

OBREROS EN MARCHA

Political Organ of the Puerto Rican National Left Movement (M.I.N.P.-El Comité)

New York City Transit Strike:

Rank & File vs. Union Bureaucracy and Government Page 3



Over 7,000 Transit Workers Unions members and other city workers demonstrated in New York's financial district days before the transit strike was called

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Support the Evanston 11

On April 4th, eleven alleged members of the Fuerzas Armada de Liberacion Nacional (F.A.L.N.) were arrested in Evanston, Illinois. The FALN is a clandestine Puerto Rican organization which advocates independence for Puerto Rico. Thus far, the group has functioned primarily in the U.S. It maintains that at this time armed struggle is the primary form of struggle that should be utilized by the Puerto Rican National Liberation Movement.

One of the earliest operations carried out by the FALN took place in January, 1975. The group exploded a bomb in a restaurant in the Wall St. area of New York City. This operation at Fraunces Tavern coincided with our organization's Formative Assembly. During the deliberations of the Assembly, our leadership delivered a statement criticizing the action of the FALN. This was later followed by a statement in our publication, *Obreros En Marcha*, which articulated the theoretical and political premises for our differences with the conception of armed struggle that the FALN promotes. We said then: "As an organization we understand . . . that the emancipation of the working class is impossible without a violent revolution and the destruction of the state apparatus . . . Although armed struggle is a fundamental prerequisite for the seizure of state power by the working class and oppressed masses, this does not mean that it can be applied at all times and within all conditions. As Marxists, we understand that the form of struggle utilized must correspond rigorously and necessarily to the concrete historical situation in which we find ourselves."

Puerto Rico is a nation colonized by U.S. imperialism. Consequently, the Puerto Rican people have a legitimate and inalienable right to struggle for their liberation. MINP-EI Comité defends the right of the Puerto Rican people and all colonized peoples to self-determination and independence. Furthermore, we support the right of colonized peoples to use those forms of struggle which, at any given historical moment, best meet that objective. Fundamentally, we support the right of oppressed peoples to use armed struggle.

Our position is based on the historical experience of the working class and all oppressed peoples. This experience demonstrates

that a fundamental aspect of the liberation process from imperialist domination is armed struggle. However, based on our understanding of the following two factors—the political consciousness and the level of organization of the masses—we always maintain a critical attitude towards the method of struggle used by any organization or formation in a liberation process.

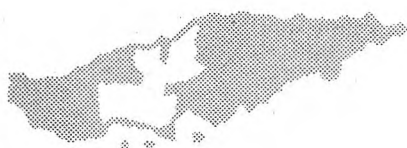
Our organization's fundamental goal is to destroy U.S. imperialism and build upon its ruins a society free of the exploitation of man by man. This objective guides all our work and efforts. An essential requirement to achieve this goal will be the political and organizational unity of all revolutionary forces. Presently, this is far from the reality. We think this task will be furthered through the joint work of revolutionaries in the context of the class struggle and principled political unity.

Because our fundamental objective is to destroy U.S. imperialism and build a socialist society, any differences we may have with other revolutionaries and progressive forces regarding strategy and/or tactics will always be subordinate to that aim. Moreover, we will join to defend the rights of all those attacked by the repressive arms of the state: the police, the FBI and CIA, the Grand Jury, etc.

In this recent period, repression has fallen heavily on forces who struggle for independence, particularly in Puerto Rico. The cases that stand out are the murder of the two young independentistas, Arnaldo Dario Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivi, at Cerro Maravilla and the assassination of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal (arrested for opposing the Navy's occupation of Vieques) in a federal penitentiary in Florida. The likelihood is that these attacks will continue and be even more brutal.

Our organization has and will continue to support patriots and revolutionaries when they fall into the hands of the repressive forces of this country. This is the case with the compañeros arrested in Evanston. However, supporting such comrades has not and will not mean that we support all or part of their political views. But consistent with our principles, we call upon all progressive and revolutionary organizations and individuals to join us in support and defense of these compañeros. □

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What is Obreros En Marcha?

Obreros En Marcha is the central publication of MINP-EI Comité (Puerto Rican National Left Movement). MINP-EI Comité is a developing Marxist-Leninist organization which originated on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, New York City. We formed in the summer of 1970 as a Latin community organization committed to the struggle to improve the living conditions of the poor, mainly minority, families who lived in that area. Our goal was to win decent, low-rent housing, quality education and health services for these families.

Two years after our formation we began to respond to the needs of Latin workers in the factories. We also started to organize students at the university level and to become more actively involved in the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence. Our participation in these struggles ultimately led to our transformation into a different type of organization with more defined political objectives. In 1974 we began the slow and complex process of transformation into a Marxist-Leninist organization, an organization guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism and integrated into the class struggle in the United States.

As such an organization, we understand that an essential aspect of our work is to raise the level of political consciousness of workers in this country. This is one of the conditions necessary to develop the revolutionary movement capable of overthrowing the present order and building on its ruins a new socialist society. We join with other revolutionary forces in taking up this task.

Our political organ, *Obreros En Marcha*, has as its goal the development of revolutionary consciousness among our ranks, the advanced elements of the people and among the masses in general. We attempt to accomplish this task by the examination and analysis of the conditions confronting the working class locally, nationally and internationally. We also examine the progressive and revolutionary movements which develop as a response to those conditions.

NYC Transit Strike: Rank & File vs. Union Bureaucracy and Government



Mayor Koch's theatrics during the transit strike were an orchestrated part of the fierce anti-worker campaign.

In the early morning hours of April 1st, the Transport Workers Union (TWU) and the Amalgamated Transit Union struck the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), shutting down New York City's mass transit system, the largest in the nation. The workers were demanding a 15% wage increase in the first year, a 10% increase in the second year and no "givebacks" in terms of benefits or increased productivity. On April 11th, eleven days later, a tentative agreement was reached with the MTA and the workers were ordered back to their jobs.

The main points of the agreement included an increase of 9% in the first year, 8% in the second year and a 3% cost of living increase in the last six months of the contract. In addition, the Executive Committee negotiating for the unions were pressured into several givebacks: a loss of 20 minutes in paid clean up and break time, and greater flexibility by management in utilizing workers for tasks outside their job descriptions. Furthermore, workers hired after April 1st would get paid at a lower rate for the first 2½ years of their job.

Because of the small wage increases and the concessions on givebacks, many transit workers consider the agreement a sellout. An examination of the strike, the negotiations, and the rank and file struggle within the TWU is important for all workers in NYC. It is important because this strike was a key battle in the struggle of the working class against the policies of planned shrinkage, (see *Editorial, Obreros En Marcha vol. IV, No. 6*) particularly in these days of the city's "fiscal crisis."

The MTA, Mayor Koch and the conciliatory bureaucracy within the TWU—led by Local president John Lawe—have all been worried about the growing militant TWU rank and file which almost ousted Lawe in the union elections last year.

The scene outside of Manhattan's Sheraton Centre in the late evening hours of March 31st clearly exemplified the union's internal battles. As the minutes slowly ticked closer to the April 1st strike deadline, TWU members noisily demonstrated outside while their union leaders and MTA officials negotiated inside. "Don't sell us out Johnny Lawe!" they chanted, a clear message of their mistrust of their local's president.

