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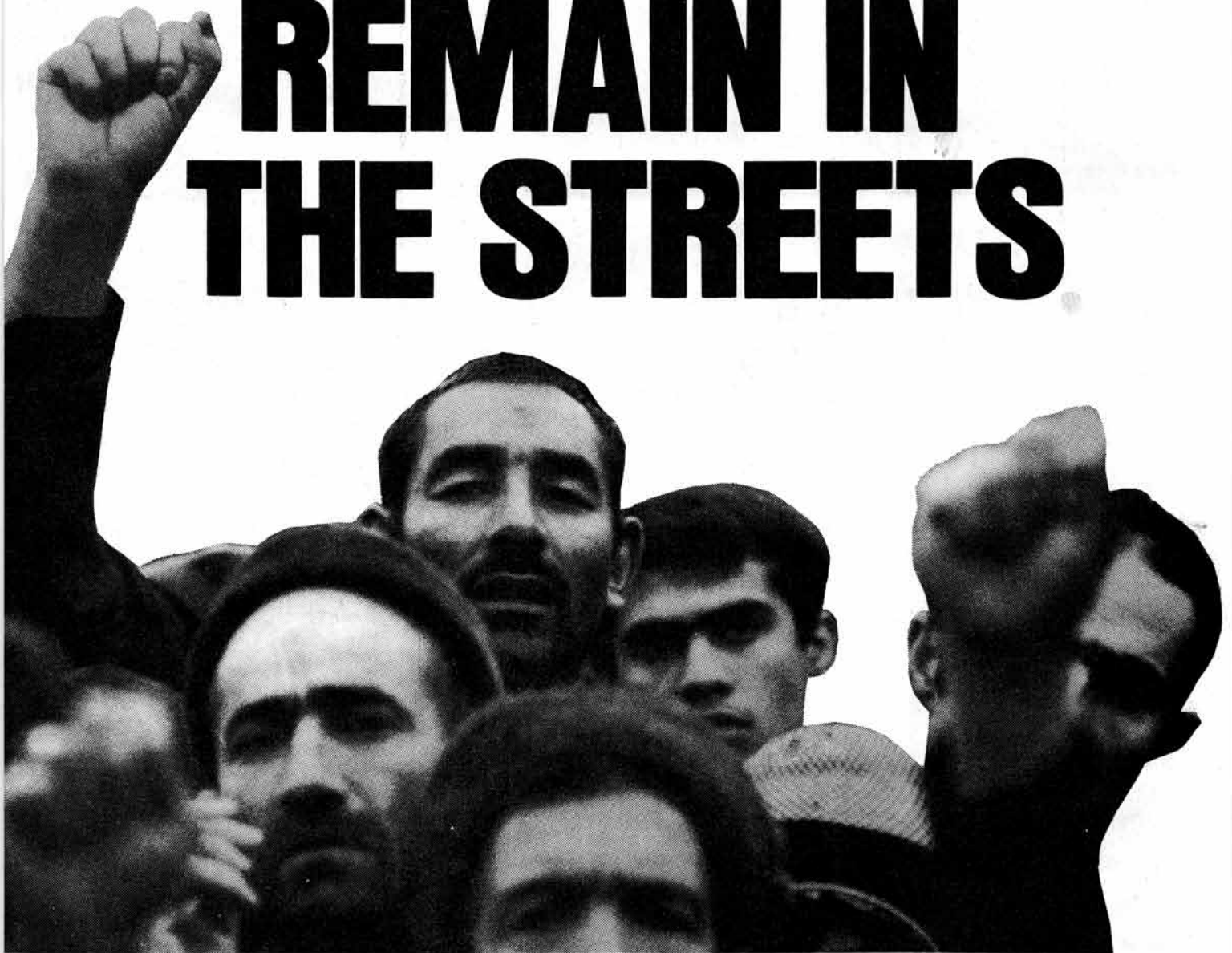
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IRANIAN MASSES REMAIN IN THE STREETS



Mary-Alice Waters Named Editor of Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

The publishers of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* announced January 29 that Mary-Alice Waters has been chosen as the magazine's new editor. Waters replaces Joseph Hansen, who had edited the magazine since its inception as *World Outlook* following the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963. Hansen died January 18.

Mary-Alice Waters is a leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP). She comes to *IP/I* after seven years as the editor of the *Militant*, a socialist newsweekly published in New York.

Waters's experience as an international journalist dates back to 1966, when she traveled extensively in Europe reporting for the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press* on the rise of the international student movement against the Vietnam War.

When the students and workers of France launched their historic revolt against the De Gaulle regime in May-June 1968, Waters was there as part of an international reporting team headed by Joseph Hansen. Her articles—"Inside the Sorbonne," "How the Committees of Action Were Formed," "Interview With Renault Workers," and others—were carried in the pages of *IP* and the *Militant* and later formed part of the book *Revolt in France—A Contemporary Record*.

Waters has been a Trotskyist since 1962. Inspired by the Cuban Revolution and the rise of the Black liberation struggle in the United States, she joined the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) while a student at Carleton College in Minnesota. She was a YSA leader in Berkeley, California, at the height of the Free Speech Movement there.

In 1965 Waters moved to New York, where she served successively as editor of the *Young Socialist* magazine and national secretary and national chairperson of the YSA. She was first elected to the National Committee of the SWP in 1967 and has been a member of that body ever since.

Waters has been part of the central leadership of the world Trotskyist movement since 1969. Because reactionary legislation in the United States bars the SWP from affiliation to the Fourth International, Waters's membership in the international's leading bodies has been consultative. In that capacity, she was elected to the International Executive Committee at the 1969 World Congress of the Fourth International, and in 1971 she was elected to the United Secretariat. She represented the SWP as a fraternal delegate at both the 1969 and 1974 world congresses.

Waters traveled extensively in Europe from 1971 to 1973 in her role as a leader of



Lou Howort/Militant

MARY-ALICE WATERS

the Fourth International. She has also made a number of trips to Latin America and recently returned from a tour of Australia and New Zealand.

Waters has written extensively on a number of topics and edited the volume *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks*. Several of her works on women's liberation and the Marxist movement have been translated into French and Spanish.

At present, Waters is a member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. □

Memorial Meeting Launches Hansen Publishing Fund

More than 550 persons attended the memorial meeting held in New York January 28 to pay tribute to Joseph Hansen.

The meeting launched a special fund, initiated by Reba Hansen and the contributing editors of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*—Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, and George Novack.

The aim of the fund is to collect \$20,000 by March 31 to begin publication of some of Hansen's major works. More than \$8,000 toward that goal was raised at the New York meeting.

An indication of the international support for the project is the growing list of initial sponsors. At press time these included:

Robert Alexander, Tariq Ali, Robin Blackburn, Hugo Blanco, Marguerite Bonnet, Pierre Broué, Ken Coates, Tamara Deutscher, Maceo Dixon, Ross Dowson, Pierre Frank, Catarino Garza, Tom Gustafson, Fred Halstead, Al Hansen, and Reba Hansen.

Also, Quintin Hoare, Pierre Lambert, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, Nahuel Moreno, Javad Sadeeg, Louis Sinclair, Art Sharon, Ernest Tate, Vsevelod Volkof, Mary-Alice Waters, and Babak Zahraie.

Contributions to the fund may be sent to Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

A full report on the New York memorial meeting will appear in next week's issue.

NEWS ANALYSIS

End the Imperialist Blockade Against Vietnam!

By Fred Murphy

The response of the imperialist powers to the overthrow of Pol Pot's regime in Cambodia by Vietnamese troops and Cambodian rebels was not long in coming. As happened after the fall of the puppet regimes in Indochina in 1975, they are taking revenge on the Vietnamese people by tightening their economic blockade of Vietnam.

On January 20 Swedish Prime Minister

Ola Ullsten warned that unless Vietnam withdraws its military forces from Cambodia, it risks "reconsideration" of the aid that Stockholm and other Scandinavian governments have been providing.

"I think foreign aid should be given to suffering people," said this ineffable cynic. "That need has decreased because of this war."

Ullsten made his announcement in an

interview at the conclusion of his visit to the United States. The warning came a few days after a meeting with President Carter.

Other imperialist governments have picked up the signals from Washington. "The Australian Government has suspended all its aid programs and cultural exchanges with Vietnam in protest against Vietnam's military involvement in Cambodia and against Hanoi's refugee policy," the January 25 *Christian Science Monitor* reported.

The economic assistance being given Vietnam by imperialist powers hardly begins to repair the damage done to that country during the U.S. war against the Vietnamese revolution. Sweden provides \$100 million a year, and the other Scandinavian countries provide a similar amount between them.

According to the *Monitor*, "Australia's aid to Vietnam has mostly been in the form of livestock and dairy projects in Vietnam. Australians working on pilot farm projects in Vietnam are being recalled to Australia."

Even the loss of these miserly amounts will be a hard blow to the Vietnamese people, who face food shortages following floods and droughts and who urgently need to break out of the economic isolation imposed on them.

Using the war in Cambodia as a pretext, the imperialists are escalating efforts to damage and ultimately reverse the Vietnamese revolution. This reflects their rage at the overthrow of capitalism in Vietnam and their disappointment at the overthrow of Pol Pot, whose regime they were beginning to view as a buffer against the spread of socialist revolution to Thailand and other Southeast Asian semicolonies.

The imperialists are ultimately responsible for the war in Cambodia today. Their support to the brutal Lon Nol regime and their massive bombing of the countryside created the vast social ruin that Pol Pot's tyranny inherited. And they have chortled encouragement to the Peking bureaucrats in their campaign against the Vietnamese revolution, a campaign aimed primarily at currying favor with the imperialists.

Working people around the world should reject the imperialists' hue and cry against Vietnam for what it is—a counterrevolutionary assault against the anticapitalist revolution that established the Vietnamese workers state.

In the face of this brazenly hypocritical propaganda campaign, working people should step up demands that Washington and the other imperialist powers recognize all the Indochinese regimes, dismantle military bases in their region, and provide massive assistance to reconstruct all the countries of Indochina—with no strings attached. □

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Iran—Tens of Thousands Defy Bullets to Demand Freedom

By Fred Murphy

Dozens of persons were killed and hundreds wounded in Tehran on January 28 when troops loyal to the Bakhtiar government poured round after round of machine-gun and rifle fire into crowds of demonstrators protesting the regime's refusal to allow the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to return to the country.

At one hospital soldiers opened fire on people taking bandages and cotton batting for the wounded. . . .

As darkness fell over the stricken capital, automatic rifle fire crackled through dimmed streets and the carnage became chaotic. Several hospitals said they were overflowing with wounded and dozens more were being carried in by relatives and friends.

Some demonstrators claimed the death toll ran into hundreds, but this could not be confirmed. Corpses were being carried off the streets by sympathizers. [Newark *Star-Ledger*, January 29]

The shah's handpicked prime minister, Shahpur Bakhtiar, ordered the army into action after being sharply rebuffed in his attempt to seek a face-to-face meeting with Khomeini. On January 27 Bakhtiar announced he would travel to France to talk to the religious leader "to seek his advice on the future of the country."

Khomeini responded: "I have said repeatedly that the deposed Shah was illegal, the Parliament was illegal and the Bakhtiar government was illegal. I will not receive that illegal man." He urged Iranians to continue their struggle "to the last drop of blood."

Bakhtiar then canceled his journey and revived the shah's policy of ordering a cold-blooded massacre of demonstrators.

Hours before the prime minister tried to seek a deal with Khomeini, one million persons had marched in Tehran chanting "Death to Bakhtiar," "Neither shah nor Shahpur," and "If Khomeini comes late, the rifles come out."

The latter chant voiced the growing impatience the Iranian masses feel for the return of the man the vast majority of them look to as their leader in the struggle to put an end to the monarchy. Khomeini had announced that he would return to Iran on January 26, but two days before his planned arrival the government ordered all major airports in the country closed.

On January 24 and 25 pro-shah, pro-Bakhtiar demonstrations involving up to 50,000 persons were staged in downtown Tehran. These crowds combined well-dressed middle- and upper-class residents of the capital, soldiers in civilian dress

ordered by their commanders to participate, and gangs of toughs reportedly hired by the government for \$15 a day and a ration of rice. Some of the latter rampaged through Tehran University, tearing up classrooms and smashing furniture.

The government next issued a harsh



• SHAHPUR BAKHTIAR

warning that martial-law regulations (imposed by the shah in November and never lifted by Bakhtiar) would be strictly enforced and that violators would be shot. This did not stop more than 100,000 persons from marching in Tehran on January 26, and thousands more in provincial cities.

At least forty demonstrators were killed on that day when fresh troops brought into the capital from Khorramshahr opened fire on the march near Tehran University. Eleven or more deaths were also reported in clashes in Abadan, Tabriz, Gorgan, and Sanandaj. At least seven journalists from Tehran's main dailies were arrested, allegedly for violating martial-law strictures against meetings of more than three persons.

Although there were self-serving reports that Bakhtiar had been bypassed by the generals and presented with the crack-down as an accomplished fact, the prime minister defended the bloodshed by saying, "One cannot go through the apprenticeship of democracy without paying a heavy price."

Washington was said to be "encouraged" by Bakhtiar's "firm stand," and rushed an emergency shipment of 200,000 barrels of gasoline and diesel fuel for the army's vehicles.

Both the efforts by the military command to mount a greater show of strength in the streets, as well as Bakhtiar's desperate ploy of going to Paris for a direct appeal to Khomeini, reflect the fear by all components of the regime that replaced the shah that the present situation cannot last. The generals are growing more and more jittery as their forces continue to melt away.

New York Times correspondent Eric Pace reported January 23 that "discipline has been crumbling at some bases." One source told him that "a substantial number of noncommissioned officers and junior officers . . . would not relay or carry out any orders from senior officers to shoot at Iranian civilians."

"Turmoil" has been reported at the Bandar Abbas naval base, and the rising discontent among the military ranks has even spread to the air force, the branch once thought to be the most loyal to the shah.

