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Imperialists Escalate Campaign of Lies on 'Boat People'

**ROLE OF
CUBAN
VOLUNTEERS
IN
AFRICA**



**WASHINGTON'S
WAR OF
ATTRITION
AGAINST
ANGOLA**

NEWS ANALYSIS

Halt U.S. Threats Against Nicaraguan Rebels!

By Fred Murphy

"They're trying to bargain with the blood of our people," declared Fr. Miguel D'Escoto, a leading spokesman of the Nicaraguan rebel forces, on July 8.

D'Escoto was denouncing the Carter administration's direct collusion with the Somoza dictatorship as the U.S.-trained National Guard pounded Nicaragua with bombs and carried out mass slaughters of youth in the capital city of Managua.

The most blatant threat of intervention by the U.S. government to date came on July 8. Thirty-five U.S. Air Force personnel landed in two helicopters and a transport plane near Costa Rica's northern border with Nicaragua.

Contrary to official statements that the operation was only to prepare for a possible "evacuation" of the U.S. embassy in Nicaragua, the troops began setting up sophisticated electronics gear and monitoring the radio communications of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

News that U.S. troops had landed in Costa Rica reached the capital, San José, on July 9. Protests broke out immediately. By midday, the trade unions had issued a call for a mass demonstration to demand withdrawal of the troops and aircraft. Two thousand persons turned out on a few hours' notice.

Costa Rica's constitution requires that the Congress approve any foreign military presence, but President Rodrigo Carazo's government had ignored this provision and O.K.'d the U.S. landing illegally.

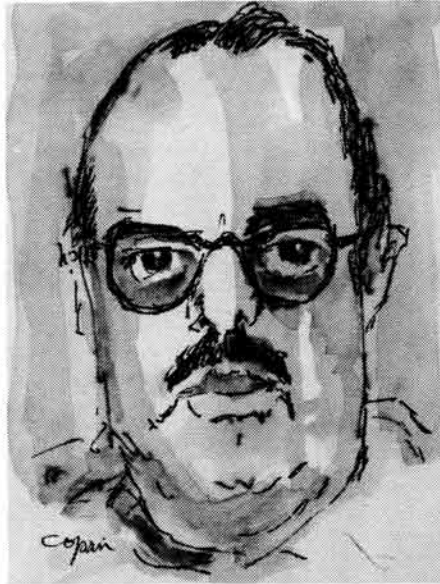
As trade unionists and other supporters of the Nicaraguan people's fight against Somoza marched through San José, a heated debate took place in the Congress. Finally, at 11 p.m., deputies voted 29-20 for an opposition motion demanding withdrawal of the U.S. forces within twenty-four hours.

Facing a deepgoing political crisis if he refused, Carazo complied with the vote and ordered the U.S. troops to leave on July 10.

The U.S. military moves were part of a broader effort by Washington and the Costa Rican, Venezuelan, and Panamanian governments to pressure the leaders of the anti-Somoza rebellion. The imperialists and their Latin American clients have demanded guarantees that private property will be respected and that Somoza's National Guard will remain intact if he is ousted.

Despite Washington's well-publicized claims that it has demanded Somoza's resignation, the real U.S. aim has been to keep the tyrant in power while his air force

and artillery devastate as much of the country's productive resources as possible,



SOMOZA

thus making sure that any new government will be deeply dependent on the United States and neighboring Latin American countries for aid.

"Nicaragua's economy will take years to rebuild," the July 16 issue of *Newsweek* reported. "The industrial zone of Managua, where 40,000 people had worked, has been reduced to rubble. . . Much of the cotton crop, which normally accounts for 200,000 jobs and a third of Nicaragua's exports, is already lost. The war has caused much more damage than Nicaragua's last great catastrophe, the 1972 earthquake that leveled much of Managua."

In Managua, Somoza's troops launched a reign of terror after the Sandinistas were forced to retreat from the city on June 28. "Most mornings the bodies of youths detained by the National Guard are found, still bound and blindfolded, in now-familiar dumping grounds," *New York Times* correspondent Alan Riding reported July 11. "Most are teenagers because

youthfulness alone is cause for suspicion. And, in the guards' grim security cells behind the President's fortified 'bunker,' dozens more 'suspects' are awaiting a perhaps similar fate."

Somoza himself exposed Washington's tacit collaboration in an interview with *Washington Post* correspondent Karen DeYoung on July 6. "Somoza acknowledged an agreement with the United States in which his resignation is being postponed while U.S. and Latin American diplomats and members of the moderate Nicaraguan opposition negotiate with a guerrilla-backed provisional government junta," DeYoung wrote.

On July 8, Sandinista field commanders unanimously rejected U.S. demands to include more conservative figures in the provisional junta (which already has several representatives of capitalist parties). The commanders called instead for "redoubling our military offensive."

But the imperialist pressure has forced the Sandinista-backed junta to offer several concessions. It has pledged to honor Somoza's \$1.5 billion foreign debt and has declared that members of the National Guard who agree to a cease-fire and a return to barracks upon Somoza's ouster can be incorporated into a new national army to assist in the "maintenance of order."

On July 14 the junta announced the formation of an eighteen-member cabinet composed almost entirely of figures from capitalist opposition groups. Sandinista leader Tomás Borge was designated as minister of the interior.

Washington continued to insist on keeping the National Guard itself intact. On July 13 junta representatives declared that the U.S. demands were "irreconcilable," and Fr. D'Escoto said "our patience with the United States has been used up."

By July 15 the rebel military offensive appeared to be gaining fresh momentum, with a new assault on the capital in preparation. "The Somoza dictatorship is being defeated," a Sandinista broadcast declared. "We call on all the peoples of the world to be ready to defend our struggle and our victory."

Washington's military moves in Costa Rica and its diplomatic pressure on the rebel leadership signal the need for the greatest possible solidarity with the Nicaraguan people against the Carter administration. Supporters of Nicaragua's right to self-determination must continue to mobilize to demand:

U.S. hands off Nicaragua!

Imperialists Step Up Support for Rhodesia Regime

By Ernest Harsch

After meeting with President Carter July 11, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Black figurehead for the white-settler-dominated Rhodesian regime, declared at a news

conference that Carter "is not working against my Government but wishes me well."

Muzorewa also pointed out that the fact

that Carter was willing to meet with him constituted tacit U.S. recognition of the Rhodesian regime.

Muzorewa's friendly reception by the White House is another indication of the greater backing that the major imperialist powers are giving to the regime in Salisbury, which they are seeking to prop up as a bulwark against the struggles of the Zimbabwean workers and peasants for independence and majority rule.

Another sign of Washington's sympathies for the administration of Muzorewa and former Prime Minister Ian Smith was its announcement June 25 that it was naming a diplomat, Jeffrey Davidow, as an unofficial envoy to Salisbury. Although formally attached to the American embassy in South Africa, Davidow's job is to maintain close contact with the Rhodesian authorities.

Because of widespread opposition to the Muzorewa-Smith regime, not only throughout Africa but in the United States as well, Carter has had to tread carefully, however. This pressure has forced the White House to block congressional moves to have formal economic sanctions against Salisbury lifted at this time.

As much as possible, Carter has let the British imperialists, the former colonial rulers of Zimbabwe, take the public lead.

Speaking in Australia July 1, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher praised the new Rhodesian constitution, which explicitly recognizes the white settler community's dominance of the armed forces, judiciary, civil service, and economy. She openly declared that the British economic sanctions against Salisbury would not be renewed when they lapse in November. Official diplomatic recognition of the regime, she added, "might take a little longer."

Claiming that the elections held in April under martial law demonstrated "extensive popular support" for Muzorewa, British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington stated July 10 that Muzorewa "needs our help and encouragement."

Muzorewa—and his backers in South Africa—have already gotten an important boost from London. In late June, the British government lifted its ban against oil sales to South Africa, in violation of a United Nations-sponsored oil embargo against that country. The arrangement, in which North Sea oil can be used to free up other oil supplies for sale to South Africa, will do much to alleviate Pretoria's severe oil shortages. Ninety percent of South Africa's oil imports were halted when the new Iranian government cut off sales to the apartheid regime earlier this year.

Since South Africa is the Rhodesian regime's main supplier of oil, this British move will help Muzorewa and Smith as well.

Relations between Muzorewa and the South African regime have likewise become much more open. On June 19, Salis-

bury acknowledged that Muzorewa had visited Pretoria for four days to have discussions with South African Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha on "matters of mutual concern." Muzorewa has publicly

declared his willingness to enter into a "defense pact" with Pretoria, raising the danger of even greater South African intervention against the Zimbabwean anti-imperialist struggle. □

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Major Industry Nationalized in Iran

By Cindy Jaquith

[The following has been excerpted from an article that appeared in the July 20 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

The Iranian revolution dealt another major blow to U.S. imperialism July 5, when the Khomeini-Bazargan government declared a sweeping nationalization of major industry and enterprises.

The takeover of the plants and mines is a victory for the Iranian working masses. For months they have demanded that the capitalist government take decisive action to halt sabotage of the economy by imperialist and Iranian businesses.

Announcing the nationalizations, Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan said that auto, ship, and aircraft manufacture, as well as steel, copper, and aluminum production, would be affected. On June 8, the government nationalized the banks and on June 25, privately owned insurance companies.

The oil, gas, rail, and fishing industries had been nationalized under the shah's regime.

Bazargan said the nationalizations were aimed at "ending the control of agents of imperialism." The expropriated property, he explained, included "industries and mines that, through illegal connections with the past regime, have made illicit benefits and have plundered public rights. . . ."

U.S. companies had some \$700 million invested in Iran before the February revolution. Among the corporate giants who exploited Iran's resources and turned a huge profit off the labor of the workers are General Motors, Exxon, Standard Oil, Du Pont, B.F. Goodrich, General Tire and Rubber, Phelps Dodge, and Pfizer. Bazargan did not indicate how these firms will be affected, or whether there will be any compensation.

The property of fifty-one Iranian capitalists, who were closely tied to the corrupt royal family, were expropriated.

