

Intercontinental Press

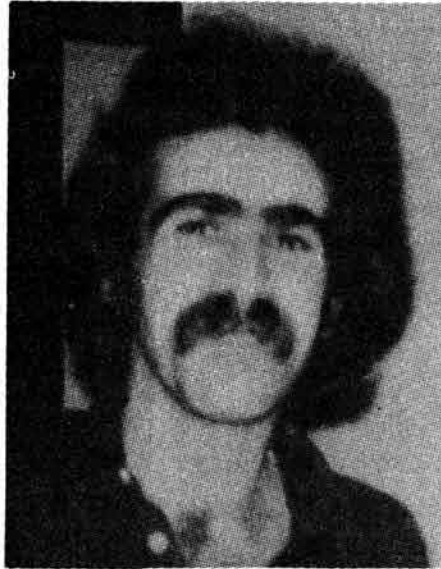
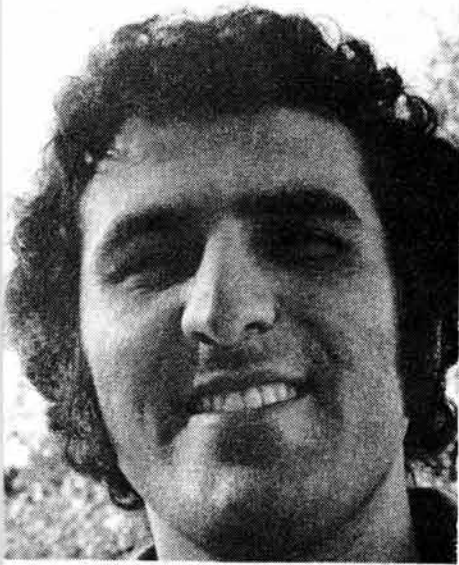
combined with **Imprecor**

Vol. 17, No. 32

© 1979 by Intercontinental Press September 10, 1979

USA 85¢

UK 30p



Twelve Socialist Workers Party members in Iran have been sentenced to death. Left and center are Hamid Shahrabi and Mustafa Gorgzadeh, both facing execution. At right is Mahsa Hashemi, one of two socialists condemned to life in prison.

International outcry demands:

**STOP EXECUTION
OF SOCIALISTS
IN IRAN!**

NEWS ANALYSIS

Stop U.S. Threats Against Cuba!

By Fred Feldman

The Carter administration and the U.S. Senate are churning out new threats against the Cuban revolution. The latest pretext is the claim by the State Department that 2,000 to 3,000 Soviet combat troops are now stationed in Cuba.

Senator Frank Church, the liberal Democrat who heads the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, pointed in an August 30 news conference to the October 1962 "missile crisis" as an example of U.S. options in forcing the removal of the alleged Soviet forces. At that time the U.S. imperialists imposed a naval blockade on Cuba, using the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba as the pretext. Church added that he did not favor such a move at present.

U.S. State Department officials insisted the following day that "there is no Cuban missile crisis." The capitalist press devoted considerable attention to the matter.

The phrasing of the statements by Church and the State Department was calculated to raise the specter of U.S. military action against Cuba. At the same time, the message was couched in the form of a denial, in order to reassure American working people that war moves are not immediately in the offing.

The fraudulence of the new spate of charges was virtually admitted by State Department spokesman Hodding Carter III. He conceded that the presence of the alleged Soviet troops in Cuba "poses no threat to the United States" and violates no Soviet-American agreements or understandings.

As usual, the State Department provided no evidence to back up its assertions. According to a dispatch by Bernard Gwertzman in the September 1 *New York Times*, reporters were informed by U.S. officials as recently as July 27 that "the only Soviet forces in Cuba were the military advisory group of 1,500 to 2,000 men that has been in Cuba for about 15 years."

He added that "the intelligence community reached a new conclusion" after President Carter increased aerial surveillance of Cuba. But administration officials "would not disclose where [the troops] were stationed."

The latest round of threats against Cuba coincided with the conference of "non-aligned" governments in Havana. The Castro government's role as the host and leading force in the conference is highly irritating to Washington. Carter may have hoped that propaganda about Soviet troops in Cuba would provide ammunition to those right-wing governments at the

conference that depict Cuba as a "Soviet puppet."

The State Department charges provided the occasion for an exhibition of imperialist arrogance in the U.S. Senate. At the head of the pack was Senator Richard Stone of Florida, a Democrat. He had the nerve to warn that the Soviet military presence would be used to "intimidate" Latin Americans.

This from the imperialist power that organized counterrevolutionary invasions of Guatemala in 1954 and Cuba in 1961; that landed 20,000 marines in the Dominican Republic in 1965; and that continually threatens the working people of Latin America whenever they seek to throw out dictators and reorganize society in their own interests!

It is not the Latin American masses, but the U.S. imperialists who are "intimidated" by Soviet military assistance to Cuba, since it is an obstacle to their goal of crushing the Cuban revolution. Stone hopes his bellicose speeches will block the Sandinista government in Nicaragua from turning to Cuba and the Soviet bloc as a counterweight to the military and economic pressure being exerted on the Nicaraguan revolution by U.S. imperialism.

Stone charged that the alleged Soviet

troop presence in Cuba "is a base, and our nation's policy for more than a century has been to oppose the establishment of bases in this hemisphere by countries who don't belong here."

But the only power with a military base in Cuba that doesn't "belong" there is U.S. imperialism, which still holds the naval base at Guantanamo against the will of the Cuban people.

The attempt to whip up public opinion around the "threat" of Soviet troops in Cuba is the latest in a series of moves by the Carter administration aimed at isolating and militarily threatening the Cuban revolution.

In November 1978 the Carter administration charged—falsely, as it turned out—that MIG-23s received by Cuba from the USSR might be capable of launching nuclear weapons against the United States. Spy flights over Cuba were resumed and a U.S. fleet carried out "maneuvers" near the Cuban coastline.

Carter's action coincided with a visit to Cuba by seventy-five leaders of the Cuban community in the United States as part of the developing dialogue between the revolutionary government and Cubans living abroad.

On April 28, 1979, right-wing terrorists assassinated Carlos Muñoz Varela in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Muñoz was a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, which has been organizing tours of Cuba by groups of young Cubans living in the United States, Puerto Rico, and elsewhere.

Despite appeals from leaders of the Cuban community, the Carter administration has not lifted a finger to find the murderers.

On August 28 the U.S. State Department

FINAL DAILY NEWS

Vol. 81, No. 58 New York, Saturday, September 1, 1979 Price 25 cents

Monday evening, high in mid 60s. Clouds tomorrow. Details page 25

Page 2

U.S. Charges:

RED COMBAT TROOPS IN CUBA

Sample of propaganda in American press.



SEN. CHURCH: Times blast to coincide with "nonaligned" conference in Havana.

announced that it was removing the operating license of Havanatur, the Panama-based company that has been organizing family reunification visits to Cuba by Cubans resident in the United States. About 50,000 people have visited Cuba under the program, which began six months ago.

These visits, which Washington wants to stop, have helped undermine the lies that Washington spreads about the Cuban revolution. More and more Cubans in the United States are demanding an end to the U.S. economic blockade and normalization of diplomatic relations.

The new charges are also designed to pressure the Kremlin to reduce its military commitment to defend Cuba against U.S. attacks. That's the meaning of the demands raised in the Senate for postponement of the debate on SALT-II until the Soviet troops are removed.

But above all, Carter's threats are intended as a warning to the Cuban revolutionists of what the imperialists might attempt if Cuba continues to expand its support to the Nicaraguan revolution. The new propaganda offensive against Cuba shows how completely the defense of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions are intertwined.

Partisans of the working people around the world will answer the hue and cry around Soviet troops in Cuba with a counter-campaign in support of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions.

U.S. hands off Nicaragua!
U.S. hands of Cuba!

In This Issue

Closing News Date: September 3, 1979

IRAN	836	Worldwide Campaign Demands "Stop Executions of Socialists!"—by Janice Lynn
	837	U.S. Labor Backs HKS Prisoners
	837	Canadian Labor Demands Release of Socialists
	837	Protest Meeting of 200 Held in New York —by David Martin
	838	Delegation Protest at Embassy in Washington —by Janice Lynn
	839	Stop Executions of Revolutionaries in Iran —Statement by Kurdish Student Leader
	839	International Legal Mission Visits Trotskyist Prisoners
	841	Government Steps Up War Against Kurds —by Gerry Foley
	842	Carter Offers Arms to Khomeini Government —by Fred Feldman
	843	Workers Seek to Organize Fighting Unions
	844	"Kargar"—Tribune for Struggles of Working Masses—by Gerry Foley
NICARAGUA	846	Government Attacks Currency Hoarders —by Mirta Vidal
	847	Neighborhood Committees Organize to Defend Revolution
	847	"Before We Had Bosses—Now Things Are Different"
	848	"Hunger Is Emergency We Face Right Now"
	848	Statement on Bolivar Brigade
ITALY	849	New Wave of Workers Struggles —by Livio Maitan
NEWS ANALYSIS	834	Stop U.S. Threats Against Cuba! —by Fred Feldman
DOCUMENTS	851	Text of Nicaragua's New Bill of Rights
	854	The Case of Umberto Valverde—Exchange of Views Between Colombian PST and PSR

Intercontinental Press (ISSN 0162-5594).
Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York each Monday except the first in January and third and fourth in August.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Editor: Mary-Alice Waters.

Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Managing Editor: Michael Baumann.

Editorial Staff: Dan Dickeson, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Fred Murphy, Will Reissner.

Business Manager: Harvey McArthur.

Copy Editor: David Martin.

Technical Staff: Paul Deveze, Larry Ingram, Arthur Lobman, Kevin McGuire, James M. Morgan, Sally Rhett.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

To Subscribe: For one year send \$30.00 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

For air-speeded subscriptions to Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box K208, Haymarket 2000. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 3774, Auckland.

European Subscribers: For air-speeded subscriptions write to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England. Britain and Ireland, send £9.00 for one year. Continental Europe and Scandinavia, send £13.00 for one year. For airmail from London send £19.00. Address subscription correspondence to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.

Copyright © 1979 by Intercontinental Press.

Worldwide Campaign Demands 'Stop Execution of Socialists!'

By Janice Lynn

A protest march of 3,000 in Paris August 31 spearheaded the emergency international campaign to stop the death sentences handed down by a secret tribunal in Ahwaz against twelve imprisoned members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS).

The international outcry over the death sentences, protests within Iran itself, and divisions among officials in the Iranian government blocked the immediate executions of the twelve revolutionists. But their lives remain in the gravest danger.

Protest telegrams from around the world have continued to pour in to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan. Delegations, telephone calls, and visits to Iranian embassies and consulates have been stepped up in scores of cities world wide.

The twelve HKS members sentenced to death, solely for their political ideas, are: Hadi Adib, Hormoz Fallahi, Firooz Farzinpour, Morteza Gorgzadeh, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Ali Hashemi, Mahmoud Kafaie, Kambiz Lajevardi, Kia Mahdevi, Mohammed Poorkahvaz, Mustafa Seifabadi, and Hamid Shahrabi.

Two women HKS members received life sentences—Fatima Fallahi and Mahsa Hashemi.

In a new development, *Baamdad*, one of the major newspapers still printing in Iran, published a letter from the Iranian Foreign Ministry stating that the central government had neither leveled charges against the HKS members nor sentenced them to death. It said that government officials were looking into the case.

The ministry letter is the first public statement dissociating some government officials from the death sentences handed down by the Ahwaz tribunal. It reflects the tremendous international pressure on the government, shown by the fact that *Baamdad* has begun printing some of the protest telegrams sent to Iran from around the world. The publication of these telegrams is having a big impact inside Iran.

It is critical now to keep up this international pressure, since other sections of the Iranian government, including the Imam's Committee in Ahwaz, are still pressing for execution of the socialists. The extreme danger they face was demonstrated again on August 31, when Khomeini called for the execution of Kurdish leaders and a full-scale assault on Kurdistan.

The international protests are vital to the defense of the HKS members, especially since most newspapers are banned inside Iran, making it extremely difficult

to organize the massive defense required.

Amnesty International, known world wide for its defense of political prisoners, issued an emergency alert August 28 on behalf of the twelve socialists.

Most significant has been the new support received from labor leaders, trade-union federations, and workers parties throughout the world.

In the last week, five Labour Party members of the British Parliament signed a letter of protest against "the sentence of death imposed on the twelve members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party after their trial in Ahwaz without legal representation and behind closed doors. . . ."

Alex Kitson, deputy general secretary of Britain's huge Transport and General Workers Union and chairman of the Labour Party International Committee, sent a telegram of protest, as did Dassywdd Thomas, a Welsh nationalist member of parliament.

In France a peaceful demonstration of 3,000 people marched to the Iranian embassy in Paris August 31. Demands of the march were: "Save the lives of the HKS members," and "Stop the massacre of the Kurdish people." The demonstration was sponsored by a number of left groups and by the Union of Students from Turkey and the Union of Students from Kurdistan.

On August 28, a delegation visited the Iranian embassy in Paris to express their opposition to the death sentences given the socialists. The delegation included representatives of the Socialist Party, the League for Human Rights, Alain Krivine of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), and Pierre Lambert of the Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI).

In Germany, delegations visited the Iranian consulates in Bonn and Hamburg to seek information about the case of the HKS members. The visits received wide news coverage.

In Switzerland, protest telegrams against the death sentences have been sent from the secretary of the International Union of Metal Workers in Geneva; Richard Müller, president of the Swiss Union Federation (USS); Helmüt Hubacher, president of the Swiss Socialist Party; numerous Socialist Party members of the national parliament; the Popular Workers Party in the canton of Vaud, a local unit of the Communist Party; and by many university professors.

In Denmark, telegrams have been sent by many prominent leaders in the union movement as well as by the People's Socialist Party; the Left Socialist Party;

the Justice League; the Communist League; the Communist Workers Party; and the Revolutionary Socialist League, Danish section of the Fourth International.

These workers parties are sponsoring an August 31 demonstration at the Iranian embassy followed by a public meeting to hear a speaker from the Iranian HKS. They are launching a committee to continue organizing the defense work.

In Greece, protests have been in Athens, and various labor officials have protested to the Iranian embassy there. These include the president of the Paper Workers Union; the administrative council of the Offset Printers Union; and the Federation of Bank Employees.

In Spain, telegrams and protest messages have been sent by the Communist Party; the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE); the Socialist Party of the Basque People; the Basque National Party; the Communist Movement of Spain; the Association for Human Rights; the municipal council of the city of Bilbao; and many more.

The Spanish national trade unions have sent messages. These include the Workers Commissions (CCOO); the General Workers Union (UGT); and others.

Delegations have gone to the Iranian embassy almost every day. They report that the ambassador's desk is covered with telegrams, messages, and letters from local unions and neighborhood associations throughout Spain.

