leader of the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), Dominic McGlinchey, to the South of Ireland after the Belfast appeal court acquitted him of murder has made legal history and called into question the issue of extradition between Britain and Ireland.

A new book *Sheltering the Fugitive?* by Michael Farrell, examines the history of extradition involving America, Ireland and Britain and explains why extradition is politically and legally contentious. Published in Ireland last month to coincide with the US Senate's hearings on the question of a new extradition agreement with Britain that would allow the handing over of Irish Republican Army (IRA) fugitives, Farrell claims that, in the light of the McGlinchey case, "the days of extraditing political offenders from the South (of Ireland) are numbered."

JOHN MEEHAN

However, while he believes that the current Anglo-Irish Agreement includes pressure for extradition, the Irish government will not be as keen to accede to British and Unionist demands because Farrell says, "the result of the McGlinchey case has exploded the situation in the face of the (Irish) Supreme Court."

Influential Irish government backbenchers have already called for a tightening up of the extradition law, as suggested by Farrell in an *Irish Press* article on August 7 last year:

"For all countries except Britain and the North, the Extradition Act (1965) specifically prohibits the charging of extradited persons with any offence other than the one they were extradited for. By a curious anomaly, however, there is no such ban in relation to Britain and the North," he wrote.

"In some of (Ireland's) extradition treaties, the authorities seeking extradition must produce evidence in the Republic's courts to show that there is a prima-facie case against the accused before he or she can be handed over."

"Only now," says Farrell today, "with highly publicised political cases, has this become a matter of public notice. It is an extremely bad thing. Someone can be deprived of their liberty and sent into a foreign jurisdiction without there having to be a shred of evidence against them. That has now happened in three

highly publicised cases — Dominic McGlinchey, Seamus Shannon and John Patrick Quinn."

"The McGlinchey case has collapsed. There was clearly no evidence against him at the time his extradition was sought. The case against him in the non-jury Diplock courts relied heavily on affidavits which he swore at court here in the South, in an attempt to resist his extradition. That's important because these affidavits were not in existence when his extradition was applied for, the only evidence then was his fingerprints."

The Appeal court rejected the affidavits as conclusive evidence, which Farrell says "were supplied to the court without the consent of McGlinchey in a quite unprecedented action. No such action was ever taken before."

The McGlinchey case is dealt with in some detail in *Sheltering the Fugitive?* In September 1977 McGlinchey, who claims he was an active member of the IRA in South Derry, was arrested by Irish police and jailed for possessing firearms and resisting arrest. In jail he changed his allegiance from the IRA to the INLA.

In January 1982 he was released from prison and arrested on a warrant seeking his extradition to the North on a charge of killing 67-year-old Hester McMullen who was shot dead (near Toomebridge, County Antrim) during an attempted IRA ambush on her

son, a member of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) Reserve.

McGlinchey contested his extradition, claiming the murder of Mrs McMullen was a political offence and that if he were extradited he would be charged with other offences. McGlinchey has since denied any part in the killing.

In an unprecedented ruling the Irish Supreme Court declared McGlinchey's offence was not political and he should be extradited. But McGlinchey didn't hang around waiting on the result of the hearing. He went on the run, and, described by the press as the most wanted man in Ireland, for eighteen months he achieved notoriety. He was also blamed for virtually every violent incident during that period when, in fact, the only accurate sightings of him seemed to be by Irish police who had their cars and uniforms stolen and were left stranded on cold country roads in their underwear.

He was finally caught during a shoot-out on St. Patrick's Day in 1984, and in an extraordinary emergency session of the Irish Supreme Court that same evening he became the first member of a Republican group to be extradited to the North for a politically related offence.

Farrell says the previous law "was stood on its head. The concept introduced by the chief justice in Ireland of what a reasonable civilised person would consider to be political behaviour is totally contrary to the precedent set (in previous decades in Ireland, Britain and the USA)."