Most of these industrialists had huge debts to Iran's banks and had fled the country, abandoning their factories and throwing thousands of employees out of work.

The closing down of plants, combined with foreign and Iranian capitalists' refusal to invest in the country since the revolution, has wreaked havoc with the economy. Unemployment stands at 35 percent, a conservative estimate. Inflation is rampant. There is a desperate need for housing, schools, hospitals, and develop-

ment of the rural areas of the country.

In the face of this deepening crisis, the working masses intensified their demands on the Khomeini-Bazargan government in the past few months.

This pressure coming from the masses, combined with the capitalists' sabotage, forced the regime to finally expropriate major corporations July 5. The nationalizations can spur a deepening of the class struggle in Iran as the workers demand that the goals announced by the capitalist regime actually be carried out.

There is already a running debate in the factories over who should make the decisions on production and work conditions. If industry is now to be under "popular ownership," shouldn't the workers make these decisions, through democratically elected factory committees, instead of having leaderships imposed on them by the government? Shouldn't the workers have the right to form unions, currently banned by the regime?

In addition to having the right to organize, the workers need access to the records of the corporations. If the government says there is no money to pay back wages, give raises, and expand benefits, the workers can demand that the company books be opened to public inspection. The oil workers have already raised this demand to determine what contracts were signed by the shah with imperialist oil trusts.

Struggles around these issues—which point toward workers' control of industry—will deepen the confrontation between the capitalist government and the employees.

The Khomeini-Bazargan government is well aware of this logic of the nationalization move. In an effort to curb the workers, it has announced a new penal code.

The code, adopted by the Revolutionary Islamic Council, would establish special courts to try "counterrevolutionaries." According to the June 30 *Economist*, the British business weekly, "The offences which will come under the new courts' jurisdiction include: inciting workers to strike or disturbing the work of the factories; bringing about the closure of business; instigating soldiers to flout military discipline (for example by taking part in political demonstrations); and separatist activities." The last "offence" refers to advocating the right of self-determination for oppressed nationalities.

"To make it clear whom these courts are meant to deal with," the *Economist* continued, "the published text refers to those articles of the Shah's former penal code which made it an offence to engage in 'collectivist' activities.'"

The capitalist rulers risk provoking new protests with this attempt to reimpose laws from the hated shah's regime.

The government is under increasing pressure for *more* democratic rights. One of the most elementary rights—free elections—is moving to center stage in the revolution.

The government has announced that national elections will take place some time in the next month. Five months after the February insurrection, the masses are still saddled with an appointed government.

The capitalists propose that a national body of seventy-five "specialists" be elected to approve a constitution. They say candidates must be "believers in the Islamic Republic." Soldiers are to be excluded from running for office, as are people under thirty years of age.

It is unclear whether the government will be able to make these outrageous regulations stick.

Thus far, the only political party to issue a statement on the election proposal is the Hezb-e Kargaran-e Socialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party). The socialists explain that genuinely democratic elections must include the right of youth and soldiers—who played a heroic role in the revolution—to run for office. They demand guaranteed representation for oppressed nationalities. They condemn the attempt to exclude candidates with a working-class program under the "Islamic Republic" restriction.

The HKS says a constituent assembly, with broad representation from the workers, peasants, and other toiling masses, is what is needed to discuss out the nationalizations, investigate corporate corruption, and reorganize the economy. A body of seventy-five procapitalist specialists cannot carry out this task.

As the debate around the elections heats up, and as the workers try to use the nationalizations to advance their interests, the U.S. imperialists will be watching closely.

They are determined to roll back the nationalizations and every other threat to their right to rob Iran's resources at will. Supporters of the Iranian workers and peasants around the world should be alert to the need for full solidarity against every move by the U.S. rulers to sabotage the new gains of the revolution. □

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Part of huge turnout at Paris rally for HKS prisoners June 25.

Informations Ouvrières

Protests Continue Around World

3,000 in France Demand Release of Iranian Trotskyists

At a July 5 news conference in Tehran, leaders of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) announced that one of the 16 HKS members held in jail in Iran had been released. The released Trotskyist, Hojabr Khosraji, had been arrested on June 23 with six other HKS members while petitioning for the release of nine Trotskyists who were arrested in late May and early June. All have been held without charges, along with three leaders of the Ahwaz oil workers council arrested in Khuzestan Province during the recent Arab and labor struggles there.

As a result of the many protests the Bazargan government has received regarding the arrests, the fifteen HKS members still in prison are now able to receive visitors. One of the prisoners, Omid Mirbaha, has been transferred from prison to a hospital, where he is being treated for a serious kidney ailment.

Activities in opposition to the imprisonment of Iranian Trotskyists and other antishah fighters are continuing to take place around the world.

On July 3, 20,000 people demonstrated in Tehran for the release of Mohammed Reza Talebi, an activist in the Mujahedeen. Talebi has been arrested on trumped-up charges of spying for the Soviet Union.

In Paris on June 25, more than 3,000 people attended a rally calling for the release of the imprisoned Trotskyists. The meeting at the Mutualité was jointly sponsored by three French Trotskyist organizations, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, Lutte Ouvrière, and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.

Alain Krivine, speaking for the LCR at the meeting, concluded his remarks by noting that "it is not usual to see our three organizations—LO, the OCI, and the LCR—side-by-side on a platform, even when it involves defense of members who belong to the historic current we all are part of." He added that each of the groups should seek to continue the example of this joint meeting in the future.

M. Lacaze, speaking for the Political Bureau of the OCI, told the meeting that "we are gathered here tonight to begin together a real mass campaign in this country to demand the freedom of the members of the HKS [and] the trade-union militants who are building independent organizations of the oil workers. . . ."

The Paris meeting received messages of support from dozens of local and regional trade-union organizations in France that have sent protests against the arrests in Iran.

By the time the meeting took place, more than 15,000 people in France had signed petitions calling for the release of the oil workers and socialists arrested in Ahwaz.

In Peru, ten members of the Constituent Assembly, as well as other political and trade-union leaders, sent a protest to Bazargan regarding the arrests.

In Israel three anti-Zionist organizations that are firm supporters of the Iranian revolution sent a message to Bazargan protesting the arrests of the oil and steel workers in Khuzestan, the repression of Kurds and Arabs, and the imprisonment of members of the Fedayeen and the HKS. The Revolutionary Communist League

(Matzpen-Charara), the Workers League, and the Progressive National Movement of Arab Students pointed out that "freedom of expression and democracy were among the central demands of the revolution" and stated that not putting them into practice "can only aid its enemies."

Three Social Democratic members of West Germany's parliament raised questions about the arrest of the HKS members during a recent trip to Iran at the invitation of the Bazargan government.

Former Prime Minister Bill Rowling of New Zealand, who is now the leader of the Opposition in Parliament, joined with the president of New Zealand's Federation of Labour and eleven other Labour members of Parliament in signing a protest telegram to Iranian Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan. Also signing were the president and vice-president of the Labour Party, the president of the Public Service Association, and the secretary of the Federation of Labour.

The national secretary and the vice-president of the New Zealand Socialist Unity Party (the pro-Moscow CP in New Zealand) signed the petition as well, as did journalists from the SUP's fortnightly paper, the *New Zealand Tribune*.

Letters and telegrams calling for the release of the remaining imprisoned HKS members, oil workers, and Fedayeen are still urgently needed.

Protests should be sent to Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Office of the Prime Minister, Tehran, Iran, with copies to the HKS newspaper *Kargar*, Post Office Box 41/3586, Tehran, Iran. □

'Hands Off Militants in the Oil Industry!'

[The following statement by the Militant Wing of the Oil Industry Workers was issued on June 5. The three leaders of the oil workers whose case it takes up are being held in Karoun Prison in Ahwaz, along with Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) members Omid Mirbaha and Mohammed Poorkahvaz. The two Trotskyists joined in the hunger strike the oil workers held to protest their imprisonment.

[The statement was printed in the June 23 issue of the HKS's weekly newspaper *Kargar* (Worker). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

Workers of the oil industry:

In the past week or two, three militant leaders of the workers in the oil industry in Ahwaz—Shobeir Ma'il, Nasr Hayati, and Javad Khatemi—were arrested by armed Imam's Committee guards and imprisoned. We still have no information about the fate of these fighters. We have reason to think that they have been beaten and abused.

Their lives are in danger.

The arrest of militants in the oil industry represents not only a violation of the cherished political rights won by the revolution, but also an assault on the struggles of the workers in the oil industry for their just demands.

It was the workers in the oil industry who brought down the 2,500-year-old regime of monarchy and despotism. When their heroic strike cut off the flow of oil, they cut the jugular vein of the monarchy. And by breaking down the barrier represented by the despotic regime, they opened the door to freedom and abundance for a backward society such as ours.

Today, by the hard work that they do in the oppressive climate of Khuzestan, the workers in the oil industry are filling the coffers of the present government with gold bullion. But what policy and actions has this government taken toward them?

This government of the capitalists and landlords has jailed Shobeir Ma'il, an oil worker, for the "crime" of defending the long-violated rights of the Arab people. And Nasr Hayati and Javad Khatemi, who played a very active role in the struggles against the despotism of the Pahlavis, have been imprisoned for the "crime" of defending the rights of the workers and toilers.

Today, June 5, Nasr Hayati and Javad Khatemi have gone on a hunger strike to protest their arrest.

By jailing these three members of the

Council of the Oil Industry, the government has declared war against this body. The government's position is that the workers—who are faced with the abuses perpetrated by the capitalists' and employers' organizations—cannot form independent councils and unions of their own so that they can exercise some control over production and distribution.

The government's position is that the workers should continue to toil as they did under the previous regime, and that a few overseers appointed from above should have control over everything in the society.

The provisional government was established from above. It came to power as a result of the militant struggles waged by the broad masses in this country. But instead of defending the national rights of the oppressed peoples of Iran, which were trampled under foot during the fifty-year rule of the Pahlavis, this government has tried repeatedly to halt the movements seeking these rights by turning its guns on them. The struggles of the Kurdish and Turkmeni peoples for their rights have been attacked. War has been waged on the oppressed Arab people in this region.