In Madrid, eight people have begun a hunger strike in the headquarters of the Association for Human Rights, protesting the death sentences.

In Australia, Bob Hawke, head of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, telegraphed his opposition to the impending executions.

In Italy, messages were sent by the Italian Federation of Metal Workers and the three major union federations—the General Confederation of Labor (CGIL), the Confederation of Italian Trade Unions (CISL), and the Italian Federation of Trade Unions (UIL). Also, *Lotta Continua* published an appeal for the HKS members signed by prominent intellectuals. Delegations have visited the Iranian consulate in Turin.

In the United States, news conferences have been held in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, and Seattle, and plans have been announced for the formation of a Committee to Save the Iranian Fourteen.

Emergency appeals have been delivered

to the Iranian embassy in Washington, D.C., and to consulates in cities throughout the U.S.

In New York City, a delegation of auto workers presented petitions signed by 395 members of the United Auto Workers union (UAW) in New York and New Jersey to the consul general of the Iranian consulate, demanding the release of the fourteen HKS members.

In Boston, a major radio station broadcast hourly reports of the execution threat against the socialists and urged people to

send protests.

Send telegrams to save the lives of the HKS prisoners to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qum, Iran; Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Tehran, Iran; and Hassan Nazih, Director, National Iranian Oil Company, Takht Jamshid Avenue, Tehran, Iran.

Copies should be sent to the Tehran daily *Baamdad*, Hafez Avenue, 24 Zartosh-tian Alley, Tehran, Iran, and to *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. □

Canadian Labor Demands Release of Socialists

Telegrams, petitions, and protests demanding the immediate release of the HKS prisoners have flooded the Iranian embassy in Canada.

Trade unionists, union officials, and members of the New Democratic Party (NDP—Canada's labor party) have been in the forefront of the campaign to save the socialist prisoners' lives.

Among the labor organizations that have so far sent protests are the following: Québec Teachers Federation (CEQ); Québec Federation of Labor (FTQ); and the International Center of Workers Solidarity of the Québec Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN).

Ed Broadbent, federal leader of the NDP, and Steward Leggett, NDP member of the British Columbia legislature, have sent a telegram of protest, as have numerous other prominent individuals in the labor movement in Canada. These include:

Al Ashton, president of the Amalgamated Transit Workers in Vancouver; Syd Thompson, president of International Woodworkers of America Local 1-217; Gerry Stoney, president of International

Woodworkers of America Local 1-357, president of the British Columbia New Democratic Party, and president of the Vancouver and District Labor Council.

Also, Ed Ewasjuk, on behalf of the Edmonton (Alberta) and District Labor Council; R.C. Baskin, International Representative of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union in Edmonton; Gene Mitchell, secretary of the Alberta Federation of Labor; John Argue, president of the Toronto Metro Council of the New Democratic Party; F. Kuzenski, Alberta supervisor of the United Steelworkers of America; and Mason Duffy, president of the Edmonton local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers.

Human- and civil-rights organizations that have sent protests include the following: Amnesty International in Ottawa; Oxfam in Ontario; United Church of Toronto; Interchurch International Development and Education Association in Edmonton; United Jewish Peoples Order in Vancouver; Québec Chile Committee; Montréal Chilean Association; and Québec Ligue de Droit et Liberté. □

U.S. Labor Backs HKS Prisoners

U.S. supporters of the Iranian revolution are rushing off emergency telegrams and petitions demanding the immediate release of the HKS prisoners.

Hundreds of trade unionists and union officials have spearheaded the campaign. They include: Wilfred (Andy) Anderson, president, Local 1845, United Steelworkers of America (USWA), Los Angeles; Al Belmonte, president, Local 216, United Auto Workers (UAW), L.A.; Hank Gonzales, international representative, Region Six, UAW; Harry Sivley, president, Local 2058, USWA; Glenn DiSilva, president, Local 4997, USWA; John Perez, chair, Human Rights Committee, subdistrict One of USWA District 38; Lalo Sanchez, recording secretary, Local 5504, USWA; and Bob Kilpatrick, secretary-treasurer, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, Burlington Northern Local, Denver.

Petitions have been signed by seventy-five members of UAW Local 980 at the Ford-Metuchen plant in New Jersey; thirty workers from International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 685 at Solar Turbines International in San Diego, including Local 685 president Ed Maudlin and business agent Lee Pearson; and sixty members of District Lodge 751, Locals C, E, and F of the IAM at Boeing in Seattle.

Other individuals who have sent telegrams include actors Jon Voight and Edward Asner; *Amsterdam News* writer and attorney Louis Clayton Jones; Bob Duren, southern California coordinator of the Black Panther Party; Dorothy Healey of the New American Movement; Dennis Weinstock of the Socialist Party, U.S.A.; and scores of university professors, feminists, attorneys and civil libertarians.

Also, Robert Chrisman and Robert Allen of *Black Scholar* magazine; National Lawyers Guild; Noreen Connell and Carol DeSaram, past presidents of New York National Organization for Women; Dr. Mohammed Mehdi of the Organization for Arab-American Relations; attorney Abdeen Jabarra; and Leon Harris, president of the Village-Chelsea NAACP.

150 telegrams were sent from Boston.

News conferences have been held in Los Angeles and Seattle. More are planned elsewhere.

Emergency forums are scheduled in New York City, Denver, and other cities.

Protest Meeting of 200 Held in New York

An emergency protest meeting of 200 was held in New York City August 31 to demand the release of the fourteen imprisoned Trotskyists in Iran. More than \$950 was raised at the meeting to help coordinate a national defense effort.

Farhad Nouri, a leader of the Iranian HKS and a staff writer for *Kargar*, reported on the activities of the Iranian Trotskyists and urged a stepped-up international campaign to defend his imprisoned comrades.

"The reason that the executions have not been carried out is because of the international defense activity," he said. "Our leaders and members have had to go underground, our paper has been

banned, and it is more difficult now for us to carry out our defense inside Iran. For this reason, the international defense effort becomes crucial."

Marilyn Vogt, a coordinator of the defense in New York, announced that a speaking tour was being organized for Nouri. While in exile in the U.S. before the revolution, Nouri was active in building the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

Cindy Jaquith, associate editor of the *Militant* newspaper, and Muhammad Hamdan of the Arab Social Club also addressed the meeting.

The meeting unanimously voted to send a telegram of protest to the Iranian government. —David Martin

Intercontinental Press/Inprecor will give you a week by week analysis of the most important world events.
Subscribe now!

Delegation Protests at Iran Embassy in Washington

By Janice Lynn

[The following article appeared in the September 7 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

WASHINGTON, D.C.—An emergency appeal was presented here to the Iranian embassy August 28 by supporters of the twelve members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) who have been sentenced to death.

Following the meeting with the embassy, a news conference was held. Featured participants were human rights activist Philip Berrigan; Ali Mahmoud, foreign relations secretary of the Association of Kurdistan Students Abroad; and Farhad Nouri, staff writer for *Kargar* (Worker), the newspaper of the HKS.

Craig Honts, who has been active in defense efforts for the Iranian socialists, chaired the news conference and read a letter presented to the embassy. The letter called on embassy officials to take whatever action necessary to save the lives of the HKS members.

It also called for a halt to the executions of Kurds, Arabs, member of the Tudeh Party, and the Fedayeen. It urged the lifting of the ban on political parties and newspapers.

Berrigan and Nouri reported on the results of a meeting the two had with Hossein Ava, press attaché for the embassy. Berrigan stated, "We asked him why the charges against the HKS members were not made public, why the trials were held in secret, why no defense counsel was allowed, and we asked about the severity of charges. None of this was answered."

Berrigan said Ava promised to convey to Tehran that day by telex or cable the profound concern of the American people.

Nouri stated, "Officially the Iranian government has charged the prisoners only with holding certain political views. But, at this meeting Mr. Ava accused them of blowing up oil pipes and bridges. These explosions took place while the fourteen were all in prison. There was no way they could have been involved.

"We must raise our voices immediately on behalf of these prisoners, who are not allowed to defend themselves. Outside pressure is very important at this time," he said.

Ali Mahmoud spoke about the Kurdish struggle for democratic rights.



Flax Hermes/Militant

News conference in Washington, D.C., August 28. From left: Frank Shaffer-Corona, Philip Berrigan, Farhad Nouri, Ali Mahmoud, and Craig Honts.

"We believe the Kurdish revolution in Iran is part of the revolution of the people of Iran," he said. It contributed heavily to the downfall of the shah. Nobody can deny that.

"We call upon the Khomeini government to stop these executions because the continuation of executions of progressive elements, of revolutionaries, will only give the imperialist powers, especially U.S. imperialism, the chance to intervene in Iran's affairs," Mahmoud continued.

"I call upon all . . . people who believe in basic human rights to call on the Iranian government to stop these executions, to democratize Iran, let political parties work freely and turn Iran into a democratic government which was the basic objective

of overthrowing the shah, . . ." he said.

Cindy Jaquith, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and associate editor of the *Militant*, was in Iran during the February insurrection which overthrew the shah.

She told the news conference, "Working people in the United States won a big victory when the Iranian people threw out Carter's shah in February. Today we must support those who are trying to carry through that revolution. We must speak out about the case of these twelve revolutionaries who may be executed any time simply for expressing their political views. Our voices can make a difference."

Also speaking at the news conference was Frank Shaffer-Corona, member of the Washington, D.C., Board of Education and the Raza Unida Party.

How You Can Help

Telegrams protesting the death sentences given the HKS prisoners in Ahwaz and demanding that their lives be saved should be sent to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qum, Iran; Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Tehran, Iran; and Hassan Nazih, Director, National Iranian Oil Company, Takht

Jamshid Avenue, Tehran, Iran. Copies should be sent to the Tehran daily *Baamdad*, Hafez Avenue, 24 Zartosh-tian Alley, Tehran, Iran and to *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

Petitions on behalf of the imprisoned socialists can be circulated in work-places and sent to the above addresses.

Stop the Executions of Revolutionaries in Iran!

[The following has been excerpted from a statement presented at the news conference in Washington, D.C., August 28 by Ali Mahmoud, foreign relations secretary of the Association of Kurdish Students Abroad.]

* * *

The Kurdish revolution is part of the Iranian revolution. Iran is a country of several nationalities and peoples, including the Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis, Turks, Azerbaijanis, and of course the Farsi-speaking Persian nationality.

The revolution in Iranian Kurdistan contributed heavily to the downfall of the shah. Nobody can deny that, because we always defended the democratic rights of other nationalities.

We believe that we have to live within the countries we are part of in order to liberate the areas we live in. We believe that unless the countries of the whole Middle East are liberated, Kurdistan cannot be established.

Today, along with other people of Iran, Kurdish people are being tortured and executed. Airplanes, bombs, and tanks have been used by the Khomeini government to crush Kurdish progressive elements.

When I myself spoke with the chargé

d'affaires [at the Iranian embassy in Washington] over the telephone, he said: "We don't believe in any other parties. All the other parties are atheist. Only Khomeini's Islamic group is democratic and has the right to exist."

He attacked Qassemlou, who is the leader of the biggest Kurdish party, the Kurdish Democratic Party. He attacked Sheikh Ezzedin, who is part of the broad revolutionary forces in Iranian Kurdistan. He also attacked the Tudeh Party [the Iranian Communist Party], the socialists, and the progressive elements.

When I asked, "Who else is there?" he replied: "We are the only democratic group. There are no others."

When I raised the question of the suppression of the press, he said: "Well, these people, they are not an opposition, they are provocateurs, they are educating against the government."

I said, "In democracy, there is opposition. You say you believe in democracy. Then answer those newspapers; answer their questions. I think the Iranian people have the right to decide their own fate. One man cannot make the law, the destiny of the Iranian people."

It was reported in the newspapers here that about thirty or forty people have been shot by the Khomeini guards.

We call upon the Khomeini government to stop these executions, because continuation of the executions of progressive elements, of revolutionaries, will only give the imperialist powers, especially the U.S. imperialists, the chance to intervene in Iran's affairs.

Now the U.S. has started shipping fuel to Iran as a blessing to Khomeini's attempt to crush the revolutionaries in Iran. In fact, they are talking about starting shipments of arms and ammunition.

I asked the chargé d'affaires, "Why are you accepting fuel from the United States?"

He said, "I don't know. That is the business of the commercial attaché."

I said, "Every politically-minded person understands what is meant by the shipment of oil. That this is thanks to the Iranian government."

I think continuation of these executions and killings will only isolate Iran and will lead into another civil war that finally will lead to the collapse of this government.

I call on all progressive elements in the world, on all people who believe in the basic rights of human beings, on the United Nations, to urge the Iranian embassy and the Iranian government to stop these executions! □

'Karoun Prison Can Only Be Called a Concentration Camp'

International Legal Mission Visits Trotskyist Prisoners

[At the request of the International Federation for the Rights of Man, attorneys Mourad Oussedik and Michel Zavian visited Iran in early August to make inquiries about the case of the fourteen imprisoned members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS), twelve of whom now face sentences of death.

[After numerous delays, the attorneys were able to visit the prisoners, who were then being held in Karoun Prison in Ahwaz. The following report on the international inquiry was filed by Oussedik, who is known in Europe for his legal work in behalf of the National Liberation Front during Algeria's war for independence from France.

[We have taken the text of the report from the August 22-29 issue of *Informations Ouvrières*, a Trotskyist weekly published in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

We arrived in Tehran August 9, with the aim of learning the reason for the arrest of fourteen worker militants in Ahwaz and the conditions of their detention.

As we began our inquiry, the report of the Association of Iranian Jurists was published. It was sent to the authorities, who denied none of the facts contained in it. We decided to use this document as one of the bases of our inquiry.

The conclusion of this report is clear. There are in Ahwaz, in Khuzestan, political prisoners who have been arbitrarily detained. To this day no judicial authority has been involved in the procedures concerning them.

Prior to their detention, these prisoners suffered brutal mistreatment. The Arab minority in Khuzestan has been subjected to what can only be called attempted genocide by the government. This includes kidnappings, summary executions, and arbitrary arrests.

After learning these facts, we contacted various representatives of the Iranian government. We met one after the other with the minister of justice; with Medani, the governor of Khuzestan; and with Tanassouli, the prosecutor associated with the Islamic courts in Ahwaz.

The following conclusions emerged from these discussions:

- These authorities were unable to state what charges were lodged against the prisoners.

- They were unable to state what stage the judicial process had reached.

All of them deplored the existence of clandestine structures that had taken over their functions and acted outside their control. They admitted the ineffectiveness of the judicial system but, when push came to shove, avoided disavowing the Imam's Committees and in fact implicitly tended to cover for them. This default by the judicial authorities prevented us from car-



Cartoon from now-banned Iranian satirical weekly "Ahangar." Guard is explaining that there is no room for SAVAK torturer because prison is filled with oil workers, HKS members, and other anti-shah fighters.

rying out the primary objective of our mission—to clearly establish the charges against the prisoners.