But the transit workers' militancy has been a particular threat to Koch and the city administration. Despite Koch's constant declarations that the contract settlement would not be linked to the upcoming negotiations with the city's municipal workers in June, historically the transit contract has set the basis for the demands and negotiations of city workers. More fundamentally, however, one of Koch's earliest promises to the Financial Control Board was his promise to smash the power of the unions—a major aspect in the dual strategies of planned shrinkage and balancing the budget on the backs of the city's working class.

KOCH TAKES TO THE STREETS

New York City has yet to experience in recent times a more anti-working class campaign than was waged against the transit workers by Koch. A constant stream of articles in the commercial press and nightly news specials intermingled hints on how to survive public transportation with slurs and outright attacks on the transit workers for their "callous and irresponsible actions." There were Koch's daily walks to key pedestrian points, tauntingly shouting, "Should we cave in to blackmail?" "Should we submit to unreasonable demands?" Koch even had the audacity to

chastise the transit workers in the name of those who were suffering the most, "the minorities and poor whites who have no way to get to work and are losing money daily." These words came from the mouth of Koch, the very person who for two years has been leading the onslaught of budget cuts against the city's minorities and working people.

These actions on the part of the mayor reflect his overall plan for dealing with the city's municipal unions. Koch sees it as necessary to force the lowest possible settlement on the transit workers in order to set the basis for bleeding the municipal unions to death. Koch has said that he would not agree to more than a 4% increase for city workers.

THE RANK AND FILE FIGHTS BACK

The militancy and unity of the rank and file has continued to be a thorn in the side of the MTA, Lawe and Koch. The MTA's propaganda that any "outrageous gains" forced by the TWU would have to be offset by a higher fare is a deliberate distortion meant to create more bad opinion against the transit workers. Plans to raise the fare have been in the making for some time. New tokens had been made well before the strike was called. The program of the organized militants, the Good Contract Committee, presents alternatives to an increased fare. They call for more transit money from the state and federal government as well as an increase of taxes on the assets of the city's financial institutions (banks, investment houses, etc.) and on stock market transactions. This is where the money for wage increases as well as improvements to the transportation system could come from—not from workers' pockets.

The transit workers are presently challenging in the courts Lawe's orders for them to return to work. When the vote in the Executive Committee was taken on the offer from the MTA, the result was a tie vote: 22 for acceptance and 22 against. The 45th member of the team, a militant who publicly stated he would have voted against the offer, had been called to reserve duty the day before and had not been notified by Lawe that a vote would be taken. At *Obreros En Marcha* press time, the membership vote on the contract was taking place by mail, a process of at least three weeks. At the same time, the militants are declaring a "sellout" and calling for a revote in the Executive Committee—with all the members present. The outcome, and subsequent direction of this contract year is still to be determined. □

Metropolitan Hospital: Interview with Hospital Activists

In the unfolding plan to change the face of New York City in the name of the "fiscal crisis," Mayor Koch has wholeheartedly gone after the municipal hospitals. Metropolitan Hospital, located in a Hispanic community in Manhattan's Upper East Side, has been one of the key struggles in this particular arena. For over a year now the Community Coalition to Save Metropolitan Hospital has been active in confronting the attacks by the Koch administration. The Coalition has attempted to organize both the hospital's workers and also community residents, seeing their unity as fundamental to a successful struggle.

Despite all efforts to save Metropolitan, Koch has never publicly retracted his statement that he will close the hospital. The last vote by the Health and Hospitals Corporation was to close both Metropolitan and Sydenham Hospital (located in Harlem).

Members of the Coalition who are workers at Metropolitan and also live in the El Barrio community agreed to share some of their organizing experiences with *Obreros En Marcha*. We thank them for the opportunity to learn from the real struggles they have been carrying out.



"Our biggest job yet is to educate, organize and mobilize the community."

OEM: Why did you see a need to work with the Coalition?

G.L.: Well, what got me personally involved was that first of all I not only work in the hospital but I live in the El Barrio community. My mother, my nephews and I have always come here for services, so that the attacks on the hospital were very real for me. Also, being an employee of the hospital, I was able to get an insider's view of what the conditions here really are, what the patients are forced to endure. The very lives of our community's people are being sacrificed. This was enough for me to become involved.

Once a core group of us got together, the first thing we did was to investigate what was happening not only in the hospital but in the community too. We had to really dig below the surface and educate ourselves. We found that the more information you have concerning a particular issue and how the different groups in the community are relating to that problem, the better you can educate others. It's then that you can put the issues squarely on the table and begin demanding solutions. It's then that things come out in the open.

OEM: How did the Coalition's first organizing efforts in the hospital go?

M.B.: This question speaks to one of our most important and biggest jobs—organizing the hospital workers. There was a real need to revitalize our fellow employees. I've

been working in the hospital for 11 years and, aside from a strike that Local 420 called about 4 or 5 years ago, there has been absolutely nothing going on in terms of organizing employees. In the past twelve months the need to begin mobilizing the workers in the hospital has been one of our hardest tasks but in the last few months we've seen a lot more interest and response on their part.

The Coalition has an Employees Committee which meets every week. The committee works to get as much active involvement from the workers as possible. They distribute the Coalition's newsletter and leaflets and maintain a flow of information about the Coalition's work.

OEM: What has been the Coalition's relationship to the hospital unions? (Local 420 and District Council 37)

G.L.: First of all we've learned to deal at different levels with the unions—at one level with the leadership and at another with the rank and file, which I consider to be the most important.

R.E.: One of the things we've learned is that although some of the union representatives here are excellent, very committed and active, the fact is that the vast majority of the membership is not at all really informed of what is happening in the

hospital. The union is very careful about collecting your dues from the very first day you begin, but aside from that you hear very little from them.

As a coalition we've found ourselves doing some basic union work with the employees because the two unions have no mechanism where they can bring the workers together and continue organizing them. We've been finding that because of the consistency and information provided by our Employee's Committee, more workers often attend those meetings than go to the sporadic union meetings.

OEM: That's very interesting. Would you say that the Coalition is functioning as a sort of rank and file group within the union?

R.E.: I would say that this is very true. The Coalition has been key in motivating the union leadership to take up the struggle more actively. We expect more from the union than just militant-sounding statements. They have to deal with the issues as they affect our community and put more resources at the disposal of the struggle.

G.L.: That's right. The union makes some efforts to keep its membership, but it must realize that we also are struggling for the life of our community.

M.B.: The union leadership is one group

that has to be presented with the real issues and be pressured to respond to them. It's only then that you begin to get results—when their membership is informed and begins to demand certain things.

OEM: Who else besides the union leadership and the city administration do you feel has to be pressured?

M.B.: Our experience has shown us the role that our local elected politicians have played in our community; they are definitely one group that we have to confront.

OEM: Why do they have to be confronted?

M.B.: For the past ten to fifteen years El Barrio has had very bad and corrupt political leadership. These politicians have had the control of the anti-poverty funds which came into our community. They have tried to create an illusion of helping the community while they, their families and friends have become very well off by misusing this money. This is a big reason why the community today has no confidence in politicians, why it is frustrated and unorganized.