The workers and toilers of Iran have fought self-sacrificingly, they have shed their blood, they have carried out a vast insurrection and have overthrown the monarchy so that they could determine their own fate. In order to do this, they need a real constituent assembly and a democratic government. They need a constituent assembly made up of delegates elected by the workers and the oppressed masses, one that will defend the immediate and fundamental interests of the masses of people.

Instead of calling a constituent assembly

Dissent Brewing in Ranks of Iranian Army

[The following has been excerpted from an article in the June 23 issue of *Kargar*.]

* * *

The February insurrection dealt a mortal blow to the shah's army, the army that was trained by the imperialists and equipped with the most modern weapons to hold down the people of Iran.

The shah and his supporters in Washington always said that the Iranian army was one of the most modern and powerful in the region. But under a veneer of modernity, the most brutal and backward sort of relationships were maintained in the barracks and bases.

The most technologically advanced weapons

were hauled around on the backs of the soldiers, who like the vast majority of the population were crushed by the weight of oppressive and degrading social relations. This contradiction was so great that on February 11-12 the army broke apart, and its generals and top officers fled.

The February uprising meant the breakdown of the old servility in the army, the slave-like obedience that turned soldiers into robots that could be used to crush even the smallest voice raised on behalf of freedom. In the now bygone past, the soldiers were even used to stamp out revolution in neighboring countries, such as Dhofar. The spirit of liberty has now taken deep root in the barracks.

However, despite all the injustices and attacks perpetrated by this government, the Iranian revolution is advancing rapidly toward winning its democratic and socialist goals.

Workers of the oil industry, you are the real defenders of freedom and the standard-bearers of democratic rights. Heroic workers of the oil industry—Muslims, Christians, Bakhtiari, and Persians—the arrests of Ma'il, Hayati, and Khatemi are an attack on your democratic rights.

To defend the freedom and democratic rights you have won, and to defend the struggles for your own rights and freedom, you must call for the immediate and unconditional release of your three co-workers, your three fellow fighters. End the arrests, persecution, and jailings of fighters for the revolutionary road! Immediate and unconditional release of Ma'il, Hayati, and Khatemi!

Hands off the militant workers in the oil industry! □

Is it possible to bring back the old kind of soldier who was deprived of the most elementary human and civil rights and conditioned to obey orders blindly? This question not only occupies the minds of the new government and its generals. It is a problem that confronts the soldiers every day. The new government, despite all its promises, needs the old kind of soldier.

This is shown by the new government's extensive efforts to keep soldiers from taking part in political life and in the life of the society. It prohibits soldiers from joining political parties, it forbids them to join in demonstrations. And it is trying to maintain the old oppressive relations between soldiers and officers and the old dreadful conditions in the barracks.

In order to learn the real situation in the barracks, to find out what is going on behind the locked gates of the military bases, we talked with a soldier from one of the bases in Tehran. The first thing that emerged from what he said was that the soldiers are not ready to tolerate the sort of oppression they were subjected to in the past.

The soldiers are not impressed by all the talk and promises by the officers that this army is not going to be like the old one. They want deeds, not promises. They want more furloughs, more pay, better food, better recreation centers, and a shorter period of military service. They complain about being continually given long guard duty assignments. Increasingly, the main demands of the soldiers are being voiced by the most politically conscious and aware of them.

The soldier with whom we spoke said

that most magazines and journals are in practice banned on the bases. If a military policeman sees a soldier carrying a copy of *Ayendegan* [a liberal daily paper], he will take it from him and tear it up. He will also make a report that may cause the soldier difficulties. Papers such as *Kargar* and *Kar* [weekly newspaper of the Fedayeen] are still more unwelcome.

So, one of the most important demands arising in the barracks is for the right to read any journal or magazine and to keep them around. Likewise, the soldiers are demanding the right to participate in uniform in any meeting, assembly, or demonstration off base. In general, they are demanding that the human and political rights that everyone should enjoy be extended to the soldiers.

The officers are learning that this army is not the same one that existed under the shah, that it cannot be so easily duped by promises or cowed by threats. For example, in its June 1 issue, *Ayendegan* reports that in a general assembly thousands of officers and sailors of the northern fleet adopted a resolution saying that under no circumstances would they ever fire on the people. In the same resolution, they say that they will not permit the dissolution of the councils they have on their bases.

More and more such examples of resistance by the ranks to attempts to reimpose blind obedience are coming to light. The soldiers are fighting for their most elementary rights, and they are learning that the only way to win their demands is through their own struggle and by organizing their own independent committees and councils.

meini] to the prime minister and the minister of labor, from the High Prosecutor of the Revolution to the office of Ayatollah Taleghani. But no help and no answer came from the various authorities.

In statements distributed by hand and published in the press, the workers appealed to all individuals and groups for support. They won the solidarity of employed workers and material aid from the students. In this way, their struggle was reinforced.

But the authorities continued to defame and harass the workers. In addition, they resorted to more direct means of attack. On May 23, eighty armed Imam's Committee guards, led by Haji Latifi, stormed the occupation site. Five workers were so badly beaten that they had to be taken to the hospital.

But the workers did not give up their occupation. And finally the management was forced to sign an agreement including the following points: Payment of 50% of the back wages of fired workers; rehiring of a minimum of 75% of those who had been fired; maintenance of all benefits (housing and child allowances and time off); and the promise that once work got underway again on the sites the remaining 25% of the fired workers would get preference in hiring for the jobs opening up.

After this agreement was signed, the workers ended their occupation. They have asked us to include in this article the new address of the company offices so that those workers who were driven away by the threats of the Ministry of Labor and Haji Latifi can now come and take advantage of this agreement. . . .

The lessons the Arme-Tasa workers learned from their struggle can be summed up as follows: What they needed in order to stand up to the divisive schemes of the bosses and the state authorities was unity and independent organization. The role of the state and other authorities in defending the interests of the bosses against those of the workers makes it all the more necessary for the workers to have their own independent organizations.

The workers need to form organizations such as unions that will genuinely defend their interests. They should form committees in all the workplaces that can elect representatives who can organize a union for all the workers in a company.

Through the workers' centers and general assemblies, the workers can coordinate their struggles with those of other workers in the construction industry. It is obvious that the bosses will bring pressure to bear to undermine such organization and coordination, and so there is a need for building solidarity among the workers.

Solidarity between employed and unemployed workers is the most important factor in winning the workers' struggles. The Arme-Tasa workers say it loud and clear. Only by struggling can we win our demands and democracy. □

Tehran Construction Workers Win a Victory

[The following article has been translated from the June 23 issue of *Kargar*.]

* * *

After several months of struggle, workers at the Arme and Tasa construction companies have succeeded in winning their demands. Representatives of this group of workers explained the circumstances and lessons of this struggle to *Kargar*.

The Arme construction company is owned by Malekzade. Its sister company, Tasa, is owned by Abdul Majib Ilm, who has now left the country. During the struggle of the people of Iran against the Pahlavi monarchy, these companies fired 5,000 workers and shut down the worksites.

After the victorious insurrection, the workers called on the companies to let them return to their jobs. But the managements were not ready to give a positive answer to the workers' demands that the worksites be reopened and six months' back wages be paid to those who had been fired. The petitions they sent to the trustees were returned.

The workers staged a protest. The Ministry of Labor assigned the head of the Imam's Committee guards stationed at its offices to look into the matter. But this person, Haji Latifi, did not defend the workers' interests. After a series of discussions with the bosses, he told the workers: "You have no right to anything, but we can get a sum of money from the trustees for you."

In fact, this was a scheme to undermine the workers' struggle, which had already gone on for two months. Some were ready to settle for a thousand tomans [about US\$100].

However, faced with such schemes and attempts by the bosses and officials to sow divisions, the militant workers decided to continue the struggle by means of an occupation of the company offices. On May 7, about 200 workers began sitting in. And in order to organize the struggle they elected their own representatives.

Then the struggle in support of the occupation began. A flood of telegrams and letters descended on the various authorities, from the office the Imam [Kho-

Imperialists Escalate Campaign of Lies on 'Boat People'

By Fred Feldman

The capitalist press is orchestrating an intensive anticommunist propaganda campaign against the Vietnamese revolution on the issue of the "boat people." They charge that the Vietnamese government is implementing racist measures against 1.7 million citizens of Chinese descent, extorting large sums of money from them, and forcing them out to sea in small boats.

The "evidence" offered as part of the propaganda campaign has become a cover for tightening the imperialist economic boycott of Vietnam. "The United States is asking charities, international organizations, and other nations to consider cutting off or reducing aid to Vietnam until Hanoi changes its refugee policy," reported Elizabeth Becker in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* July 8. And the Common Market has suspended plans to provide \$34 million in food aid to Hanoi.

But in the midst of the frenzied editorials comparing the Vietnamese revolution to Hitler's "final solution," facts that tell a different story are beginning to find their way into many of the same publications.

The claim that the Vietnamese government is brutally oppressing ethnic Chinese was dealt a blow when the military regime in Thailand forcibly expelled 45,000 Kampuchians (many of them of Chinese descent) into the desolate and heavily mined areas along Kampuchea's borders. More than 300 were killed. And thousands remained stranded in the mine fields.

"At the time of the expulsion, which lasted about a week," reported Henry Kamm in the July 11 *New York Times*, "Vietnamese troops sent word to the refugees not to leave the border area until a path had been cleared for them through the mine field. This was reportedly done, and many of the Cambodians, mainly ethnic Chinese, left for the interior of Cambodia."

This hardly seems like the behavior of a government and army that are supposedly whipping up anti-Chinese racism in Vietnam.

The imperialist propaganda is riddled with other contradictions. An example was a column by Robert Keatley in the July 13 *Wall Street Journal*.

Keatley charged that Hanoi is carrying out "the systematic extortion and expulsion of its Chinese minority, plus others who don't fit into its austere and rigid socialist society."

But he concluded by crediting the view of "British experts" who predict the exodus will total "about 800,000, after deducting for those who drown at sea, plus Chinese

who won't or can't afford to leave Vietnam." An odd expulsion that exempts those who "won't" leave.