To continue our inquiry, we left for Ahwaz August 13 to see the prisoners.

We encountered numerous evasions on the part of local authorities, including Prosecutor Tanassouli, who showed signs of fright and had recently resigned. Using as pretext the claim that he no longer had the authority, he refused to honor the letter from the Iranian Ministry of Justice authorizing us to see the prisoners. However we were finally able to visit the prison through the intervention of Governor Medani, who had originally given us the authorization.

After arriving at the prison, we were able to establish the following facts: The director of the prison, a governmental appointee, exercises a purely formal authority. The prison is entirely under the control of an Islamic Committee. It holds about 1,200 prisoners, of whom 250 are political prisoners.

This prison can only be characterized as a concentration camp, operated outside of any judicial control. Prisoners can be sent there clandestinely without a warrant, detained there without any court procedure, and punished without any court decision. Once inside this prison an individual, even if arrested at random, is in continual danger.

The Islamic Committee permitted us to talk with the prisoners. Paradoxically, it deplored the lack of judicial procedures. It acknowledged terrible conditions in the prison and the lack of hygienic facilities, which were blamed on the lack of material means.

We were able to have direct discussions with the prisoners, with no constraints,

from which we learned the following:

There are three categories of political prisoners.

- Those who can be called the "indeterminates," arrested without the slightest reason. In many cases detained now for three months, they still do not know what charges are being held against them. They have undergone brutal treatment and fear for their lives.

- The second category is made up of Arab prisoners. They have no illusions about their fate. They report that beginning two and a half months ago a terrible repression has fallen upon Khuzestan, carried out by Medani himself following provocations. Summary executions, tor-

ture, and arbitrary arrests have continued to mount since the fall of the old regime. They have been detained after being picked up at random. The only charge against them is being Arabs. They fear for their lives; all have suffered torture.

They explained that the Iranian revolution meant no change as far as they were concerned. For them the exactions of the old regime, based on the local feudal rulers, continue, oppressing them both economically and socially. The same feudal rulers are today allied with the officials of the new regime, creating a continuity in repression. The fundamental aim remains to dissuade the Arabs from seeking to preserve their identity.

- The third category is the militants of the Socialist Workers Party [HKS]. We were able to talk with them. All have suffered brutal treatment. They were arrested for possession of a leaflet or a newspaper. To this day no case has been opened against them. They have never been brought before a magistrate.

The sole proposal that has been made to them is that they would be released if they would sign a written statement recanting their views—an offer they have rejected for obvious reasons. Their political maturity, their refusal to compromise, and the influence they have won over their fellow prisoners through their dignified comportment and their solidarity have won them the hatred of the Islamic Committee, which has done everything in its power to isolate and neutralize them. They set a good example, which constitutes a permanent danger for the committee.

They are the ones who risk the most; their lives are in danger at every moment.

A campaign to defend them must be mounted immediately. Everyone must become aware that there are men there, in this prison at the end of the world, and that they risk the worst. □

Your First Issue?

Why Not Subscribe?

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Country _____

- \$30 enclosed for one-year subscription.
- \$15 enclosed for six-month subscription.
- Send information about first-class and airmail rates.

Intercontinental Press/Inprecor, P.O. Box 116, Village Sta., New York, N.Y. 10014

Iranian Government Steps Up War Against Kurdish Population

By Gerry Foley

In its second week the Khomeini-Bazargan government's offensive against the Kurdish people assumed the clear profile of a counterrevolutionary war. The aim is to halt the advance of the peasant revolution in Iranian Kurdistan, and the struggle for autonomy, through military terror.

The government was able to take some towns and hold garrisons by virtue of superior fire power and its ability to transport troops by air. On the other hand, with the support of the local population Kurdish guerrillas were staging effective hit-and-run attacks on Tehran's troops at many points in the mountains of Kurdistan.

The central government tried to seal off Mahabad, the main Kurdish town, while bringing up large armored columns for a strike at this relatively small cluster of one- and two-story houses and stores built of soft yellow bricks.

Militarily, command of the surrounding hills is decisive. An attack on the town itself would amount to deliberate slaughter. However, if government troops try to force their way in, the population may feel compelled to defend themselves at any cost.

The occupation of Kurdish towns by government troops so far has been followed by waves of executions. For example, after the Khomeini-Bazargan forces entered Saqqez, dozens of Kurds were shot down and their bodies left lying in the streets to terrify the other inhabitants.

A September 1 UPI dispatch described the central government army's advance on Mahabad as "bogged down." A summary of wire service dispatches in the August 31 *Le Monde* reported "very violent clashes" between Kurdish and central government forces on the roads around Mahabad.

Kurdish sources in Tehran claimed that guerrillas killed or captured dozens of Imam's Committee guards as they were trying to disembark from army helicopters near the town of Sar Dasht on the Iraqi border. Another twenty or thirty guards were reportedly killed on the road between Sar Dasht and Baneh.

Even in shattered Saqqez, the government troops were unable to relax. Kurdish guerrillas slipped into positions in the surrounding mountains and subjected the garrison to a heavy barrage of mortar fire. Only the army's air power, the U.S. Phantom jets bought by the shah, enabled the Tehran forces to beat off the Kurdish attack.

Kurdish guerrillas also staged a raid against the central government garrison

in Bustam, located in the border area.

On August 28, Kurdish forces mounted a strong attack on the Jaldian garrison, one of the main government strongholds in the border region. *Washington Post* staff writer William Branigin commented:

Renowned as tough mountain warriors, the Kurds might be hard pressed to defend urban areas, but they can raid government outposts and installations in the area almost at will.

That is what happened Tuesday night when, according to the government, Kurdish guerrillas hit an Army barracks at the village of Jaldian with artillery, mortars and incendiary bombs and sabotaged the garrison's water and power supplies.

The response of the central government commanders was to threaten to bomb the Kurdish villages in order to punish the population for aiding the guerrillas.

Branigan expressed doubt that the Khomeini-Bazargan government could win a prolonged war against the Kurds:

... Khomeini faces the prospects that a nascent guerrilla war in the rugged Iranian northwest will intensify the strains in his already none-too-reliable armed forces and strengthen political opposition from other sources.

They are prospects that could spell Khomeini's undoing.

In an editorial published August 27, the *New York Times* advised Washington against betting too heavily on the Khomeini-Bazargan government in the present war. This paper had previously run articles pointing out that in order to hold down the oppressed nationalities Tehran was going to be forced to turn back toward Washington for military aid.

But the *New York Times* had gotten worried that Washington might find itself backing a loser for the second time in Iran. The editorial asked: "Is Washington now so sure that it is in the American interest to sell arms to a floundering regime which itself might be toppled?"

The Iranian ruling circles are clearly divided over the advisability of an all-out war against the Kurds, even if they agree on the need to drive back the Kurdish movement.

The assault on Kurdistan was accompanied by a public show of discord between Khomeini and Bazargan. The ayatollah denounced the government for its failure to crush the Kurds, saying that if it was not "revolutionary" enough to do this then he would come to Tehran himself and take over directly.

In a radio-TV speech later on the night of August 31, Bazargan, who announced

he wanted to resign, said: "We are not revolutionaries . . . if killing, beating or destroying is considered to be a revolutionary act."

Ayatollah Taleghani, who led the central government's negotiations with the Kurds at the time of the battle of Sanandaj in March, attempted to negotiate a cease-fire with the Kurds. But Khomeini ruled out a negotiated settlement. His spokesman Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr made a statement declaring "The Imam has made no concessions." At the same time, the official Iranian press agency Pars reported that twenty persons had been executed in Saqqez. One of the Kurdish leaders' conditions for a cease-fire was that there be no more executions.

According to the August 29 *Washington Post*, Iranian state radio quoted Khomeini as saying: "The purpose is not that you negotiate with the criminal leaders. They must be crushed."

Ayatollah Shariatmadari, who is looked to for leadership by the Azerbaijani people, who constitute one third of the population of Iran, described the war as "imposed" on the Kurds.

However, both Shariatmadari and Taleghani have been reported as making statements threatening the Kurds if they do not capitulate to the central government.

According to a report in the August 31 *Le Monde*, Shariatmadari said in a statement to the Tehran morning paper *Baamdad*:

"They [the Kurds] should realize that in any case the Iranian army is strong enough to crush them, and if they count on foreign aid, they should realize that policies change and one day they could find themselves abandoned by everyone."

Leading bourgeois political figures in Iran have raised the possibility that the Kurds are getting material aid from the Soviet Union. Up to recently, these statements have been clearly designed for anti-communist and anti-Russian scare propaganda.

The warning issued to the Kurds at the end of August by Shariatmadari introduced a new tone. It seemed to be intended as a serious warning to the Kurds that they could not rely on Soviet aid even if it were offered.

This new tack may reflect fears on the part of the Iranian leaders grounded on the fact that they themselves are aiding the rightist rebels in Afghanistan against Soviet-backed forces there. In fact, Shariatmadari is one of the most outspoken sup-

porters of the reactionary forces in Afghanistan. But no evidence whatever has been produced to support the charge of Soviet involvement.

However, the violent and indiscriminate reactionary offensive launched against the Kurds by the Iranian government has forced even Stalinists such as the leaders of the Kurdish Democratic Party to make strong calls for resistance. This has apparently affected the attitude of Moscow as well, which up till now has been extremely deferential to the Khomeini-Bazargan government.

In its August 25 issue, *Pravda* published an article entitled "The Roots of the Conflict," indicating that the Kurds were justified in their resistance to the central government.

The fact is that the Kurds are fighting in defense of the gains of the Iranian revolu-

tion, in defense of the democratic rights won by the masses in the struggle against the shah, in defense of the break from imperialism. And all those who support these advances should help to defend the Kurds against repressive attacks and reactionary propaganda.

It was no accident that of the first twenty persons executed in Saqqez, nine were reported to be rank-and-file Iranian soldiers, or that the first non-Kurd executed as a result of this conflict was a doctor who had helped to treat Kurds wounded in the government attacks.

The Khomeini-Bazargan government's war against the Kurdish people is a war against all of the Iranian people who are inspired by humanitarian ideals and who aspire to exercise the rights they fought for against the repressive machine of the shah. □

Iranian government's actions in Kurdistan. State Department official Tom Reston "left the impression with reporters that the Administration was more concerned about the survival of a strong central Government in Iran than about the Kurdish goal of political independence."

But the U.S. rulers are far from confident that Khomeini will be able to put down the struggles of the workers and peasants throughout Iran. In particular they are concerned about the army, where rank-and-file soldiers continue to demand their right to speak, organize, and elect their officers.

"There is a complete lack of military discipline," complained one Pentagon official.

Like the rest of the Iranian workers and peasants, the soldiers want to see the revolution go forward. Khomeini has had to threaten reluctant soldiers with execution to get them to follow his orders in Kurdistan.

The U.S. imperialist overtures to the Iranian regime show where the policy of upholding the interests of the capitalists and landlords is leading. Khomeini won mass support by his resolute opposition to the slavishly proimperialist regime of the shah.

He held on to much of that popularity in the first months after the shah's downfall by cutting off oil shipments to South Africa and Israel, aligning his regime with the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination, and fiercely denouncing U.S. imperialism's backing of the shah.

But Khomeini also found ways to indicate that he would accept imperialist support if that was necessary to prevent further advances in the Iranian revolution. That was the clear meaning of his backing for the CIA-organized drive to isolate and topple the government in neighboring Afghanistan, which has instituted a radical agrarian reform and other progressive measures. Reactionary forces in Afghanistan use "Islamic" proclamations as a cover for protecting the interests of the capitalists and landlords, just as Khomeini does today in Iran.

The overwhelming majority of the Iranian people want to defend the democratic rights that tens of thousands sacrificed their lives to win. And they want to carry out the kind of fundamental social change needed to establish an economy capable of meeting the needs of the Iranian people.

Only U.S. imperialism can provide the Iranian rulers with the arms, repressive forces, and economic aid and investment to block such an overwhelming desire for change. Khomeini's moves against the Iranian working people—aimed to protect the ill-gotten gains of the landlords and capitalists—lead him toward subordination to U.S. imperialism, in spite of the anti-imperialist posture he has tried to adopt up until now.

Seal of Approval for Repressive Crackdown

Carter Offers Arms to Khomeini Government

By Fred Feldman

[The following article appeared in the September 7 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

The Carter administration, which supported and armed the bloody tyranny of the shah of Iran until it was toppled by a popular insurrection last February, is now offering military and other aid to the regime headed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

This is a shift in the public stand of the administration, which has criticized Khomeini for his denunciations of U.S. imperialism and for the execution of some of the shah's hangmen and torturers.

On August 22 Carter approved the sale of 2 million barrels of heating oil and kerosene to Iran.

Further overtures from Washington followed rapidly. The August 24th *New York Times* reported that "Defense Department officials said today that the Carter Administration was talking with the Government of Iran about resuming large-scale shipments of American arms to that country."

"The officials said authorities in Teheran, faced with a Kurdish rebellion in western Iran and political unrest elsewhere, had recently shown new interest in signing contracts for a part of some \$5 billion worth of arms and other military equipment ordered by the Government of Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi."

According to the *Times* dispatch, "Officials said Iran was regularly sending large

transport jets to New York to pick up equipment paid for earlier."

The report said the arms talks began four weeks ago in the American Embassy. Deputy Prime Minister Ibrahim Yazdi, a close aide to Ayatollah Khomeini, was said to have represented the Iranian government.

Carter's offer of military hardware signals Washington's approval of the stepped-up government drive to crush the revolutionary ferment in Iran and preserve capitalism there.

In recent weeks, Khomeini's government issued an amnesty for thousands of secret police agents and military officers of the shah—while simultaneously carrying out executions of Arab workers and other anti-shah fighters.

The regime banned working-class and liberal newspapers and political parties. Leaders of opposition parties have been forced into hiding, and twelve members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party are now under sentence of death in Ahwaz.

Khomeini has now assumed the office of commander in chief of the armed forces, attempting to mobilize the army and the "revolutionary guards" to crush the workers and farmers of Kurdistan.

The Kurds' only crime was to begin breaking up the landlords' estates and to claim their democratic right to autonomy within Iran. The offensive in Kurdistan follows similar attacks on the Arab masses in Khuzistan.

The August 25 *New York Times* reported that the State Department is backing the

Workers in Iran Seek to Organize Fighting Unions

[In the period leading up to the repressive offensive of the Khomeini-Bazargan government in mid-August, workers throughout Iran were pressing for new organizations in the factories that could really lead the fight for their interests.

[In its August 8 issue, the last before the repression made it impossible to continue publishing, the HKS paper *Kargar* carried articles on two struggles by workers to form representative committees. These articles are printed below. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

Pharmaceutical Workers Fight for Bonus

The workers in the Tehran pharmaceutical factory are now confronting the task of building councils to lead their struggles.

The victory of the February insurrection created the possibility for the workers to carry forward their struggles and to win their demands. So, they began to organize unions.