Hunger strikes involving thousands of air force officers and troops began January 21 at two air bases near Hamadan, and another such movement started January 27 at the Isfahan helicopter base. The main demand in these strikes is for the immediate withdrawal of the 2,000 to 3,000 U.S. military advisers still operating in Iran.

Some banners carried by marchers on January 27 asserted that up to 189 air force officers had been executed at a Tehran barracks that morning for oppositional activity.

The generals still have some reliable troops left, of course. This is shown not only in the continued killings of demonstrators, but was also demonstrated convincingly in the display of military prowess staged for the foreign press on January 23 by the Javidan (Immortals) Brigade of the shah's Imperial Guards.

Bristling with weapons, the 1,200 troops of this elite unit went through a series of "antisubversive" maneuvers, shouting over and over, "Long live the shah."

"When his majesty comes back," the commanding general of the "Immortals" told reporters, "my boys are all ready to shed their last drop of blood for him."

With the monarch away, "Bakhtiar is my boss," a brigade colonel told Jonathan

C. Randal of the *Washington Post*. Randal asked:

And if, under the pressure of events, Bakhtiar were to be replaced by another prime minister, someone of Khomeini's persuasion, and no longer dedicated to the present constitution enshrining the monarchy, what would the "Immortals" do?

With deliberate ambiguity, the officer replied, "We are ready."

Thus Iran seems more and more a country on the brink of civil war. If Khomeini is barred from the country much longer, sections of the masses and their growing numbers of sympathizers among the mil-

itary ranks could take matters into their own hands.

And if Khomeini does return quickly and tries to establish a new government, the top generals may decide to launch an adventurous move aimed at drowning the revolution in blood. □

Finger-Pointing Begins Among U.S. Rulers

'Who Lost Iran?'

By Russell Morse

Although Washington is still deeply involved in efforts to halt the Iranian revolution, cries of "Who lost Iran?" have already begun to echo through the U.S. news media.

"Was the Carter Administration's Iran policy so mismanaged that the U.S. was unable to prevent the overthrow of an important ally?" *Newsweek* magazine asked January 29. "Or was the popular uprising against Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi so deeply rooted that Washington could never block it?"

"Ever since the Shah's inability to retain power became evident," Bernard Gwertzman wrote in the January 25 *New York Times*, "there has been concern in the Carter Administration that if events in Iran adversely affected the United States, the Administration might be accused of having 'lost Iran.'"

Henry Kissinger was among the first to get into the act. Nixon's secretary of state—who is expected to run for the Senate in 1980—told *Newsweek* in December that "the Iranian situation is a tragedy for the West." In a later interview with *Time*, Kissinger complained that "the more that the United States looks out of control of events, the more it appears as if our friends are going down without effective American support . . . the more this process will accelerate."

"The United States . . . must establish some discipline in its Government," Kissinger said. "It must convey an impression that we understand our interests and are willing to defend them. . . ."

The only U.S. political figure to have seen the shah since he fled Iran has been Gerald Ford, who is preparing for a campaign to unseat Carter in 1980. Ford let it be known that he was "very, very sad" after talking to the shah. A "senior official" in the Carter administration told the *Washington Post* that "it could be a problem if Ford came back preaching that we let the shah down."

Another Republican presidential contender, ex-CIA Director George Bush, ac-

cused Carter in a January 25 speech of "pulling the rug out from under the shah of Iran."

Meanwhile, there have been reports of disputes and mutual recriminations among Carter's top aides. Brzezinski and Vance are said to have clashed over how much to emphasize the "Soviet threat," and Carter himself complained in November that he was "not satisfied with the quality of political intelligence" the CIA was producing on Iran.

The administration has also taken the opportunity of the shah's fall to beat the drums for lifting the restrictions Congress was forced to impose on covert CIA operations in the aftermath of Watergate.

A Congressional report issued January 24 concurred with Carter's view of the CIA's "weaknesses," but added that "in the case of Iran, longstanding United States attitudes toward the Shah inhibited intelligence collection, dampened policy makers' appetite for analysis of the Shah's position, and deafened policy makers to the warning implicit in available current intelligence."

But the real reasons for the heavy blows dealt U.S. imperialism in Iran lie elsewhere—in the sweep and depth of the upsurge of the Iranian people, and in the fear in Washington that open military moves would generate swift and massive opposition at home.

Carter practically admitted this at a January 17 news conference. "The Shah, his advisers, great military capability, police and others couldn't completely prevent rioting and disturbances in Iran," Carter said. "Certainly we have no desire, nor ability, to intrude massive forces into Iran. . . . We tried this once, in Vietnam. It didn't work well. . . ."

Of course, Washington has "intruded massive forces" into the affairs of other countries on far more than one occasion. In 1958 Eisenhower thought nothing of dispatching 14,000 troops to Lebanon to shore up a reactionary regime against a popular upsurge. Lyndon Johnson sent

24,000 marines to Santo Domingo in 1965 to put down a revolution. And there can be no doubt that Carter would do the same if he thought he could get away with it.

But things have changed since the costly U.S. defeat in Indochina, and the massive rise of antiwar sentiment among the American people that contributed greatly to that defeat. So far Carter has been reduced to sending a squadron of jet fighters—unarmed—not to Iran, but to Saudi Arabia.

Washington offered as much support to the shah as it could so long as it appeared there was any hope at all that he could cling to power. This is standard practice for the U.S. imperialists—to support the most reactionary regime possible that appears to have a chance for survival. They have followed a similar policy—with somewhat better results—toward the embattled Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua.

The upsurge in Iran gained momentum so rapidly, however, that Washington was unable to disengage from the shah in time. Carter now appears to have given up on the exiled monarch, but the American president is so hated among the people of Iran that his publicly stated support for Bakhtiar has only contributed to the new prime minister's difficulties.

The stakes for imperialism in Iran are so high that future military adventures can by no means be ruled out. But their inability to halt the revolution up to now puts them at a big disadvantage. As the Iranian masses battle to secure and extend their newly won freedom, they will inspire support among the people of the United States, and this will further tie Carter's hands.

The Iranian workers and peasants have scored a mighty victory by driving out the shah. They now must consolidate that victory by establishing a government of their own and dismantling the capitalist state root and branch. They will then be able to answer the question "Who lost Iran?" by saying, "No one—we took it." □

Iranian Trotskyists Announce Formation of Party

By Cindy Jaquith

[The following article is scheduled to appear in the February 9 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist news-weekly published in New York.]

* * *

TEHRAN—A historic news conference took place here January 22, announcing the formation of a Trotskyist party in Iran, the Socialist Workers Party.

Reporters from virtually all major Iranian and foreign media packed into the Intercontinental Hotel to hear the proposals of the Iranian socialists for ending U.S. domination of their country and for the immediate election of a constituent assembly.

Under the shah's tyranny of the past three decades, such a news conference would have been impossible. Anyone publicly declaring the formation of a socialist party would have been jailed or possibly executed.

Prof. Zeyott Obrohimy of Tehran University opened the news conference, which was conducted in the Farsi and English languages. He introduced poet Reza Baraheni, who was imprisoned and tortured by the shah and forced into exile in the United States. Baraheni said the panel of speakers represented longtime fighters in the struggle against the shah.

Babak Zahraie, editor of the socialist opposition weekly *Payam Daneshjoo*, was the first speaker. Reporters had been given copies of the new constitution proposed by the SWP.

Socialist Program

Zahraie explained the socialist program. "The historical problems of the Iranian people will be solved through the struggle for democracy and socialism," he said.

"No government imposed from above

will bring freedom for the people of Iran. Only by the participation of the Iranian people in decision-making through the democratic election of a constituent assembly can we begin to solve the problems we face.

"We demand U.S. imperialism hands off the Iranian revolution. We are for nationalizing all foreign holdings, basic industry, and the banks and placing them under workers control.

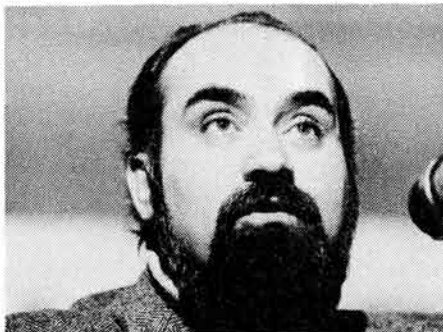
"We demand full equality for women in Iran," Zahraie said.

"Iran's oppressed nationalities—the Azerbaijanis, Kurds, and Baluchis—should have the right to their own languages and complete control of their own affairs.

"The land should belong to whoever works it. There should be easy credit for the peasants.

"We are for full rights for the soldiers.

"We are for opening the books of the big corporations and the government and ending the huge expenditures for arms, turn-



REZA BARAHENI

ing that money over to social benefits for the people."

Workers and Peasants Government

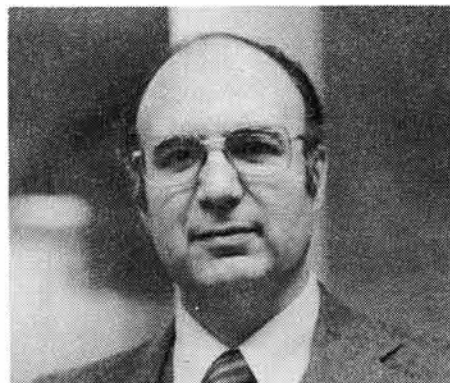
"Finally," Zahraie said, "we believe that to solve the problems faced by the Iranian people, we need a workers and peasants government."

Reporters had many questions. What would be your relationship to the United States if you were in the government? How many members does your party have? When will you hold your first convention? What is your view of other parties in Iran, such as the Tudeh Party [Communist Party]?

Zahraie emphasized that the first demand of Iranian Trotskyists on the U.S. government is to get out of Iran. "At the same time," he explained, "We support the

oppressed of the United States. The Blacks, the women, the working class."

As for other currents in the Iranian



JAVAD SADEEG

opposition, Zahraie urged democratic rights for all parties and groups. He called on other currents to join in the discussion on how to advance the revolution.

He also explained that the Iranian SWP is in solidarity with "the revolutionaries gathered in the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement." As a Trotskyist party, the SWP opposes the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet Union and China, he said.

Zahraie then introduced Javad Sadeeg, who went into exile twenty-five years ago after the 1953 CIA-inspired coup that put the shah back on the throne. Sadeeg is the author of *Nationality and Revolution in Iran*.

Hails Overthrow of Shah

Sadeeg said that the recent toppling of the shah is a major victory for the Iranian people. He compared it to the overthrow of the tsar in Russia, of Chiang Kai-shek in China, and Batista in Cuba.

In each of these revolutions, Sadeeg continued, the masses learned it was not enough to overthrow a dictatorial regime. It was necessary to continue the struggle until power was wrested from the ruling class and a workers and peasants government established. This will also be true in Iran, he said. A socialist revolution is necessary.

Women's Rights

Parvin Najafi, a frequent writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, spoke on the SWP's program for the liberation of women of Iran. The SWP calls for the abolition of all laws that prevent women



BABAK ZAHRAIE



PARVIN NAJAFI

from equal participation in social, economic, and political life.

In a constituent assembly, Najafi said, women could fight for their demands, such as equal pay and repeal of laws that give husbands and fathers control over women's lives.

Another exiled revolutionist, Hooshang Sepehri, gave a moving tribute to the martyrs of the struggle for freedom in

Air Force Personnel Join Opposition

TEHRAN—Fifty members of the Iranian air force, including several officers, held a march against the shah here January 24. According to the January 25 international edition of *Kayhan*, the demonstrators said they were from the Farahabad garrison.

Surrounded by about 800 supporters for protection, they demonstrated for about twenty minutes and then quickly dispersed.

The march attracted many onlookers. Several people brought red roses and threw them to the airmen. "Join them, everybody," one marcher yelled out. "They are with us."

An army private who was watching the march commented, "Now they won't be able to bomb our cities, because the air force is clearly against the government."

—C.J.

Iran. Four of his brothers died fighting against the shah.

To win the demands for which past revolutionists have given their lives, Sepehri said, the Iranian people need a revolutionary socialist party. He urged everyone to join the SWP to further that goal.

A powerful weapon against the shah's repression in recent years has been the

U.S.-based Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). The former executive secretary of CAIFI, Nemat Jazayeri, spoke of the accomplishments of this group in winning freedom for political prisoners and alerting the American people to the brutality of the Carter-backed regime in Iran.

Most recently, Jazayeri reported, CAIFI has mobilized support from the American labor movement for striking workers in Iran. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, for example, released a statement in support of oil workers here in Iran.

Abolish SAVAK!

One of CAIFI's most prominent cases was that of Reza Baraheni. After CAIFI helped win his release, Baraheni came to the United States and became honorary chairperson of CAIFI.

In his statement to the news conference, Baraheni demanded that the Bakhtiar government dissolve SAVAK, the hated secret police; bring to trial all SAVAK agents and spies; open all SAVAK secret files, including those on its relationship with the FBI, CIA, and Israeli political police; and recognize the right of all political parties to function openly in Iran.

The press conference received prominent coverage in all three Tehran dailies. Among the foreign press in attendance were the London *Daily Mail*, Swedish Broadcasting, CBS, the Chicago *Tribune*, *Newsweek*, the British *Daily Telegraph*, and several other European dailies. □

Why Crowds Line Up at Tehran Newsstands

TEHRAN—Few workers here used to read the daily newspapers. The truth was carefully edited out by the shah's censors, so there was little point.

But today on the streets of Tehran, long lines form every afternoon at newsstands to pick up one of the three dailies. Since censorship has been lifted, the papers are filled with reports of demonstrations, statements by groups of striking workers, articles about political prisoners, and more.

I was in the lobby of the Intercontinental Hotel one day when *Ettela'at* came in. Copies were quickly passed around among all the hotel employees. Two workers sat down with their copies. One read each article out loud to his friends, who could not read.

The waiters in the tea room stopped serving customers to read the paper, and the cashier perused his copy, hidden behind the cash register.