Keatley followed up the accusation of "systematic expulsion" with the charge that the Vietnamese government is guilty of "complicity" with those trying to leave. "Many leave through official organizations," he complained, "and all leave with official toleration." Evidently counting on the gullibility or cynicism of his readers, the *Wall Street Journal* columnist made no effort to resolve the conflict between his accusation that Hanoi is forcibly expelling the Chinese minority and his equally firm assertion that it is tolerating the exodus.

The propaganda campaign against Vietnam is focusing on the July 20-21 Geneva conference scheduled to deal with the issue of the "boat people."

"The Southeast Asian nations are eager to turn the Geneva meeting into a public trial with Vietnam in the dock," wrote Henry Kamm in the July 7 *New York Times*. "Australia's Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, shares this hope. . . ."

But Kamm reported that American officials face a "subtle difficulty" in carrying out this operation: ". . . while the United States wants Vietnam to stop expelling its citizens in a manner that endangers their lives, it does not want to appear to be arguing that a police state should heighten its repression so as to let no refugees escape."

The real attitude of the U.S. rulers toward the "boat people" was revealed when the Hanoi regime offered on May 15, to organize an airlift of as many as 10,000 refugees a month to countries such as the United States.

The May 18 *Christian Science Monitor* reported:

The Vietnamese proposal thus throws the ball in the other court. If countries like the United States agree to such direct transfers, they would be bending their immigration rules in favor of legal immigrants from Vietnam.

Should these countries refuse to accept direct transfers, they could be accused of encouraging Vietnamese to leave in boats to other hard-pressed Southeast Asian countries in hopes they will eventually be accepted elsewhere.

The Vietnamese proposal also could face the United States and other countries with the burden of absorbing thousands of new persons. . . .

All this may be part of the reason American delegates to the Jakarta conference called the Vietnamese proposal unrealistic.

And the May 16 *Washington Post* noted: "The sheer volume of emigrants proposed by Hanoi could prove 'extraordinarily'

embarrassing to the United States if this country cannot or will not accommodate them."

After rejecting the offer of the Vietnamese government to organize a safe and orderly emigration, the imperialist propaganda campaign escalated. In the June 12 *New York Times*, Fox Butterfield reported from Hong Kong that "Vietnam appears determined to expel virtually all the members of its ethnic Chinese minority. . . ."

He based this assertion on a statement attributed to an official in Ho Chi Minh City by an unnamed representative of a foreign relief agency." Butterfield also pointed to three refugees he interviewed as examples.

The subsequent propaganda in the U.S. capitalist press has largely been based on repeating and rehashing Butterfield's assertions. Although a massive racist drive would produce countless horror stories by Vietnamese refugees, the propagandists have come forward with precious little supporting evidence for Butterfield's case.

In fact the weight of available evidence—including the testimony of the great majority of refugees who have been interviewed—indicates that the charge of systematic racist persecution is untrue. Instead the evidence links the exodus of refugees to the revolutionary measures taken to abolish capitalism in southern Vietnam last year, to scare propaganda emanating from Washington and Peking designed to increase the number who leave, and to the continuing impact of wartime destruction and imperialist boycott on the economy of a poor country.

Two reports in the July 6 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*—one based on a visit to Vietnam in November 1978 and the second on interviews with refugees on the island of Pulau Bidong, Malaysia—tie the exodus directly to the anticapitalist measures taken in the early months of 1978.

From the island of Pulau Bidong, John Paul Davidson described the story of Ban, who ran a hardware store in Cholon.

Until March last year, he like many others believed they could operate within the system imposed by the new regime. They were thankful for peace and were led to believe by the cadres that they would be allowed to do business. Many did, and the black market in Saigon flourished as a result of the strict rationing that the government imposed. But Ban subsequently realized that there was no future for him or his family in the new Vietnam. He converted all his assets into gold bars, or tael as they are called by the Vietnamese, and made contact with the boat owners.

However, by October last year the government had relaxed its policy and was no longer sending those that were caught escaping to prison or the New Economic Zones. Instead it went about organising the exodus.

In an accompanying article Helen Steven reported on the conditions in Vietnam at the time of her November 1978 visit that caused many from the upper and middle classes to want to leave:

Most of the boat people . . . do not give directly political reasons for fleeing, and could be classed as economic refugees. Many are middle-class professionals or owners of small businesses, and many if not directly working for the Americans, benefited from the inflated US salaries and life style.

From the relative economic stability of the West it seems almost inconceivable that a man should risk his life and endure the suffering of the boats and the camps simply to preserve some capital and a certain way of life.

Part of the answer lies in the options open to these people and the extent to which their lives have been changed. . . .

Economic and social pressures have forced small traders out of business. The nationalising of all shops accelerated the process last spring. . . . To families seeing their life savings dwindling, a new life in California, Australia, or Britain seems a last hope.

The regime's policy of pressing those who have no useful employment in the cities to move to New Economic Zones is an added source of the desire of the former traders and others to leave:

To stay in the city means poverty and unemployment, ultimate starvation and homelessness. The Vietnam Government offers the alternative of working on the land in the New Economic Zone. Tools, materials for a home, seeds, and transport are made available. Some have accepted and even welcomed the offer and made a success of it, seeing it as a challenge in building up the new Vietnam. These are the young and dedicated, but to a family accustomed to an urban Western life-style it is hard to labour unremittingly on the land often without electricity or running water. To many there is no choice.

Steven cites recent growth of tension between some ethnic Chinese and other Vietnamese, but even here class conflicts lie at the source:

It is well known that some 80 percent of the refugees are Chinese Hoa people, the largest minority of Vietnam. Successful businessmen, provident with their money, living separate lives in their own cultural environment in which many refuse even to learn Vietnamese, the Chinese are distrusted, envied, and often despised by the Vietnamese. Add to this a century of long tradition of warfare, combined with a feeling of betrayal after China's withdrawal of aid and support of Cambodia, there is an explanation of the bitter racial feeling against the Chinese. Hanoi accused Peking of a deliberate scare campaign to encourage the Hoa people to leave. Whatever may be the truth this would seem almost unnecessary in such a climate of mutual distrust.

Despite the tension reported by Steven, neither she nor Davidson suggest or pro-

vide any evidence of a pattern of anti-Chinese discrimination by the Hanoi government. Nor have capitalist press reports proclaiming the racist campaign of the Vietnamese regime been able to cite any radio broadcasts, official statements, newspaper editorials, or mass rallies in which racist attitudes are promoted.

Even the charge that the Hanoi regime is "extorting" payment from departing Vietnamese only strengthens the case that these are merchants and others used to greater wealth and privilege in capitalist Vietnam, now seeking a better standard of living in advanced capitalist countries. Thus Butterfield claimed that emigrants must pay \$3,000 in gold in order to leave (once again, a charge not entirely consistent with massive expulsions). This is nearly twenty times as much as the average southern Vietnamese earns in a year (and more than fifty times the average income in the north). It is far more than an average Vietnamese worker, peasant, or artisan could accumulate.

All this evidence lends scant support to charges that the Vietnamese government is persecuting or expelling the Chinese minority. It supports the view that the flow of emigrants stems from the overturn of capitalism in southern Vietnam last year—a measure that was absolutely necessary if the majority of the Vietnamese people were to have a decent future, not to mention adequate food and clothing in the present.

A major cause of the increased flow in recent months is the decision Hanoi announced on Jan. 12, 1979, to stop efforts to forcibly bar people from leaving the country, and to foster legal emigration instead.

While going along with the standard imperialist usage that describes emigration from Vietnam as "expulsion," the July 22 *Far Eastern Economic Review* suggested a reason for Hanoi's policy shift toward permitting emigration:

It is rumoured that senior Cuban party officials told Vietnamese leaders that they had

prevented the perversion of their own revolution by allowing any "bourgeois" elements to leave the country if they wanted. Vietnam is thought to have drawn the appropriate conclusion in its own case. . . .

Vietnam's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a statement issued June 21, described the causes of the exodus more accurately than imperialist press reports. It accused the U.S. imperialists and Peking of being "precisely the inducers of the 'exodus' of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchians. . . .

"With millions of tons of bombs and shells," continued the statement, "the U.S. imperialists committed monstrous crimes against the Vietnamese people, and left behind extremely serious economic and social consequences."

It charged that "since the complete liberation of our country, a number of people have tried to flee and settle abroad. Apart from a great percentage of victims to the instigation and deception by the imperialists and the Peking reactionaries, these include persons who have failed to adapt themselves to the post-war difficult situation of the country, and to mix with the life of work in the new society, and also persons who wish to join their families abroad."

It cited the attacks by the Pol Pot forces in Kampuchea against Vietnam and the U.S.-instigated invasion of northern Vietnam by the Peking regime as further dislocating factors.

The statement also reiterated that ". . . the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has decided to permit those Vietnamese who wish to go abroad for family reunion or to earn a living to do so in a legal manner after full compliance with the required procedures."

It is this position that is the target of the imperialist slander campaign. It is being described by the imperialists as "expulsion" in order to justify economic boycott and other counterrevolutionary moves against the Vietnamese revolution. □

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Imperialism's War of Attrition Against Angola

By Ernest Harsch

Angola, more than three years after the end of the 1975-76 war, is still the target of imperialist attack.

Angola's main adversaries in that war—the American and South African imperialists—have not let up their military pressure against the country.

Through direct attacks by South African troops and through significant assistance to proimperialist Angolan forces, the imperialists are aiming to disrupt the Angolan economy and make the workers and peasants pay a heavy price for their struggles against imperialist domination. The American and South African governments are likewise seeking to inflict losses on the Cuban troops defending Angola and hamper or cut off the aid that the ruling MPLA¹ and the Cubans are giving to various southern African liberation movements.

According to Angolan Defense Minister Iko Carreira, "The war with South Africa never ended." He stated in April, "There is a permanent violation of our air space in the south. There are periodic infiltrations of South African military units in rapid strikes. They penetrate several kilometers, they return. They destroy property, they kill villagers, they rob livestock, and they create a certain type of destabilization in our normal life and in our economy."