But the workers learned in months of fighting for higher wages, housing allowances, and other demands that the union representatives were not giving leadership to their struggles. Instead, these representatives were following a policy of collaboration with the bosses. For this reason, the opposition of the workers to the policies of the union representatives steadily mounted.

On July 22, in response to the extreme dissatisfaction of the workers with the union representatives, the factory manager announced that elections would be held for a new council or union.

In his announcement, the factory manager made a lot of promises to the workers. He said that he would fight together with "each and every" worker so that they would get "their rights, truth, and justice."

But in the short time since this announcement, the factory manager has demonstrated *in practice* that these promises were nothing but hot air to deceive the workers. The very next week, he told the workers that they would no longer be getting the 250 toman [approximately US\$25] monthly bonus that they had been receiving before.

The intervention of the factory manager into the new elections to set up a factory council showed again how worried he was about the formation of a real council and about the workers carrying forward their struggle for their demands.

The factory manager announced on Wednesday, August 1, that the elections would be held that Saturday, August 4. The vote was to take place under the supervision of Imam's Committee agents and the Ministry of Labor.

In a meeting on Saturday, the workers protested vehemently against the factory manager's attempt to ram through quick and undemocratic elections. In the face of such strong protests, the scheduled elec-

tions could not be held.

The results of the elections for a new council are a matter of great concern for the factory management and foremen. If we disregard their oily words and expressions of deep sympathy for the workers, their intention is quite simple. They want to prevent the formation of a real, fighting workers council.

In order to achieve this objective, they have resorted to a thousand and one ruses, tricks, and demagogic lies. And it was to achieve this purpose also that the factory management intervened in the matter of the council elections and called in Imam's Committee agents and the Ministry of Labor.

In order to block such interference and to guarantee that those representatives elected to the council assume the task of fighting for the workers' interests, the workers must rely on their own strength alone.

The workers need councils that would not only fight for the restoration of the 250 toman monthly bonus but for its inclusion

in the basic wage. The workers need a council that would fight for better wage increases, better housing allowances, more on-the-job safety, hygienic services, proper medical care, and for all the many things the workers need. They need a council that could lead their struggles, free from the control of the factory management.

Such a council can only be organized by the workers themselves. It must be unfettered by any policies or demands of the factory management and supporters of the management, whether they are in the Imam's Committees or in the Ministry of Labor.

The first step toward organizing such a committee is holding a democratic election. In order to be able to carry out such an election, the workers have to be able to hold the discussions, meetings, and dialogues that they consider necessary so that the opinions and policies of the various candidates can become known.

In order for democracy to prevail, everyone should have the opportunity to voice their opinions and views in democratic assemblies. Only in this way will it be possible to put an end to the blocking of genuine elections by the factory management and its supporters inside or outside of the factory.

Up until now, the workers have blocked the attempts of the factory manager, the Imam's Committee, and the Ministry of Labor to foist an undemocratic quickie election on them. This is a victory in the fight for setting up a real workers council.

Construction Workers Confront Bosses' Agents

The overthrow of the Pahlavi regime aroused the Paradise Construction Company workers' hopes that they would be able to win their demands for their rights. After all, they had played an active role in the fight to break down the doors of the Pahlavis' dreaded dungeons and in the four-month general strike that preceded the downfall of the regime.

The victory of the insurrection did not go as far as ending the exploitation by the bosses. But it did create new conditions in which the workers could take some probing steps in learning how to fight for their demands.

In these new conditions, the first struggle waged by workers at the Paradise Construction Company was to get the four months' back wages owed to them for the period that they were on strike. After a long runaround, the workers were able to get their back pay for two months out of the four.

In the battle with the bosses, the workers were confronted with stalling tactics by the Ministry of Labor, with government officials protecting the bosses, and with the interference of Imam's Committee agents who played the role of police.

In the course of this struggle, ad hoc committees of leaders were imposed on the workers. More than two months ago, when the workers were fighting for their back pay and other demands such as children's allowances and help with housing and food, they planned to form councils. Through their agents among the workers, the bosses learned of this, and conspired to forestall the formation of any genuine fighting councils.

One day, suddenly, after the head of the Imam's Committee operatives learned that the Paradise workers were calling for the formation of a committee of five delegates, five agents of management, who had been prepared for such an occasion, put them-

selves forward as candidates. In an undemocratic and hasty election, they were elected.

One of these agents of management was so hated by the workers that he was immediately driven out by jeers and had to be removed. But the management succeeded in imposing this committee of four persons on the workers.

From the time the council was organ-

ized, the workers found it blocking their struggle, sabotaging and wrecking their solidarity and unity.

The workers of the Paradise Construction Company are now more than ever aware that in order to win their demands for justice and humane treatment, in order to get a larger share of the wealth they produce by their own labor, they must

build leadership bodies that really represent them and which they really control.

In concluding an interview with one of our reporters, the Paradise workers said: "We want to organize a union to fight for our demands. Then it would be clear for the workers who the bosses' agents were and who wanted to fight for the workers' demands." □

Iranian Trotskyist Newspaper 'Kargar'

Tribune for Struggles of Working Masses

By Gerry Foley

The August 8 issue of their paper *Kargar* was the last that the Iranian Trotskyists were able to publish openly. It gave a dramatic picture of the confrontation developing between the masses and the capitalist government of Khomeini and Bazargan.

At the same time, this issue of *Kargar* showed how the Trotskyists seek to formulate, clarify, project, and defend the demands of every sector of the working masses.

On the front cover, there were three photos. One of the two largest showed Kurds defending a town against attack by central government troops. The other main picture showed thousands of Arabs protesting against the Khomeini-Bazargan regime's repression in Khuzestan.

The captions were respectively "Hands Off Kurdistan," and "Free the Five Thousand Imprisoned Revolutionists in Khuzestan."

A third, smaller picture showed Nurik Aghazaryan, the only soldier who ran in the election for the Assembly of Experts. He was a candidate on the slate of the Iranian Trotskyist organization, the Socialist Workers Party (HKS).

Urge Solidarity With Kurdish Toilers

In this issue, there were two editorials. The first condemned the central government's sharpening attack on the Kurdish people. It said in part:

After the massacres in Sanandaj and Naqadeh, the government has sent Imam's Committee guards and the army against the people of Marivan. This is the government's third major attempt to crush the struggle of the Kurdish people for self-determination.

What prompted this new attack and the shooting by revolutionary guards was an orderly demonstration by the people of Marivan against the way the radio and TV censor and distort the news about Kurdistan. . . .

The government's attack on Kurdistan is a direct attack on the working class of Iran. It was designed to divide the workers and to prevent the consolidation of their solidarity and unity.

Faced with these attacks, it is the duty of the Iranian workers to form a solid front of unity with the Kurdish toilers.

The editorial on the repression in the Arab areas began by saying:

Despite the extreme censorship of the mass media, the scope of the crimes and atrocities that the central government has been committing against the Arab people in its attempt to crush their struggle is becoming known.

The government has taken over the whole prison house of peoples that the monarchy and imperialists built and it is determined to maintain it.

The Arab people, who are among the poorest, the most deprived, and the most exploited of our society, have been the target of the government's most violent attacks.

After the attacks by the Imam's Committee guards on the Arab People's Cultural and Political Center in Khorramshahr and the subsequent slaughter and atrocities, hundreds of Arab militants were jailed. So far, according to the Arab organizations, seventeen of them have been sentenced by the court of the former prosecutor of Khuzestan, Satarian, and then executed a few hours later.

Kargar continued:

Reliable sources indicate that there are now close to 5,000 revolutionary political prisoners in the jails of Khuzestan. . . .

The arrests, jailings, torture, and executions that go on every day are a direct attack on all the workers and toilers of Iran, on the workers and toilers who rose up in rebellion to break down the walls of the Pahlavis' prisons.

These crimes cannot go unanswered. Action is needed, the action of the millions of oppressed and exploited who demonstrated their power by overthrowing the Pahlavi monarchy.

A large part of this issue of *Kargar* was taken up by statements of position issued by the HKS election candidates. In most of

these, the central theme was the need for workers to mobilize to defend working-class activists and the oppressed nationalities against the government's repressive campaign.

HKS Candidates Campaign From Prison

The most dramatic of these statements came from three candidates in Khuzestan—Mahsa Hashemi, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, and Hamid Shahrabi. It was made from Karoun Prison in Ahwaz.

The first of these candidates was later sentenced to life in prison, the other two to death. The charges were all political and were based on the espousal of views such as they put forward in their election statement.

The three jailed HKS candidates wrote:

Brothers and sisters of Khuzestan. We three candidates of the HKS have been imprisoned for nearly two months for the "crime" of having socialist views. . . .

It is a shame that after the overthrow of the despotic regime, socialists are forced to try to talk to the Iranian people from behind bars.

Three days from now, elections will be held for the Assembly of Experts. This body is to ratify a new constitution for Iran. . . . This constitution must defend the gains of the revolution and extend them.

In this election campaign, groups and individuals will participate that have different and antagonistic interests and aims. The capitalists, officers, and big landlords whose interests are severely threatened by the Iranian revolution will try to use this opportunity to get into a position where they can take back everything they have lost. The workers and toilers hope for something different from the assembly. They hope that it will open up the way to a better life for them.

The candidates of the capitalists will make all sorts of demagogic promises to get votes. . . . But how can a constitution really protect the rights of the working people and at the same time safeguard the welfare of the capitalists? The twenty-five year rule of the Pahlavis has

shown that the workers and peasants have nothing in common with the capitalists. . . .

Over a period of a year, millions of people went out on strike and demonstrated, and thousands of the finest young people in the country gave their lives to topple the shah. This was because the people were tired of a government of parasites and wanted a government of their own. The new constitution must pave the way for the establishment of such a government of the oppressed majority.

The Ahwaz candidates identified themselves and their party completely with the oppressed Arab people under attack.

The former prosecutor of Khuzestan province, Satarian, jailed us for expressing solidarity with the Arabs. But he should understand that the Socialist Workers Party is the party of the Arab people's fighters, and that there is an indissoluble bond between it and the Arab people.

'Kargar' Distributor Arrested

In Khuzestan, Manucher Suleimani was detained by Imam's Committee guards because he had a bundle of *Kargar* in his car. He was on his way to sell them in Khorramshahr, the biggest Arab center. For this "crime" he was jailed in one of the prisons that have been turned into concentration camps for the Arab people. He was later released.

Kargar devoted a page to an interview with the jailed paper seller.

Suleimani said that the prison officials had asked him questions such as "What role did your party play in the plot by the Arab people?" and "Did the people who gave you this bundle of papers have anything to do with the explosion in the mosque?" [where a hand grenade went off during the government's first major attack on the Arabs].

He was told several times that he would be shot. "Even once while my mother and father were visiting me, the officials said to me, 'You're a halfbreed Arab, and you're going to be shot.'"

Summary Executions of Arabs

In the time Suleimani was held, he learned of the shooting of five Arab prisoners, who were executed "without any investigation or any evidence that they committed a crime."

On the night of the explosion, within four hours 300 Arabs were brought into the prison. There was no evidence against these people.

Arabs were attacked randomly on the streets and beaten. The same day five persons were arrested, one because they said they had found a few cartridges in his home, another was his brother, and the others were arrested just because they were known to be his friends.

After they were arrested, they were taken out into the desert and beaten. One of them was shot in the foot. He was then taken to army headquarters. The others were brought back to the prison.

On the same day, at 4:00 p.m., Prosecutor Satarian and Admiral Medani [governor of the province] arrived at the prison.

Satarian personally beat these people up, using boxing gloves. And then, without any investigation, without any warrant . . . four of

these prisoners were shot.

In prison, it was said that the one who had been taken to army headquarters was also shot.

Suleimani described the treatment of the other Arab prisoners:

It was horrible. When their relatives visited them, they were not allowed to speak in their own language. They were not allowed out of their cells. They were not allowed to talk to their cellmates. All the prisoners except me were Arabs.

There were also dreadful tortures. I saw the prisoners taken out to stand in front of firing squads. The order to shoot was given. But the guns turned out to be loaded with blanks. This was a very common type of psychological torture in the days of the SAVAK.

The Imam's Committee guards at the prison, Suleimani said, checked all the Arab prisoners against the pictures of Arab protest demonstrations. He also described how they boasted of crushing the Khorramshahr dockers strike by shooting down workers.

Kargar's editors stressed that they had published this interview to "expose and publicize the crimes that the government is committing in these prisons, to tear away the curtain with which it is trying to conceal these crimes."

Campaign for Rights of Soldiers

The HKS's soldier candidate, Aghazaryan, was ruled off the ballot. *Kargar* commented:

The government and the officers were afraid that the voice of opposition raised by Nurik Aghazaryan would reach the soldiers in Khuzestan and Kurdistan who are now being sent by this capitalist government into fratricidal war against the Kurds and Arabs.

Aghazaryan called for "full democratic rights for soldiers both inside and outside the barracks, election of officers, and abolition of the hierarchy in the army."

HKS Women Candidates Speak Out

Among the hundreds of candidates running in the assembly elections, only eighteen were women. Of these, five were members of the HKS.

However, some of the HKS women candidates were ruled off the ballot. For example, Ashraf Manubivand, one of the two HKS candidates in Azerbaijan, was disqualified because she did not meet the minimum age set by the government. *Kargar* commented:

The election campaign of these socialist women has attracted the attention of thousands of women in Iran. For the first time, Iranian women have brought their demands and their example of action to a broad audience. For the first time, socialist women have presented a serious program for women's liberation and for achieving equality.

One of the women candidates, Sadeeqeh Nabuvi, was able to deliver a speech over the radio. *Kargar* published extensive excerpts from it. She said:

It is almost five months since the victory of the revolution but the status of women in our society has still not been clarified, women have not yet won their freedom. Women were anxious to see the constitution, and the government that would be formed, deal with the question of their status.

With the publication of the draft constitution, however, all the women's hopes were disappointed. The new constitution seeks to imprison women in the home. . . .

Women participated in all the stages of the revolution, but now we are being denied the fruits of our struggle.

Kargar explained how difficult it had been for the HKS to campaign, in view of extremely restrictive rules imposed by the Khomeini-Bazargan government and in face of harassment and attacks by rightists acting under the cover of religion. It took nearly a page to list all the attacks on HKS activists during the campaign, which included a siege of the party headquarters in Isfahan.

'Masses of Iran Have Carried Out a Gigantic Revolution'

In a radio speech published in *Kargar*, Babak Zahraie, one of the central leaders of the HKS and a candidate in Tehran, drew attention to the campaign of the three jailed HKS members in Khuzestan. He went on to say:

The newspaper headlines say that in Kurdistan, counterrevolutionary agents are carrying out sabotage, that there are separatists there, that there are saboteurs in Khuzestan, and in Turkmenistan as well. In every part of Iran, there are supposed to be saboteurs and separatists and plots. That is what the capitalists say. But if you look a little closer at these reports, if you look for the truth, you get the real picture.