R.E.: Because of our investigations in the community we've been able to dig out and begin to expose many of their corrupt practices. This is one of the first times that this has been done in an organized way in El Barrio. Councilman Robert Rodriguez, his family and friends for years now have controlled the school board, the community planning board, and until recently, the

hospital's Community Advisory Board; they've had a tight grip on state and federal money coming into our community. The Coalition has been telling people that we all have a right to know about the programs and services that are supposed to exist in our community yet have remained invisible. **M.B.:** But we still have tried to work with these politicians. We've invited Rodriguez to meetings and have made attempts to work together. But the fact is that he doesn't want to get involved in something that will eventually expose him and his role. As a matter of fact, Rodriguez and his friends have tried to undercut and hamper the Coalition's work and also the work of the groups that make up the Coalition.

G.L.: But to make the Coalition stronger, especially in the face of the maneuvers by these people we have to really increase our organizing in the community. This will probably be our biggest job yet—the need to educate, organize and mobilize the community. This has to go further than just the demonstrations we've had in the past months. One very positive aspect in this area is that many of the local churches are beginning to become more involved. We see this as an important forum to help in the organizing of the community.

OEM: There was a recent article in the *New York Times* about a joint city/state plan to change the health care system in Harlem/El Barrio. The plan requested \$42

million from the federal government. What does the Coalition think about this?

G.L.: To put it simply, the intent of this plan, endorsed by Koch, was to close Sydenham Hospital as an acute care facility and turn it over to private usage as a nursing home or drug abuse program. Furthermore, Metropolitan would have one-half of its acute care beds cut. The \$42 million would basically go to set up a series of storefront health clinics. Hah! The Coalition totally rejects this idea. Metropolitan is vitally needed as a medical center in El Barrio. Any money coming from the federal government should be used to keep Sydenham open and upgrade Metropolitan—not to dismantle our already limited health services.

M.B.: This community has enough health activists and professionals who are familiar with its particular needs and must participate in any health-planning for El Barrio. None of the proposals made by the government will help us; as a matter of fact they threaten to slowly strangle our community. The idea of health-planning coming from a group that has the interests of the community at heart—and not from politicians who will divert resources elsewhere—is one of our main objectives.

R.E.: Our struggle here has taught us many things and we are still learning, but one thing is clear—our few successes are important but we have only begun. □

Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

Opposition mounts against film:

Fort Apache, The Bronx

"... a forty-block area with seventy thousand people packed in like sardines, smelling each others farts, living like cockroaches... the lowest per capita income and the highest rate of unemployment in the city... the largest portion of non-English speaking population... families that have been on welfare for three generations. Youth gangs, winos, junkies, pimps, hookers, maniacs, cop-killers."

This is an example of how the Puerto Rican Community in the South Bronx is described in the movie *Fort Apache, The Bronx*, which is presently being filmed in New York City. During the month of March, community residents and organizations in the Bronx, enraged by the movie's distorted image of the Hispanic community in general and the Puerto Rican community in particular, came together to form the Committee Against Fort Apache (CAFA). CAFA has brought a suit against the movie's producers for one hundred million dollars charging "irreparable damage against the Puerto Rican and Black communities." A spokesperson for the committee stated recently that: "We're not interested in the money. A couple of million

dollars cannot wipe clean the dignity of an entire community; we only demand that this film not be exhibited if it's to be based on such a distorted script."

During the past month, more than 12 Latin community and cultural organizations have joined CAFA, such as the United Bronx Parents, Taller Boricua, the Coalition in Defense of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Rights and the Black and Latin Coalition Against Police Brutality. Furthermore, the District One Community Board of the South Bronx as well as a few politicians have gotten involved in the struggle. City Councilman Gilberto Gerena-Valentin proposed that the Council officially condemn *Fort Apache, The Bronx* and communicate its concern over the film's quality to the New York Civil Rights Commission and the Mayor's office on television and movies.

However, neither the council nor any other part of the city administration has given support to these resolutions. City officials stated that it was not their responsibility to speak for the community. And Mayor Koch stated that the store owners of

the South Bronx should be grateful for the extra business they will be getting by selling the film crews their lunches. To this typically patronizing statement by the Mayor, South Bronx community residents responded sharply. They were "not willing to sell out the long-term interests of the community for immediate survival."

Fort Apache is estimated to have cost the producers nearly half a million dollars so far. Thus they will be sure to protect such a large investment, regardless of the protests and the truth of the arguments that the Committee Against Fort Apache is posing. The producers care little that the film makes blatantly racist statements against Puerto Rican people; that it aggravates racist attitudes toward Hispanics by other peoples living in New York; and that it consolidates the opinion put forth by the media that Hispanics are responsible for the city's financial woes due to the excessive demands that they place on the city's social services (see OEM editorial on the *New York Post* attacks, Feb. '79).

When CAFA presented its suit in court, Paul Newman, who plays the leading role in the movie as the "good white cop," states that "the movie is not racist although it is tough on Puerto Ricans, Blacks and the neighborhood. It is a realistic film..."

FORT APACHE'S "REALISM"

The question is, realistic about what? No

one can deny that the Puerto Rican and Hispanic community, like all poor and working class communities in NYC, is facing serious problems. In fact, all minority communities face these problems more intensely. The living conditions in the South Bronx described in the opening paragraph are real. But the film portrays the unemployment, the rat-infested housing and the broken-down schools as a consequence of the people living in the area, not as the objective conditions which then lead to illiteracy, crime, drug addiction, the need to be on welfare, etc. Furthermore, nowhere in the film are the social sectors who are responsible for the human and physical destruction of the South Bronx portrayed—the landlords, who profit from the arsonists they hire to burn down buildings; the city administration, which has spent the past five years closing down schools, clinics, hospitals, community centers, etc.; the bankers who “redline” certain communities by their policy of refusing loans to people and businesses located in these (usually poor minority) areas of the city; and finally, the financial and big business sectors who, acting through the Financial Control Board (FCB) and the Municipal Assistance Corp., have demanded that the city balance its budget through drastic cutbacks in all services necessary to a decent standard of living.

This is why the Hispanic community in the South Bronx is protesting against the production of *Fort Apache*. It is in this light that *Fort Apache* must be seen. Without posing the causes of the problems it shows, and by not presenting them in an unbiased manner, the film is an instrument which serves the interests of City Hall and the FCB who continue to place the burden of the budget cuts on the poor.

On numerous occasions the city administration has stated that the cause of the present fiscal crisis is the demands for social services by the working class as well as the demands of the municipal unions for higher wages and more benefits for city workers. Lies such as this which pit working people against each other fighting for crumbs, permit the city to manipulate public sentiment in support of its policies. Films such as *Fort Apache* aid in this manipulation. The film describes Puerto Rican women as loose and sex-oriented, Puerto Rican men as drunkards with a beer can always clutched in their hands, and Latin and Black workers in a hospital as drug addicts. By circulating this image in the media, racist and national chauvinist attitudes and beliefs are reinforced and serve as justification for the government's continued attacks on poor and minority communities.