A sampling of the articles in the press here gives a feel for the depth of the revolutionary process going on.

One article reports on a demonstration of striking gas workers. It reprints a resolution the strikers passed out during their protest. The resolution is revealing in light of attempts by Western bourgeois commentators to portray protesters here as right-wing religious fanatics.

The strikers' leaflet calls for an Islamic republic and then explains that such a republic should establish "a classless society, a socialist society" free from "U.S. imperialism and world

capitalism." The strikers expressed their solidarity with all workers in Iran, declaring that the struggle here is for the unity and betterment of the toiling masses.

Another article covers a women's liberation demonstration at Tehran University. The students were demanding a government that will grant equality for women.

There is a report that a Turkish-language newspaper has appeared in Tabriz. Such non-Persian publications were illegal under the shah. And in the opinion columns, there is a debate over Kurdish nationalism.

* * *

The strike of shop owners, which began months ago, continues. Just about the only stores open here are bookstores, newsstands, and those selling food.

It is common for book dealers to cover the sidewalk with pamphlets, and crowds gather round to look at previously banned literature.

I visited a bookstore one evening. Prominently displayed at the front of the store were Lenin's selected works, his *What Is To Be Done?*, and Marx's *Capital*—all in Persian. There were also several books on Vietnam, one on Cuba, and the works of Maxim Gorky, which were illegal here for years.

At another bookstore, across the street from Tehran University, Trotsky's *Transitional Program* was for sale.

—C.J.



NEMAT JAZAYERI

Bill of Rights for the Workers and Toilers of Iran

[The following is the programmatic section of a statement now being distributed in Iran by the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (formerly Sattar League), sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Iran. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

For the revival and extension of the heritage of the constitutional revolution

More than seventy years ago, the people of Iran rose up to win deliverance from the yoke of the autocratic Qajar monarchy and the piratical agents of the British and Tsarist Russian states.

The essential objectives of the constitutional revolution were to put an end to the absolutist rule of the monarchy and of the foreign colonizers, and to build a democratic system that would reflect the aspirations and demands of the people of Iran.

Faced with the unrelenting mobilization of the masses striving to achieve their political freedoms, the monarchy was finally forced to issue an edict for drawing up a constitution and setting up a parliament. In the eyes of the people, the constitution represented a rein on the monarchy and its agents.

For the first time in the history of Iran, the constitutional revolution struck at the autocratic rule of the court by extending rights to the people. The foundation stone of these rights was the recognition of the right of the people to take control of their own destiny.

In opposition to the oppression of the Qajars, the people wanted the following rights:

- Freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of association, and freedom of religion.
 - The right to due process instead of the arbitrary penalties and rulings meted out under the control of the monarchy.
 - The right of the people to vote and to elect the representatives of their choice.
 - The right to form committees of people's representatives that would be responsible to the people themselves and not to the monarchy.
 - The right to arm the people and organize a people's militia.
 - The right of the mass organizations of the people to administer all the affairs of the towns and provinces.
 - The right to liberation and voluntary cooperation of all the peoples and nationalities living in Iran.
 - The right of Iran to political and economic independence from imperialism.
- With the defeat of the constitutional

revolution, none of these rights could be solidified and guaranteed. After the defeat of the constitutional revolution, the imperialist states, the remnants of the Qajar monarchy, and the property-owning classes collaborated to bury the traditions of the revolution. The compilation of the basic laws made after the defeat of the revolution preserves the record of all that the monarchy and ruling classes destroyed. Nothing remains of the *anjomans* [councils] and *Mujahedeen* [people's militias] that gave life to the constitution. Of the freedom and voluntary cooperation of the nationalities of Iran, no trace remains. This entire heritage of the revolution must be revived.

For the revival and extension of the heritage of the second revolution

The second revolution in Iran, which followed the end of the rule of Reza Shah at the conclusion of the Second World War, revived the heritage of the constitutional revolution in various forms. During the rule of Reza Shah every nationality in Iran was subjected to national and linguistic oppression. The second revolution began with the rebellion of the nationalities.

In Azerbaijan, women won the right to vote. A workers and peasants government came into existence in Azerbaijan in less than a year. After the suppression of this uprising on the 21 of Azar [December 12], an Iran-wide movement developed. In the course of this movement, the workers organized in labor unions of their own. The oil industry was nationalized. Moreover, in Azerbaijan and later in other places in Iran as well, the peasants seized the big estates. The coup d'état of the 28 of

Today the broad masses of Iran are demanding a new set of rights . . .

Mordad [August 19, 1953] put an end to this second phase of the revolution.

Coming after the twenty-year-long period of stifling repression under Reza Shah, the second revolution sought to achieve a new set of rights:

- The right to vote for women and participation of women in all the affairs of the society.
- The right of the oppressed nationalities to use their own languages.
- The right of self-determination for the oppressed nationalities.
- The right of the workers to organize in labor unions.

- The right of the peasants to own the land they till.

- The right to establish a government of workers and peasants instead of a government of the property-owning classes.

- The right to nationalize the oil industry and take it away from the imperialists.

Today the broad masses of Iran are demanding a new set of rights beyond those sought in the second revolution. On the basis of the great heritage of the previous revolutions and the pressing needs of Iran at the present time, the Socialist Workers Party proposes the following bill of rights for the workers and toilers.

In the factories, the countryside, the universities, everywhere that the workers and toilers are waging their struggles, we want to achieve these rights. It is urgent and vital, in opposition to the present regime, to create a constituent assembly on the basis described elsewhere [see following article]. Only in this way will the people be able to discuss the issues facing the country and decide how to solve them.

In order to achieve and consolidate these rights, it is necessary to establish a new social order in Iran, one free from imperialist influence and domination. The government of the property-owning classes—the capitalists and the big landowners—must be replaced by a government of the workers and peasants. Society must be reoriented away from serving the interests of the ruling classes to serving those of the masses of workers and toilers.

A constituent assembly must be set up as soon as possible

No government established from above will bring freedom to Iran. The task of the people is not to support handpicked governments set up from on high. The basic task of the people is to establish a government that will support their interests and their struggles. The goal of setting up a new government is to achieve all the demands that are being raised by the oppressed and exploited in society. But the people cannot and must not wait for any government to achieve their demands. Passivity will result only in the perpetuation of the old despotism.

The workers, peasants, and toilers; women, the oppressed nationalities, and students; and finally the soldiers must all organize to win their demands. A single assembly made up of representatives of all the political and religious forces of the people must be set up without delay. Those forces that oppose a constituent assembly, while claiming to defend the interests of the people, are in fact opposed to allowing



"No government established from above will bring freedom to Iran."

the genuine expression of the will of the masses. Therefore, the workers, soldiers, and peasants, the masses of the people, will not wait for the convening of the constituent assembly, but through their own organizations, by adopting the call for a constituent assembly as the central slogan in their fight for democracy, will advance the conditions for achieving all their civil, economic, political and social demands.

The constituent assembly is faced with the following questions, which are of fundamental importance for the country:

- The modern history of Iran is the history of unrelieved despotism and backwardness. This reality indicates that the road to solving the basic historic questions in Iran is fighting for democracy and socialism.

The rule of the monarchy and the capitalists in Iran is the source of all the social evils that exist in the country. The hunger, poverty, and unemployment that exist in the cities and in the countryside arise from the penetration of imperialism and the rule of its local partners.

- Even after the end of the rule of the shah, the crisis of the disintegrating state apparatus threatens the country with a catastrophe or the return of military rule.

- The problems creating the danger of catastrophe cannot be solved without revolutionary methods. The decisive majority of the workers and toilers of Iran demand the adoption of various revolutionary measures.

The new Iran must build up a new governmental structure based on the following social and economic organs. Once it is set up, the constituent assembly should consider establishing the following bases of a new government:

1. The government:

Local governments must be made up of representatives democratically elected by

the organizations of the workers, peasants, white-collar workers, soldiers, university students, and high-school students.

The all-Iran government must be made up of representatives of these organizations chosen on an all-Iran basis with the voluntary collaboration of representatives of the oppressed nationalities.

All the officials of this government, at every level, must be subject to recall at any time.

The salaries of officials in this government cannot exceed those of the average worker.

Such a government can direct the economy of the country and solve all questions in the life of the country in accordance with the interests of the majority of the people and not those of the exploiters. The interests of the working people must be placed above the greed of the capitalists, who have monopolized all the wealth, so as to avert the economic catastrophe these capitalists intend to provoke.

2. Break the yoke of imperialism:

World imperialism holds Iran in bondage through its economic and military pacts. All such pacts that American imperialism has imposed on us must be abrogated, and all American advisors must be immediately expelled from Iran. The CENTO military pact and all military pacts and agreements with imperialist countries and states under their control must be immediately ended. Not one drop of oil should be exported to Israel or South Africa.

Relations with those governments must be replaced by solidarity with the Palestinian masses and the Blacks of South Africa. All foreign companies and property must be confiscated and nationalized without one cent in compensation. Not one cent should be paid in interest or principal on the billions of dollars in loans that the

banks and imperialist companies have extended in order to suck the blood of the people of Iran.

3. Unity of workers and peasants and a program of land reform:

For the small and landless peasants, the following demands are urgent:

Land to the peasants, land to the tiller—take the land away from the big landowners and absentee landlords without paying compensation. Grant long-term credits and loans on easy terms to the peasants. Total abrogation of the debts owed by peasants to the state for installments on the land given them by the shah's land reform. Open the ledgers and account books of the Agricultural Bank and related institutions.

Wages for agricultural workers must be set at full parity with those of industrial workers. The lands and property of the big landowners and the model farms must be confiscated without payment of any compensation and distributed among the poor peasants, or else be placed under the control of the agricultural workers in the form of cooperatives or collective farms. The program for nationalizing agriculture and putting it on a cooperative basis should be designed so as to remove any possibility of the small peasants being expropriated and forced to join cooperatives. Until they recognize the possibility and need for taking another path, the small peasants will continue to hold their own plots of land.

The workers and toilers should give consideration to how to solve the following questions regarding the nomadic tribes that have always been put under pressure by government programs. Special attention to improving the economic life of the tribes. Against forced settlement of the tribes. Control by the tribes themselves over the areas in which they live.

4. Political and civil rights:

Release of all the political prisoners, return of all the exiles, complete abolition of censorship, freedom to demonstrate and assemble, freedom of thought and expression, freedom for all political parties, freedom and equal rights for all religions, the right to bear arms, freedom for labor unions, full and equal political and civil rights for Afghani, Pakistani, and other immigrant workers. All these rights must be instituted and guaranteed.

5. Freedom for the oppressed nationalities:

The most basic violations of the rights of the non-Persian nationalities are the suppression of their mother tongues and the denial of their right to self-determination. These violations of their rights have also been the foundation stones of the rule of the Pahlevi monarchy, the capitalists, and the imperialists in Iran. These nationalities must be given the freedom to use their languages. The oppressed nationalities of

Iran must have the right to self-determination, to exercise as they choose.

Permitting oppression on the basis of language, culture, and nationality must be clearly declared illegal. Special programs for building schools, universities, and other public works in the districts inhabited by the oppressed nationalities must be undertaken by the central state on an urgent basis.

Only in this way can the Persian working people make restitution for the oppression to which their Azerbaijani, Kurd, Baluchi, and Arab brothers and sisters have been subjected by the central state. In this way, they can replace the division created by the central state with a lasting unity of all the working people of all the nationalities of Iran.

6. Full rights and equality for women, liberation of women:

Women, this great mass of humanity, have been oppressed and deprived for centuries. In the modern age, women

The liberation of women is a fundamental task of the revolution . . .

workers have been subjected to double exploitation. The liberation of women is one of the fundamental tasks of the revolution. Full political and social rights and equality for women. Equal pay for equal work.

In order to assure the economic independence of women, free child-care centers must be set up and run at state expense. Women's right to control their own bodies and decide whether they want to bear children. This right includes the use of abortion and contraceptive methods.

7. Abolition of business secrets:

Capitalists, property owners, landlords, the bosses of the big companies and the intermediaries for foreign capital, the chief bureaucrats in the army and civil service, and the court circles have maintained total secrecy to hide their plundering of the country. All the books and accounts of the secret transactions of these rich must be opened, so that their robberies will be known to everyone. The action by the central bank employees provides a clear example of the importance of this.

8. Oppose the flight of capital from the country, oppose the capitalists' wrecking and sabotage of production:

All the property of the capitalists and wealthy people who have stolen billions of *tumans* [7 *tumans* equal US\$1] from the poor people and taken this wealth outside the country must be confiscated and nationalized in the form of people's property. And not a cent should be paid in compensation.

9. Workers and toilers control over the banks, industry, commerce, and social services:

The capitalist parasites have grown fat from exploiting the workers. The workers must have the right to know the "secrets" of the banks, factories, and all parts of basic industry, transport, and the economy as a whole. The bosses' control of the factories must be replaced by workers control. In this way, control of the workers and toilers must be established over the banks, basic industry and trade in general.

The offices, institutions, and big state companies that exploit millions of Iranian toilers (workers, teachers, functionaries, and so on) in the interests of the capitalists must be brought under the control of workers committees, cooperating with committees and unions of state employees, to form a real system of social services for the toilers.

10. Against inflation and unemployment:

The workers cannot and must not have to bear the burden of the savage exploitation of the capitalists and the economic disasters they cause. Faced with the constantly rising prices of consumer goods, workers should get full cost-of-living adjustments. The rate of inflation must be measured by committees of workers, honest specialists, and statisticians loyal to the workers. Every worker must get a wage sufficient to assure at least a decent standard of living.

Everyone who wants to work must be guaranteed a job. The workweek must not exceed forty hours. In order to increase the number of jobs, the government must create public works projects such as the construction of housing, cities, schools, universities, child-care centers, parks, roads, and so on. There must be an end to the appropriation of huge sums for the army, police, and rural guards; this money must be used instead to build useful public works.