Besides direct intervention, the South Africans—as well as Washington—have been backing up guerrilla bands of the proimperialist União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

The Angolan regime and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for the independence of Namibia from South African rule, have frequently charged that UNITA operates from bases in northern Namibia and that it receives significant financial and military assistance from the white supremacist regime.

I was able to get an indication of this during a visit to South Africa in late 1978. A young white soldier, who was on leave from the war zone in northern Namibia (and whose father, a colonel, fought in Angola during the 1975-76 war), told me that South African troops gave food, shelter, and other assistance to the UNITA guerrillas. "They're our people," he said. "They're helping us to fight communism."

1. Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has himself explained that UNITA is fighting in Angola in order to secure "the independence of the West." On his attitude toward the racist regime in Pretoria, he stated in an interview in the June 18 issue of *Time* magazine, "The white South Africans are Africans. Anything that affects us affects South Africa and anything that affects them affects us."

Sometimes on their own and sometimes in coordination with South African ground and air units, UNITA forces have carried out numerous ambushes, acts of sabotage, and other attacks against Angolan, Cuban, and SWAPO targets in central and southern Angola.

This imperialist campaign against Angola represents a serious danger to Angola's workers and peasants. It is also a threat to the struggles throughout southern Africa for an end to white colonial rule and capitalist domination.

The First Round

To a great extent, the conflict in Angola today is a continuation of the war of 1975-76.

In response to the April 1974 coup in Portugal and the upsurge in Portugal's African colonies, including Angola, the major imperialist powers intervened to try to contain the national liberation struggle.

In an attempt to prevent the emergence of a strong Angolan regime when the country attained formal independence in November 1975, both Washington and the white supremacist government in South Africa sought to take advantage of the factional rivalry among the three main Angolan groups, the MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front). In early 1975, they began funneling significant assistance to the FNLA and UNITA to try to offset the MPLA's stronger position.

For South Africa in particular, there were other important considerations. The MPLA had pledged to provide assistance to SWAPO in its struggle to free Namibia, while UNITA, which was based in the strategic region along the border with Namibia, was more openly favorable to collaboration with the apartheid regime.

When the FNLA and UNITA failed to hold their ground in the civil war with the MPLA, despite their imperialist backing, Washington and Pretoria intervened more directly. In mid-1975, American-backed Zaïrian troops invaded in the north and the first South African units crossed the

border in the south. In October, several thousand South African troops poured in and rapidly pushed northward toward Luanda, the Angolan capital, which was in the hands of the MPLA.

According to John Stockwell, the chief of the CIA's Angola Task Force during the war, the CIA coordinated its efforts with the South Africans every step of the way.

This invasion changed the basic character of the conflict from a civil war into one between the working masses of Angola and imperialism. By directly allying with the invaders, the FNLA and UNITA placed themselves in the military camp of imperialism, thus betraying the Angolan workers and peasants.

The offensive against Angola might have been successful if it were not for the timely assistance of some 15,000 to 20,000 Cuban internationalist fighters, who responded to the request of the new Angolan government for help to beat back the imperialist attack. By the end of March 1976, the last of the South African troops had been forced to withdraw from Angola.

The outcome of the war was a major setback for imperialism. The myth of South African "invincibility" had been shattered. The continued inability of American imperialism to intervene directly with its own troops (thanks largely to the widespread antiwar sentiment in the United States) was reconfirmed.

The Zimbabwean and Namibian liberation movements were in a much stronger position than before to advance their struggles for independence and Black majority rule. Most dramatically, Pretoria's setback in Angola helped inspire the Black urban masses of South Africa to rise up in massive rebellions throughout the second half of 1976.

Angola and the Struggle for Southern Africa

The imperialists, however, had not given up in Angola. They simply altered their immediate policy to meet the changed circumstances.

Since they had little option but to deal with the MPLA regime of Agostinho Neto anyway, the imperialists stepped up their overtures toward it, with the aim of encouraging the MPLA's capitalist economic policies. This was successful to a great extent. Despite the MPLA's pretensions that it is "socialist," it rules over a bourgeois state, is open to collaboration with imperialism, and seeks to keep Angola's working masses in check.

At the same time, the imperialists re-

mained extremely hostile toward the continued presence of Cuban troops in Angola and toward the regime's assistance to freedom fighters from other southern African countries.

Since 1976, Luanda has become a major center for various liberation movements. SWAPO, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and the African National Congress of South Africa all have offices there. In addition, the Angolan authorities have provided training facilities for SWAPO and ZAPU fighters, as well as refugee camps for thousands who have fled from Pretoria's military operations in Namibia.

This aspect of Angola's current role in southern Africa adds to the imperialists' concern about the Cuban presence there.

The August 26, 1978, London *Economist*, one of the leading mouthpieces of the British ruling class, raised an alarm about the Castro government's willingness to aid anti-imperialist forces throughout the southern end of the continent. It stated that "as South West Africa moves toward becoming an independent Namibia, the Cubans may want to help the Swapo guerrilla movement take the new country over lock, stock and barrel. . . . The Cubans may also want to use Angola as a base from which they can help the Patriotic Front to take total power in Rhodesia. . . . If the Cubans did go for those things, Mr Neto is unlikely to stop them."

Much to the dismay of Washington, London, and Pretoria, the Cubans have already begun to provide assistance to the Namibian and Zimbabwean fighters.

At a seminar organized by the Security Association of South Africa in Pretoria on June 27, 1979, John Barratt of the South African Institute of International Affairs warned his select audience that the link between the national liberation movements and Cuba "has become very close, especially since the Angolan War, and Cuba is now the major source of training and advisers for these movements in Southern Africa. . . . Fidel Castro, who obviously sees himself in the role of leader of all revolutionary movements, has vastly stepped up his African involvement. . . . He now maintains over 40,000 troops in Africa. . . . About half of these troops are to be found in Angola, assisting the Angolan MPLA government and also providing training for PLAN (SWAPO) and ZIPRA (ZAPU). . . ."²

As the struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia heat up, Cuba's aid to the anti-imperialist fighters there can become an increasingly important factor in the politics of southern Africa.

With the aim of pressuring the MPLA and Cubans to reduce their aid to SWAPO



Ernest Harsch/IP-1

and other liberation movements, the apartheid regime—with the support of Washington—has been conducting a continuous military campaign against Angola ever since the end of the 1975-76 war. MPLA leaders call it a "permanent war of aggression."

Most of the attacks are brief strikes across the border from northern Namibia. Invoking a fictitious right to "hot pursuit," the South Africans claim they are simply responding to guerrilla actions by SWAPO forces. But more often than not, their real targets have been Namibian refugees and Angolan villagers.

Until May 1978, these attacks were of a relatively small scale. But in that month, South African jet bombers and helicopters struck 155 miles into Angola to attack a Namibian refugee camp near the town of Cassinga. South African Defence Minister Pieter W. Botha (who became prime minister later that year) tried to dismiss it as a "limited military operation."

The camp, which housed 4,000 to 5,000 refugees (but no military installations), was bombed and strafed. According to survivors, four American-made C-130 Hercules transport planes then dropped South African paratroopers, who swept through the camp methodically gunning down anyone in their path. When they departed, they left behind more than 600 bodies. Reporters who visited the camp after the attack confirmed the extent of the massacre.

Simultaneously with the assault on Cassinga, South African air and ground forces, supported by forty tanks, attacked Angolan villages and SWAPO guerrilla camps in Cunene Province, some fifteen miles north of the Namibian border.

The Rhodesian white settler regime followed this with an invasion of its own the following year. On February 26, 1979, Rhodesian planes flew 185 miles into An-

gola to bomb a special training school for Zimbabwean refugees at Vila da Boma, near Luena (formerly Luso). According to the Angolan authorities, 60 persons were killed in the assault and 530 wounded, the vast majority of them Zimbabweans.

Angolan Foreign Minister Paolo Jorge stated that the bombings were "perpetrated by the Smith regime with the assistance and participation of Mirage fighters of the South African Air Force. We have information that these planes must have made use of the base facilities at Katima Mulilo," a large South African military base in Namibia.

As the war in Namibia has escalated, so have the number of South African incursions into Angola. In the first half of March alone, the Angolans reported that South African planes violated Angolan air space seventy times, bombed thirteen regions, and dropped 132 tons of bombs. Fortunately, only twelve persons were killed (southern Angola is sparsely populated).

Pretoria has acknowledged some of these attacks, although it claims that its only targets are SWAPO camps. The Angolan regime, however, named a number of villages that had been bombed and strafed, charging that in some cases helicopter-borne ground troops were flown in to lay mines on roads to the villages.

The latest admitted South African incursion came in early July, when ground and air units crossed the border. Pretoria claimed its forces killed twelve SWAPO fighters.

UNITA-Imperialist Alliance

In conjunction with these direct attacks, Pretoria has sought to bolster UNITA, letting the proimperialist group carry out much of the day-to-day harassment of the Angolan and Cuban forces. (Both the FNLA and FLEC³ still occasionally claim to be conducting operations against government forces as well, but there is actually little left of those groups.)

Before the South African army withdrew from Angola in 1976, it buried large arms caches for UNITA. Since then, it has provided a steady supply of weapons, ammunition, money, food, and occasionally logistical support. According to SWAPO, UNITA forces have received training from the South Africans at the Grootfontein military complex and other sites in Namibia.

Captured UNITA fighters have described the kind of assistance they received. One, Inocente Parente Vieira, testified in Luanda that after he and other

2. The People's Liberation Army of Namibia and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army, the military arms of SWAPO and ZAPU, respectively.

3. Frente de Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda (Cabinda Liberation Front), a small group that advocates the separation of the oil-rich territory of Cabinda from the rest of Angola. It has close ties to French oil interests, as well as to the French Foreign Intelligence and Counterespionage Service (SDECE).

UNITA troops had been pushed across the border into Namibia in 1976 at the end of the war "we were picked up by a Puma military helicopter and taken to a local South African military base." After eight weeks of training there, he and other UNITA forces reentered Angola. (*Southern Africa*, April 1978.)