Educating people around the role that a film like *Fort Apache* plays is one of the most important functions that the Committee Against Fort Apache can fulfill. We of the Puerto Rican National Left Movement (MINP - El Comité) support such efforts, for only an educated, informed and united community can wage a fightback against this and all attacks. □

Growing U.S. Militarism Youth Targeted for Draft

“I believe that our volunteer forces are adequate for our current defense needs. And I hope that it will not become necessary to impose the draft. However we must be prepared for that possibility. For this reason, I have determined that the Selective Service System must now be revitalized. I will send legislation and budget proposals to the Congress next month so that we can begin registration and then meet future mobilization needs rapidly if they arise.”

With these words this past January, President Carter announced his intentions of revitalizing the draft.

As part of a strong and militant anti-war movement during the 1960s and early '70s, hundreds of thousands of people—many of them youth—demonstrated in the streets of the U.S. against this country's imperialist involvement in the Vietnam war. The burning of draft registration cards and the loud chanting of “Hell no, we won't go!” were very much a part of those demonstrations. 1973 was the last year in which the draft operated.

Today, five years after the U.S. military machine turned into a force composed solely of volunteers, President Carter, utilizing the pretext of “the Soviet threat,” has proposed a plan for draft registration.

His proposal calls for the registration of 17 million American young men—and possibly women—ranging from 18 to 26 years of age. This year the registration of men born in 1960 and 1961 would take place; those born in 1962 would be registered next year for a total of six million men.



“The struggle against the draft has to be linked to the struggle for more jobs and the struggle for a decent and relevant education for our youth.”

The draft registration plan first has to be approved by Congress before it can be implemented. As yet it is unclear how Congress will act, but there is growing opposition to Carter's plan. Some Congressmen oppose it not because they are against the draft but because some military officials say it is unnecessary. The Pentagon has stated that with or without draft registration, in the case of a callup, it would be able to mobilize sufficient troops in the matter of a month, 600,000 troops within 3 months.

The Carter administration maintains that “registering American youth” is not the same thing as reinstating the draft, but historically registration has been the initial step to a military draft. Understanding this fact, numerous civic, church and student organizations throughout the country have begun to organize against Carter's plans. Thus far the emerging anti-draft movement is overwhelmingly composed of white professionals and young people from the so-called middle class. Oppressed minorities—Blacks, Hispanics, Asians—have not yet formed a very active part of the growing opposition.

For many youth, mainly working class, entering the military has often been a solution to the problems of dropping out of school and/or not being able to find a job. This has been particularly true for minority youth. In order to find out how minority youth are viewing the draft today and military service in general, *Obreros En Marcha* interviewed several high school and college students.

E. and L. were two of these students. E. is a 17-year-old Black woman who wants

“to improve things, become an architect and a model.” L. is one of her peers at her school in El Barrio. He is 18, Puerto Rican and is interested in journalism, particularly the areas of national and world events.

OEM: Do you know people who have joined the U.S. military service? What have they told you about it?

E: My sister joined the military service. A lot of my friends told me that when they were there it messed up their minds; they couldn't deal with what was happening.

L.: A lot of the young guys I know have joined the service just to get out of the streets. You start thinking about the trouble of going to school, especially if you have already dropped out. Then you find yourself working in the streets for 60 or 70 dollars a week. You begin to think that there is really no meaning to be out in the streets. You hear about the army or the navy and you join, just to get away.

E.: I am still thinking about joining. Going to school is a big hassle. They put you through so much trouble that you don't want to go to school anymore. And you can't work because the employment system is all messed up; and there is nothing in the streets but trouble. If you hang out in the streets you may end up in jail anyway, so, you know... why not enlist? It's better than hanging out in the streets.

OEM: Why do you think that the President called for draft registration at this time?

L: Because he is trying to impress the public, trying to show a strong image to the American people. This is an election year and he is using the situation in Iran and Afghanistan to project a strong image.

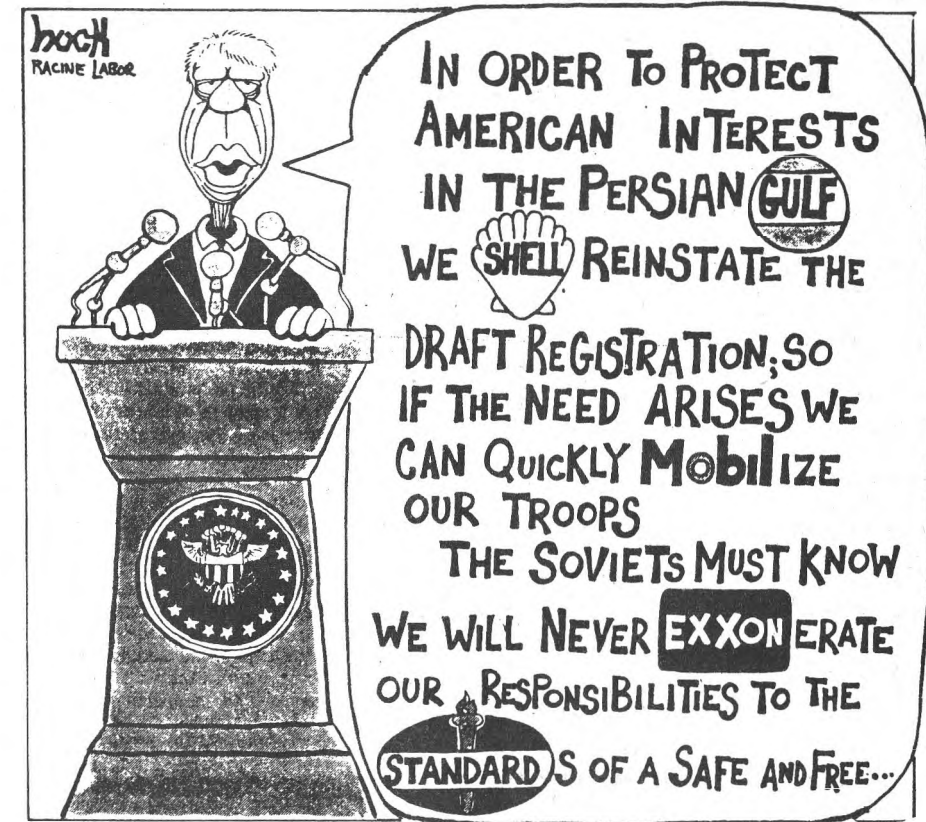
OEM: What are some of the needs you have as a young black woman, and how are these needs being fulfilled by the society we live in?

E: You mean the things I need to get by, to survive?

OEM: Yes.

E: Number one, I need an education—and as far as getting a good one, the education system is all screwed up right now. You have to go through so much trouble to get your education and then when you get it, you are told that you don't have this or that qualification to enter this college or the other. Another thing I need is decent housing... and the housing system is screwed up too. In the building where we live, it's a tenement. Nothing has been done about all the complaints that my mother has put in. And we've lived there for 15 years! And the employment situation... there are no jobs out there.

L: I think that the things we are talking about are related to one another. Step one is getting your education. But you are totally unprepared, because when you were going through high school you were not taught any job-related skills. So when you go out looking for a job, what's available to make money? There are factory jobs, part time jobs as messengers and jobs like that.



But you can't support a family with these jobs; you can hardly support yourself with such a job!