Similarly, a direct progressive tax system must be established, rising sharply at each higher level of income. Workers and toilers should be exempt from taxes. Indirect taxes on such items as sugar, foodstuffs, and necessities of life for the broad masses must be abolished.

Moreover, in order to safeguard the standard of living of the workers and raise it, insurance and social welfare programs must be instituted, especially unemployment insurance. Workers and lower-ranking civil servants must get annual paid vacations of at least one month, as well as retirement benefits that will enable them to lead a decent life after the age of fifty. The wages of women, youth, and immigrant workers must be equal to those of other workers.

11. Nationalize the banks, insurance companies, basic industries, and transportation:

Without regulating the activities of the banks, it is impossible to control and regulate production and distribution of goods for human needs. And without total control over this, it is impossible to make any fundamental advances in improving the wretched living conditions of the masses. Through the banks, the capitalists carry out their various schemes to plunder the poor workers. All the banks must be nationalized and combined in one state bank. All insurance companies must be nationalized.

The banks and basic industry and the most important branches of commerce must be nationalized and brought under a state monopoly if any serious attempt is to be made to regulate the economic activity of society in accordance with human needs. Such nationalizations are of a fundamentally different type than those carried out by the monarchy. The monarchy's "nationalized" oil, gas, petrochemical, and steel companies were all created to further the exploitation and plunder carried on by the capitalists, the monarchy, and the imperialists.

The bankers and capitalists must not get compensation for even the smallest part of their loot. The expropriation of the major means of production and distribution is an entirely different thing from taking the property of the peasants, individual small traders, and professionals.

12. For a monopoly of foreign trade:

All foreign trade must come under a state monopoly, so that it can be put under the control of all the people for the benefit of society.

13. Dissolve SAVAK, the police, and the rural guards; political rights for the soldiers; arm the people:

All repressive bodies must be abolished. SAVAK must be abolished. The police and the rural guards must be abolished. The task of maintaining order in the cities and the countryside must be carried out by

Army commanders must be elected by soldiers' committees . . .

armed groups of the people, the workers, and the peasants.

Repression in the army must be ended. The military hierarchy must be dismantled. The army must be democratized, and the soldiers must enjoy full political and civil rights. Army commanders must be elected by soldiers' committees.

All military and special courts must be dismantled. Judges in all trials must be elected and all trials must take place before juries chosen from among the people. The people will mete out justice themselves.

In order to defend the revolutionary

unity of the workers and peasants against the attacks of the capitalists and imperialists, in order to defend the life of the workers and peasants republic, everyone must be armed. The organization of the Mojahdeen militia at the time of the Tabriz Anjoman in the constitutional revolution is a perfect example of how to organize a people's militia. This is also exemplified by the defense forces in Amol and other cities. Other examples are the workers and factory self-defense guards in the plants and the oil fields. As such defense organizations spread more and more in the cities, in the working-class centers, and in the villages, the soldiers, who are the sons of the toilers, will be reminded of their class roots and be won over to the side of the workers and toilers.

14. International solidarity:

When the workers are in control of society, the basis for advancing toward a society of abundance will have been laid. But such progress is only conceivable with the solidarity of the workers and toilers in other countries. Isolated and besieged in a world of exploitation and poverty, a workers and peasants republic would not be able to take many steps forward.

The great revolution of the disinherited people of Iran has already had an impact on every neighboring country.

How could it be otherwise? The peoples of Turkey, Pakistan, and Afghanistan are watching the revolution in Iran. They are being inspired by it and gaining self-confidence from it. The cry of freedom will doubtless have reverberations in the Soviet

Union as well. After being isolated for years, the Palestinian revolutionists have heard the powerful voice of solidarity raised by millions of Iranians. The South African Blacks are finding allies in Iran. The Iranian revolution has opened a period of blood and iron in the entire region; that is, the age of revolt of the oppressed against the oppressing classes. Thus by establishing a workers and peasants government the workers and toilers of Iran will lay the cornerstone of the "Socialist United States of the Middle East."

The Socialist Workers Party's proposal for the constitution, the "Bill of Rights for the Iranian Workers and Toilers," will be presented to the party congress for discussion and ratification. □

For a Constituent Assembly to Decide Issues Facing Iran!

[The following has been excerpted from a statement now being distributed in Iran by the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (formerly Sattar League), sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Iran. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

No government appointed from above can bring freedom to Iran.

The achievement of democracy, the elimination of imperialist domination, and the winning of real independence is possible only through the struggle of the broad masses.

Therefore, it is necessary to dissolve both houses of the parliament of the Rastakhiz* period immediately. It is necessary to convene without delay a constituent assembly made up of delegates elected by universal and direct vote by secret ballot. No matter what regime is at present in power in Iran, it is urgent and vital for the broad masses, who have paid a high price in blood for the gains they have made, to be able to discuss freely the issues facing the country today. Only an assembly made up of genuine representatives of the people can discuss all such issues and make decisions about them. All parties and political forces in Iran must have the right to participate freely in this democratic debate.

High-school students and all other sections of the society, literate or illiterate, must have the right to take part in the constituent assembly elections. All political groups banned under the shah's regime must have the right to participate in these elections. This right must be extended as well to the soldiers.

Supervision of these elections is the task of the people themselves. Only in this way

will it be possible to keep the government from interfering in this democratic decision-making process. Committees of workers, soldiers, women, and peasants—both those committees that already exist and others that must be formed—could discuss the various issues and supervise the elections to the constituent assembly.

Delegates to the constituent assembly should be elected by proportional representation on a nationwide basis. Only in this way will all political groups, even those with a relatively small percentage of the vote nationwide, be able to make their voices heard. This is necessary for real democracy in discussion and decision making.

The aim in establishing the constituent assembly is not to limit the debate on issues facing the country to this assembly. To the contrary, discussion of all issues must take place in the barracks among the soldiers, among the peasants, in the various neighborhoods, and in the high schools and universities. Only in this way, can the broad masses play a real role in the decision-making process, consolidate the gains of their struggle, and extend the revolution until they completely break the chains of oppression and exploitation that bind them.

At the present time, when the broad masses of people have been able to achieve an important victory against the despotic and disintegrating system in Iran, the U.S. imperialists, the Iranian generals, and all the big landowners and capitalists have focused their plan around two basic axes. Deliberately and constantly, they have been sabotaging the production and distribution process so as to create an unprecedented breakdown. In this way, they are seeking to engender a situation in which the workers, peasants, and student organizations would be threatened with losing the gains they made in their struggles. At

the same time, in order to halt the advancing revolution, some of the generals are planning a coup. Of course, it remains to be seen if these plans by U.S. imperialism and its local supporters will succeed.

In conditions of deepening workers' struggles and growing solidarity between the people and the ranks of the armed forces, it would be very difficult to set the stage for such an economic breakdown or to carry out a coup. However, not a moment must be lost in advancing the organization of the whole mass of workers, soldiers, and toilers. . . .

The call for a constituent assembly is the central slogan of all democrats and socialists. The successful establishment of a constituent assembly and a democratic decision-making process will be assured only when every section of the workers, peasants, toilers, and soldiers have formed their own fighting organizations. Through mass participation in deciding the future of Iran, the people can end the era of despotism and eliminate the capitalist exploiters. . . .

It is only through their own independent struggles that the workers and toilers of Iran can achieve the rights to which they are entitled. It is the strikes, demonstrations, and marches that have shaken the oppressive and corrupt government. It is not logical, then, to strike and demonstrate in order to achieve rights and freedoms and at the same time place your confidence in the political forces that benefit from the present system and have been chosen to represent the decaying system in Iran.

Only through building a mass socialist party can the power of the Iranian workers and toilers be brought to bear to destroy the governmental apparatus of the capitalists, landowners, and their foreign imperialist partners. Only through this can this regime be replaced with a government that would express the will and interests of the

*The single party established by the shah in 1975.—IP/I

working people. The party that is needed is not one that would only talk and issue declarations. What is needed is a combat party that takes part in the people's strug-

gles and helps extend them. Such a party is essential to assure the establishment of a workers and peasants republic in the favorable conditions that exist.

It is the aim of the Socialist Workers Party to become such a party. We are trying to explain the need for it and we are fighting to achieve it. □

'Flying Pickets' Shut Docks and Warehouses

British Strikers Shatter 5% Wage Limit

By Will Reissner

A wide range of recent strikes have demolished the British Labour government's attempts to impose voluntary 5% wage ceilings on the country's workers.

The first serious blow to Prime Minister James Callaghan's attempts to make workers pay for inflation by keeping wage increases below price increases was last year's eight-week strike by 57,000 Ford workers. Amid howls of outrage from the capitalists and their lieutenants in the Labour government, the auto workers returned to work in November with a 16.58% raise.

The militant Ford strike pointed the way for other workers. Since early January 100,000 truck drivers have been on strike. Their use of flying picket squads has effectively tied up most of the British transport industry. Non-striking drivers have refused to cross picket-lines set up at docks, warehouses, and plants.

Although Moss Evans, the general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, agreed to the government's demand that shipments of food, animal feed, medicine, and a long list of other "essential" goods be allowed through, many of the pickets have refused to go along. Often the strikers themselves decide on the spot whether the shipment is essential, turning back those that don't fit their more practical criteria.

Pickets at London's Tilburn docks, for example, noted that "when they asked us to let through five container loads of rotting grapes, we refused. Nobody lives on grapes."

The truckers have been offered a 15% raise, but are holding out for 22.5%

Beginning January 16, 26,000 locomotive engineers on the nationalized railway system staged four one-day strikes within two weeks.

On January 22, 1.5 million local government workers staged a twenty-four hour walk-out. The strike involved ambulance crews, hospital workers, street cleaners, garbage collectors, gravediggers, sewer workers, and others.

Thousands refused to return to work after the scheduled end of the walkout. The government workers are demanding a 40% wage hike, which would bring them to \$120 a week.

As with the truck drivers, the striking

ambulance crews also refused to go along with an agreement made by their union representatives to answer emergency calls. As a result, army drivers were used as strikebreakers.

The effectiveness of the drivers' militant strike and its inspiration to other workers has caused the capitalists to react as if they had been nudged by a red-hot poker. In particular, the Conservative Party is calling for legislation to outlaw secondary picketing, the strikers most powerful weapon. Such legislation, if it could be en-

they are not the cause of the country's problems. "You see, the government goes on about inflation, but that's rubbish," one striker noted. "We suffer from the rising prices too. So all we're doing now is trying to get ours, just like the next lads."

Government deals with the union leadership are unlikely to end the strikes if they do not satisfy the members' demands. The British weekly *Economist* noted that the leadership of the transport union is not "much in control of anything in this strike. Real power is in the hands of unofficial



Economist

Truckers picket outside London's Tilbury docks.

forced, would cripple the effectiveness of the truckers' strike.

With temporal appeals failing to halt the strikes, Britain's rulers first turned to the archbishop of Canterbury for spiritual help. The head of the Church of England, Archbishop Donald Coggan, readily obliged, telling the strikers to put an end to their "pitiless industrial action." His advice fell on deaf ears.

The bosses then turned to a High Court judge, who issued a temporary injunction to restrict the use of secondary pickets.

The drivers, however, understand that

strike committees up and down the country."

In destroying the government's attempts to impose a 5% wage ceiling, the striking British workers have dealt a blow for the entire British working class. And their example may find an echo elsewhere.

In the United States, for example, 4.2 million union members will negotiate new contracts this year. They will have to go up against President Carter's proposed 7% wage ceiling. British workers have shown their American counterparts that such ceilings can be broken by militant strikes.

The Massacre in Kahraman Maras

[From December 22-25, right-wing murder gangs carried out a massacre in Kahraman Maras, on the fringes of the Kurdish-speaking area in eastern Turkey. Seizing the pogrom as a pretext, the Ecevit government declared martial law in thirteen Turkish provinces December 26, suspending all constitutional guarantees.

[The following interview assessing these events was obtained with a Turkish revolutionary socialist who visited France in early January. It was published in the January 9 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* and has been translated by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

Question. What was the death toll in the Kahraman Maras riots?

Answer. It's hard to say. Many victims were left under the ruins of burned houses and shops; bodies were thrown into the river. Furthermore, on December 25, many clashes took place outside the city between the army and Alevi Kurdish tribes who wanted to avenge their dead. Though the official count is 111 dead, various reports indicate that the correct figure is close to 1,500.

Q. Did the MHP [National Action Party, a neofascist group] claim responsibility for Kahraman Maras?

A. No, of course not. Türkes, the leader of the MHP, blamed the massacre first on Peking, then on Moscow. But he also explained that such events would recur as long as the Ecevit government stayed in power, making a thinly veiled threat. However, many messages on the walls and stores in Kahraman Maras took credit for the riot and were signed MHP. Everywhere in Turkey the same inscriptions can be found, usually signed UGD, the youth organization of the fascist party. They say things like: "In Maras, we chopped off the hands of those who went after our Muslim people."

Inflation Skyrockets in Israel

Prices in Israel rose by an average of 50.6% in 1978, according to official figures released in Jerusalem January 15.

Hardest hit by the increases were persons who buy automobiles (up 85%), eat fruit or vegetables (up 69.7%), require medical attention (up 64.2%), or buy clothing (up 56.1%).

Those who went to the movies to forget it all found that tickets were up by 37.7%.

Q. Are these kinds of murders common?

A. The number of those killed in Turkey in the first eleven months of 1978 was more than 700. In the whole country there are two political assassinations per day. At times the death toll in these attacks is very heavy. On March 16, a bomb killed seven people at the University of Istanbul. On August 8, the fascists machine-gunned a bus and a cafe in Ankara, killing six. On October 9, seven members of the Turkish Workers Party were murdered in their homes. There it was a question of commando raids, whose results were more horrifying day by day.

What happened in Maras was of a different nature. Virtual rehearsals for Kahraman Maras had taken place earlier in cities on the outskirts of Kurdistan. The great majority of Kurds are Sunnis, but the Shi'ites amount to hundreds of thousands, particularly in the border towns. In Dersim (now Tunceli), Elâzığ, and Maras, the fascists played on the antagonisms between the Turks, who are Sunni Muslims, and Kurds, who are Shi'ite Muslims, to bring off minor insurrections.