In addition, Pretoria has given UNITA a program on Radio Ovambo, a South African station in northern Namibia.

According to Savimbi, UNITA also began to receive significant aid from other sources in mid-1978. "From that point, we started to get substantial support from some African countries, but they can't say it openly, of course. Second, we are getting substantial support from Arab countries," he said in the interview in the June 18 *Time*.

Around the same time that these other sources of aid became available, the White House openly admitted that it was exploring ways to renew its backing for UNITA via third countries. In May 1978, President Carter complained to Congress that the provisions of an amendment to the Arms Export Control Act of 1976 impeded the legal transfer of arms to the UNITA forces operating in Angola.

On June 18, 1978, Fidel Castro stated in an interview, "We know from very good sources that recently the CIA established contact with UNITA in Angola and . . . promised U.S. assistance."

That promise appears to have been kept. A few months later, a group of British television journalists covering UNITA's operations in Angola were told by UNITA members that they received financial and military aid from the pro-American regimes in Morocco and Iran (before the shah's overthrow).

An article in the March 9, 1979, issue of *To the Point International*, a pro-South African weekly that was later revealed to have been funded by Pretoria's Department of Information, provided further details. "Unita troops are undergoing military training in Morocco," it reported, "financial aid comes from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, diplomatic and material support is generously provided by Ivory Coast, Senegal and Togo. Unita possesses German Mercedes trucks, French electrically operated anti-tank bazookas and Belgian FN rifles."

With this imperialist backing, UNITA has been carrying out persistent guerrilla attacks inside Angola for the past three years.

While UNITA's claims of success are wildly exaggerated, it has nevertheless exacted a heavy price. Scores of Angolan civilians have been killed; in November 1978 alone, for instance, UNITA bombings in the central markets of Huambo and Canhe left forty persons dead. UNITA's attacks on road and rail traffic have seriously disrupted the transport of food from the central provinces to other parts of

the country, leading to regional shortages. Economic recovery from the ravages of the South African invasion has been impeded by sabotage of communications lines, the mining of roads, and the disruption of commercial transport on the vital Benguela Railway.

Revealing a particular hostility toward the Cuban forces in Angola, UNITA has a declared policy of not taking any Cuban prisoners.

UNITA has also attacked the Namibian independence fighters. In 1977, Savimbi, referring to the SWAPO forces, said to an American journalist that "we will never let them operate against the South Africans in Namibia again. Never!"

According to the report in the March 9 *To the Point International*, UNITA was reported to "have infiltrated Swapo and to have given valuable intelligence prior to South Africa's devastating raid on the Swapo headquarters at Cassinga, deep inside Angola last May."

As a result of its alliance with South Africa, UNITA's support among the Ovimbundu and other peoples of central and southern Angola, upon whom it based itself prior to and during the civil war of 1975, appears to have fallen considerably. The MPLA government has been able to hold big rallies in Huambo, the largest city in the Ovimbundu region, and local inhabitants, including former UNITA supporters, have been organized into militia units to defend villages against UNITA attacks.

The UNITA has made little effort to hide the reasons that it is fighting against the Angolan government. In the *Time* interview, Savimbi explained, "If UNITA had come to power in Angola in 1975, I am sure that today the problems of Rhodesia and Namibia could have been solved peacefully. When we take over, we shall be looking for a dialogue with South Africa, not war."

Pointing out that the "intention of the Cubans is to control the border with Namibia so that they can help SWAPO," Savimbi declared, "We will approach step by step the day when the Cubans and Russians find that it is impossible for them to stay any longer. That will be our first victory."

U.S. Terms Rejected

The military pressures against the Angolan regime have been coupled with a diplomatic campaign promising recognition and economic aid in return for expulsion of the Cubans.

In June 1978, at the very time when backing to UNITA was being stepped up, an American envoy, Donald McHenry, was dispatched to Luanda to seek concessions from Neto. According to a report in the October 1978 London monthly *New African*, McHenry gave "the impression that Angolan co-operation would result in a dwindling of support for UNITA."

When Senator George McGovern visited

Angola in December, he laid out the conditions for American recognition of the Neto regime, stating that the Cuban presence there was the main obstacle to formal diplomatic ties.

So far, the pressures on the MPLA have been only moderately fruitful for the imperialists. In return for warmer relations with the regime of Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaïre, Neto has pledged to restrain anti-Mobutu guerrilla forces based in Angola. He also used his regime's influence with SWAPO to pressure the Namibian group into making political concessions during United Nations-sponsored negotiations over the territory, such as SWAPO's agreement to okay the continued presence of several thousand South African troops during a proposed "transitional period" before independence.

The Angolan regime, however, has not given in on two of the key questions worrying the imperialists—its continued assistance to SWAPO and other liberation movements and the presence of Cuban troops.

In a December 1978 speech in Luanda shortly after McGovern's visit, Neto rejected the U.S. terms for diplomatic recognition. Referring to the White House's insistence on the expulsion of the Cubans, Neto said, "They want us to make our internationalist friends leave our country to enable the South Africans to attack us."

Havana has also stood firm, despite all of Washington's threats against Cuba itself. Just before Angola's celebration of its third year of independence, Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca reiterated at a November 8, 1978, news conference in Tanzania that Cuban troops would fight against any South African attack on Angola. He declared, "If it happened that Angola was the victim of aggression and its borders were violated, our reaction would be to fight along with the Angolan people."

This firm Cuban stance is an important factor that the imperialists cannot ignore. By helping to defend Angola from imperialist attack and by aiding other forces fighting against imperialism, the Cuban government is playing a revolutionary role in southern Africa. □

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The Cuban Volunteers in Africa

[The following is excerpted from an article by Neiva Moreira and Beatriz Bisio that appeared in the May 1979 issue of *Third World*, the English-language edition of the Mexico City monthly *Cadernos del Tercer Mundo*.]

* * *

Our job takes us to a dermatological clinic outside Dar es Salaam. We always connected dermatology with the treatment of minor skin diseases. What they are treating here is leprosy.

We find Cuban dermatologist Valentin Villar working dedicatedly among the lepers, sharing his specialized knowledge with a Tanzanian doctor and nurses. Perhaps none of the patients knows he is a Cuban, much less understands why he is there. Perhaps some do know and are wondering. We ask him.

"Well, in Cuba every kid learns internationalism as the duty of revolutionaries. It's an old feature of our own history—people coming from other countries to give their blood fighting beside us. Why shouldn't we do the same?"

The story of this specialist is a routine item in the Cuban presence in African and Arab countries. He is one of the 10,000-odd Cuban civilians who are active throughout the area. The total number is fixed by inter-government agreements and not confidential. Actually it varies between 10,000 and 11,000, a statistic that causes nervous headaches among Western diplomats.

Their worries are justified. Cuba is a small country of just over 114,000 square kilometers and about 10,000,000 inhabitants, with scant economic resources, situated between 20,000 and 30,000 km. from the places where Cubans are lending a hand. Furthermore thousands of young Africans and Arabs are studying in specially created schools on Cuba's Isle of Youth, indicating the scope of the effort and further explaining the headaches.

Although Cuba's progress in these 20 years is plain to see, many problems remain. When Cuba offers urban buses to São Tomé and Príncipe, for example, it means withdrawing from Cuban streets transportation that is far from meeting the demand. Unlike the wheat sold by the US, those buses are not surplus production that needs exporting to keep capitalism ticking over. Cuba needs them. But the striking fact is that this donation arouses no bitterness among the Cuban people. They see it as the outcome of an agreement correctly made in the spirit of international solidarity.

And we found that most of the Cubans in Africa and Arab countries, who have to

suffer separation from their families for 12 to 18 months at a stretch, feel the same way.

Financially, the operation puts a big strain on Cuba. The United Nations established a 1% quota on Gross National Product that all developed countries should give to the Third World, but only Sweden (0.82%) and Holland (0.81%) come near to meeting it. The US contributes 0.26%, Japan 0.20%. Cuba goes far beyond the quota. As a UN official told us:

"The average yearly cost of a UN expert, with salary, per diems and travel expenses, is about \$58,000. At that rate, on the basis of 10,000 Cubans working in the area (in fact there are more), Cuba would be spending some \$600,000,000 a year, the equivalent of all financial aid sent to the Third World through the UN."

Seeing the Cubans in action is a unique experience. They work ten-to-twelve hour days, putting up buildings, replacing bridges destroyed in the Angola war, and on agricultural, animal husbandry and fishing projects. On Saturdays they knock off at 4 p.m.; on Sundays they contribute voluntary labor on programs of the various governments.

The Cubans receive about \$30 a month, just enough for bare living expenses.

How did civilian cooperation start in African and Arab countries?

Cuban doctors and nurses arrived in Algeria in 1962, with Dr. Gutiérrez Muñé (who is now Cuba's Minister of Health) as the first medical team leader in that country. In Guinea-Bissau too it started before the country's liberation. One of the team sent there was Cuba's present ambassador to Guinea-Bissau, Alfonso Morales.

We did meet in Congo-Brazzaville veterinarians and other specialists who had gone to Cuba ten years ago for training. "It was after Che Guevara came through here," said Dr. Anatole Goma-Kick, a veterinarian now working a Cuban-Congolese dairy project some 200 km. from Brazzaville.

In Angola, Emiliano (named after Mexican revolutionary Zapata) Manresa heads the Cuban civilian projects. In that country, he said, the tremendous postwar problems faced by the MPLA government made civilian cooperation an urgent need. Nearly all bridges had been destroyed and medical, educational, communication and transport services were completely disorganized by the massive exodus of Portuguese. Since most of the Cuban fighters in Angola—almost all volunteers—had technical qualifications, it was easy to switch from tanks to tractors, from field firstaid to hospitals, from guns to cranes.

"The switch to the cooperation brigades of today was an almost overnight thing," said Manresa.

Angola gets the largest number of Cuban civilians. The big teams of Cuban workers in Luanda, many on building jobs for the Empresa Cubana de Construcción, lend aid to Africa a new aspect, but Africa isn't the first. It happened before in Vietnam where a Cuban reconstruction brigade put back in operation bridges and roads wrecked by U.S. bombs.