This is the situation, particularly among Puerto Ricans, Blacks and other minorities here in the city; and I guess it is similar throughout the nation. Then you have to turn to Welfare. That is why a lot of people are unemployed—because the education system is not working, not at all.

OEM: What do you think about the way in which the military service is advertised on T.V.?

L: “It's not a job, it's an adventure.” It's like a story of fantasy; look at the guy swinging on the rope dressed as a soldier. They don't mention the drug problems that take place in the service and the way in which some of the officers treat you, kicking you to wake you up. I have also heard about the racist activities of the Ku Klux Klan within the military particularly directed against the minorities.

E: In the advertising they just talk about the money you'll get for a certain amount of months and about how happy you will be there. But that's a cover-up so that you will sign up. The only reason I would join the military service is because there is nothing else out there for me.

THE DRAFT: IN THE INTERESTS OF WHO?

In the event of a draft, young people like E. and L. will be the first ones to go. But the military training these youth will receive is not the same training that our young friends were referring to. For the U.S. ruling

class, the need for drafting and training our youth for war stems from their class interests. With the fall of the Shah of Iran, the U.S. bourgeoisie—the owners of the big corporations and banks—lost a very important ally in the oil-rich Middle East. Faced with this problem and with the internal problems of never-ending inflation, unemployment and a sluggish economy—and all of this in an election year—Carter and the ruling circles he represents decided to come out strong. The plan for draft registration falls within this “show of force.”

While Carter proceeds with his plans, minority youth are faced with serious problems in their standard of living. Over-all youth unemployment is more than 23% at present while black youth unemployment is over 42%. In some cities the unemployment rate for Black youth is as high as 60%! Furthermore, if they are able to find jobs, Black and Hispanic youth are confined to low wages and low-skilled work.

These few figures give us a picture of the situation that minority youth face today in the U.S. The high unemployment, together with an education system that fails to educate them, helps us to understand what some of our young people today mean when they talk about military service: “It's better than being jobless and hanging out in the streets.” These conditions point out to all anti-draft activists and progressive and revolutionary forces that the struggle against the draft has to be linked to the struggle for more jobs and the struggle for a decent and relevant education for our youth. □



Popular Socialist Movement:

On the Presidential Primaries in Puerto Rico

The crisis of U.S. foreign policy in the last couple of years has catapulted international issues into the U.S. national political arena. One area of crisis is Latin America and the Caribbean, in particular, Puerto Rico and the question of its political status.

For the first time in the history of Puerto Rico, presidential primaries were held on the island—the Republican primary in February and the Democratic primary in March. Puerto Rico has become an issue on the U.S. political scene for several reasons.

In the first place, the inability of Puerto Rico's two main bourgeois parties, the PPD and the PNP, to resolve the island's political and economic crisis has placed Puerto Rico on the agenda of U.S. ruling sectors: what status would most benefit U.S. imperialism? This interest is expressed through their two main mouthpieces, the Democrats and Republicans.

The growth of the Hispanic community in the U.S. has also brought the question of Puerto Rico to the fore. All issues relating to Hispanics are now being seen as issues the politicians must begin to address. The Hispanic population is a potential source of political capital for the bourgeois parties. In order for them to profit from this capital, they must begin to address those issues which will draw Hispanics into bourgeois parties.

Thirdly, the increased interest in Latin America and in particular in Puerto Rico and its colonial status by social democratic parties internationally is reflected among some U.S. social democratic forces. Considering themselves the left-wing of the Democratic Party, they've been pushing the party to address the question of Puerto Rico.

These three points underlie the decision of the Democrats and Republicans to hold primaries in Puerto Rico. The following article on the primaries was written by the Popular Socialist Movement (MSP). The article appeared in its entirety in the March-April issue of Pensamiento Critico.

A serious challenge is posed to Puerto Rican revolutionaries by the holding of the presidential primaries of the two U.S. bourgeois parties in Puerto Rico. Its obvious annex-

ationist intent, together with the massive participation generated by it, has created a lot of confusion and hysterical reaction among the left. This is mainly a product of both the idealist analysis of the nationalist, petty bourgeois parties and the low level of political-ideological formation of the revolutionary left.

Leaving aside the moaning and groaning, the thing to do is to approach the problem from a materialist point of view. We must analyse the problem scientifically and find the means to confront it adequately. In order to do this our point of departure must be the interests of the various classes that make up Puerto Rican society.

The material basis for the primary process is the deepening economic and political integration of Puerto Rico into the U.S. Objectively, Puerto Rico is already annexed to the U.S. The massive investment of North American capital has subjected Puerto Rico's socio-economic formation to the laws of formation of the U.S. economy. Our economy has developed as an appendage to the U.S. economy, an outcome of the absolute control exerted by North American capitalists.

U.S. investments are over \$18 billion. U.S. capital controls 80% of all industrial investments, 85% of all commercial sales, 60% of all bank transactions, 90% of all exported industrial products. The public and private debt of the Puerto Rican government is over \$12 billion. The essential objective of this monumental economic control has been the abundant profits, extracted from the exploitation of Puerto Rican workers, that have reached more than \$3 billion.

In addition to this, federal laws directly regulate all the main aspects of the Puerto Rican economy and politics. In other words, all the fundamental powers of government are in the hands of the U.S. Congress and not in Puerto Rico.

The capitalist-imperialist domination of the island's socio-economic structure has led to a partial economic "development" characterized by great social imbalances. It has led to a structural crisis that has not been diminished by any of the remedies attempted by the colonial authorities. The situation is so grave that more than 30% of the population able to work is either unemployed or marginalized—completely removed from the production process. Because of this the U.S. has

had to dramatically increase federal funds to Puerto Rico. This has created a new type of dependency on the part of the masses towards the federal government that is not only economic but political and ideological as well.

In summary, we are a capitalist colony under U.S. imperialist domain, integrated and dependent on it. This is why it is totally correct to say that we are annexed to the U.S. To complete this process, that is, to become a state, only two main things are missing:

1. That Puerto Rico have voting representatives in the U.S. Congress, and vote in federal elections and;
2. That fiscal autonomy be eliminated and Puerto Ricans pay taxes to the federal government.

These are the real differences between commonwealth and statehood. At the same time these are the political differences between the factions of the "native" bourgeoisie that are represented by the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) and the New Progressive Party (PNP) respectively. But independent of the differences, the Puerto Rican capitalists are an integral part, a minority sector, of the North American bourgeoisie. Their interests as exploiters have been shaped and developed within the process of political and economic integration into North American imperialism

The presidential primaries fall within this context and have, as we understand it, two concrete objectives:

1. To utilize the Puerto Rican representatives to the Democratic and Republican conventions (the delegates) as tools to bargain for more federal "funds" for Puerto Rico. The PNP as well as the PPD know that if they want to weather the Commonwealth crisis they need massive injections of federal "funds." This means that one has to be in favor with the administration in Washington. It's as simple as that.