The truth is that the masses of Iran have carried out a gigantic revolution and gotten only small benefits from it.

The government, he explained, was trying to prevent the masses from claiming the fruits of the revolution they made. It was trying to prevent their demands from being raised and to suppress any attempt to point out the contradiction between what the masses fought for and what was being done by the government that came to power as a result of their struggle.

The last openly published issue of *Kargar* fearlessly pointed out this contradiction as it appeared concretely in all areas of Iranian society. That is why the defenders of capitalist rule are trying to suppress the paper.

At the same time, this last openly published issue of *Kargar* shows why these rightist forces will not succeed. The Iranian Trotskyist newspaper became the most courageous advocate of all the Iranian masses who were cheated of their victory by the Khomeini-Bazargan government and its official and unofficial police.

These masses have not been defeated. They are only beginning to fight, and they will not let those who have spoken out most forthrightly in their defense be silenced. □

Nicaragua Government Attacks Currency Hoarders

By Mirta Vidal

[The following article appeared in the September 7 issue of the *Militant*.]

* * *

MANAGUA—Striking a stunning financial blow against those who profited under ousted dictator Somoza, the Nicaraguan government announced on August 25 that bills of 500 or 1,000 *cordobas* (U.S. \$50 and \$100) would be immediately invalid.

With the slogan, "Let's take back from *Somocismo* the money that belongs to the people," the government urged everyone to deposit their large denomination bills in the bank. In exchange, depositors received coupons to be refunded in six months, with 8 percent interest.

Airports and international borders were shut down as people waited in lines all day Saturday to make their deposits.

The swiftness with which the new measure was carried out prevented many of Somoza's henchmen, now hiding in embassies and elsewhere around the country, from making arrangements to obtain reimbursement for their now-worthless currency.

The surprise move will also make it impossible for those who fled the country with Nicaraguan currency from making use of it. *Barricada*, official newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), estimates that Somoza and his cohorts fled the country with more than \$4 billion.

The new measure will help stabilize the nation's currency. Many wealthy people, uncertain of which way the revolution would go, had taken considerable sums of money out of the banks and were hoarding it until they felt it was safer to invest. Many had rushed to buy U.S. dollars at a much higher rate than the official rate of exchange. Economic sabotage and disruption of this type will now be more difficult.

Furthermore, those who had been accumulating funds by corrupt and illicit means, and who cannot explain the sources of their assets in currency, will be wiped out.

Workers Support Action

Despite the inconvenience that the measure caused to many working people—especially to public employees, who had received lump sum payments the day before for two months back wages—the response was overwhelmingly favorable to the government's action.

Most people see it as a revolutionary measure by the Sandinista leadership aimed at benefiting the workers and other

oppressed sectors of the population. A government education campaign along these lines is being carried out in the media.

As soon as the 500 and 1,000 *cordoba* bills had been rounded up, the government announced that those making deposits no larger than 3,000 *cordobas*—60 percent of the total number of depositors, and clearly comprised overwhelmingly of working people—would be reimbursed this week. Those who chose to leave their money in the bank over the six-month period will earn 8 percent interest.

Larger depositors, however, will be investigated, and decisions concerning reimbursement will be made case by case.

Sergio Ramirez, a member of the Junta for National Reconstruction, explained on national television that this final provision had been decided in advance, but had not been made public in order to catch the money hoarders and *Somocistas* off guard.

Sandinista Army Consolidated

Another important step taken in the past few days was a constitutional decree replacing the hated National Guard with the Sandinista army.

The decision was announced by Sergio Ramirez at an August 22 rally to commemorate the first anniversary of a daring Sandinista assault on the National Palace. That raid secured the release of fifty-eight political prisoners and was the opening event in a round of anti-Somoza strikes and business shutdowns last year.

FSLN leaders have explained the need to set up an effective fighting force. In line with this, a decision was recently made to incorporate the people's militias that arose during the revolution into the regular Sandinista army. There the armed workers and peasants will receive combat training and political education.

The need to be prepared to defend the revolution from the ever-present threat of imperialist intervention seems to be widely understood by the Nicaraguan people.

Education a Priority

A literacy campaign is to be launched in 1980. This campaign, a key aspect of the program for national reconstruction, aims to teach 600,000 people to read and write in the course of twenty months.

An estimated 130,000 teachers will be needed to carry out the ambitious plan. To meet the goal, the 10,000 teachers now available will be supplemented with volunteer students and workers.

The Cuban government, which accumulated considerable experience in its own literacy campaign after the victory of the revolution there, has offered to provide material and human resources for this effort.

Fernando Vecino Alegret, the Cuban minister of higher education, arrived this week with a delegation headed by José Ramón Fernández, vice-president of the Cuban Council of Ministers, to begin briefing Nicaraguan teachers. The Cubans have also provided some 150 different texts for use in the Nicaraguan schools.

Meanwhile, the National Association of Nicaraguan Educators met this week in Managua to prepare the reopening of the grammar and high schools. They also approved the reinstatement of teachers fired ten years ago for refusing to support the Somoza dictatorship.

As the teachers met to make this decision, hundreds of spirited students rallied outside the Ruben Dario auditorium to demonstrate their support for the victimized "teacher-compañeros."

Aid Vitrally Necessary

With hunger a critical problem for nearly 1 million people, food aid remains the number one problem facing the Nicaraguan revolution today. The leaders of the revolution have appealed to all possible sources for help. (See accompanying interview with the Minister of Social Welfare.)

Despite its promises, the United States government has refused to provide the kind of aid it is capable of giving. For example, while Washington had promised 3,258 tons of aid by September 1, only 1,851 have arrived so far.

Harry Wilkinson, subdirector of the Agency for International Development (AID), through which U.S. aid is now being channeled, has explained that aid will be given only if certain political conditions are fulfilled. He described these conditions as: "No violations of human rights."

Ironically, AID has an outstanding debt of over \$25 million that it had agreed to provide to Nicaragua when the Somoza regime was in power. No conditions were imposed on the murderous dictator, one of the worst violators of human rights in the world.

Clearly, Washington is using the promise of aid as a lever to pressure the Sandinistas to pull back from advancing the Nicaraguan revolution. An international campaign exposing Washington's aims and pressing for all the aid required remains vitally necessary. □

'Organizing to Defend Our Sandinista Revolution'

[The following is a description of how neighborhood committees in Managua are organized, as told to *Militant* reporters by a leader of the committee in the Monseñor Lescano neighborhood.]

* * *

Civil defense committees and people's action committees were formed before the insurrection, when we saw the need to organize people to prepare them for the eventuality of war.

We needed people who could offer medicine and food, and we needed to instruct people to produce shelters in their homes for protection against the bombing and shelling. We needed committees for civil defense, supplies, and health, and also vigilance committees to detect paramilitary Somocista groups that might be on the loose.

With the victory of the insurrection, we have initiated the task of organizing ourselves to defend our Sandinista revolution. So the civil defense committees became Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS).

Each CDS is organized on a block-by-block basis, four blocks at a time.

Representatives are democratically elected for each block. A supplies representative is elected to distribute the foodstuffs or solidarity packages that we receive from abroad. A person is elected to be in charge of health, responsible for promoting discussions on health among the people of the neighborhood, and for preparing a store of medical supplies. A propaganda committee is set up to inform people of the present situation, so that they will understand what we are doing and where we are headed.

So, the neighborhood CDS structure includes all those who live in those blocks.

The committees meet once a week.

The various neighborhood committees in a given area elect a council. These councils explain the needs and transmit the suggestions of the population to the authorities in charge. For example, solving the problem of water is important, because many pipes were broken during the war. Much public lighting was also rendered useless. A way must be found to distribute goods equitably among the neediest.

At the same time we promote different activities to solve these problems. For example, if the government junta tells us we need to fumigate all the empty buildings to prevent contamination, the neighborhood committees carry out the work on the basis of the overall plans.

We also have militias in each neighborhood. They are independent of the neighborhood committees, and are tied directly to the army. They handle problems of a

military nature, for example, leftovers from the Somocista forces that might be around.

Each neighborhood committee has a headquarters, a "Casa Sandinista." This is the Casa Sandinista for the Monseñor Lescano neighborhood. The office personnel here all work on a volunteer basis. After working at their jobs, they dedicate the rest of their time to working here.

The members of the Sandinist National Liberation Front who are here put forth the positions of the FSLN, and look into the needs of the people so that the Government of the Provisional Junta can begin to make plans.

One of our main functions here at the Casa Sandinista is to promote political discussions and to initiate an education campaign so that people will have a clear understanding of our goals and how best to carry them out.

'Before We Had Bosses—Now Things Are Different'

[The following is a *Militant* interview with a woman worker in a match factory in the Altagracia neighborhood of Managua.]

* * *

Question. How have workers responded to the nationalizations?

Answer. The boss has left. Before we had bosses. Now the factory belongs to the state.

We are working more willingly and with enthusiasm now, because we have a free Nicaragua. We can say anything we want.

We are willing to build. We're ready to make sacrifices in order to build a free country.

Q. What do you expect from the government today?

A. I'm fifty years old, and for all my working life Somoza was in power. What they paid was pathetic. Everything was outrageously expensive. We could barely eat.

Somoza used to say everything was going well. But it was a lie. Now things are different. We expect the best.

Q. Did people ever try to form a union before?

A. A lot of people tried. But whenever people had meetings and elected representatives to try and form a union, the bosses would immediately take punitive measures and fire them. And if you got fired, you couldn't find work anywhere else.

We are now conducting a discussion of the plans for national reconstruction, so that people will know what the Junta and the FSLN leadership are doing.

On the Managua level, the Casa Sandinista de Ricardo Morales Avile houses the committee which is in charge of everything related to mass organizations, such as the neighborhood committees, the Sandinista trade union federation (CST), the Sandinista youth organizations, and other organizations of this type.

People come daily from all over to ask help in getting organized. In these first couple of months after the insurrection, people have really demonstrated the need to organize.

We are on a campaign footing to carry out this revolution in an organized way—block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood, city by city, province by province.

Q. And today?

A. We are organizing a union. But we don't want to join the first one that comes along. We are discussing which is in our best interests.

Q. How do women workers manage to work, take care of your children, and keep a home?

A. Before we used to leave the children with neighbors or relatives, or pay someone to take care of them.

The new government has promised to set up child-care centers—places where we can leave our children while we work, where they will get proper meals, medicine, and so on.

We hope this plan will be implemented, because for us workers it would be a relief to know that our children are being cared for. Before we had none of this.

Before, our children—even eleven-year-olds—were harassed by Somoza's National Guard. We were constantly worried. Often when a working mother got home, they would tell her that her child had been arrested. She would ask why, and they would tell her that the child was suspected of being a Sandinista.

It was horrible to live that way. It was really horrible. Now we are all at ease.

Q. What if Somoza tried to come back?

A. Somoza left us in a terrible state. He'd better not think of ever coming back, because we're not going to let him. We're ready to fight. Even we older women are ready to pick up the gun. □

'Hunger Is the Emergency We Face Right Now'

[The following interview with Lea Guido de López, minister of social welfare in the new government in Nicaragua, was obtained by the *Militant* on August 21.]

* * *

Question. What are the goals of your ministry?

Answer. As far as social welfare is concerned, this is a totally new ministry. Before the revolution there were only a few programs concerning social welfare policy, and these were pretty much dispersed in different ministries. There was no policy on behalf of children, the youth, women, or the old. Absolutely nothing. And what there was was totally corrupt. We have found a whole series of frauds.

We are faced with two problems. On the one hand, we lack an infrastructure and the human resources to carry out our tasks. On the other hand, the people have great expectations concerning the social plan. People are raising many demands to improve their standard of living.

The government considers this social plan to be the area in which we are most able to carry out a number of fundamental programs concerning health, education, and welfare that can meet the basic demands being raised by the people.

We foresee one of the ministry's principal functions to be overseeing an improvement in the standard of living, giving priority to those sectors outside of production—children, women, the aged, the disabled, etc. We also want to take up a series of political and cultural measures.

In addition, the ministry has to continually evaluate living conditions. This will serve as a barometer to measure the causes of problems and gauge the effect of our programs.

Our problem is that we have many plans, but few material resources to carry out these plans.

Q. How do you plan to implement your goals?

A. Our vision of this ministry is to integrate the government's policy in the social sector with the communities so that little by little social services will be administered by the people.

This ministry is particularly interested in stimulating and supporting community organizations to ensure the participation of the people in urban and rural areas all over the country.

In the course of the struggle against Somoza, civil defense committees were created massively in urban and rural areas. We think that these rank-and-file

committees can deal with a number of problems in administering services.

For example, at this time we have not appointed anyone to be in charge of the distribution of food. What we have created is an infrastructure for distribution—grocery stores in the different towns—and have arranged for the FSLN in the different towns to conduct a census so that the little food that we have can be distributed.

We think we should create community organizations where they do not exist, or combine them with the defense committees, to carry out a series of social welfare programs.

We need to be linked to the masses, and that's what we're trying to establish.

In each city, councils will be set up with representatives of each neighborhood. We will meet with the leaderships of these councils to find out their basic problems and determine what should be given priority.

This ministry is the one most suited to have this contact with the masses.

In the ministry we have a community action section which is in charge of this.

Q. What are some of the most immediate problems that you face?

A. The problem of hunger is an emergency that we face right now. According to the figures that we have there are more than one million people who suffer from hunger. This is a gigantic problem.

International help is vital. We have been working with international agencies and governments to obtain this badly needed aid. The situation is critical for the next four to five months; after that we hope that a new harvest can meet our needs.

So far international aid has not been as massive as we had hoped. It has improved in this last week due to the calls we made and the pressure we exerted on an international scale. We hope to be able to solve this problem in any way we can. We are even prepared to go further into debt to buy foodstuffs from abroad if the aid is not massive enough to solve the problems.

Q. Has the U.S. sent aid?

A. In the first week of August the U.S. sent \$5 million through the Red Cross. Later, when the Junta of National Reconstruction took power, it appointed this ministry as the vehicle to distribute international aid.

Up to now direct aid from government to government has been quite minimal. The aid was mostly channeled through the Red Cross.

Before, during the war, all the aid was

Statement on Bolívar Brigade

MANAGUA—The Nicaraguan Ministry of the Interior issued a communiqué August 20 stating the following:

"In order to carry out our duty to keep citizens well informed, and in view of the fact that the media of the Republic of Colombia have published false news items about imprisonment of members of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, this ministry clarifies that in light of the problems that members of this brigade were causing in our country, they have been transported to the city of Panama, from which they will depart to Bogotá, Colombia."

channeled through the Red Cross, and I think this was correct; otherwise all the aid would have gone to the Somocista National Guard.

Now the situation has changed. We now have the state apparatus to distribute this aid. And we have made this known to all the governments, including the U.S. In fact, tomorrow we will receive the first shipment sent directly to Nicaragua from the AID [Agency for International Development].