On April 17 in Malatya, more than 100 stores were sacked, leaving eight dead. On September 3 in Sivas, nine were killed and 100 wounded. On December 4 in Elâzığ, thirty shops were burned, killing six (the death toll for the year in Elâzığ was sixty).

Q. What is the MHP's strategy?

A. While it was in the government, the MHP placed its cadres in many teaching, police, and civil-service posts. This enabled it to organize and grow, partly by building a following among the unemployed and the urban lumpenproletariat—giving them jobs and influencing the authorities on their behalf—and partly by ensuring a genuine mass base for itself in the poor rural areas on the border of Kurdistan.

The Turks who live in these areas are either government officials—and thus direct participants in the Turkish state's oppression of the Kurdish nation—or shopkeepers, artisans, or peasants. So their economic conditions are practically the same as the Kurds'. The Turks in these areas, who are feeling the blows of the economic crisis, are very receptive to the MHP's chauvinist propaganda, which only reflects the official ideology of the Turkish state. This ideology says that the Turks are a superior race.

The MHP can easily whip up the ultra-nationalist currents by offering them a political perspective based on a strong state and a policy of militarization, as well as an immediate framework for action—the open season on "separatists"—that is,

Kurdish militants—and communists. The MHP got a million votes in the 1977 elections. Now it has gone to a higher level, multiplying its armed attacks to firm up its ranks in action and make the masses lose confidence in the parliamentary system symbolized by Ecevit. For several months, Türkes's party has been demanding the ouster of the Ecevit government and the imposition of martial law.

Q. Is the state of siege a victory for the MHP?

A. It's not a complete victory, for, contrary to Türkes's wishes, the state of siege was declared only in thirteen provinces, and in particular, not in the heart of Kurdistan. Moreover, the generals who command these provinces, contrary to the earlier states of siege, are not independent. They are under the authority of a coordinating center headed by Ecevit. Even though Ecevit says he is sure of the army's loyalty, he has taken measures to prevent generals and officers who are well-known right-wingers from getting out of hand, like the head of the military tribunal in Istanbul, who, while he was a prosecutor in Diyarbakir, was responsible for the murder of many revolutionary militants, including I. Kaypakaya.

Q. How did the Turkish left respond?

A. The left parties, the trade union DISK, and the teachers and civil-servants associations support these measures to one degree or another, saying that they will make it possible to restore democracy by putting a stop to the activities of "extremists" on all sides. Nevertheless, they say that if the government carried out undemocratic measures, like outlawing the right to strike, they would respond. To protest the fascist massacre in Kahraman Maras, DISK called for a five-minute work stoppage on January 5. It should be recalled that after the fascist attack in Istanbul on March 16, DISK carried out a two-hour strike.

Q. What is the position of the Turkish far left?

A. Although the state of siege bans all public criticism, nearly the entire Turkish far left has condemned it. But its political myopia is such that it is hardly prepared for this kind of situation. It sees it merely as a confirmation of the "fascist" character it attributes to the Turkish state. For these organizations, whose viewpoint remains Stalinist, fascism is a permanent feature of the imperialist epoch. So what is involved is a worsening of the state's fascist character and a warning sign of a general crackdown.

The Turkish far left sees the fascist gangs only as direct agents of the United States, without understanding the weight of the economic crisis as a factor in the development of a mass movement around the MHP. This leads to abstaining from any unified mass response and concentrating on minority actions. □

'The Black Working Class Carries the Burden of History'

[The following is an interview with a group of South African revolutionists. It was obtained in Gaborone, Botswana, in December by Ernest Harsch.]

* * *

Question. How would you characterize South African society?

Answer. The South African situation is basically a colonial situation. It differs from traditional colonialism in that the colonizer has cut off ties with the mother country and established a settler regime, an imperialist baby, an overseer, a policeman of Western imperialism in southern Africa. Just like Israel in the Middle East.

The class nature of the South African situation is veiled by acute racism by legislation in the country. The white bourgeoisie in power has given all privileges to the white society, so much so that the white worker does not see himself as exploited and therefore supposed to align himself with the Black worker to bring down capitalism.

It is the Black working class that carries the burden of history. It is on the shoulders of this class that the wheels of industry lie. This is the class that is the mainstay of the socialist revolution in South Africa. The mobilization of this class is a necessity and it would be a dream to think of bringing down the South African racist regime without the greatest role being played by this class. In fact, the socialist revolution must be led by a working class party.

Q. How does the ruling class seek to control the Black workers?

A. It is out of the realization of the power of the Black worker as a representative of the entire oppressed population that the white ruling class has devised various laws aimed at scattering and weakening all forms of struggle by the Black worker.

There is the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956, which legislated nonrecognition of Black trade unions, and even banned them from making political contributions.

There are the works and liaison committees registered in terms of the Bantu Labour Regulations Act of 1973. This act sets conditions of employment and the settlement of grievances of Black African workers. To ensure the perpetual oppression of Black workers there is provision for three kinds of committees for "representing" African workers: the works committees, which existed before and were changed only in name and not much used; the coordinating works committees, which are supposed to coordinate the activities and representations of African workers in establishments having more than one

works committee; and the liaison committees.

The works committees: All their members are to be elected by the workers. The liaison committees: one half of the members plus the chairman are to be appointed by the management and the other half by the workers. With neither committee do the employers bind themselves by way of a constitution or agreement to any obligation or demand by the workers.

Then there are the pass laws, vagrancy laws, and influx and efflux laws, under which the Black worker finds himself in a position where he cannot bargain even for better working conditions or better wages. In short, he cannot bargain for the improvement of social conditions. That is why there are so many trials of people who have gone out on strike, because striking by Black workers has been made illegal.

When a worker leaves his place of employment he has to report to the authorities, and he has to keep on doing so until he has found employment again, and then he has to be registered on doing so.

Black trade unions are not recognized. If a Black worker belongs to a union that is affiliated to a white-controlled trade union he cannot hope that his interests will be looked into, because he is not allowed to serve on the executive committees; these unions, moreover, are there to look into the interests of the white worker.

In short, this is how the jackboot of the ruling class is kept on the face of the Black worker, to keep him lying prostrate.

Q. What other classes are there in South Africa?

A. There is the Black petty bourgeoisie, a creation of the white ruling bourgeoisie. It acts as a buffer against the revolution. These are the stooges through which the white settler regime is able to maintain control over the Black people. They confuse the Black masses in various ways. This is evidenced by the actions of the Lucas Mangopes, the Kaiser Matanzimas, the Sam Motsuenyanes, and the George Thabes.¹

The peasant, in the widely understood sense of the word, does not exist in South Africa. The rural dweller (who is usually taken to be a "peasant") does not own land and is most of the time working in the

1. Lucas Mangope and Kaiser Matanzima are the figureheads of the BophuthaTswana and Transkei reserves, respectively. Sam Motsuenyane is president of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce. George Thabe, a prominent collaborator with the apartheid regime in sports, is president of the South African National Football Association.—IP/I

urban areas—in the mines or in the factories—as a migrant laborer. And when he is in the rural areas he is exploited by the white landowners, the farmers, as a farm laborer.

Q. How does the regime's Bantustan policy fit into this system of social control?

A. The white regime, refusing to share political power with the Black majority, had to extend and improvise on the divisive tactics of Britain, the former colonial power, so as to be able to maintain political power with all its privileges.

The Bantustans were created as labor reservoirs, since these Bantustans are void of any economic viability. Agricultural production is impossible in these arid regions and there is no industrial development.

They were also created to frustrate the continually growing Black nationalism,

Our struggle is a class struggle . . .

cemented by the development of industry, which, through urbanization, has done away with ethnic division. The Bantustans are supposed to create an illusion of freedom for the Black man, hence the seemingly large following by backward, tribalistic, and mostly illiterate people behind Inkatha, the ethnic, so-called Cultural Liberation Movement led by Gatsha Buthelezi.²

Q. What, in your opinion, is the relationship between the class and national liberation struggles in South Africa?

A. Our struggle is a class struggle, and the national democratic revolution is a phase in the socialist revolution, which is to be led by the workers.

By this, we do not mean that there are two distinct phases, the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. It is because of the nature of the society in South Africa, as we have just analyzed it, that one will lead to the other. In fact, the national democratic phase is a transitional stage of the socialist revolution.

Q. What kind of impact has the Black Consciousness movement had on the struggle?

A. The Black Consciousness movement was a historical milestone in our struggle for liberation. It emerged to fill the vacuum

2. Gatsha Buthelezi is "chief minister" of the KwaZulu Bantustan.—IP/I

of leadership created by the vicious onslaught against the ANC and PAC by the system and the incarceration of the leaders of the two movements.³ The unity created by the Black Consciousness movement among the Black groups (Coloureds, Indians, and Africans), especially among students and intellectuals, cannot be overemphasized.

The Black Consciousness movement terribly frustrated many maneuvers of the system, especially the Bantustan policy. The impact of the Black Consciousness movement was best seen in the 1976 upsurge.

Q. What is your assessment of the Soweto uprisings?

A. Beginning in 1972, there had been a wave of strikes throughout the country in almost all industries—bus workers, mine workers, workers in the sugar industry and in various factories—which greatly crippled the economy. These strikes showed the power of the worker in South Africa.

These strikes showed the discontent among the Black people with the system. The upsurge that began on June 16, 1976, was just part of the rising revolutionary tide hitting the country at the time.

The uprisings were spontaneous in so far as they were hitting a point at issue, the Afrikaans issue.⁴ But a closer look at all these seemingly spontaneous upsurges (the strikes, the station demonstrations, the June 16 actions) shows a life-long discontent and a political consciousness, which was greatly contributed to by the Black Consciousness movement.

The strikes themselves should also be seen as an offshoot of the economic and political crisis of the South African capitalist system.

Q. You mentioned the ANC and PAC, which were driven underground and into exile in the 1960s. What do you think of the strategies they are now following?

A. We do not know the strategies of the ANC and PAC. Their formation was a historical necessity. As political organizations, they have a right to exist. There is a need for a broad anti-imperialist national front.

Q. What do you think of the South African Communist Party?

A. A communist party should be a vanguard of the revolution. This is a necessary

3. The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress were outlawed by the South African regime in 1960.—IP/I

4. The initial student demonstrations in Soweto on June 16, 1976, were in response to a government ruling imposing the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in at least half the courses in African secondary schools. Afrikaans, which is spoken by the Afrikaner section of the white population, is viewed by Africans as the language of the police, courts, and government administration.—IP/I



Gold miners play crucial role in South African economy.

condition for its existence. It should be based among the struggling masses, give direction to the day-to-day struggles against capitalism, coordinate the upsurges by the masses, and give them direction.

Such a vanguard is missing in the South African struggle, hence the failure of the 1976 uprisings to take a proper revolutionary direction. It is no secret that our struggle has historically been led by petty-bourgeois intellectuals who most of the time have been interested in reforms and concessions.

There is therefore a dire need for the formation of such a vanguard in South Africa to lead the revolution.

Q. Some South African organizations, the ANC and PAC most prominently, advocate guerrilla warfare against the white supremacist state as a strategy for the liberation struggle. What do you think of this concept of guerrilla warfare as a strategy? And in what context do you view armed struggle in general?

A. The nature of the South African regime is such that even a nonviolent demonstration is violently suppressed. So armed revolution against the enemy is a necessity if people are to take political and therefore economic power.

Guerrilla warfare is a tactic to this end. But it should be noted that guerrilla warfare can never be successful without mass political mobilization. Vietnam is a good example of this historical truth.

Q. How do you see the masses being

mobilized, around what immediate issues?

A. There are many day-to-day issues through which the masses in South Africa can be mobilized. All of these are political and economic issues coming up because of the economic and political crisis of the capitalist system. We can mention the rising cost of living, the recently imposed general sales tax, low wages, evictions, the migrant labor system, the influx and eflux control laws, and most of all the unemployment of the majority of the people.

Q. How do you think revolutionists should fight for leadership of the national liberation struggle?

A. Revolutionaries have the task of educating the masses and analyzing the day-to-day issues that come up, such as those we just mentioned. They have to forge greater unity among workers, students, and intellectuals. They have to form a vanguard party, which will be mass-based so as to avoid bureaucratic tendencies by allowing free participation and discussion by the masses. It must be guided by Marxism-Leninism and strive for socialist goals.

Q. What role will the liberation of women play in the struggle?

A. The liberation of the Black people of South Africa—which ipso facto is the liberation of the workers of South Africa—cannot be true liberation without the liberation of women. Therefore the participation of women in the political and eco-

conomic struggle, in a nutshell the liberation struggle, is a necessary and most important condition for the liberation of our country. Especially since the woman suffers double exploitation and oppression, both as a result of backward traditions and through capitalist exploitation.

Q. What do you think of the white workers?

A. The white worker, as we stated before, enjoys privileges that hide his class position. This distracts him from his role of uniting with the Black worker to bring down capitalism.

This must be very frustrating to the white revolutionary. The Black camp is going to view him with suspicion. And he will be seen as mad by the white worker, who at the moment is not aware of his role.

But as the Black struggle gains momentum, the white worker will surely come to realize his role as a class ally of the Black worker.

Q. What kind of strategy has the ruling class adopted to contain the situation, in the aftermath of the Soweto events?

A. The strategy of the white ruling class is still the same as before. Only its tactics have been improvised.

Like before, they have banned all progressive organizations—along with some reactionary organizations, like the AS-SECA,⁵ to cause confusion. They have banned and jailed leaders of the Black movement. The wave of political trials throughout the country is aimed at intimidating the Black masses from participating in the liberation struggle.

The authorities have speeded up the so-called independence of the Bantustans, while opening up formerly "white only" theaters and hotels to Black people, pouring millions into their confusing sports policies, and launching reactionary magazines aimed at Black readerships—such as *Pace*—which adulterate Black consciousness and show Blacks who have "made it" within the system, like *Ebony* magazine in the United States.