Farrell continues: "The precedent — setting cases have been British. The most famous is the Castioni case of 1890. An Italian marble sculptor living in London was charged with taking part in a rising in a canton in Switzerland and with murdering a member of the local government there. In that case the court delivered a judgement saying this was a political offence. They laid down the test of a political uprising, a genuine political conflict, and an incident which was part of that. The courts said in that case it was no part of their business to consider whether the crime involved was necessary to the uprising, or whether it was a heinous offence.

"The ruling in the English courts was, if the crime was incidental to and formed part of the political disturbance, then it was not extraditable," says Farrell.

That is the reason Irish courts have never extradited people to Britain or the North of Ireland if their offences were political.

"In past periods," according to Farrell, the (Irish) courts had taken a fairly firm line. On one occasion they stood up strongly to British

pressure. Sean Bourke had assisted George Blake, a Soviet spy, to escape from jail. They held, in 1969, that was a political offence; Burke could not be extradited. At that time there was considerable British pressure on the Irish government to extradite Bourke."

"When the conflict exploded in the North of Ireland, the courts held that offences connected with the INLA or IRA were political. A series of judgements were quite clear on that. Then came the McGlinchey judgement."

"It came to light when an attempt was made to extradite some political offenders back to the North in 1929. The courts struck down all extradition North and South and that wasn't re-established until 1965. There was a fair amount of traffic in petty offenders North and South and vice-versa. The police forces took it into their own hands to quite illegally trade those people across the border."

In *Sheltering the Fugitive?* Farrell recalls an incident in January 1962 when the RUC dumped a South Armagh man, Michael McWall, across the border into the arms of the Irish police. Questioned about it in the Stormont parliament the minister of home affairs, Brian Faulkner, denied there was any collusion.

He said McWall had injured himself escaping from the Irish police the previous day and the RUC had called to give him a lift to the doctors, "McWall accepted, but on the way to the doctor's house he decided to change his mind and at a point near the border he voluntarily walked over into the Republic and gave himself up to the guards," said Faulkner.

"Extradition," says Farrell, "was a very esoteric issue. Very few people understood it. It has taken a long time to become a matter of public notoriety and concern. It has now. A lot of lawyers, have begun to feel that a serious blow has been struck to civil liberties in (Ireland) by these judgements, and this concern has spread to wider groups in society.

"Already the main opposition party has declared its opposition to extradition. If the (Irish) courts persist in applying these judgements there will be pressure for a change in the law to reverse these judgements when (Ireland) has a change of government."

When Farrell's book was published in Ireland on September 25 it coincided with hearings in the US Senate over a proposed new Anglo-American extradition treaty, which excludes any reference to political offenders. Each member of the US Senate was sent a copy of *Sheltering the Fugitive?* □

## Interview with the author

*Question: What impact did the McGlinchey case have?*

*Answer:* Extradition of IRA members — which is what this is all about — has always been a sensitive issue here because the majority of people believe they are political offenders. They don't necessarily support the activities of the IRA but they believe it is partition and the unjust treatment of the Catholic/nationalist minority in the North that is the root cause of the violence there. And they don't trust the RUC and the non-jury courts there to give nationalists a fair trial.

Extradition for IRA members was always rejected by courts in the South, citing the long-standing legal tradition of no extradition for political offenders — a tradition laid down by the British courts in the nineteenth century. But there has been a lot of pressure from Britain and the Ulster Unionists since the Northern 'Troubles' began in 1969, and eventually the Fine Gael/Labour government changed its attitude in 1981-82, and the courts here took the hint and followed suit in the McGlinchey case.

The RUC asked for McGlinchey on a charge of shooting 67-year-old Hester McMullan, killed following an attempt to kill her RUC Reservist son — though they did not mention the RUC connection. It was an unsavoury case and the Supreme Court handed McGlinchey over, but the Chief Justice also took the opportunity to make a sweeping declaration that henceforth no offence involving violence could be regarded as political.