The Africans have growing hopes for more Cuban experts. In the medical field, the head of a hospital in Ethiopia sees no serious difficulty because, as he put it to us, "Cuba graduates some 1,000 doctors a year, so many of them can be sent here. The specialists they send are already helping us train our own doctors to take over full responsibility. But until they're able to do so we need this fraternal cooperation."

Yet how far can the Cuban educational system meet the growing Third World demand for engineers, biologists, architects, experts in cybernetics, fishing, genetics, topography and lab work? Not only revolutionary countries—Libya, Angola, Vietnam, Benin, Iraq, Afghanistan, Guinea-Bissau, Algeria, Mozambique, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Madagascar, Guinea-Conakry—are already getting or expecting them, but also such countries as Nigeria, Mali, Sierra Leone and Equatorial Guinea. And meanwhile others—Chad, Niger, Kenya, Seychelles—are considering the idea. Despite ideological differences, influential people in those countries think Cuban experts would be a great asset to them.

The Cuban government is alert to this growing demand because it corresponds with the internationalist line of the revolution.

Cubans know that the cooperation they are able to give is invaluable for Africa, but can take special pride in one aspect of it. It is the first great presence of the Latin American world in the Black world—two worlds between which the flow of human beings once ran in the opposite direction. Millions of anguished and rebellious Africans were brought to the New World in slave ships, and they left their imprint on the culture and way of life of our peoples.

That is a big reason for unity between us, but there is another: in this stage of the revolutionary process in both continents, our aspirations coincide.

Despite the difficulties and shortages and inevitable improvisation, despite all the news-agency perversions, an alliance is being forged from the Caribbean to the Indian Ocean. A great alliance of peoples joining forces to smash the grip of neocolonialist dependence.

But Cuban cooperation is successfully tackling another basic job. For millions of Africans newly emerged from colonialism, it is the countercurrent to capitalist exploitation, the generous and spontaneous man-

ifestation of what is most elemental in socialist practice: internationalism.

The emphasis here on Cuba's civilian cooperation is not a journalistic device to distract attention from its military cooperation. The one is in fact linked to the other and both have the same ideological explanation, but we think military aid is something to be treated separately. In any case we found Congolese, Syrians, Yemenites, Angolans and Ethiopians to be voluble and eloquent in praise of Cuban military aid.

In many countries it helped prepare cadres to confront external counterrevolutionary threats. In others, such as Angola and Ethiopia, Cuban blood was shed along with that of Angolans and Ethiopians in bitter battles. But contrary to the stories spread in the capitalist world, this ultimate act of revolutionary solidarity is constantly recognized as such both in mass demonstrations and in statements by those countries' leaders.

How many Cubans crossed the ocean to fight in Africa, and why did they do it?

A disturbing statistic for the enemies of the African revolution and the Pentagon experts. The Parisian press, taking as a basis the French expeditionary forces in Indochina and Algeria, publishes highly exaggerated figures. The North Americans, feeding into their computers statistics from their experience in Santo Domingo, Vietnam and Korea, are equally wide of the mark.

The hard fact is that the situations are not comparable. The French paratroopers who landed in Algeria and the North Americans who fought in Vietnam were professional soldiers, conscripted according to military rules and standards as cogs in a machine to crush these peoples by force. The Cubans going to fight in Africa are militant revolutionaries, volunteers with an ideological view and a political definition of the war ahead of them.

"But please," a French diplomat asked Cuban ambassador Agramont in Luanda, "how many armed Cubans are there in Africa?"

"Forty thousand," said Agramont.

"Really, forty thousand!" said the Frenchman, savoring the information which he would promptly cable to Paris.

"Of course," said Agramont. "That's the figure given by the French press. How can I doubt the accuracy of your country's newspapers?"

The precise figure is less interesting than an evaluation of the facts. Said a Cuban combatant who was recovering in Addis Ababa from wounds received in the Ogaden war: "It's tough even for us to figure just how many we are. In Cuba you can't divide civilian from military in professional terms, only in terms of revolutionary mission."

Medicine was the first field of Cuban cooperation and remains one of the highest in terms of the number of cooperators—

in Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Congo-Brazzaville, Guinea-Bissau, Tanzania, Iraq, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Libya, Somalia and Equatorial Guinea.

A third of all the Cuban cooperators in Angola and Ethiopia are medical personnel, and those countries' people recognize their work on the same level as that of Cuba's educators.

In one year the 300 Cuban doctors now in Ethiopia have attended 900,000 patients all over the country. They are the largest medical group there, with Ethiopians in second place and Soviet and European doctors in third.

In education, Cuba cooperates with African and Arab countries in two ways. It sends its own teachers and at the same time brings Africans and Arabs to Cuba on scholarships, to study various careers and return home qualified.

The number of Africans studying in Cuba has risen sharply since special schools, exclusively for them, were opened in the Isle of Youth (formerly Isle of Pines). In the case of Angola, Cuba gave 951 scholarships in 1978 apart from the 1,200 5th- and 6th-grade Young Pioneers studying in the Isle of Youth—a number that will be raised to 4,800. And 1,130 young Mozambicans are studying in the Isle of Youth's Samora Machel and Eduardo Mondlane schools.

Meanwhile Cuban teachers are on cooperation missions in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Democratic Yemen.

Angola's Culture Ministry has ten Cuban specialists as advisers, and Cuban teachers helped set up its school for middle-grade health technicians.

There are courses to form Angolan teaching cadres, while "Che Guevara Brigade" teachers give instruction, from fifth to ninth grade, to some 30,000 Angolan students, with a program set by Angola's Culture Ministry.

The 732 young Cubans who form the Guevara Brigade are mostly women. As Prof. Eloy Diaz Osorio, a 31-year-old leader of the Brigade in Luanda, commented: "This shows the extent to which women participate in the Cuban revolution, not just at home but on international missions."

Brigade members spoke to us about what it meant to them. "Our parents always talked about the exploitation of man by man," said Angel Arzuaga, 21-year-old son of a Camagüey farm worker and secretary of the Communist Youth Organization's executive committee in Luanda. "But when we went to school our revolutionary process was already advanced and we had to come here to see a people with a five-century history of exploitation and the colonialist scars still showing. We knew it had been like that in Cuba but never experienced it."

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa is a most accurate title for Walter Rodney's

book on the infrastructure which was the black continent's heritage from colonialism. Nothing but the roads, bridges and seaports necessary to carry its wealth off to Europe. A formidable challenge to civil construction today.

In Guinea-Conakry, a 100-km. highway joining the capital with the northern part of the country is 70% completed. The Guineans baptized it "Fidel Castro" because Cuban cooperation made it possible.

In Tanzania, the Cuban government undertook in 1975 the total operation of building three secondary schools, a gift from the Cuban to the Tanzanian people. The job was done by 250 Cuban construction workers with cranes, bulldozers and prefab materials brought from their island. Four hundred young Tanzanians doing National Service worked beside them, learning the various specializations on the job.

Of some 200 bridges in Angola, 132 were smashed in the war. At the time of our visit Cubans were on this job in Zaire province bordering the country of that name, in Kuando Kubando bordering Namibia in the far south, and in Luanda. The construction program for 1979 includes water towers and silos.

Most of the people in Africa are peasants, but agricultural methods are primitive and in many regions there is only subsistence farming. Since agriculture is a basic economic sector, the countries struggling for economic independence are carrying out ambitious programs in this field and are radically changing working methods, land tenure and marketing patterns.

Cuban cooperation in agriculture has been growing during the last years and many Cuban experts are now sharing their knowledge and experience with Africans.

In Ethiopia, for example, where land tenure was transformed and given to the peasants, 300 Cuban specialists will provide advice in every area. A mission of 40 technicians arrived last year to prepare the programs. The goal: ensure food consumption for the whole population, which is one of the revolutionary government's main priorities.

Other projects in various countries include improvement of seeds, increase of sugar, cereals and tobacco production and development of irrigation systems. Agricultural cooperation is also provided in Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Guinea, Congo, Angola, Sierra Leone, Iraq and Cape Verde. □

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Trotskyists Make Encouraging Gains in European Elections

By Anna Libera

Despite the gigantic sums spent on the election campaign for the European Parliament, a large number of voters in the Common Market countries were apparently not persuaded to turn out June 10 to choose their representatives to that body, which meets in Strasbourg. In fact, only six out of ten Europeans went to the polls.

This abstention, which is the first important result of the election, sometimes took on much bigger proportions. Thus, in Britain, 70% of the voters stayed home, while in France the figure was 40%, in Denmark 52%, in Ireland 42%, in West Germany 30%. In the Benelux countries where voting is mandatory, 20% of the voters abstained nonetheless, and in Italy, where voting is also mandatory, "only" 15% abstained.

Initial commentaries all dwelt at length on this phenomenon, which definitely testifies to a political reality. But they nearly all got lost in speculation about the failure of the "idea of Europe" to become real. However, the reasons for this massive abstention seem fairly clear.

First, there is the fact that this was not an election that was going to immediately and directly change the composition of the governments in the different countries. But there is also the fact that capitalist "Europe"—the Europe of the multinationals—is a concrete reality to broad layers of workers. It is the Europe of unemployment, austerity, the special oppression of youth and women, the nuclear danger, repression. A very tangible reality which they want nothing to do with, but against which none of the major political forces, either in the bourgeois camp or in the workers movement, offer a strategy of struggle. This is certainly the main reason for the massive desertion of the polls.

In all the countries, in fact, the overwhelming majority of political parties, both bourgeois and reformist, are in favor of such a Europe. This is true despite their tactical differences, which obviously always come to the fore in an election campaign (this was particularly the case this time around in France).

Thus, in Britain, the Conservatives, Labour, the Liberals, and even the extreme right-winger Enoch Powell, are for Europe, while there exists strong opposition within the Labour Party and among the blue-collar electorate to the Common Market.