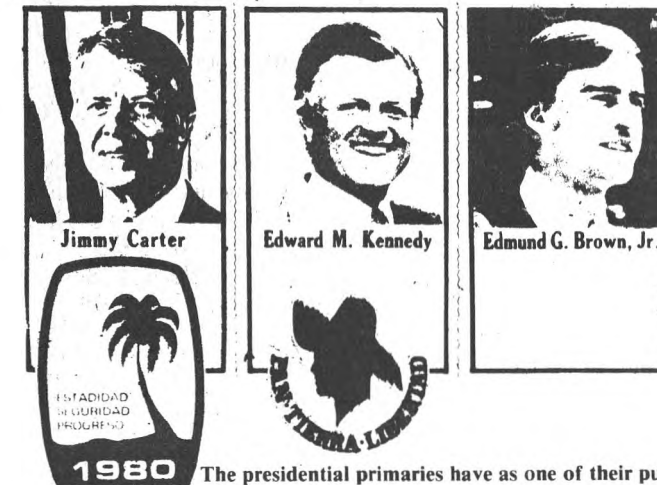
2. To begin creating a favorable climate among the people in respect to participation in North American politics. That is, to keep putting statehood in the minds of the people by force of habit.

The presidential primaries, whether we like it or not, are an instrument to increase the political and economic dependency and integration, which, without a doubt is another step towards statehood.

Perhaps the most important point of the presidential primaries has been its mass participation. From a process where in the past select groups would divide up the federal "booty," the primaries have transformed this into a mass process. We believe there are two basic reasons for this:

1. The direct participation of the two bourgeois parties, the PNP and the PPD. They are the major political parties in the elections and between the two they mobilize more than 1,300,000 voters.

2. The manipulation of vital needs of vast sectors of workers and particularly of marginal sectors that depend on federal "funds" to live. These groups, along with sectors of



The presidential primaries have as one of their purposes to put statehood in the minds of the people by force of habit.

the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie that see their economic and political security in statehood, are the social base of the primary process. We should understand the reasons that led to this, which are similar to those that explain the capitalist and colonial dominance among the Puerto Rican masses.

HOW SHOULD WE CONFRONT THIS PROCESS?

The analysis of the primary process should definitely not lead us to confront this process with the same positions of the past. For the last 80 years we have been crying out against statehood, and, far from being ideologically defeated it has gained strength where least expected: among the masses of the workers. We have to get rid of all idealist positions and the grievings and hysterics of the petty bourgeoisie. The growth of the annexation forces since the beginning of the actual annexation process is proof enough of the political and ideological bankruptcy of the nationalist petty bourgeoisie. This class has failed in its attempt to attain bourgeois independence. It has been and is incapable of leading the struggle against annexation. Its political positions, tactics and strategy have failed.

The development of capitalism in Puerto Rico has left nationalism without a social base and without any programs. The Puerto Rican bourgeoisie has taken shelter behind the imperialist shield. The petty bourgeois sectors that identify with independence don't have the necessary strength to push their program. Worse yet, the bourgeois republic has no prospects in a capitalist colony where the working class makes up the principal force of society. The class struggle has sailed by their program; the earth has moved below their feet and they could not avoid it.

In the same way, the old reformist fallacy that collaboration between the independentistas and the PPD'ers would put a brake on statehood has disintegrated. The different PPD administrations have been the main instrument to push and cement the process of annexation in Puerto Rico. The PPD has led the process of political and economic integration in its most important phases. It has been an instrument of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie to exploit the Puerto Rican working class. As if this wasn't enough the PPD was up to its neck in the Democratic primaries supporting their "leader" Kennedy.

That's why it is funny that today, in 1980, certain individuals or parties that call themselves "socialists" are still talking about a "regrouping of forces" between independentistas and PPD'ers to stop the "annexation conspiracy." Their blindness is such that they're not even aware that it's too late. Collaboration with the "autonomists" has catastrophically failed.

Reality is tough but we have to accept it. We have to develop an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist alternative based on the only social class that is able to carry it out: the working class. Statehood might be the political death of the nationalist petty bourgeoisie but not so for the working class, who would still constitute, even in statehood, the principal force to attain not only independence but socialism.

Statehood must be denounced from a class perspective, from the viewpoint of the working class. The imperialist character of statehood must be denounced, explaining to the working class that this status only serves the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The working class will still be exploited, the bosses will still enrich themselves at the cost of the workers, and none of the fundamental problems of the workers will be resolved under this "status." Statehood would be the culmination of colonialism with which national oppression and inequality would increase instead of lessening. Socialism is the only system that can insure the well being of the working class and of the people. And independence is part of this process of struggle for socialism. □

The Caribbean: A Challenge to U.S. Imperialism

The Caribbean has recently been the scene of several revolutionary upsurges. Although unsuccessful to date, imperialist policy makers have been busily hammering out new policies with which to squash the popular movements. Because of the importance of this region for the survival of imperialism we present here a history of U.S. policies in the area. In future articles we will take a closer look at the unfolding policies of imperialism.

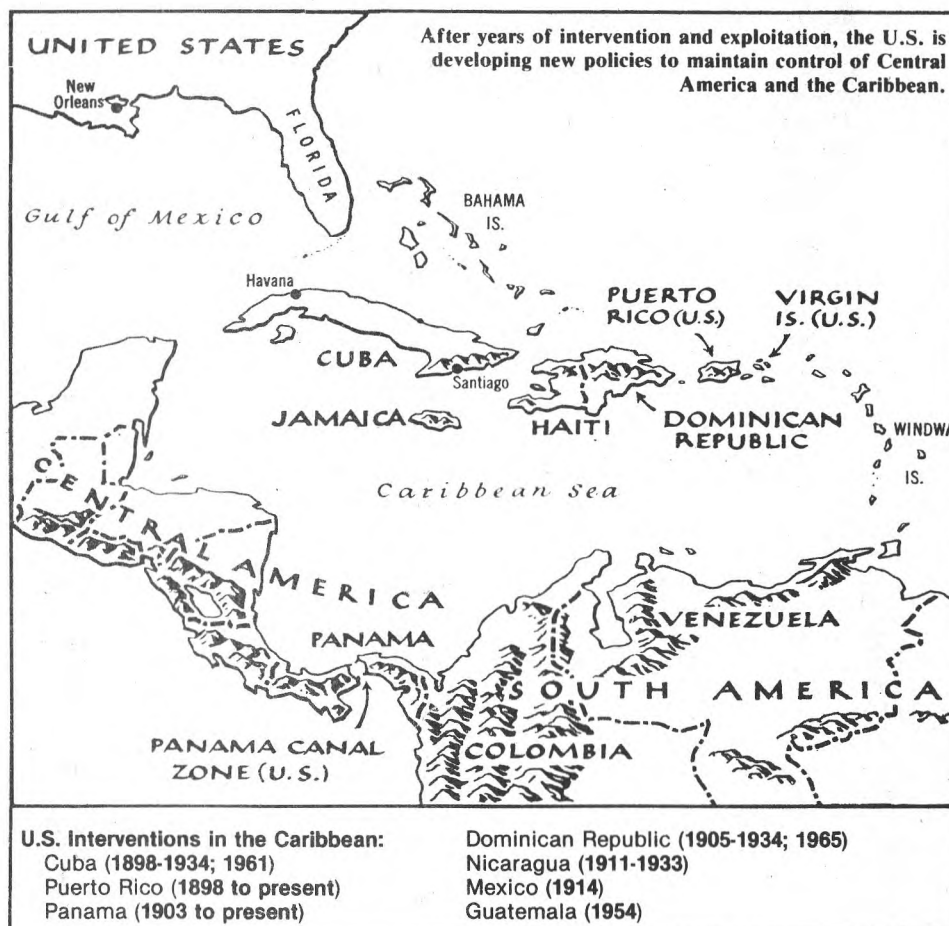
Since the arrival of the first European conquerors in the late 15th century, the Caribbean has been a focal point of the developing world capitalist system. In its early years it was used as the launching ground for the exploration and conquest of the vast continents which came to be called the Americas. Towards the end of the 16th century the islands of the Caribbean began to be used as huge sugar plantations. For the three succeeding centuries—17th, 18th, and 19th—the slave labor of the sugar plantations produced enormous surpluses which financed the further expansion of the European empire and provided a great bulk of the capital which generated the industrial revolution.