They are creating a bigger Black petty-bourgeoisie for reasons of putting a brake on the revolution. They have changed some names, such as "Bantu" to "Black." And they have opened up corrupt night clubs and "fun fairs," bringing celebrated Black American musicians and sportsmen to South Africa at a rate never before seen.

Q. What do they hope to accomplish by bringing in more Black Americans?

A. By bringing in more Black artists and sportsmen, mostly Americans, the regime hopes to gain international recognition by creating an impression that it has lifted the much cried about apartheid. Secondly, it hopes to appease and lull the Black people, whose revolutionary spirit the regime so much fears. It also hopes to

5. Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of African People of South Africa.—IP/I

divert the attention of the Black people from the burning issues and promise them pie in the sky with these "reforms."

We must note here that these artists are really setting our struggle back. They are dealing our struggle a dirty blow by giving respectability to these dirty maneuvers by the system. They are guilty of a serious crime.

One should also note the role played here by the reactionary World Boxing Association, which has two South Africans on its council. One of them is Justice Klobber,

Imperialism is directly responsible for the exploitation of Blacks . . .

who after sentencing our people to death goes to serve on their council. That is why we find a person like Kallie Knoetze⁶ being rated No. 2 without fighting any notable tournaments.

Q. What has been the impact of the current "information scandal" and the exposures of corruption within the government?

A. The information "scandal" has only shown the lengths the regime has gone to, and is prepared to go, in its desperation. It has only brought to the surface the contradictions in which the moribund capitalist system is entangled.

The "scandal" has in no way brought hope or changed anything for the Black man. This is just shadow boxing among the bourgeoisie for their own interests. Among Blacks, it has passed almost unnoticed, in spite of all the hullabaloo in the white press about it.

Q. What impact will the struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia have on that in South Africa itself?

A. The struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia are closely followed by the Black people in South Africa, especially since the fall of the white regime in Rhodesia means the inevitable fall of the South African regime.

There is no need for us to here analyze the situations in those countries, in terms of the parties and movements involved. But we do not support reaction as manifested by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia and the bogus elections, nor the internal confusion in Rhodesia and

6. A white South African heavyweight boxer, who as a policeman shot a young Black demonstrator in 1977.—IP/I

7. In late 1978, it was revealed that officials of the Department of Information (since dissolved) used government funds for National Party propaganda purposes, including the funding of an ostensibly independent English-language newspaper, the *Citizen*, and attempts to purchase newspapers in other countries, such as the *Washington Star*. The officials also siphoned off some of the money for their personal use.—IP/I

the tricks of Britain and America there.

But majority rule in those countries will without doubt fill the Black people of South Africa with new revolutionary zeal and determination, just as we saw in 1974 after the fall of the fascist Caetano clique [in Portugal], the pro-Frelimo rallies and their aftermath,⁸ and the events in Angola. The Black people fully identified with the Angolan masses and openly supported the MPLA⁹ and the role played by the Cuban brothers there. This was a subject of discussion everywhere, in homes, trains, buses, and places of work during lunchtime, let alone in schools and universities.

Q. How do Blacks in South Africa view upsurges like those in Iran and elsewhere?

A. Upsurges like those in Iran, the Middle East, and Latin America get very little publicity in the country, when they are at all reported, so that they go almost unnoticed at times. Also there is a lack of understanding of situations in those places.

But one can note that events in Iran will certainly have an impact in our country, since Iran is the main supplier of oil to the South African regime. It is inevitable that

8. In September 1974, the Black People's Convention and the South African Students Organisation (two of the main Black Consciousness groups) organized rallies in Durban and at the University of the North at Turfloop in support of the liberation struggle in neighboring Mozambique, led by the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo—Mozambique Liberation Front).—IP/I

9. Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).—IP/I



Eve Arnold/Magnum

Miner undergoes physical.

the people in our country will come to know more about the struggle in Iran in particular because the crisis there will cause a crisis in South Africa. This fact was best illustrated during the "embargo" period after the Middle East war. Even taxi drivers supported the oil embargo against South Africa, even though their small sources of livelihood were threatened with collapse after the announcement that there would be petrol rationing.

Q. Certain African regimes claim to be building "socialism," or to have already built it. I'm thinking here of regimes like those in Tanzania, Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Somalia, and so on. What do you think of such claims?

A. There is only one kind of socialism: scientific socialism as was propounded by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Because of world industrialization, there can be no other type of socialism.

The existence of "socialism" in Africa is but capitalism in disguise. It is just a tendency by neocolonial regimes to proclaim everything socialism so as to confuse the masses and thus prolong their plunder.

There has never been anything like the Cuban revolution in Africa, or the building of people's power and democracy and the arming of the people to defend the gains of the revolution.

But we should guard against the danger of dogmatically dismissing efforts of revolutionaries, especially in the former Portuguese colonies, of trying to create new societies amid a sea of reactionary neighbors. If not so, then we shall commit mistakes similar to those committed by the Mensheviks, or other reactionaries who attacked the Bolsheviks for implementing the then-necessary New Economic Policy.

Q. What role do you think Cuban troops have played in Africa? And how do Blacks in South Africa feel about it?

A. Though this is now a different question as far as the Eritrea situation is concerned, the Cuban role, especially in Angola, was fully supported by the Black people in South Africa. They played a very positive role and thwarted the expansionist aim of South Africa.

We do not agree with the argument that the Angolans should have been left to fight their own war, that even when South Africa had occupied Angola it was for the Angolans to wage another struggle for liberation against South Africa without the aid of progressive internationalists like the Cubans. To the argument that the Angolans wouldn't cherish their freedom because they did not shed blood for it, we say that they were helped by the Cubans in a truly internationalist spirit, and they were not sitting down watching the Cubans fighting their wars for them.

How much the Angolans cherish their freedom depends on their political awareness, which will enable them to see that the Cubans are not just workers from



German-owned leather factory in Pretoria.

Der Spiegel

another country who have an enemy common to the Angolans, but that the Cubans are their brothers in blood.

Q. What is your assessment of Soviet and Chinese policy in Africa?

A. The policy of a socialist state in the African revolution should strive to maintain links with the forces fighting against imperialism and reaction. It should assist these forces until victory is a certainty.

Of course, this it should do without expectation of economic gains, out of a sense of duty, as communist internationalists. It should also guard against taking over the prosecution of the struggle and undermining the initiative and sense of self-reliance of the struggling people.

It should therefore be unashamedly pointed out that the policies of both the USSR and China have been confusing.

The Soviet Union is assisting the fascist Mengistu Haile Mariam, who is butchering millions of Ethiopians and is trying to annihilate the Eritrean revolution, under the argument that the Dergue is not only "socialist," but also the vanguard of the Ethiopian revolution.

The Chinese are helping and propping up anti-popular and openly reactionary and U.S.-client forces and states, like the regimes in Zaïre, Gabon, and Somalia, to name a few. They have an alliance with the forces of imperialism and with NATO countries. Their leaders have even got the nerve to visit the ruling clique of Iran during the upsurge of the people against the shah. This shows what type of "socialists" we have in China.

Q. What do you think of the aims of American policy toward Africa, and, in particular, of the role of American corporations in South Africa?

A. If American imperialism supported the liberation struggle in Africa, then capitalism would cease to be capitalism.

Imperialism under the leadership of the U.S.A. is directly responsible for the exploitation and oppression in settler-colonial Africa and in neocolonial Black Africa. Is it not the European and American multinationals, whom Callaghan, Schmidt, and Carter represent, who are presently robbing Africa of its oil, coffee,

rubber, and mineral wealth?

These are the countries that are responsible for the finance capital that is presently producing the profits for their existence. Their military hardware comes from the raw materials derived from African soil. American imperialism could not exist without maintaining these exploitative ties with Black Africa.

The role of U.S. corporations in South Africa is, in short, to exploit the cheap labor created by the apartheid machinery and protected by the fascist apartheid state.

It is therefore a contradiction to think that these multinationals can contribute to the elimination of exploitation of the Black workers. The so-called Sullivan plan, the EEC code, and other so-called "principles"¹⁰ are an illusion and irrelevant to our struggle, despite what Lucy Mvubelo,¹¹ Gatsha Buthelezi, and others would like us to believe.

We demand total withdrawal of foreign investments from our country.

Q. How can American workers aid your struggle?

A. The U.S. working class, the natural ally of our struggle, can fulfill its internationalist obligation by mobilizing, anti-Vietnam-War-style, against their government's role in our exploitation. "U.S. Out of South Africa!" should be the slogan of the day.

The fall of South African capitalism will no doubt contribute towards the struggle for socialism in the United States. □

10. The Sullivan plan (originally propounded by a Black official of the General Motors corporation) and the European Economic Community code call for cosmetic changes in the practice of foreign firms operating in South Africa, such as improvements in Black wages and job training, an end to segregated facilities in the plants, and so on. These proposals were raised by some companies as an *alternative* to the call for their total withdrawal from South Africa, and as a cover for their continued exploitation of Black labor.—IP/I

11. Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers, is a prominent advocate of continued foreign investment in South Africa.—IP/I

The War Between Hanoi and Pnompenh

[The following editorial, scheduled to appear in the February 1 French-language *Inprecor/Intercontinental Press*, was approved by a majority of the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

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Recent events in Cambodia have again revealed, in a most dramatic manner, the disastrous consequences of the nationalism and narrow parochial self-interest which characterize the policies of the bureaucracies of Stalinist origin ruling over countries where capitalism has been overthrown.

To be sure, the attempts by international capital and by demoralized petty-bourgeois intellectuals to make a hue and cry over the "Cambodian tragedy" has to be vigorously denounced for what it is: a cynical exercise in political hypocrisy.

American imperialism, which is shedding crocodile tears over the lives lost in Cambodia, would have people forget that it was its own ruthless bombing of Vietnam and Cambodia, its own invasion of Cambodia, not to speak of its own mass murders over a period of years in South Vietnam, which completely disrupted the material basis of subsistence of tens of millions of people. Thus, it created the objective basis for the tremendous problems of food and health which have confronted the three Indochinese countries after their victorious revolutions.

The international bourgeoisie, which is now defending the cause of national sovereignty in Cambodia, is the same one which for centuries established colonial regimes over a large part of the world, denying these countries not only national sovereignty but even a minimum of national rights of self-determination. This is the same international bourgeoisie that waged numerous terrorist wars, accompanied by the massacres of millions of men, women, and children, to uphold its colonial order; which even today is denying the national rights of peoples in all five continents from Ireland to Palestine to South Africa.

Likewise must be denounced the hypocrisy of the Soviet bureaucracy, which dares to invoke the defense of "human rights" in Cambodia while trampling upon the most elementary human rights of the citizens of its own country, not to speak of those of the Czechoslovak people and others in Eastern Europe.

As for that great "progressive feudal" ex-ruler of Cambodia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, he has to be reminded of the fierce persecution under his rule, which included the killing of many communist

cadres and leaders, a fate which Pol Pot and his associates only narrowly escaped.

But all this having been said, and while as always concentrating their main fire against imperialism, its henchmen and stooges, revolutionary Marxists cannot hide from the masses the responsibility of the ruling bureaucracies. If today, the international bourgeoisie is able to profit—in terms of propaganda and politics and perhaps, in the future, even militarily—from the Cambodia affair, the responsibility for this disastrous turn of events has to be squarely laid upon the shoulders of the ruling bureaucracies, without any distinction among them.

We are fully justified in speaking of a disaster. One just has to consider the turnabout in the situation since the time when U.S. imperialism's crimes against the Indochinese peoples mobilized worldwide public opinion against it; when the heroic resistance of the Indochinese peoples against these crimes inspired millions of anti-imperialist fighters throughout the world; when the withdrawal of U.S. imperialism from Indochina was correctly seen by the working masses of all countries as a huge blow against reaction and capitalism everywhere, and as a big step forward for world revolution.

Today, the huge fund of sympathy built up by the Indochinese revolution among the toilers of the world has been to a great extent jeopardized. It is the criminal actions of all the ruling bureaucrats, which have transformed their differences on economic, political, and ideological issues into conflicts at state level, first going to the stage of military conflict, and now for the first time passing over that threshold to the point of conducting a full-scale war in Cambodia, that are responsible for this disaster.

This development cannot but cause disorientation, cynicism, and demoralization in big sectors of the international working class and anti-imperialist fighters in the colonial and semicolonial countries.

The Fourth International denounces the responsibility of the bureaucracy for these disastrous developments. Fratricidal wars and threats of military action between workers states have nothing to do with communism and socialism. They are completely against the interests of the workers and peasants of Indochina, China, and the USSR. Instead, they represent the coming to maturity of the poisonous fruits of Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country," i.e., nationalism and nationalistic messianism getting the upper hand in bureaucratized communist parties.

With total disregard for the overall interests of the international working class—not to speak of the overall interests of world revolution—each of these bureaucracies is now ready to defend its own immediate interests—in opposition likewise to those of the workers and peasants of its own country—with arms in hand against its "cothinkers" of other "fraternal parties" in power.

Communists and workers of all countries, this is a new occasion—equal to the moment of Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin's crimes at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, or the moment when Soviet tanks crushed the Hungarian revolution in 1956 and the Prague Spring in 1968—to understand the historic importance of the fight for internationalism and workers democracy waged by Trotsky, the Left Opposition and the Fourth International. This fight was not, and is not, a struggle around tactics, around historically superseded questions, or a personal power struggle between Stalin and Trotsky. This was, and remains, a fight over questions of life and death for the international labor movement, of questions of life and death for communism.

Events in Indochina, after the withdrawal of U.S. imperialism and the overthrow of the bourgeois semiféudal order, confirm again that without that combined approach of internationalism and workers and peasants democracy none of the key problems facing the peoples of that region can be solved.