He was standing the law and the precedents on their heads. Under that ruling a member of the ANC [African National Congress] or the FMLN would be extradited without a second thought. He said that the test of a political offence was what 'a reasonable, civilised person' would regard as political. He didn't define that, but it looks as if he meant someone like himself, well-paid, well-fed and middle class. But political offenders don't come from groups like that, they come from the poor and deprived — ghettodwellers.

Now the whole thing looks ludicrous. The case the court chose to change the law has collapsed and they have had to ask for McGlinchey back. They've been

made to look like fools.

*Q. But doesn't the McGlinchey case prove that the system works? He got a fair trial and he was acquitted.*

*A.* On the contrary. There was never any case against McGlinchey. Half of the Crown case was only put together after the RUC had asked for his extradition — it consisted of the affidavits he swore in the Southern courts to resist extradition. And he wasn't told they could be used in evidence against him in the North. That highlights a major loophole in the law — that the British authorities do not have to establish a prima-facie case against someone they want extradited.

More important, it became clear in court that the RUC probably had as much evidence against McGlinchey on charges of attacking RUC men and British soldiers but didn't press them because they were too obviously political. In other words they conned the Southern courts. That has left a bad taste in people's mouths and made them question the whole system.

*Q. You have opposed extradition from the Republic and you are against the new Anglo-US extradition treaty. Why are you so opposed to handing over political offenders?*

*A.* Because extradition from the Republic involves denying that the conflict in the North is a political one — and recognition of that is a precondition for any solution. And it involves acceptance of the unsatisfactory legal system there. The same reasoning applies to the US treaty.

More generally, I feel that the right of political asylum which this tradition protects is very important for those struggling against oppressive regimes anywhere — South Africa, the Philippines, El Salvador. If the Reagan administration gets this treaty through, it has already indicated it will propose similar treaties with other "friendly" states.

And if small countries like Ireland abandon this tradition it will make it easier for the big powers to do so too. The non-return of political offenders is an important legal tradition. It should not be jettisoned for short-term political expediency. □



## Canada

### Anti-intervention campaign

THIS SPRING'S protest against the US war in Central America will incorporate an exciting new dimension — unity with the growing movement against the racist system of apartheid in South Africa.

The Toronto Anti-Intervention Coalition, (TAIC) which unites over ninety labour, church, anti-war, solidarity and women's rights organizations, has selected Saturday, May 24, the day before Africa Liberation Day, for a mass demonstration and public fair.

And now the TAIC is working with anti-apartheid and Africa solidarity organizations to broaden the base and scope of the day.

In a 'call to action' issued by TAIC in January, groups and individuals across English Canada and Quebec are encouraged to demonstrate in support of the following demands:

- Stop U.S. economic and military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.
- End apartheid in South Africa.
- Oppose Canadian support for apartheid and U.S. intervention.

"Our decision to link the situations in Central America and South Africa is a response to stepped-up efforts by Washington and its allies to attempt to block and reverse movements in the forefront of the international struggle for self-determination, peace and social justice," states the call.

Around the world the struggle to defend self-determination in Central America is increasingly linked in action to solidarity with the struggle for the liberation of the non-white majority in South Africa. This was clearly the case in protests held across the United States that mobilized over 140,000 people on April 20, 1985.

And this is the perspective that the TAIC hopes will spread across English Canada and Quebec.

But such an outcome cannot be taken for granted.

TAIC itself was beset by six months of divisive internal debate over perspectives. One rather defeatist current in the debate bemoaned the alleged ineffectiveness of demonstrations. Some TAIC members urged the coalition to adopt as its major activity the promotion of 'peace initiatives' by forces in Central and

South America, including various bourgeois governments, and downplay any criticism of the role of the Canadian government.

But the December general membership meeting of the TAIC decisively rejected those views. It opted instead to maintain an *independent, mass action perspective* that would focus opposition on U.S. intervention and Canadian involvement in U.S. militarism.

The attempt to link solidarity with the freedom struggles in South Africa and Central America was the other major decision to emerge from the December meeting (which marked the first anniversary of the TAIC), accompanied by plans for film-showings and concerts to raise funds.