The wealth produced by the 10 million slaves forcibly brought from Africa was the cause of ferocious wars among the Spanish, British, French and Dutch capitalists. The islands and coastal lands of the Caribbean remained in the clutches of the European powers. Their fight for independence, their very existence (and that of Central America) would from then on be eclipsed by the colossus from the north, the United States.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Once the thirteen British colonies gained their independence, they joined the European powers in the scramble for territory. In addition to the remainder of the North American continent, the developing U.S. ruling class saw the Caribbean as an area vital to its expansion. The infant U.S. industry had little room in which to expand because its domestic market was very small, so the developing commerce expanded south. The Caribbean islands took up a third of the exports of the young nation, with some industries depending on these islands for half to three quarters of their sales.

When the Spanish colonies began their rumblings for independence in the early



1800s, the U.S. government focused on Florida and Cuba as prey for annexation. Spain offered Florida to Britain as a way of obtaining support for its crumbling empire. The U.S. Congress responded with the No Transfer Resolution, the precursor of the Monroe Doctrine. This resolution stated that the U.S. would not accept Florida's transfer from one European power to another. By early 1823 this principle was extended to cover Cuba.

After the Spanish colonies won their independence in the early 1820s, other European powers continued to eye them for possible reconquest. However, England, the strongest industrial and naval power of that time, favored the independence of these countries because it needed open markets for its insatiable industrial expansion. The U.S. bourgeoisie also favored the independence of these nations.

England approached the U.S. on the possibility of a joint declaration to ward off the desires for reconquest by the European na-

tions. The U.S. government turned down the idea because it did not want to appear as a subordinate ally of Great Britain and because it feared that such a declaration would hinder its own designs, specifically its plans to annex Cuba. Thus the U.S. government issued its own declaration, the Monroe doctrine.

In the State of the Union Message of 1823, President Monroe stated: "The occasion has been judged proper, for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the U.S. are involved, that the American Continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered subjects for future colonization by any European power."

It was not until 1895, however, that the U.S. bourgeoisie had sufficiently developed its economic and military power to establish undisputed hegemony over the Caribbean and the rest of Latin America. For quite some time Great Britain had had a dispute with Venezuela over territory in the frontier between Venezuela and British Guiana.

With the discovery of gold in the area in the mid-1890s Britain increased its efforts to obtain the disputed territory. The U.S. government, firmly reasserted its Monroe Doctrine. Great Britain backed down and submitted its claim to international arbitration. Once its hegemony was clearly established, the U.S. bourgeoisie moved to make the Caribbean its private lake.

THE AMERICAN MEDITERRANEAN

In the four decades which followed, the U.S. ruling class savagely pounced on the countries of the Caribbean. Few were the countries that escaped the economic claws and military might of U.S. imperialism. During this period the power of U.S. finance capital grew and consolidated. By this time, the ruling class sought the conquest of new markets not just to sell their exports but more fundamentally for investments—to invest their surplus capital. The Monroe Doctrine was their justification for extending the boundaries of the U.S. market and backing it up with military force when needed.

In the last decade of the 19th century, the U.S. government sought to gain control of the economies of the Caribbean countries; for this end it chose as its weapon bilateral tariff reduction treaties. Through these treaties, the U.S. lowered the tariff on sugar, the chief export of most Caribbean islands; this in turn opened their markets to the profit-hungry U.S. capitalists. Thus the economies of these countries were pulled tightly into the U.S. orbit.

In 1898, the U.S. intervened in Cuba's war for independence from Spain and as a result gained Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam as colonies and Cuba as a protectorate. Both Puerto Rico and Cuba became military outposts as well as economic dependents of the U.S. Both were seen as key strategic posts for the defense of the future canal across Central America which the expanding commercial and military interest demanded.

When the U.S. ruling class made up its mind to build the canal in Panama (at that time a province of Colombia) President Roosevelt pressured the weak Panamanian independence movement to declare its independence. Colombia had demanded too high a price for rights to the canal and thus the U.S. gave the weak Panamanian ruling class its military backing. The young Panamanian government was much more pliant and it signed a treaty which gave the U.S. the right to build the canal and control it and a ten-mile wide zone forever. The U.S. used its right to protect the canal to arbitrarily intervene in Panama whenever it determined that "law and order" were being threatened.

The need to maintain "law and order" in the region became paramount to protect U.S. interests. In 1904 President Roosevelt pronounced the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine: "Chronic wrong-doing . . . may ultimately require intervention by

some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States . . . to the exercise of an international police power." This corollary became the license for military interventions and occupations throughout the Caribbean: Nicaragua was occupied from 1911 to 1933; Haiti from 1915 to 1939; the Dominican Republic from 1905 to 1924, and Cuba and Panama suffered intermittent interventions until 1934.

HEMISPHERIC COOPERATION

The rise of fascism in Europe led the U.S. bourgeoisie to shift away from its heavy-handed policy in the Caribbean. For the next two decades the U.S. government emphasized "hemispheric cooperation," first against the threat of fascism and after World War II against "communist expansion." In 1948 the U.S. pressured the Latin American countries into signing the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio Pact), which pledged that an attack on any American country would be responded to collectively by all the American nations.

Yet events in Guatemala forced the U.S. to take off its mask of cooperation and return to its tactics of military muscle. Since the overthrow of a dictator in 1944, the Guatemalan masses had advanced their political and economic demands. By 1953 the government of Guatemala was preparing to expropriate the lands of the United Fruit Company. The CIA engineered a coup which toppled the popular government and reestablished a criminal dictatorship.

IMPERIALISM RESPONDS TO THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

In 1959 the Cuban people handed U.S. imperialism the greatest defeat it had suffered to date. Under the leadership of Fidel Castro and the July 26th Movement, a successful revolution was carried out which broke the chains of dependency. The U.S. bourgeoisie reacted quickly with a dual policy of reform and repression in order to maintain the rest of the Caribbean and Latin America in its orbit.

Amidst much fanfare, the Alliance for Progress was enunciated by the Kennedy administration to "satisfy the basic needs of the American people." The U.S. pledged to invest 10 billion dollars over a period of ten years. The program was a great success—but only for U.S. business interests. By 1967, for every one dollar they were investing they were taking home eight dollars in profit. As the decade ended, hunger and illiteracy continued unabated throughout the continent (except in Cuba). The program was such a public relations failure that policy makers quietly filed it away even before the end of the 1960s.