By following, over a period of years, its policy of "detente" with U.S. imperialism, by giving only piecemeal aid to the Indochinese revolution, thereby prolonging imperialism's war of aggression for years, by concentrating a large armed force—including nuclear weapons—on the borders of the People's Republic of China, by supporting the reactionary proimperialist Lon Nol regime in Cambodia against the overwhelming majority of the Cambodian people, the Soviet bureaucracy created the framework for the unfolding of the ensuing tragedy. Under these circumstances, the leaders of the young and weak Cambodian Communist Party became utterly dependent upon the Chinese bureaucracy. After the Lon Nol regime was overthrown, the emerging Pol Pot government became more and more a puppet of Peking.

Having since the early 1970s embarked upon a course of considering the Soviet Union as the main enemy, the Chinese bureaucracy in turn used its hegemony over the Cambodian CP leadership to whip up a systematic anti-Soviet and anti-Vietnamese campaign. It inflamed Cambodian nationalism and did not hesitate to appeal to the international bourgeoisie for aid and comfort against both the Soviet Union and the Vietnamese workers state.

The Vietnamese bureaucracy could have made the outcome of this process at least uncertain had it presented to the Cambo-

dian masses and communists an attractive alternative of a genuine Indochinese socialist federation. A federation in which the three peoples of Indochina would have enjoyed equal rights and all those forms of workers and peasants democracy which would enable them to control their own destiny. There can be no doubt that such a federation would have helped to solve the grave economic and social problems with which the victorious revolution was confronted in all three countries in the aftermath of the huge destruction and disruption caused by the barbarism of imperialist aggression.

But instead of following such an internationalist course, the Vietnamese bureaucracy transformed the concept of federation into a formula scarcely hiding Vietnamese domination and control. The Vietnamese bureaucracy's relations with Laos provide a striking proof of this in the eyes of the Cambodian masses. Under these circumstances, it was inevitable that traditional Cambodian nationalist hostility to the Vietnamese would again unfold and give both the Chinese bureaucracy and its stooges in Phnompenh the necessary basis for their irresponsible campaigns against the Vietnamese workers state.

In turn, the extreme terrorist methods of mass deportation and mass executions used by the Pol Pot regime led to widespread discontent, passivity and demoralization among the Cambodian masses, thereby facilitating the irresponsible attempt by the Vietnamese bureaucracy to "solve" the Cambodian question through a full-scale military invasion, starting around Christmas 1978.

By opposing the invasion of Cambodia by the regular Vietnamese army, the Fourth International does not give an atom of support to the bloody terrorists of the Pol Pot clique. That regime was a disgrace for socialism as no regime since that of Stalin in the thirties has been. But the task of overthrowing these tyrants was and remains the job of the Cambodian workers and poor peasants. Under no circumstances can this task be given to the bureaucracies of other countries and their armies.

Any further presence of the regular Vietnamese army on the territory of Cambodia will not only transform into a farce the claim of the new regime in Phnompenh to be a genuine Cambodian alternative to the Pol Pot tyranny. It will not only expose that regime as a puppet of Hanoi in the same way as the Pol Pot regime was a puppet of Peking. It will also strongly inflame Cambodian national feelings against foreign occupation and risk to trigger off long-term mass resistance—even in the form of prolonged guerrilla warfare—which under the present circumstances could make it easier for the Thai reactionary dictatorship and imperialism to prepare a comeback against the Vietnamese revolution for the first time since its crushing defeat in 1975.

The very interests of defending the Vietnamese workers state against imperialism make an immediate withdrawal of the Vietnamese army from Cambodia absolutely imperative.

Workers, peasants and other oppressed peoples of the world should oppose demands that the United Nations intervene

in Cambodia. Such intervention—while unlikely given the present relationship of forces in Indochina and on a world scale—would only be a paper-thin cover for U.S. imperialist intervention. The U.S. rulers used the United Nations to mask counter-revolutionary moves during the Korean war in the 1950s and later in combating nationalist forces in the Congo.

The attempts to use Cambodia as a pretext for tightening U.S. military encirclement, diplomatic boycott, and economic blockade of Vietnam should also be opposed. The U.S. rulers, who brought so much death and destruction to Indochina, must provide massive reconstruction aid to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia—with no strings attached.

No support to the Pol Pot regime!

Immediate withdrawal of the Vietnamese regular army from Cambodia!

Let the Cambodian workers and peasants freely decide upon their own government!

Stop the military threats and conflicts between workers states!

For a united front of all the workers states against imperialism!

Return to the Leninist tradition of genuine proletarian internationalism!

For a democratic socialist federation of the Indochinese peoples, with a strict level of equality!

Against the bureaucratic dictatorships, for the democratic rule of workers and peasants!

Imperialists, hands off Cambodia, hands off Vietnam!

The Death of Kenneth Mkhwanazi

Hundreds of mourners in Soweto turned out over the Christmas weekend to pay their last respects to Kenneth Mkhwanazi, a twenty-two-year-old Black youth who was murdered December 4 by the South African Security Police.

On the day of Mkhwanazi's death, sixteen police vehicles pulled up and surrounded his aunt's house in the Diepkloof section of Soweto. The police then shot him three times in the head and chest.

According to Mkhwanazi's cousin, she found him lying in a pool of blood with two white police standing over him. "One of the security policemen told me to play a long-playing jazz record of Sonny Stitt on our record player for them while my cousin was dying on the floor," she said.

After the police were sure Mkhwanazi was dead, they took him away.

As a justification for his murder, the police claimed that Mkhwanazi was a "trained terrorist."

Mkhwanazi received a hero's burial in Soweto. While police in camouflage uniforms kept an intimidating presence in the area, Dr. Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, addressed the mourners. "We want to participate in the political affairs of our country," he declared, "on the basis of one man one vote."

Eyewitness Coverage of the Iranian Revolution

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What the Forced Evacuation of Cambodia's Cities Revealed

By Joseph Hansen

[Among the late Joseph Hansen's lasting contributions to the socialist movement internationally were his many articles on subjects from the Cuban revolution, to the myth of overpopulation, to American fascism. He was a revolutionary journalist and polemicist of the first order.]

[We are reprinting below an article by Hansen that first appeared in these pages in our May 19, 1975, issue. It both provides invaluable background material on the recent developments in Cambodia and serves as a model of Hansen's clear, honest, and probing Marxist explanation of world events.]

Phnompenh fell to the People's National Liberation Armed Forces of Cambodia on April 17, but accounts of what happened did not become available in the world press until May 8. The journalists who witnessed the takeover were barred from sending out dispatches. After reaching Thailand in a convoy of refugees May 3, they agreed to hold up their reports until several hundred additional refugees had crossed the border.

The accounts of the more responsible journalists must be taken as generally accurate, particularly in view of the fact that neither the new Cambodian authorities nor the governments in Hanoi and Peking have issued specific denials.

First of all—and this strengthens their credibility—the reporters deny that any “bloodbath” occurred. They also deny finding any evidence, or being able to locate any eyewitnesses, of the “executions” that the Ford administration claims to have learned about through “hard intelligence,” i.e., the CIA.

A sensationalistic account of atrocities presumably witnessed by Bernard Piquart, who was chief surgeon at the French-run Calmette Hospital in Phnompenh, was denied within a day by the doctor.

There were two take-overs on April 17. The first was carried out early in the morning by a small force led by one Hem Keth Dara. For a few hours he ruled the city as Lon Nol's troops laid down their arms, and the populace, at first fearful, poured into the streets to celebrate the victory.

The holiday mood evaporated when the main forces arrived about noon. They disarmed Hem Keth Dara. In the May 9 issue of the *New York Times*, Sydney H. Schanberg offers a vivid eyewitness account of what happened next:

“Using loudspeakers, or simply shouting and brandishing weapons, they swept through the streets, ordering people out of their houses. At first we thought the order applied only to the rich in villas, but we quickly saw that it was for everyone as the streets became clogged with a sorrowful exodus.”

“In Phnom Penh two million people suddenly moved out of the city en masse in stunned silence—walking, bicycling, pushing cars that had run out of fuel, covering the roads like a human carpet, bent under sacks of belongings hastily thrown together when the heavily armed peasant soldiers came and told them to leave immediately, everyone dispirited and frightened by the unknown that awaited them and many plainly terrified because they were soft city people and were sure the trip would kill them.

“Hospitals jammed with wounded were emptied, right down to the last patient. They went—limping, crawling, on crutches, carried on relatives' backs, wheeled on their hospital beds. . . .

“A once-throbbing city became an echo chamber of silent streets lined with abandoned cars and gaping, empty shops. Streetlights burned eerily for a population that was no longer there.”

“Traveling across the country on the way to Thailand, Schanberg noted that other cities and towns had been similarly evacuated. He came to the following conclusion:

“The victorious Cambodian Communists . . . are carrying out a peasant revolution that has thrown the entire country into upheaval.

“Perhaps as many as three or four million people [out of a population of seven million] . . . have been forced out of the cities and sent on a mammoth and grueling exodus into areas deep in the countryside where, the Communists say, they will have to become peasants and till the soil. . . .

“The old economy of the cities has been abandoned, and for the moment money means nothing and cannot be spent. Barter has replaced it.”

For the Washington propagandists, Cambodia's “peasant revolution” was a windfall. They pounced on it. The reactionary columnist William Safire, for instance, said, “. . . this is no Cambodian aberration, but the path always taken by new Communist parties as they take power.” Calling it the “decapitation of a capital city,” he averred that “Communism is by

its nature anti-city, anti-civilization, anti-freedom.”

And what precipitated the process that led to these results? It was Nixon's incursion in 1970. B-52s carpet bombed Cambodia. The countryside was cratered. About 600,000 Cambodians were killed. Another 600,000 were wounded. This was the “civilizing mission” directed from Washington, the capital city of the United States.

Is it any wonder that the peasants of Cambodia came to view cities as evil incarnate? Behind those untouchable pilots in the giant bombers who showered their country with fiendishly destructive devices, they saw the city of Washington. And within closer reach they saw the cities and towns where dirty puppets did everything they could to help Washington destroy them and their families.

Despite this completely justifiable hatred of the foreign power that sought to bomb them back into the Stone Age, one of the leaders in the new Information Ministry told Schanberg: “We would like you to give our thanks to the American people who have helped us and supported us from the beginning, and to all people of the world who love peace and justice. Please give this message to the world.”

Evidently the liberation forces are able to distinguish between the White House and the antiwar movement that played such a key role in bringing the imperialist aggression to an end.

The Cambodian people have a right to determine their own fate. This applies just as much after their victory over the foreign imperialist invaders as before. Everyone who has fought for this right must continue to uphold it. We must be particularly alert to any new imperialist attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the Cambodian people. The slogan remains, “Hands off Cambodia!”

Nonetheless revolutionary Marxists are duty bound to voice their concern over the program that is being followed by the national liberation forces in Cambodia. It is not a communist program.

Consider the class composition of the cities and towns. The very thin layer of capitalists or would-be capitalists, left Cambodia before the collapse of Lon Nol. About 5,000 or 6,000 persons were involved. While a few individual traitors decided to remain and take their chances, they no longer constitute a serious danger. The fact is that the bulk of the city population in Cambodia consists of workers and artisans and their families.



Pnompenh's residents being marched to countryside in April 1975.

To view them as potential, if not actual class enemies is not Marxist. And to drive them into the countryside for "reeducation" does grave injury to the Cambodian revolution. The same layers, in alliance with the peasants, constitute the key force required to move toward a socialist society.

It cannot be excluded, of course, that the new authorities had good reasons for deciding that the first major action following the victory should be the evacuation of the cities. Perhaps they will eventually say that a forced march was required to plant crops, or that transport was not available to feed the cities. But this would not explain why the evacuation was ordered in such a summary way on the very day of the victory, or why it was undertaken at such high cost in human suffering. Why wasn't it explained to the populace? Why weren't they given more time? Why weren't they consulted and brought into the planning? Why were they handled like enemies?

The answers are tied in with the pattern of the Cambodian revolution. As in China, the most massive force is composed of rebel peasants. Again as in China, this

force created an army in the countryside. The peasant army, in turn, created a command structure. Here we find the key element.

In former times, the commanders led similar peasant armies against a corrupt, decayed regime. Toppling the old regime and carrying out a number of progressive measures permitting a new expansion of agriculture, the army command would mark the beginning of a new dynasty.

This ancient Asian pattern helped shape the revolutionary process that brought Mao to power.

In modern times, of course, the command structure of a peasant army created in this way is subject to international influences that block the old pattern from being merely repeated. In the case of China, it placed in power a Chinese variant of Stalinist bureaucratism. What the outcome will be in Cambodia remains to be seen.

The degree of influence Hanoi and Peking may have with the new authorities in Cambodia is not clear. Moscow's standing is very low. A rocket was fired through the

Soviet embassy in Pnompenh, the building was looted, and the seven Russians there were ordered to leave the country with the final convoys of foreigners.

On May 11 the Pnompenh radio said: "The victory of the Cambodian people is the same as the victory of the Chinese. The strategic unity between Cambodia and China, which is the base of our friendship, will last forever. We warmly respect each other's cause both internally and internationally."

The decision of the Cambodians to evacuate the cities may have been done in emulation of the Maoists, who have sent hundreds of thousands of dissidents or potential dissidents, particularly among the youth, into the countryside for "reeducation." Does Peking consider the Cambodians to have been overzealous? So far the writers for Hsinhua have maintained a discreet silence.

The lineaments of the Cambodian revolution are beginning to emerge. It should not take long until a more concrete assessment can be made. However, it is still too early to accurately forecast its coming stages. □

King Hassan—The 'Shah' of North Africa

By Jim Atkinson

RABAT—Morocco's King Hassan II, who holds several hundred political prisoners in his jails and has 30,000 troops fighting nationalist guerrillas in Western Sahara, is a close ally of American imperialism.

Two years in a row Hassan has won good marks in White House circles by rushing troops to Zaïre to help crush uprisings in Shaba Province. Now he is lobbying for Arab support to the Sadat-Begin détente at the expense of the Palestinians.