But the little that the government and Red Cross receive is not enough to fulfill our present needs. We need between 300 and 400 metric tons of food daily to be able to solve our problems.

Q. What about other countries?

A. Among the countries from which we have received direct aid to the government is the GDR [East Germany].

The Cuban government has been sending us daily shipments of milk. The bulk of the milk we have been distributing has been Cuban milk, and this has helped us solve a critical problem that we had with babies.

The Soviet Union has just sent us forty tons of food in the first plane that came. We have also received aid from Mexico, and even Chile.

We have received positive responses to our requests from various governments. The GDR and Czechoslovakia have promised to organize the countries of the Eastern bloc to send food.

Q. All that still seems like very little.

A. Yes. The aid is not enough to solve the emergency needs. For example, two old people died of hunger in a home for the aged a few weeks ago.

I would like to appeal to people around the world to show their solidarity with us in this situation that the Nicaraguan people face today. □

A New Wave of Workers Struggles in Italy

By Livio Maitan

Ten years after the hot autumn,¹ Italy has once again been the scene of a powerful wave of struggles and demonstrations by workers, which shook the most important industrial centers of the country from the middle of June through the first week of July.

Even during the months preceding this upsurge, Italian workers had not been passive in face of employer and government attacks. During the month of May there were 25 million hours lost in strikes (compared with 11 million in May 1977). During the first five months of the current year official figures show 78 million hours were lost in strikes (as against 34 million in 1977).

A crucial factor in all this is the fact that national contracts for key industries (steel, chemical, textile, construction, etc.) have come up for renewal during this period. Furthermore, for once the fight over these contracts—especially the one that will mobilize iron and steel, auto, and shipyard workers, who are under the same national contract and are organized in the same union—has taken on a political significance going beyond the scope of the contract demand themselves, as both the workers and employers recognize. A major class confrontation is now shaping up.

200,000 Steelworkers March in Rome

The struggles began six months ago. Workers in steel had already racked up between 100 and 150 hours on strike by early July, with wages lost amounting to as much as 300,000 lira (about two-thirds of a normal month's pay). It was after the elections, however, that the battles became more hard fought and more widespread.

It will suffice to recall a few of the most important events. On June 19 the CGTL, CISL, and UIL trade-union federations—which despite their divisions of last year nonetheless achieved substantial unity in action—called for a four-hour general strike by industrial workers, in conjunction with government employees, teachers, and some of the transport workers.

On June 22 a huge national demonstration by steelworkers took place in Rome.

On July 4 there were three regional rallies by construction workers, which drew 50,000 participants in Milan, 50,000 in Rome, and 30,000 in Bari.

On July 6 it was the chemical workers' turn. Their march in Milan drew tens of

thousands from all parts of the country.

The June 22 demonstration in Rome should be noted in particular. There were 200,000 workers marching—maybe even a little more. It was an extremely militant crowd. Even CGIL leader Lama [the main Communist Party labor leader]—well known for his moderate orientation—was obliged to sharpen the tone of his speech and lay out a perspective of hard-hitting class confrontation:

They say there's a right wind blowing in Europe. Well, in Italy that wind has hit and will keep hitting an insurmountable obstacle: the strength of the working class. Nobody's going to tame the fighting spirit of us workers. The working class has a hard core, harder than the hardest front the bosses can put up.

The workers, for their part, played a preeminent role in the demonstration. The slogans at the front of the march combined the general demands of the steelworkers together with those of feminists:

"We're the first to be fired, that's why we're the most fired up!"

"Work less, make love more!"

"Family, work, sexuality, we need to change this society!"

One group of chemical workers summed up the general mood in a slogan of their own, carried in the Milan march:

"The government had better know, if it takes another '69 we're ready!"

After the June 22 demonstration the mobilizations by steelworkers in particular became even more resolute and dynamic. The workers realized that they had to score a victory before the summer holidays, and therefore needed to really step on it to achieve their goals. This was concretized in the adoption of more varied methods of struggle which were at the same time more determined.

Strikes continued to occur almost daily, with a combination of rotating strikes limited in time (one or two hours) and more prolonged strikes that went beyond the time limits fixed at the outset (extending almost to the end of the working day). The tactic of holding up goods at the exit or entrance of a plant was applied more strictly and systematically. During the last week of June and the first week of July, for example, no car haulers left the FIAT Mirafiori plant, and not a single new truck was shipped from the SPA Stura plant, both in Turin.

Sometimes when strikes took place there would be marches, both inside and around the big plants. (Needless to say, the participation in strikes at smaller plants was also much higher than usual.) The mobilization

thus reached down to the level of towns, with demonstrations, long marches, blockades of intersections and major streets and highways, occupations of train stations and even some airports.

For example, on July 4 the workers at the Lancia plant blocked the Turin-Milan and Turin-Aosta highways. The workers at FIAT, after demonstrating in front of the management of their plant, blocked off the international airport for more than an hour. When workers at the Venchi Unica plant were given layoff notices, they responded by paralyzing the Porta Susa railway station. In the Brescia region twenty-five roadblocks were organized paralyzing the Milan-Venice highway among others. A total of about 30,000 workers demonstrated in Brescia and the surrounding province. In Naples, the highway to Bari was blockaded by workers from Alfa Romeo, Alfa Sud, and Aeritalia. Roadblocks were also organized in Venice and in Ancona, where harbor traffic was also affected.

Similar demonstrations took place during the following days. On July 9, the FIAT workers went to the daily paper in Turin, *La Stampa* (owned by the same capitalists as the FIAT trust) to discuss with the journalists about the coverage of their struggles of that day. The dock workers of Livorno, meanwhile, showed their solidarity with the strikers by refusing to unload ships bringing FIAT vehicles from Spain and Brazil.

Meetings and assemblies of all kinds were held throughout all these mobilizations, with a very active participation by trade-union cadres, delegates, and rank-and-file workers. The pressure of the ranks became stronger and stronger, and often the framework of struggle set in advance by the unions or even by the assemblies themselves was thrown overboard in the course of the events.

In addition, the number of those "absent due to the strike" (that is, workers who called in sick when there was a strike on) was notably less than on other occasions.

A Political Confrontation

One need not have a penchant for facile analogies to assert that the mood in the big Italian plants has returned to what it was in 1969. The CP organ *L'Unità* went so far as to write that the number of FIAT workers demonstrating in Turin was greater on July 6 than it was during the hot autumn. The main bourgeois daily, *Corriere della Sera*, wrote July 8 that "It is as if we have slipped ten years back into the past."

1. The autumn of 1969, which marked the beginning of the new radicalization in Italy. —IP/I

This new wave of struggles results from a combination of the persistent strength and combativity of the working class, together with the incapacity of the bourgeoisie to impose the economic goals it set itself over the past two years, or to assemble a leadership capable of making substantial headway toward political stabilization.

During the first months of this year, the employers and bourgeois political leaders preferred to stall, in the hope that the elections would produce a relationship of forces more favorable for them. The results of the June 2-3 elections—a setback for the main workers party [the Communist Party] once again nourished their illusion of being able to deal the working class a blow in a major social confrontation. Within the employers' organization (the Confindustria), the wing calling for a hard line toward the workers was strengthened in relation to those who leaned more toward a reasonable compromise that would reward "the sense of responsibility"—in other words the moderation—that trade-union leaders have begun to show, especially since 1977-78.

But the calculations of these bourgeois sectors were proven to be not very realistic, and in the final analysis even dangerous from their point of view. The fact that despite the decline of the CP there still exists no perspective of a stable government evidently weighed against the employers and favored the workers' demands.

It should be added that the trade-union leaderships are finding themselves forced to make a difficult choice. They are increasingly conscious of the fact that the employers aim to use them, to erode their bargaining power and deal them setbacks without making any important concessions in return.

The leadership of the FLM, the steel-workers federation, has long been the most sensitive to this situation. In fact it was they who took the initiative around the big June 22 demonstration, rejecting attempts by the national union confederations to postpone—if not cancel—the action. Lama in turn (who as we have seen could no longer escape the pressure from a very militant rank and file) decided not to go along with moves to call off the march.

In addition, the CP had been shaken by the first electoral defeat in its history, and was obliged to remain in opposition after the Christian Democrats refused to let it join a government of national unity. In this context the CP in recent weeks has not played as much of a restraining role as it did during the whole period when contract demands were being drawn up and adopted. The reaction of many militant workers in the CP to their party's electoral setback was "Well, now we've got to fight, to go out and win back through social struggles what we've lost."

In certain key plants the initiative of vanguard militants has contributed

greatly to the radicalization of the struggle and to the use of the methods of mobilization described above. Some of these militants had been through the experience of a whole decade of struggles, while others were participating in such a confrontation for the first time.

As noted above, the present upsurge has taken on an eminently political dimension. It is seen as a major confrontation by the very large layers of workers who are involved in it. But since the start of the debate over contract demands, the stakes have become even clearer. They include a reduction of the workweek—seen both as a means of defense against superexploitation and as a way of fighting unemployment; the right to information and control by the trade unions over economic decisions, including capital investment; and wage raises.

The demands adopted by the FLM were far from being satisfactory. They were adopted over the objections of a minority that was underrepresented in the December national assembly, but which is nonetheless firmly based in the plants. The demands include a shorter workweek only in certain sectors, longer in some than in others, and undermined in the South by the possible abolition of free Saturdays; the right to certain information about decisions in the plants, but far from real workers' control; and limited wage demands, varying up to a maximum of 30,000 lira [US\$36], and—what is particularly serious—breaking with the practice imposed since 1969 of equal raises for all.)

At the same time, the FLM platform of demands includes the call for cutting the workweek in steel to thirty-six hours (beginning in 1980), as well as for wage raises that would violate the austerity schemes of the government and the employers.

In other words, we are not talking about a purely defensive battle. The working class, at any rate, does not see it that way. It sees it and will carry it through as a battle to win new concessions, limited though they may be. This is the kind of mood that explains the extraordinary dynamic of the mobilizations and the aggressiveness of large layers of workers.

It is quite possible that the results of the contract struggles may turn out to be rather disappointing, and that the workers will accept settlements that represent a retreat from their original demands. This is especially so given the extreme difficulty of continuing to fight indefinitely, with the perspective of having to start all over from scratch. A complete victory in such a confrontation could only be won by a generalization of the struggles, opening the way for a general strike with occupations of the big plants.

This is precisely what the leaderships of the trade unions and the traditional workers parties are striving to avoid right now. In the given context, they probably

will manage to avoid it, even if new contracts are not signed right away. On July 9, an initial settlement was reached between the FLM and the management of state enterprises (which include among others a large part of the steel industry, as well as Alfa Romeo). It is a settlement that falls short of the original demands, and fails to satisfy the demands of the workers in struggle.

One notable feature is its provision for a reduction of working time by means of five extra days off, which will restore some of the seven holidays eliminated two years ago. The extra five days off will go into effect starting July 1, 1981, in auto, steel, and other important sectors. The 6 x 6 system (six working days of six hours each) will eventually be introduced in the South.

On the other hand, an agreement on workforce mobility had already been reached in May. For the employers it stipulates their right to lay off on technical unemployment² workers who refuse to take a new job within a radius of 50 kilometers. For the workers, it provides that the system of automatic layoff after two years on technical unemployment will be eliminated.

As we have seen, these are limited settlements, having very little to do with real needs. Nevertheless, the workers have not only maintained their essential positions but have even assured themselves some improvements. The employers have not been able to attain their objective of inflicting a serious blow to the working class, forcing it to give up an important part of the ground it has gained in the big struggles since 1969.

At a time when dark clouds of a new recession are appearing on the horizon, this is an added reason for them to fear that the working class might give further proof of its social and political power and enhanced fighting potential.

July 10, 1979

2. A government program for cushioning the effects of layoffs resulting from technological changes in industry.—IP/I

Copies Missing?

Keep your files of Intercontinental Press complete and up-to-date. Missing issues for the current year may be ordered by sending \$1 per copy. Write for information about previous years.

Intercontinental Press/Inprecor
P.O. Box 116
Village Station
New York, N.Y. 10014

Nicaragua's New Bill of Rights

[The following is the complete text of the "Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans." This document, which has been described in the international press as Nicaragua's "Bill of Rights," was decreed by the Government of National Reconstruction August 21, and went into effect immediately.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. We have taken the text from the official copy distributed to the press in Managua.]

* * *

The Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua, considering:

1. That the Somoza dictatorship's systematic disregard for the fundamental rights of the Nicaraguan people, and rights of the person, led to acts of barbarism which outraged the conscience of humanity; and

2. That the basis for freedom, justice, and peace lies in the recognition and affirmation of fundamental human rights both individual and collective, for which it is essential that these rights be protected by the revolutionary government;

Therefore in accordance with its vested authority decrees the following *Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans*.

Title I

Rights of the People

1. The Nicaraguan people have the right to free and full choice in determining their political status and providing for their own economic, social, and cultural development.

The state shall guarantee by law the direct participation of the people in the basic affairs of the country, both on a national and a local level.

2. To accomplish their goals, the Nicaraguan people have the right to freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources, without prejudicing those obligations incurred from international cooperation based on the principle of mutual benefit, solidarity, and international justice. In no case may the Nicaraguan people be deprived of their own means of subsistence.

Title II

Individual Civil and Political Rights

3. All persons are equal before the law, and have the right to equal protection. There shall be no discrimination on the basis of birth, race, color, sex, language, religion, opinions, origin, economic position, or any other social condition.

It is the duty of the state to use all the means at its disposal to remove any obstacles which impede real equality of citizens

and their participation in the political, economic, and social life of the country.

4. The state shall respect and guarantee the right recognized in this Title to all persons who are on its territory and subject to its jurisdiction. Foreigners shall not be able to intervene in the political affairs of the country.

5. The right to life is inviolable, and inherent in the human person. In Nicaragua there is no death penalty.

6. All persons have the right to respect for their physical, psychological, and moral integrity. Penalties shall not be imposed on anyone except the delinquent person.

No one shall be subjected to torture, nor to punishments or treatment which are cruel, inhuman, or degrading. It shall not be permitted to establish a punishment or punishments which, individually or together, last more than thirty years.

7. No one shall be subjected to servitude, nor constrained to carry out forced or obligatory labor. The law shall regulate obligatory labor and services that may be demanded by virtue of judicial decision. These include conditional freedom, military or civilian service, service imposed in cases of danger or disasters which threaten the lives or well-being of the community, as well as labor or service that is part of normal civic obligation.

8. Every individual has the right to personal freedom and personal security. No one may be subjected to arbitrary arrest or imprisonment, nor deprived of their freedom, except for legally established cause and in conformity with a legal proceeding. Consequently:

(1) Arrests may only be carried out under a written warrant from a competent judge or from the authorities expressly authorized by law, except in cases of *flagrante delicto*.