The second half of the policy—the development of the counterinsurgency capacity of the Latin American armies—was very successful in devastating

the guerrilla movements in the continent. Thousands of Latin American soldiers were trained in counterinsurgency in the Canal Zone of Panama. When the local army proved unable to repress the mass movement, the U.S. was not above intervening directly as it had done so many times before. In 1965 the U.S. sent 42,000 marines into the Dominican Republic to quash a movement to restore a constitutional government.

U.S. ON THE DEFENSIVE IN THE CARIBBEAN

In 1979 the U.S. grip on the Caribbean was loosened by two popular revolutions—Nicaragua and Grenada—the mass upsurge in El Salvador and to a lesser degree in Guatemala, and the growing movement to oust the navy from Vieques, Puerto Rico. As a result, U.S. policy makers have been forced to come up with a refined reform/repression response.

In late '79 Viron Vacky, subsecretary of State in charge of Interamerican Affairs, presented a report on Central America to a Congressional committee. The report recognized that the area of Central America (specifically El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras) was undergoing a social polarization and that the mass movements have increasingly been led by Marxist-Leninist forces. As a solution it proposed increasing support to middle-of-the-road forces and instituting reforms so as to avoid revolutions.

Also in late '79, President Carter orchestrated a crisis over the alleged presence of Soviet combat troops in Cuba in order to create a Caribbean Military Task Force to increase its repressive capability in the region.

In El Salvador, the country where the renewed reform/repression policy is being tested, the U.S. helped engineer a coup which brought a reformist military-civilian junta into power. Yet because these forces have failed to stem the tide of revolution, the U.S. is reconsidering its military options and looking the other way while the right-wing arms itself to the teeth. In Guatemala, the U.S. is pressuring the regime to soften up its most brutal aspects. It is important to note that 5,000 men of what used to be Somoza's National Guard are still organized together in Honduras, apparently waiting to be put to some use by U.S. imperialism.

Since the birth of the United States, the Caribbean has been vital to its economic growth and security. Not until twenty years ago was U.S. hegemony in the area broken by the Cuban Revolution. In the last year, the erosion of U.S. power in the area has dramatically increased. Given, on the one hand, the right-wing militaristic consensus among the U.S. ruling class and, on the other hand, the polarization of social forces in the Caribbean, it is very likely that repression will more and more be the response of U.S. imperialism. □

Zimbabwe: Facing a Difficult Peace



Jubilant crowds celebrate the end of colonialism.

"Our view is that at the end of the elections . . . ZANU and ZAPU . . . should combine so we can constitute an alliance."

—Robert Mugabe

In the first days of March millions of Zimbabweans dealt imperialism a resounding blow. In spite of the millions of dollars invested by South Africans and white Rhodesians in the campaign of pro-imperialist Bishop Muzorewa, the presence of thousands of South African troops in southern Zimbabwe, and the systematic intimidation of the electorate by a security force of 90,000, the people of Zimbabwe voted overwhelmingly (87% of the vote) for the forces which had led the struggle against the white settler regime, the Patriotic Front. Jubilant crowds of Zimbabweans celebrated the victory with shouts of *Pamberi Ne ZANU* (Forward with ZANU). They were marking the end of nearly one hundred years of colonialism.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM OUTMANEUVERED

In late 1979 negotiations were initiated in London by the Patriotic Front forces, the Muzorewa/Smith interim government, and the British over the independence of Zimbabwe. The white settler regime which had pledged itself to 1,000 years of white minority government, and the British government which had tolerated and given it secret support, were brought to the negotiation table by the tenacious armed struggle waged by the Patriotic Front. In three months of heated discussions, which on several occasions almost broke up, the two sides hammered out a new constitution, an interim administration and a cease-fire.

Frequent threats by the British to hand over the government to the Muzorewa/Smith forces and intense pressure by the British on the Frontline states—Botswana, Angola, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique—which have suffered heavy economic and military blows due to their support of the Zimbabwe war for national liberation, led the Patriotic Front to grant many concessions to the British during the negotiations.

The new constitution provides the white minority (250,000 out of a population of 9 million) with 20 seats in the 100 member parliament. The military leadership is given a fair degree of independence from the prime minister's cabinet. And on the crucial question of land expropriation the constitution commits the new government to "prompt and adequate compensation." About 7,000 white farmers own most of the arable land while the majority of the 9 million Zimbabweans scratch a meager existence from the remaining barren lands. According to a recent West German report about 75% of the white-owned lands would have to be distributed in order for the black population to live adequately. The cost in compensation would be \$1 billion, an amount out of reach for an economy deformed by almost a century of colonialism and torn by years of war. Although the United States and Western Europe have promised to pay for compensation, there is no guarantee that they will do so.

The ceasefire plan also placed the Patriotic Front at a disadvantage. The British, in a characteristic gesture of imperialist impudence, broke-off negotiations before the ceasefire proposals had been fully discussed and agreed on. The Patriotic Front reluctantly accepted terms which con-

fined its troops to 15 camps throughout the country while the government's security forces faced no such restriction. The monitoring force, made up of troops from several commonwealth countries, was a meager 1,200 men.

With the cards stacked heavily in their favor the British proceeded to blatantly violate the terms of the interim government agreement and the cease-fire proposal. About 8,000 troops from South Africa remained within the territory of Zimbabwe. Intimidation of Patriotic Front sympathizers was systematic. Both Robert Mugabe of ZANU and Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU (the two wings of the Patriotic Front) faced assassination attempts. An international outcry led by the Organization of African Unity and a resolution by the United Nations' Security Council forced the British to restrict some of its worst violations, most of the South Africa troops were removed. But all the British maneuvers were not enough to bend the will of the Zimbabwean people: they voted against imperialism and for national liberation. It was clear that the armed struggle had raised the consciousness of the people to an unshakable level. The greatest voter turn-out for the Patriotic Front was in those areas where the armed struggle had been most intense.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

The task faced by the people of Zimbabwe is national reconstruction, which translates into healing the wounds of the war and undoing the legacy of colonialism: land reform, construction and/or reconstruction of roads and watering holes, literacy campaign and restructuring of a non-racist civil service administration.

Robert Mugabe's ZANU-Patriotic Front moved quickly to create a national front government. Four of the 24 cabinet seats were given to Nkomo's ZAPU (the two wings of the Patriotic Front had entered the election separately), and two whites were handed positions. Although Mugabe established the land question as the number one priority for his government, he assured whites that redistribution would be an orderly and fair process so as to avoid a damaging white exodus. General Peter Walls, the Rhodesian security force commander, was asked to remain on and supervise the creation of the new army.

Zimbabwe faces difficult times in its efforts to disentangle itself from imperialism. Multinational corporations have large investments in the country. The country's vast mineral wealth is viewed hungrily by imperialism. The presence of South Africa in its southern border which has the most powerful army in Africa forces it to steer a careful course in its foreign policy.

At the same time, with the liberation of Zimbabwe the anti-racist, anti-apartheid struggle gains strength. Namibia and South Africa remain as the last hurdles in the anti-colonial struggle of Africa. □