While Prime Minister Brian Mulroney lines up behind President Reagan to attack Libya for alleged terrorism, May 24 gives working people and their allies here the opportunity to demonstrate our opposition to the *real* terrorists, those who uphold racism, poverty, repression and U.S. intervention.

All out for May 24!

(For more information, contact TAIC by writing to: 427 Bloor St. W., Toronto, Ontario M5S 1X7, or phone (416) 535-8779.) □

## Netherlands

### Irish republicans arrested

AFTER a tip from Internal Security (Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst), on January 16 Amsterdam police, in collaboration with a team of national police, arrested three Irish republicans. Even before this arrest, the British government had demanded the extradition of two of those arrested.

In a statement, Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams called on the Netherlands government not to extradite these men. In breaking into the home of the three in Buitenveldert the police, among other things, used noise grenades in order to deafen the three. McF. and G.K. are threatened with extradition to Great Britain. They had been sentenced to life in prison, but managed in September 1983 to break out of the Maze prison near Belfast.

"If the men whose extradition is being demanded by Great Britain are in fact Brendan 'Bic' McFarlane and Gerry Kelly, then these are men with deep political conviction and

integrity" [retranslated from the Dutch], Gerry Adams said. Both were involved in hunger strikes in prison.

If the two do not resist extradition, then it is only a question of a few days. But if they appeal to the High Court [Hoge Raad], the procedure can take several months. [They have appealed.] The Dutch government would be happy to get rid of these three "so that there will be no speculation whether the IRA will undertake an action," said a representative of the Public Ministry [Openbaar Ministerie].

The president of Sinn Fein has called on freedom-loving and anti-imperialist forces in the Netherlands to get the government not "to take the side of Great Britain in her terrorist campaign aimed at denying the Irish people their right to national self-determination." [Retranslated from Dutch.]

Gerry Adams stressed that the giving in to such a demand for extradition meant recognizing the British claim to a part of Ireland, approving British aggression, and supporting the British war in Ireland. □

## Denmark

### EEC referendum

AT THE end of February, Danish voters face a referendum on changes in the European Economic Community (EEC) treaty, which would give the EEC parliament the right to impose Common-Market-wide regulations on working conditions and oblige member states to coordinate their foreign and security policies.

The Danish employers are waging a scare campaign to assure approval of the changes, threatening voters that they will endanger their jobs by voting 'no.'

Danish factory health standards are notably higher than in other EEC countries. For example, the EEC court has sought to bioc declaring 42 substances carcinogenic. By its extraordinary strength, the Danish workers' movement has achieved many gains that would be threatened if the EEC bureaucracy could impose rules over the heads of the Danish working people.

The Danish section of the Fourth International is campaigning for a 'no' vote in the referendum, which will be a major test also for the right-wing Schlueter government. □

# Another prairie fire in Reagan's 'backyard'

AFTER NEARLY thirty years in power, the Duvalier family dictatorship has been blown away by an irresistible mass upsurge, which for an indefinite period has put power in the streets. U.S. imperialism is obviously trying to put together an alternative regime. But the fact that for the third time in seven years a U.S.-backed dictatorship has been overwhelmed by a mass upsurge indicates a drastic decline in Washington's ability to maintain its control over super-exploited colonial countries such as Haiti.

The Duvalier dictatorship was already one of the last cards of populist nationalist demagoguery, similar in that respect to the populist bourgeois nationalist currents that have been losing their political force generally throughout Latin America. In Haiti, for deep-rooted historical reasons, the populist nationalism assumed a racial coloring, with Duvalier posing as the representative of the Black majority against the mulatto commercial class.

CLAUDE DEVILLIERS

Presenting himself as the heir of the Black Jacobins who liberated the country from slavery and French colonial rule, Francois Duvalier managed to capture the aspirations of a large part of the population. With the help of a gangster organization similar to Somoza's National Guard, the so-called National Security Volunteers, known as the Tonton Macoutes, the Duvalier regime managed to destroy the Haitian workers' movement and to annihilate any form of opposition, even bourgeois.