(2) All persons arrested shall have the right:

(a) To be informed and notified promptly of the reason for their arrest and of the accusation, denunciation, or charges against them;

(b) To be brought before the competent authority within twenty-four hours, or else set free;

(c) To submit a writ of *habeas corpus*;

(d) To be treated with the respect worthy of the inherent dignity of a human being;

(e) To obtain reparations in case of illegal arrest or imprisonment.

9. Persons awaiting trial shall be separated from convicted prisoners, and women from men, each receiving adequate treatment for their circumstances. Children

may only be brought before Courts for Minors, and in no case shall be sent to common prisons. There shall be adaptation centers for them, under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Welfare.

10. The essential objective of the prison system shall be the reform and social rehabilitation of the convicts, seeking to incorporate them into the productive process.

11. All accused persons shall have the right, on an equal basis, to the following minimum guarantees:

(a) Not to be presumed guilty unless and until a formal sentence has been handed down against them;

(b) To be tried without delay by a competent tribunal. The judicial process must be public, although in some exceptional cases the press and the general public may be excluded from all or part of a trial for reasons of morality, public order, or national security;

(c) To be guaranteed the right to participate in the trial from the beginning;

(d) To be given the opportunity to really and effectively intervene in the proceedings, and to have adequate time and means to prepare their defense. If the defendant in his or her opening statement does not designate a defense counsel and is not an attorney, an official defense counsel shall be named immediately;

(e) To have a defense counsel named in cases where no counsel could be found after a public request was made;

(f) To intervene in the presentation and examination of all types of evidence before any verdict is handed down;

(g) Not to be forced to testify against himself or herself, nor to confess guilt;

(h) Not to have a prison sentence handed down against him or her unless all elements of the crime have been fully proven and a grave presumption of guilt exists; and to have the prison sentence handed down within ten days after the warrant for arrest;

(i) All persons found guilty of crimes have the right to appeal the verdict and sentence imposed on them to a higher court, as prescribed by law;

(j) Not to be tried again for a crime for which one has already been convicted or acquitted;

(k) Not to be removed from the judge having jurisdiction.

12. No one shall be convicted for acts or omissions that were not crimes under national or international law at the time they were committed. Nor shall any punishment be imposed which is more serious than the one applicable at the time of

commission of the crime. If subsequent revisions of the law provide for the imposition of a lighter punishment than the one in effect at the time the crime was committed, the accused shall benefit from that revision.

None of the provisions of this article shall be construed as opposing the trial or conviction of a person for acts or omissions which at the time of commission were considered crimes according to the general principles of law recognized by the international community.

13. Trial by jury shall be provided for crimes specified by the law.

14. No one shall be imprisoned solely for the fact of being unable to fulfill an economic obligation, no matter how it may have been incurred.

15. All persons who are in Nicaraguan territory legally shall have the right to move about freely, and to freely choose their place of residence. Nicaraguans shall have the right to enter and leave the country freely.

16. The right to asylum in Nicaragua is guaranteed to any person being persecuted for fighting for the cause of peace and justice, or for the recognition or extension of the human, civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights of individuals or groups. If for any reason it is decided to expel an exile, he or she may never be sent to a country where he or she might be persecuted.

Extradition shall be regulated by the law and international treaties, and shall never be carried out in cases of political crimes or common crimes linked to political acts as determined by Nicaraguan standards. For the purposes of extradition, genocide shall not be considered a political crime.

17. Every human being has the right in Nicaragua to recognition of their judicial personality and capacity.

No person shall be obliged to do anything not required by law, nor prevented from doing anything not prohibited by law. Consequently, only on the basis of the law may personal or familial debts be imposed, except for the duties of conduct and abstention required by human solidarity, the duty to behave in a fraternal manner, respect for the rights and freedoms of others, and the need to satisfy the just demands of morality, public order, and general well-being in a democratic society, even when such duties are not expressly established by law.

18. No person shall be subjected to arbitrary or illegal interference in their private life, their family, their place of residence, their correspondence or communication, nor to attacks on their honor and reputation; all shall have the right to protection by the law in the case of such interference or attacks. In particular:

(1) A person's residence and all other private quarters are inviolable, and may only be searched on the written order of a competent judge, or to prevent the commis-

sion or concealment of crimes, or to avoid harm to persons or goods, subject to provisions of the law.

(2) Private documents and communications are inviolable. The law shall establish cases and procedures for the examination or confiscation of private documents, financial books, and related documents when it is indispensable to do so in order to clarify matters brought before courts of justice, or for fiscal purposes.

19. No one may be subjected to coercive measures that might impair their freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, nor their right to have or to adopt the religion or beliefs of their choice, nor their freedom to manifest those beliefs individually or collectively, in public or in private, through worship, celebration of rites, practice, or preaching.

20. Freedom of information is one of the fundamental principles of authentic democracy. Therefore, it cannot be subjugated, directly or indirectly, to the economic power of any group.

21. All persons have the right to freedom of expression; this right encompasses the freedom to seek, receive, and distribute information and ideas, whether orally, in writing, in printed or artistic form, or by any other means chosen. The exercise of these freedoms brings with it duties and responsibilities, and consequently may be subject to certain necessary formalities, conditions, and restrictions specified by law:

(a) In the interest of national security and integrity, public safety, and the national economy;

(b) For the preservation of order and prevention of crime;

(c) For the protection of the health, moral well-being, or the dignity of persons and the reputations or the rights of others;

(d) To prevent the release of confidential information or to guarantee the authority and impartiality of the Judicial Power.

22. Any propaganda against peace, and any apology for national, racial, or religious intolerance, is prohibited.

23. The right of peaceful assembly is recognized. The right to demonstrate publicly shall be regulated by police ordinances.

24. All persons have the right to freely associate with others for legal purposes.

25. All citizens shall enjoy without restriction the following rights:

(a) To organize political parties or groups, or to belong to them;

(b) To participate in the direction of public affairs, directly or through freely elected representatives;

(c) To petition in writing, individually or collectively, to any public functionary, official entity, or public power, and the right to obtain prompt resolution of such matters;

(d) To vote and to be elected, and to have generally equal access to public office.

26. All persons have the right to nation-

ality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of their nationality, or of the right to change it.

27. Property, whether individual or collective, fulfills a social function. It may therefore be subject to restrictions in regard to ownership, benefit, use, and disposition, for reasons of security, public interest or utility, social interest, the national economy, national emergency or disaster, or for purposes of agrarian reform.

Title III Individual Economic, Social, Cultural Rights

Section 1. Economic Rights

28. The law, taking into account as necessary the rights involved and the national economy, shall determine to what extent the economic rights recognized in this statute shall be guaranteed to persons who are not Nicaraguans.

29. Work is a right and a social responsibility of the individual. It is the duty of the state to obtain full and productive employment for all Nicaraguans under conditions which guarantee the fundamental rights of the human person.

30. All persons have the right to enjoy equitable and satisfactory conditions of work, which should assure them, in particular:

(1) Remuneration which provides the worker with at least:

(a) A salary or wage equal to that paid for equal work under the same conditions of efficiency, and adequate to the social responsibilities of the worker, without discrimination for reasons of sex;

(b) Decent conditions of existence both for the worker and for his or her family.

(2) Health and safety on the job.

(3) Equal opportunity for all to be promoted to the appropriate job classification, with no limitations other than time of service and capability.

(4) Rest, the enjoyment of free time, reasonable limitation of the hours of work, and periodic paid vacations that provide effective rest, as well as pay for holidays.

Nothing in this article shall be construed as authorizing employers to deny workers rights or guarantees they had previously obtained, on the pretext that they are not mentioned or are mentioned less prominently in this article.

Section II. Social Rights

31. With the aim of promoting and protecting the economic and social interests of Nicaraguans, the following are guaranteed:

(1) The right to establish and promote popular, communal, neighborhood, rural, and other organizations; as well as labor or professional associations.

(2) The right to establish trade unions and to join them, subject only to the statutes of the unions themselves.

(3) The right of unions to form national federations or confederations, and the

right of these to establish or affiliate to international trade-union organizations.

(4) The right to establish and promote labor and production cooperatives.

32. The right to strike is recognized for all workers; it is to be exercised in conformity with the laws.

33. Every person has the right to social security; to gain satisfaction of the indispensable rights to dignity and to the full development of the personality; to an adequate standard of living for oneself and one's family, which assures health, well-being—in particular food, clothing, shelter, medical assistance, and necessary social services—as well as social services in the event of unemployment, illness, maternity, physical handicap, loss of one's spouse, old age, death, orphanhood, occupational hazards, or other cases of loss of one's means of subsistence.

34. The family is the natural unit of society and has the right to protection by the society and the state.

Marriage is based on the voluntary agreement of the woman and the man. In family relations there exists absolute equality of rights and responsibilities between man and woman.

In the event of dissolution of a marriage the necessary protection of the children shall be assured.

Parents have the duty to be concerned with the education of their children, to prepare them for socially useful work, and to educate them as proper members of the society. Children are obligated to help and aid their parents.

35. Every child has the right, without any discrimination, to the means of protection that their condition as a minor requires, both on the part of the family as well as the society and the state.

Parents have the same responsibilities toward children born out of wedlock as toward children born within it. All personal characterizations with regard to the nature of one's filial legitimacy are prohibited. The right to investigate paternity is established.

36. The state shall adopt special measures for the protection and assistance of children and adolescents, without any discrimination for reasons of legitimacy or any other condition. Children and adolescents are to be protected against any kind of economic or social exploitation. Employment of children or adolescents in jobs that are damaging to their health or morals, that endanger life, or that can prejudice normal development or the schedule of mandatory schooling, is prohibited.

37. The state shall concede special protection to mothers during an adequate period of time before and after giving birth. During this period, mothers who work must be given time off with pay, and with adequate provision of social security.

The working mother shall have the right to have her minor children cared for by the state while she is at her place of work.

38. The state recognizes the fundamental right of Nicaraguans to be protected against hunger, and shall set forth programs for:

(1) Infant nutrition.

(2) Eradication of chronic malnutrition assuring adequate availability of food and the equitable distribution thereof.

(3) Nutritional education, aimed at improving the diet through information about the principles of nutrition.

39. Nicaraguans have the right to enjoy the highest levels of physical and mental health. The state has an obligation to adopt measures to achieve:

(1) A reduction in mortality at birth and in infant mortality, as well as the healthy development of children.

(2) Improvement, in all aspects, of occupational health and of the environment.

(3) Prevention, treatment, and eradication of epidemic and endemic diseases, along with occupational and other ailments.

(4) Creation of conditions to assure everyone medical aid and services in the event of illness.

(5) Intensive and systematic development of sports through the creation of all types of facilities.

Section III. Cultural Rights

40. (1) Every person has the right to an education.

(2) Primary and secondary instruction shall be free, obligatory, and accessible to all. Basic education must be promoted for those persons who have not received or finished their primary instruction. Secondary education shall include technical and professional instruction, with the aim of providing the ability to do skilled labor, and knowledge of Nicaraguan reality, to all. There shall be a close relationship between education and labor.

Higher education must also be made equally available to all, based on the capabilities of each person, by the appropriate means and in particular through the continuing establishment of free instruction.

(3) The elimination of illiteracy is declared to be of social interest and is the responsibility of all Nicaraguans.

(4) The freedom of parents to choose for their children schools or colleges different from those established by the state shall be respected, so long as those institutions satisfy the minimum norms prescribed or approved by the state regarding teaching materials, and adhere strictly to the national educational plans.

The right of individuals or entities to establish and direct teaching institutions shall be respected, on the condition they meet the requirements outlined in the preceding paragraph.

The state shall have supervision over all educational centers in the country. This supervision shall be carried out consistently so as to assure compliance with state

educational policy and the national plans and programs of studies.

(5) The fees to be charged by private schools shall be approved by the state. In no case shall centers of learning be operated for profit.

(6) The state is obligated to guarantee meals at school, clothing, shoes, school supplies, and school books for all children who need them.

41. Academic freedom and freedom for research are guaranteed as essential principles of education in all spheres.

Educational, administrative, and economic autonomy are guaranteed to the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua (UNAN), in order that it may respond to the needs of the transformation of the country, within the national development plans. The state shall provide UNAN with the necessary economic support to develop a creative curriculum and scientific research adequate to the national reality.

42. In order to coordinate all higher education in the country, there shall be a National Council for Post-Secondary Education, comprising all the institutions on this level, and presided over by the Ministry of Education.

43. The National Autonomous University of Nicaragua shall be the only facility acting in the name of the state to decide on the recognition of diplomas and titles of higher education granted by foreign institutions. The law shall establish standards for the professional accreditation of Nicaraguan nationals and foreigners who have graduated from foreign institutions, on the basis of reciprocity in accordance with the international agreements regarding such matters.

44. The state shall take exclusive charge of the training of preschool and primary-school teachers. The training of teachers for secondary education shall also be a priority task of the state.

45. All persons have the right to participate in cultural life, and to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications. The state shall respect the indispensable freedom for scientific research

Copies Missing?

Keep your files of Intercontinental Press complete and up-to-date. Missing issues for the current year may be ordered by sending \$1 per copy. Write for information about previous years.

Intercontinental Press/Inprecor
P.O. Box 116
Village Station
New York, N.Y. 10014

and creative activity. It shall guarantee protection of the moral and material interests of persons engaged in the production of scientific, literary, or artistic works.

46. The state shall have an obligation to adopt necessary measures for the preservation, development, and dissemination of science and culture, which should be oriented toward the full development of the human personality and its sense of dignity, the strengthening of respect for human rights, and the transformation of Nicaraguan society.

The historic, cultural, and artistic heritage of the nation shall be protected by the state by means of the necessary laws.

Title IV

Final Dispositions

47. No provision of this statute shall be construed as conceding to the state, to a group, or to an individual, any right to undertake and carry on activities or commit illegal acts which tend to suppress any of the rights and freedoms recognized herein, or restrict them more than stipulated herein.

Excepted are legal measures aimed at punishing crimes committed, or at the recovery of goods stolen or acquired illegally, under the dictatorial Somoza regime.

48. The exercise of the rights and freedoms of each person is inseparable from the fulfillment of his or her duties to the community.

49. In exceptional situations or cases of emergency which endanger the life or the stability of the nation, such as international or civil wars or the danger of the outbreak thereof; because of public disasters or wars; and for reasons of public order and security of the state, the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction may adopt provisions which suspend, in part or all of the national territory, the rights and guarantees set forth in this statute. Such suspension may be imposed for a limited period of time, subject to extension in accordance with the prevailing situation in the country.

The provisions of this article do not authorize any suspension of the rights and guarantees set forth in the following articles: Article 6; Article 7 in regard to servitude; Article 12, paragraph 1; Article 14; Article 17, paragraph 1; Article 19; and Article 26.

50. All persons whose rights or liberties, as recognized in this statute or in the Fundamental Statute promulgated July 20, 1979, have been violated, may seek legal redress in conformity with the law.