"The president wants our relations with Morocco to be as solidly based as possible," Harold Saunders, U.S. deputy secretary of state for the Middle East and South Asia, said on July 27, 1978, during a trip to Morocco to prepare for Hassan's two-day visit to the United States November 14-15, during which he met with President Carter.

"I am happy to be able to express my conviction after my meetings here that our links are strong and the relations between our two peoples are continually increasing," Saunders went on. "Morocco and the United States share a number of interests, strategic, economic, and others, which mutually concern us."

The Carter administration believes, moreover, that Hassan has become more "presentable" since he set up a parliament in 1977, ending five years of direct monarchical rule.

In fact, Hassan-style "democracy" is a flimsy façade for a repressive police state. The new parliament, only two-thirds of whose members are directly elected, has few powers and can be dismissed at the king's whim. Political parties are tolerated but only if "opposition" is kept within narrowly prescribed limits. And radical critics of the regime, especially those who oppose the war in the Sahara, are ruthlessly repressed.

But the well-known "human rights" campaigner in the White House has opportunely kept his mouth shut about the political prisoners in Morocco's jails. Hassan is too valuable an ally.

Nor has Carter spoken out against Morocco's occupation of Western Sahara. In fact, despite formal "neutrality," Washington has given camouflaged support to the Moroccan monarch's colonial war and has funneled millions of dollars' worth of U.S. arms to Hassan's army.

Washington has never supported the right of the Western Saharan people to self-determination. In the late 1960s, when Western Sahara was still a Spanish colony, the White House refused on three separate occasions (1965, 1966, and 1969)

to vote in the United Nations General Assembly in favor of resolutions urging a referendum in the country. There was no reason, Washington calculated at the time, to irritate the Franco regime, which had allowed the U.S. to build several huge military bases in Spain.

A State Department official, Nicholas Veliotis, explained in October 1977: "It was our belief that the three resolutions on which we abstained were deficient in that



King Hassan with Carters.

while they satisfied the interests of the indigenous peoples they did not respect all the legitimate interests of Spain. Our votes were consistent with our general policy objectives at that time."¹

Later, the White House supported the November 1975 Madrid Agreement, by which Spain ignored the UN's calls for a referendum and handed over its colony to Morocco and Mauritania (which then partitioned it five months later). "We had urged all parties to search for a negotiated solution and felt that the Madrid Agreement represented a serious attempt at just such a solution," Veliotis said. The fact that the Madrid Agreement denied the Sahraouis their right to independence and was imposed on them against their will troubled few consciences in the State Department and the White House.

Since then, the U.S. has been providing Morocco with military hardware—along with other Western powers, notably France, which has been delivering seventy-five Mirage F-1 jet fighters ordered by Hassan in 1976.

In March 1975, as the Moroccan regime

was gearing up for the takeover of Western Sahara, the State Department announced that it would sell Morocco military equipment worth \$145 million. The consignment involved 80 anti-aircraft guns, 334 armored troop carriers, and 753 military trucks.

In February 1976, right after Moroccan troops had invaded Western Sahara, U.S. officials disclosed plans to sell twenty-four Northrop F5E jet fighters, worth \$120 million, to Morocco.

According to the 1977-78 volume of the *African Contemporary Record*,² U.S. arms sold to Morocco escalated "dramatically" after the Madrid Agreement, rising from \$8.3 million in 1974 to \$71.8 million in 1977. "During that period Morocco has ordered M-16 rifles, M-48 Patton tanks, M-113 armored personnel carriers, M-125 armored mortar carriers, 155mm howitzers, TOW anti-tank missiles and Chaparral surface-to-air missiles."

Veliotis provided further details of U.S. military assistance to Morocco: "The U.S. furnished nearly \$0.9 million in military training to the Moroccan armed forces in fiscal year 1977 and has projected \$1.2 million for fiscal year 1978. \$30 million in Foreign Military Sales financing was approved for fiscal year 1977. We expect that about half this financing will be used for final payments on six C-130 aircraft and several T-34C aircraft. The remainder is likely to be spent on heavy lift helicopters. Congress has appropriated sufficient funds to allow the provision of up to \$45 million in Foreign Military Sales financing for fiscal year 1978."

Veliotis, whose evidence was tangled in contradictions, claimed that "to the best of our information, there has been no substantial use by Morocco of United States origin defense articles in the former Spanish Sahara." But he went on to admit that "there are reliable reports that U.S.-origin aircraft have flown sorties in the zone of hostilities."

In fact, Washington knows perfectly well that Morocco has most of its F-5s in the Sahara. Several times a day they thunder out of El Aaiun into the desert on missions against nationalist Polisario³ guerrillas.

In any case, Veliotis confessed, "We have no record that . . . we had discussions with the Moroccans specifically regarding the use of U.S.-furnished military

1. *The Question of Self-Determination in Western Sahara*, Hearing before the Subcommittees on International Organizations and on Africa of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, 1st Session, October 12, 1977 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1977).

2. Ed. Colin Legum, published by Rex Collings (London, 1978) and Africana Publishers (New York, 1978).

3. People's Front for the Liberation of Saguiet El-Hamra and Río de Oro.



Polisario guerrillas on patrol in the Western Sahara.

Der Spiegel

equipment in the Western Sahara against the Polisario."

Meanwhile, Morocco has \$9 million worth of Sidewinder air-to-air missiles on order from the United States. And, in October 1977, Westinghouse Electric Corporation won a contract worth more than \$200 million to develop and install an air-defense system in Morocco. Asked whether this deal covers Western Sahara, Morocco's Prime Minister Ahmed Osman said in an interview in the April 1978 issue of *The Middle East*: "Why should we protect our territory if the Sahara is not included? Negotiations with Westinghouse cover our country from east to west and north to south."

Apparently alluding to Morocco's intervention in Zaïre, Osman suggested that in any case Western governments should arm Morocco because it is preparing to defend imperialist interests throughout Africa. "Our request for arms must be viewed not only in the context of the Sahara but as a global strategy," he said. "It is not just a question of the Sahara but of a whole continent."

Last January, Carter informed Congress of plans to sell a further \$100 million worth of military aircraft and helicopters to Morocco. This time the sale involved twenty-four OV-10 armed reconnaissance planes manufactured by Rockwell International and twenty-four Huey Cobra helicopter gunships manufactured by Bell. But it ran into flak from congressmen who contested its wisdom. These critics fear the political risks in too-close U.S. involvement in Morocco's unjust and apparently unwinnable war. Influenced by the powerful oil and gas lobby, they also want to avoid a deterioration in relations with Polisario's principal ally, Algeria, where U.S. investments and trading interests loom far larger than in Morocco.

In February, Carter ordered the deal temporarily frozen. But it has *not* been cancelled.

A series of tactical considerations underlie Washington's Sahara policy.

First, White House policy-makers far prefer to see Morocco strengthened than Algeria. While Morocco is prepared to fly troops to Zaïre and encourage Sadat's anti-Palestinian deal with Israel, the bourgeois-nationalist regime in Algiers has irritated the White House by offering support to a range of national liberation movements and other radical groups, by opposing the Camp David summit and the Begin-Sadat détente, by condemning Western intervention in the Shaba crises, and, above all, by spearheading the drive by Arab oil producers to win a greater share of the revenues from their oil industries.

Secondly, the White House fears that a forced Moroccan withdrawal from Western Sahara might cost Hassan his throne and plunge Morocco into political crisis. American officials are well aware that Hassan has succeeded (to date, at least) in bringing unprecedented political stability to Morocco, rallying the population in a chauvinist crusade for the annexation of Western Sahara. The two main workers' parties, the Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires (USFP—Socialist Union of Popular Forces) and the Stalinist Parti du Progres et du Socialisme (PPS—Party of Progress and Socialism), as well as the trade-union bureaucracy, have given wholehearted support to the king's Saharan campaign.

Prior to the Madrid Agreement, by contrast, Morocco had been swept by labor and student struggles. Many thought the king's days were numbered. Twice (in 1971 and 1972) senior army officers tried to curb the radicalization by attempting to overthrow the unpopular monarch. The Saharan campaign has now allowed Hassan to climb out of the political doldrums, with the workers' movement neutralized and

disoriented by the chauvinism of the USFP and PPS leaders.

The White House has been delighted by Hassan's political revival. Carter, like Nixon before him, wants a stable, pro-Western regime on the southern flank of the entrance to the Mediterranean—a strategic consideration of the utmost importance to U.S. policymakers.

And, of course, Carter is only too pleased by Rabat's willingness to lend active support to Western policy objectives in Africa and the Arab world.

There is probably no other African ruler who is capable of providing direct military support to Western intervention in Africa on the scale and with the boldness displayed by Hassan during the two Shaba crises. In April 1977, he sent 1,500 troops to Shaba, where they were largely responsible for Mobutu's success in stamping out the first rebellion there. In June 1978, he sent another 1,500-strong force to relieve the French and Belgian paratroopers flown in to tackle the new rebellion. Transported in American C-141 air force planes, the Moroccan units provided a more acceptable "African" gloss to the counterinsurgency drive. They have still not been withdrawn.

Obsessed by the radicalization sweeping Africa, the Rabat regime is irritated by the caution displayed by the White House since the American defeat in Vietnam and has publicly urged it to adopt a more "active" African policy.

Referring to Cuba's dispatch of troops to Africa, Morocco's Foreign Minister Mohamed Boucetta complained October 10, 1978, that "the United States is resting with arms crossed and is doing nothing. It looks only as if America has no African policy."

The Rabat regime realizes, however, that in the wake of Vietnam there are severe constraints on Washington's freedom of action. "I am not asking America to intervene in Africa," King Hassan said in an interview in the May 8, 1977, issue of

Newsweek, "but to support through economic and military aid as well as through diplomatic action its friends who are working in line with Western interests."

Hassan is prone to talk in apocalyptic terms of the "red peril" sweeping across Africa, felling procapitalist regimes like ninepins. Shortly after dispatching his second Shaba force, he explained to the French weekly *L'Express* (in an interview published in the June 26-July 2, 1978, issue): "Sudan risks being the next battlefield, because it is potentially the richest country in Africa. Oil has just been discovered there. Strategically, it controls the sources of the Nile. Then, if one wanted to strangle Egypt, it would be easy. Finally, it is within striking distance of Saudi Arabia. And it would be a world catastrophe if the holy places of Islam found themselves threatened by a regime of atheists."

In this interview, which predated the July 10, 1978, coup in Mauritania by only a matter of days, Hassan appealed for more Western aid for the tottering regime of then-President Ould Daddah. "What I fear," he said, "is the lassitude of Mauritania's friends. It would be a monumental error to let a new hole be pierced in this gigantic piece of Swiss cheese which is Africa, because this region is close to Europe, to French ports. We are not demanding that anyone fight on our behalf. I have told the Americans: No one is talking about you getting into a second Vietnam but only that we be given the means to do the fighting ourselves."

But however much Washington welcomes Hassan's loyalty to imperialist interests, the American ruling class has an

SWP Wins Round Against FBI

The Socialist Workers Party has won a decisive victory in its battle against the law requiring disclosure of the names of contributors to the party's election campaigns.

The Federal Election Commission and the liberal "citizen's lobby" Common Cause, which had been trying for five years to force the socialists to turn over these names, threw in the towel and signed a consent decree. The decree, which was approved by a federal court, grants the SWP an exemption until the end of 1984. At that time the party can apply for an extension of the exemption.

The FEC conceded that "the record discloses that the Socialist Workers Party and persons connected with it have been subjected to systematic harassment" by government agents. Therefore, the SWP "cannot constitutionally be compelled to comply with the reporting requirements."

Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, greeted the ruling as "a complete vindication of the charges of harassment and spying that we have leveled against the FBI." He noted that the SWP decision would make it easier for other political parties that have been harassed by the FBI, such as the Communist Party, to win similar exemptions.



Moroccan troops remain in Zaïre, bolstering Mobutu's army.

important economic stake in Algeria which has prompted caution in funneling aid to Hassan. Algeria, which has a long-standing border dispute with Morocco going back to the end of its war with France in 1962, has backed the Polisario guerrillas in order to curb Moroccan territorial expansion in the Maghreb and to end Moroccan access to Western Sahara's fabulous phosphate wealth.

In 1976, the United States overtook France as Algeria's principal commercial partner. U.S. imports from Algeria increased fifteen-fold between 1973 and 1977, rising from \$215 million to over \$3 billion. American oil and gas companies have invested heavily in Algeria, and, if the

meanwhile, to avoid conflict with Algiers, the White House has carefully avoided too close an entanglement in Hassan's Saharan war. While U.S. arms have been quietly shipped to Morocco, Carter has officially proclaimed his government's "neutrality" in the war.

The State Department's Velioles succinctly spelled out the tactical considerations on the part of the White House: "We have not taken a position on the question of whether the exercise of self-determination for the Saharan people has been legally completed," he said. "We accept the view that this is a fair legal question—but it is a question on which we have chosen not to express a judgment."

U.S. Trade With Algeria and Morocco (in millions of dollars)

	U.S. Exports		U.S. Imports	
	1976	1977	1976	1977
Algeria	487.0	526.5	2,209.4	3,064.5
Morocco	297.0	371.6	16.5	21.0

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

Carter administration approves the contracts already signed by U.S. companies, the U.S. will soon be importing up to 35 million cubic meters of Algerian natural gas each year—half the country's output.

By contrast, U.S. investment and trade with Morocco is minimal (see chart).

It is possible that the United States could use its dominant position in the Algerian economy to try to pressure the neocolonial regime there into cutting off aid to the Sahraoui nationalists. But

ment. . . . To make such a judgment could only complicate our long-standing and broadly based relations with Morocco—an influential moderate in the strategic North African area—and our friendly relations with Mauritania, on the one hand; or our important economic interests and improving relations with Algeria on the other."

It could scarcely be made clearer that the right of the Western Saharans to self-determination counts for nothing in the White House. □