After having himself proclaimed "president for life" in 1964, "Papa Doc" Duvalier toward the end of his life agreed to apply repression in a more selective way, as Washington demanded.

In exchange for financial aid, Duvalier offered Rockefeller the following perspective: "Haiti could be a big reserve of labour power closer, more secure, and easier than Hong Kong for Americans wanting to establish re-exportation industries."

In 1971, Papa Doc was succeeded by his son, Jean-Claude, "Baby Doc." The 1970s saw the setting up of a great number of factories employing tens of thousands of workers. Jean-Claude's marriage to Michele Bennet marked an attempt to knit an alliance between the Duvalierist "dinosaurs," who had enriched themselves in the shadow of the state, and the traditional, mainly commercial (and mulatto) bourgeoisie supported by the U.S.

Thus, the Duvaliers and the Bennets

control a not inconsiderable part of the economy of the country. This made them very reluctant to accept any modification of a state based on extreme corruption.

In 1980 a period of timid "liberalization" initiated in 1976 ended abruptly. It had seen the revival of certain forms of organization and the re-emergence of strike mobilizations.

The contradiction between maintaining the Duvalier dynastic state and the imperatives of a capitalist development of the economy sought by the traditional bourgeoisie and the imperialists were to become more and more acute. And the situation was aggravated by the radicalization of the oppressed masses, which was accelerated by the economic crisis that struck Haiti particularly hard.

U.S. imperialism, conscious of the potentially explosive character of the situation, in recent years stepped up its pressures on the regime to reform itself and encouraged the re-emergence of a bourgeois opposition.

At the same time, new generations came onto the political scene (39 percent of the population is under 15 years of age), unmarked by the generalized terror of the early Duvalier regime. Moreover, the churches began to take their distance from the regime.

Many young people were inevitably affected by the rise of the Central American revolution. In 1979 a private radio station broadcast the news of the fall of Somoza hour by hour.

It is the combination of all these

factors that explains the depth of the present mass movement. It is, in fact, the culmination of a process initiated by the riots of May 1984 and continued by big rallies held under religious pretexts at the beginning of 1985 and the massive boycott of the referendum last summer.

In 1985 the churches and bourgeois opposition personalities remained generally in control. On the contrary, in the present movement they have been bypassed by events.

It is clear that the United States failed to achieve a peaceful transition. The movement seems to have been largely spontaneous in recent weeks, although one cannot underestimate the role of the Christian youth, the small workers' and people's parties active underground, and the traditional organizations linked to the voodoo religion, well rooted in the shantytowns in particular.

However, the mass movement has no leadership today recognized by broad sections of the population and still less one able to offer a working-class alternative.

The flight of Baby Doc relaunched the mass mobilizations. The masses went after the Tontons Macoutes and attacked the symbols of the Duvalier regime and the interests of the ruling family, from the tomb of Papa Doc to the stones belonging to Baby Doc's wife. That must distress U.S. imperialism, which manipulated the setting up of a junta to govern the country.

Of the six members of the new junta, five worked hand in glove with the regime. They include four officers: a chief of the general staff, his second in command, and the chief of the presidential guard and the author of plays glorifying the elder Duvalier. The fourth was a personal friend of Duvalier. One of the civilians was a minister known for his corruption. To add some respectability to this gang, they added the president of the Human Rights League of Haiti, reputedly linked to the United States.

This junta has named a cabinet made up mostly of servants of the dictatorship. Its initial decisions — such as the proclamation of a curfew — showed its determination to protect the Tontons Macoutes and prevent demonstrations. There is also a danger of direct U.S. intervention. Washington has already warned that its forces are ready to respond to an appeal for aid from the new regime. So it is necessary now to mobilize solidarity with the mass movement and its demands for a real purge of the state apparatus, punishment of the torturers, and re-establishment of full democratic rights and to oppose any military intervention in Haiti. □