Title V

Temporary Dispositions

51. For persons under investigation for crimes specified in the Penal Code and in international conventions, committed during the Somoza regime, the exercise of the rights and guarantees set forth in this statute is suspended for a period of sixty days beginning today.

This suspension does not affect the rights and guarantees listed in Article 49 of this statute.

52. This statute shall go into effect today, from the time of its publication by any means of collective communication, and shall also be published later in the Official Daily.

* * *

Issued in the city of Managua on the twenty-first day of the month of August, 1979, *Year of National Liberation*.

Violeta B. de Chamorro
Alfonso Robelo Callejas
Sergio Ramírez Mercado
Moisés Hassan Morales
Daniel Ortega Saavedra

[Members of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua]

The Case of Umberto Valverde

An Exchange Between Colombian PST and PSR

[We are reprinting for the information of our readers two articles that appeared recently in the Colombian Trotskyist press. The first, by Kemel George, was published under the title "The Slime of a Gusano" in the July 6 issue of *El Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party). The second, en-

titled "Open Letter to the PST," was published in the August 5 issue of *Combate Socialista*, newspaper of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Revolutionary Socialist Party).

[Subheadings and emphasis have been retained from the originals. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

Article by Kemel George of PST

I am only in Colombia for forty-eight hours, having come back to report on the activities of the Simón Bolívar Brigade in Nicaragua. But I have read the article by Umberto Valverde, "The Hustlers of the Revolution," published June 22 in the Cali newspaper *El Pueblo*, and so before returning I consider it necessary to state clearly my position in regard to that *gusano* [worm]. I want to show the public of this country that that has-been of a writer, Umberto Valverde, is a sewer rat. And I also want to publicly demand of a group of his friends, Ricardo Sánchez, Jaime Galarza, Ciro Roldán and company, leaders of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario, that they break their silence and state publicly what their attitude is toward the slanders spread by that rat, who is seen by

all as closely linked to them and their party.

Somoza Has Friends in Cali

Anyone who read the article that appeared in *El Pueblo*, and who knows about the activities of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, was no doubt shocked, and must wonder how a newspaper could allow such filthy trash to be published. For that is exactly what Valverde serves up. He alleges that "even Daniel Samper Pizano fell for the publicity stunt staged by Nahuel Moreno through the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, letting himself be manipulated, like a useful idiot, in the financial scheme of an Argentine adventurer."

Everyone knows that Daniel Samper Pizano, one of the most respected journal-

ists in Colombia, has been supporting the campaign to recruit volunteers to fight along with the Nicaraguan people under the leadership of the FSLN. Thanks to Samper Pizano's column in *El Tiempo* many people have written to [brigade] coordinator Luis Carlos Valencia offering themselves as candidates to go and fight. Valverde apparently wants to sow dissension between the Brigade and Daniel Samper, and through him all the journalists, intellectuals, students, and workers who have collaborated honestly in the sending of volunteers.

And on top of that, the dirty liar threw in a police-inspired provocation against a refugee from the Argentine dictatorship, providing the kind of ammunition they could use to justify expelling him from Colombia, as the Brazilian cops recently attempted to do after arresting him in that country.

Somoza, in his present isolation, can take comfort in the knowledge that in Cali at least there is one person, Valverde, who is doing him a favor. Unfortunately for Umberto Valverde, however, since the publication of his article an additional three hundred volunteers have signed up, and two dozen of them are already fighting against Somoza with arms in hand,

with twice that many now undergoing training in FSLN-controlled zones.

The gusano Valverde slithers on: "As the real internationalist fighters are joining in and dying in combat, meanwhile a bunch of opportunists want to make money in the name of the Nicaraguan people. . . ."

Here he accuses us volunteers on the southern front of being thieves and demagogues. But who are the real internationalist fighters? Are they Valverde and his group of friends in the Los Turcos café in Cali, who come out of their rat holes at night to slander the dozens of comrades risking their lives in Nicaragua? Tachito¹ Valverde, as Somoza might affectionately call his reporter in Cali, has written an article that is part and parcel of the U.S. State Department's policy in Latin America, seeking to prevent thousands of volunteers from going to fight against the dictatorship.

The Umberto Valverde of Puerto Rico

Curiously enough, just a few days after Valverde's article appeared, the FBI in Puerto Rico issued a statement against the international brigade that has been formed there. The FBI agent in that country, John Hinchcliffe, warned that "all volunteers will be investigated as suspicious individuals." Could there be any doubt that Hinchcliffe is the Puerto Rican counterpart of Valverde? Valverde has merely been more efficient than the FBI—he launched his "investigation" of members of the Simón Bolívar Brigade a week earlier.

And it is no accident that a few days after Valverde's piece was published, *El Tiempo* printed an article by Josefina Vélez de Escobar attacking the Simón Bolívar Brigade and the PST. The reason is simple: rats, FBI cops, and fascist-like individuals always join ranks against the Latin American revolution. How else to explain the fact that even Arismendi Posada has joined in the debate (needless to say, with arguments similar to Umberto Valverde's)?

PSR Must Publicly Denounce Valverde

The public recognition of our brigade by the Sandinista movement—in the persons of *comandantes* Edén Pastora and Plutarco Hernández—is of course enough to smash that pro-Somoza gusano in Cali. But there remains an infinitely more serious question, one that is not simply settled once the rat of Los Turcos has been cornered by his own slanders.

Umberto Valverde is not just any rat. This worm appears to be tightly linked to a sector of the PSR leadership; he attends many of its meetings. He was invited, for example, to a recent meeting in Cali where the speaker was Peter Camejo, a top leader

of the International and the [U.S.] Socialist Workers Party.

For this reason, on the day that gusano wrote his article the Cali PST leadership sent a note to the PSR, denouncing what the PSR's sympathizer had written and demanding that they "condemn the abominable article by Valverde as reactionary, slanderous, and anti-Trotskyist, and publicly delcare the journalist Valverde to be an enemy of Trotskyism and the Fourth International."

And what was the response of the PSR leadership, from the mouth of Comrade Jaime Galarza? He said he would inform his national leadership of the matter so that they could take a position.

As of this date, we are still waiting for Valverde's friends, Ricardo Sánchez, Jaime Galarza, Ciro Roldán and company, to let us and the public know what their position is. Given the amount of time that has passed since then, various other questions arise: Why are they silent? Why don't they openly and sharply denounce Valverde? Are they accomplices of that gusano, the only difference being that Umberto Valverde goes further than they do,

as a consistent liar who dares to put down in writing what his cowardly bastard buddies merely repeat among themselves in the cafés where they carry on their activity?

We Dare the Slandering Rats to Come With Us and Fight in Nicaragua

To all the slanderous rats and those who solidarize with them, I pose a challenge: There is one irrefutable way for you to see who the "real internationalist fighters" are, and at the same time to prove that you are not the cowardly rats you appear to be. Come and fight in Nicaragua. It's a big front; there's room enough for all of us. If you don't have the money we'll pay your way. And don't give us any excuses about you only know how to push pencils. They have a good training setup here; you'll learn a lot in a few days.

For those who are deaf, I repeat: I dare any and all gusanos to come here to the southern front, and show who is a real fighter and who a cowardly fraud.

Kemel George
July 1, 1979

Reply by PSR National Executive Committee

Bogotá
July 10, 1979

PST Executive Committee
Bogotá

Dear Comrades:

We won't insult your intelligence by explaining that the signers of this letter are not the "cowardly bastard buddies" of Umberto Valverde, that we do not "discuss among ourselves with him in cafés," or that we are not the "cowardly rats you appear to be"—to use the bizarre language employed by your Comrade Kemel George against us in an article published in the July 6 *El Socialista*, commenting on a June 22 article by Umberto Valverde in the daily *El Pueblo*.

Nor will we respond to Kemel's mudslinging by slinging more mud. We merely reproach you for having on your paper such vulgar polemicists as the author of that frenzied piece.

But let's make this much clear: we have nothing to do with Valverde. We have never solidarized with his articles, including the deplorable article mentioned above.

We totally and categorically reject the accusations cooked up by that individual. We are willing to publicly condemn his reactionary act.

But we also need to make a few additional points. First of all, this letter is to call your attention to the attempt by a comrade of yours to smear leaders of our party using events which neither they nor the party had any control over. The article by Kemel, along with your letter to the

PSR branch in El Valle scandalizing us for the acts of Valverde, deserve nothing but our repudiation. Your novel method of accusation can only be called guilt by association—a concept worthy of the authors of texts such as the Security Statute.²

Kemel's allegation that the journalist Valverde is "tightly linked to a sector of the PSR leadership" and attends "many of its meetings" is a total lie.

There is no relationship—tight or loose—between Valverde and people in our leadership. There is no political relationship whatsoever with that individual. Valverde does not attend either many or any meetings "of that sector" of our leadership. There are no such meetings. The implication Kemel tries to draw—that what Valverde writes is fed to him by Comrades Sánchez, Galarza, and Roldán, is not only deliberately false but absurd.

False because such a relationship does not exist between our comrades and that journalist, and absurd because Valverde obviously does not consult with or subordinate the publication of his opinions to the wishes of anyone in the PSR. Our party does not and will not assume any responsibility whatever for the activity of persons outside the party and the Fourth International.

Your attempt to demand explanations of us, to blame us for the acts of individuals who have nothing to do with our organization, is preposterous. It is as stupid as if we

1. The nickname of Somoza's son, Anastasio Portocarrero Somoza.

2. "Antisubversive" decree enacted by the Turbay regime in September 1978.

were to demand an accounting from you or insult you because Luis Guillermo Sorzono, the Governmental Secretary of Bogotá whom you have given space in your paper, refused to issue permits for the marches in solidarity with Nicaragua when the National Solidarity Committee applied for them. It would be equally stupid for us to demand an explanation from you for the attacks by *El Tiempo* columnist Daniel Samper Pizano—whom you have also given space in *El Socialista*—against the most important workers' strike in the country this year, the Paz de Rio strike. Obviously neither of these people acts under the discipline of your party.

Kemel's hatchet job does no harm to us, but rather backfires against you. His piece shows in the most transparent way how little interested you are in denouncing Valverde. Your obsession is to seek pretexts to smear the Fourth International and the PSR. A few months ago, at least your factional attacks on the PSR and the Fourth International dealt with questions of our political activity—which was legitimate. But now your factionalism leads you to seize upon acts by people who have no connection whatsoever with the Fourth International or the PSR. How else could you link the names of our comrades and of Peter Camejo, a leader of the SWP and the Fourth International, to the Valverde affair?

Furthermore, you knew that Valverde went to Comrade Camejo's talk for the purpose of contacting him to get an interview for *El Pueblo*. We never opposed that. Was it a crime on our part?

And of course Valverde attended the opening of our headquarters in Cali. So what? You know that that event was open to the public, and that we invited reporters from the working-class and bourgeois press of Cali. Was that a violation of principle?

All your ranting and raving against us is absurd and unfair. We would be falling into the same sort of thing if we were to accuse you not only of having friendly relations with persons in the Turbay government or with key figures at *El Tiempo*, but also of putting your own press at the service of those people.

We realize that if Samper Pizano or Luis Guillermo Sorzono speaks out in favor of the Simón Bolívar Brigade it is progressive. And we are not unaware that it is progressive if Umberto Valverde interviews Peter Camejo. That does not prevent us from rejecting as reactionary Samper Pizano's articles on the Paz de Rio strike, or the acts of the government Sorzono belongs to, or Valverde's article.

But why do we socialists have to go at each other's throats over antilabor acts by people who have nothing to do with our program and our parties?

If your motives in regard to the PSR were not so irrational and factional we would have gone in with you in a joint

statement denouncing the article in question. But you are far from seeking to clarify the facts. Your response to the political positions put forward by Comrade Camejo in Cali was nothing but abuse aimed at him. After that, thinking you had a good "case" against the PSR, you began to exploit the Valverde article. Who do you think you're fooling?

Still, you do ask us to join you in a political condemnation of Valverde. In addition to condemning him in this letter, we are also willing to do so jointly with you. There's one problem, though: how much moral authority would such a condemnation have if those who made it together with the PST were accused by the PST of being "traitors," "accomplices," and "bastard buddies" of Valverde?

For that reason, if you really want to be consistent and work with us on this, then first retract in *El Socialista* your slanderous characterizations of Comrades Sánchez, Galarza, Roldán, and Camejo. You're wrong if you think you can get away with slandering revolutionists around here.

And it is not out of line to mention the following fact: The only substantial connection that the journalist Valverde has ever had with the Colombian Trotskyist movement was through you. He was first invited by Comrade Nahuel Moreno to write for *Revista de América*, which was your organ for a time. There he wrote under the pen name of Marcel Tristán. Later on, his connection was even greater: he was an editor, and then the copy editor, of the book signed by Comrade Moreno entitled *Angola: The Black Revolution on the March*. Since that episode Valverde has broken with Comrade Moreno and written two articles that you found to be slanderous toward Comrade Moreno. Ever since that time we have made it abundantly clear that we had nothing to do with the whole affair.

Why, then, are you so anxious to blame us for everything that reactionary journalist does?

Kemel could not resist a little grandstanding at the end of his article. Carried away by his own self-righteousness, like the irate Moses coming down from the holy mountain, Kemel issues us a summons: If you want to prove "that you are not the cowardly rats you appear to be . . . come and fight in Nicaragua." And he adds: "It's a big front; there's room enough for all of us. If you don't have the money we'll pay your way. And don't give us any excuses about you only know how to push pencils. . . ." etc., etc.

So you can imagine how surprised we were when, around that same time, we saw an enraged Kemel George doing everything he could to oppose the trip of a PSR leader to Nicaragua. At any rate, our comrade Nacho did not think it necessary to assure Kemel that he was not going to Nicaragua to push pencils, or to prove to him that the PSR was not infested with rats.

What he did explain was that his trip was motivated by the PSR and the National Committee of Solidarity for the purpose of preparing to organize the most effective solidarity with the Sandinista fighters. Maybe that's why Kemel forgot all of a sudden about his self-righteous invitations? We don't know. What's for sure is that our leader managed to get to Central America not with the support, but *despite the obstacles* placed in his way by the indignant author of the article in *El Socialista*.

So knock off your fits of verbal violence against us. If you're really interested in building the most effective solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution, then don't disrupt the activity of revolutionists this way. Join the National Committee of Solidarity with Nicaragua.

As for the Valverde affair, we look forward to seeing your retraction.

Fraternally,
PSR National Executive Committee

Don't miss a single issue of Intercontinental Press/Inprecor! Send for your subscription now!

- Enclosed is \$30 for a one-year subscription.
- Enclosed is \$15 for a six-month subscription.
- Enclosed is \$7.50 for a three-month subscription.
- Please send information about first-class and airmail rates.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Country _____

Make checks payable to
Intercontinental Press/Inprecor
P.O. Box 116, Village Station
New York, N.Y. 10014 U.S.A.