In West Germany and Italy, the election campaign had a single voice, for there too all the major political forces are "pro-Europe" and even in absolute agreement on all the tactical questions (broadening

the Assembly, increasing its powers, etc.).

The same goes for Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. Only in Denmark is there a real battle going on between those for and against the country's participation in the EEC. Given a total lack of choice, given especially the lack of a clear program against the Europe of big business, many voters preferred to stay at home.

Because of this high rate of abstention, it is difficult to draw general conclusions from the results about the national political relationship of forces in all the countries.

If we take Britain as an example, the 30% of the voters who turned out were mainly the Conservatives, who are the most interested in Europe. Mrs. Thatcher's party was able to carry off nearly 70% of the seats in the Strasbourg assembly because the Labour electorate was not mobilized. But its victory was much less clear in the national elections last May.

Aside from Britain, which is quite an extreme case, the "trouncing" of the left, which was spotlighted by all the media, is entirely relative. It exists, of course, and it is the price that the traditional parties of the workers movement are paying for not offering the slightest alternative to the bourgeois parties and the Europe of big business, thus strengthening the latter.

The SPD (Social-Democratic Party of Germany) in West Germany registered a 2% loss in votes to the CDU (Christian Democratic Union), which thus approaches an absolute majority. But in Italy, the CP got the same score as in the June 3-4 legislative elections, while the SP made slight gains (by 1.5%), and the Christian Democracy lost 1% over its results of the previous week.

Likewise, in France the overall vote for the left was the same as in the March 1978 legislative elections, even if changes in the distribution of votes between the different forces were recorded.

The election results in France are particularly interesting given the stakes invested in this campaign by both sides, not on the Europe issue, but in terms of the preparations for the 1981 presidential elections. The campaign in fact took the form of a "primary" between the UDF (Union for French Democracy, the organization supporting Giscard d'Estaing) and the RPR (Assembly for the Republic, led by Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac) in one camp, and the SP and CP in the other.

This battle did not fail to sow confusion among the electorate. In fact the convinced

partisans of "Europe" (the UDF and SP) were each subject to pressures from a party within its camp that waved the flag of French national sovereignty (the RPR, and especially the CP). Thus, the UDF and the SP were compelled to moderate their enthusiasm for Europe, while the RPR and the CP declared that, after all, they favored remaining within that Europe and building it. You had to really want to follow this campaign, and especially read between the lines of each side's statements, to understand what was going on.

The national objectives of Giscard d'Estaing and CP leader Georges Marchais were partially achieved in this campaign. The president in fact meant to use this campaign—knowing that a pro-Europe majority exists in the country—to deal a drastic setback to the RPR, the Gaullist party which was still, in March 1978, not only the leading party of the majority, but the leading party in France. To that end, he used a tactic that paid off in the short run, at least.

What he did was to hide all the old UDF sharks behind the reassuring face of Simone Veil, who carried the campaign by herself, and whose "nonprofessionalism" was intended to appeal to an electorate that for years had been drenched in debates between the same slightly faded political stars!

At the same time, the slate headed by Veil received the official franchise in the form of open support from Premier Raymond Barre, who even took part in public meetings side by side with her.

Jacques Chirac, for his part, thought that in this campaign he could overcome the contradiction that had plagued the Gaullists for several years—their support for and participation in a government whose actions they constantly criticize. But the RPR campaign, which focused essentially on attacking the Barre government, not only created a malaise within the Gaullist movement, but was not understood by its constituency. And the RPR's catastrophic results (winding up as the losing party with only 16% of the vote, far behind the CP) will only intensify this malaise and underscore the impasse it is in.

The fact is that the RPR cannot bring its criticism of the government to its logical conclusion—going over to the opposition—for two reasons. First, because it would then bear the responsibility for a political crisis that would definitely bring a left majority to power, and second because the Gaullist party is not cut out to be in the

opposition. Formed and developed as the Party-Regime, it was woven into all the institutions. Now that it has lost the popular aura it had under de Gaulle, it is that reality alone which gives it its electoral base. Going over to the opposition could be fatal.

This contradiction and impasse—which are insurmountable for the time being, given the political and social relationship of forces in the country—emerged clearly at a postelection meeting of the leadership body of the RPR.

On the evening of June 10, the Gaullist ministers publicly expressed their criticisms of Chirac's campaign. But they nevertheless reaffirmed their confidence in him, for they too are caught in the contradiction of the Gaullist movement. Which is what Claude Labbé, chairman of the RPR parliamentary delegation, was expressing when he explained June 10 that, by being against "the Socialist-Communists, the Gaullists are therefore in the majority."

The battles within the majority, however, are far from over. Especially since, despite the collapse of the RPR, the Veil-Barre-Giscard slate did not win a victory either in terms of the goals it had set itself or in terms of the pre-election polls, all of which gave the government slate a vote of over 30%. The slate of the "president's party" got only 28% of the votes (that is, less than the number of votes Giscard d'Estaing got on the first round of the 1974 presidential elections); the slate officially supported by the premier thus clearly came out the loser.

Moreover, the UDF has far from established itself as a party—in opposition to the RPR—and besides, at the Strasbourg Assembly, its members will be seated with different political clans. The two parties of the majority got only 45% of the vote, or 46.7% if the votes for Servan-Schreiber of the Radical Party are added.

In the camp of the working class, the redistribution of votes was not as radical. The CP's objective was to restabilize the electoral relationship of forces on the left in its favor. To the extent this actually occurred, it was because of the beating the SP took. The CP held on to the vote it got in March 1978, while the SP lost slightly more than 1%.

The SP was in fact in a difficult situation in this campaign. The CP was breathing down its neck on the outside, while internally it was hampered by the pact between the leaders of the Mitterrand current and CERES* (which has the same position as the CP on the Europe issue). Seeking to differentiate itself from the UDF at all costs, the SP tried to wave the flag, while declaring itself the most pro-Europe of all.

In the course of the campaign, the SP

*Centre d'Etudes, de Recherches, et d'Education Socialistes (Center for Socialist Studies, Research, and Education), the SP "left wing."—*IP/1*

also tried to rehabilitate the Social Democracy. However, after the performances of Callaghan and Schmidt, this was pretty hard to swallow for an electorate that has been attracted in recent years to the "socialist renewal" that the French Socialist Party seemed to represent.

The CP, meanwhile, was the only party that beat the drums for its own positions, reaching new heights of chauvinism and reaction the last few weeks of the campaign. Among the examples that can be cited are the anti-German slogan painted on the walls of the Longwy mayor's office: "1870, 1914, 1940: That's enough!" Or the leaflets handed out by the CP cell at the Dassault aviation plant, which explained that, thanks to the Communists, France now has French-made bombers! Or the leaflet from the CP federation in Eure (the mushroom-growing region), which states: "Yes to mushrooms *à la grecque*; no to Greek mushrooms!"

The most dramatic result is that, in face of the SP's proimperialist, pro-Europe position, this outrageous chauvinism and reactionary demagoguery could be seen as the answer in the regions hardest hit by Common Market policy decisions (for example, in the southwest of France).

3.1% Vote for Trotskyist Slate

Among the most significant results of the election in France was the vote for the slate run by Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle) and the LCR (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International), under the slogan "For the Socialist United States of Europe," and the vote for the ecology slate. The first got 3.1% (more than 622,000 votes), and the second 4.4%.

To begin with, these results show the scandalous nature of the election law, which requires a party to get 5% of the vote in order to have a representative in Strasbourg and be reimbursed for campaign expenditures. This infamous law was passed by the four major parties (including the SP and CP), who thus guaranteed themselves a monopoly over "representation" at the Strasbourg Assembly.

The vote for the Trotskyist slate is all the more important considering the unprecedented monopolization of the media by the major parties, which had many hours at their disposal to present their views on all the networks. The "small slates" were entitled to only 4.5 minutes each in the framework of the "official" campaign, and were not invited to a single debate organized by the radio and television networks.

It was an organized boycott, as the television producers told us. They had gotten the order not to film the June 2-3 festival at Mériel, outside Paris, where 40,000 persons turned out in support of the slate "For the Socialist United States of Europe!"

To partially compensate for this boycott by the broadcasting media, Lutte Ouvrière and the LCR organized a broadcast of one hour on June 8, over an unofficial transmitter that could be heard in the Paris region.

Despite this blackout, the campaign carried out by the members of both organizations made significant gains, with its vote of 3.1% equaling roughly 15% of the CP's constituency. In addition, the breakdown showed that the vote for the Trotskyists exceeded 4% (thus, 20% of the CP constituency) in the big working-class centers in the Paris region. The Trotskyists also received a vote of more than 4% in the regions hit hardest by the economic crisis, where powerful mobilizations have taken place in recent months (this is the case in Lorraine, despite the fact that the two organizations' base there is weak).

These results confirm the impact of the only internationalist, antichauvinist, and anticapitalist campaign that was heard in these elections—an impact that could also be measured in the course of the numerous large rallies organized throughout France.

In terms of the ecology vote (4.4% in France and 3.5% in West Germany), the particularly high scores in the areas affected by nuclear plants are to be noted: more than 10% in Alsace and 14% in Flamanville.

In the other countries, the revolutionary slates also got a significant vote. In Britain, for example, Tariq Ali got 1% of the vote, despite the tidal wave of abstention; in Belgium, our comrades of the LRT won 17,000 votes, while the slate run by the centrists got a slightly higher vote. In Denmark, the Left Socialist Party (VS) did not get a representative despite winning 3.5%. In Italy, where the straight proportional system is in effect, the PdUP, with 1.1%, has an elected representative, and so does Democrazia Proletaria, which got 0.7% of the vote (the same result as in the national elections).

In Northern Ireland, Bernadette Devlin got 32,000 votes after a campaign focusing around the struggle against British imperialist repression. This campaign was supported by the comrades of People's Democracy, a group in sympathy with the Fourth International.

The majority of these protest votes against the Europe of big business will not be heard by the European Assembly in the semicircular hall of Strasbourg, but they will echo still louder in the coming struggles against the Europe of unemployment and austerity, the nuclear future, and the repression that this assembly has in store for us. □

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