

# Intercontinental Press

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## **GROWING WORLD SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE**

***U.S. Blacks Meet  
with Yasir Arafat***



SCLC leader Elaine Tomkins greets Yasir Arafat at PLO headquarters in Beirut. See p. 914.

**FSLN Leader Daniel Ortega:  
'We Are Breaking  
With Historic Past  
of Servility Toward  
Imperialist Policy'**

**IRELAND:  
PRESSURE MOUNTING  
FOR HALT  
TO BRITISH  
TERROR**

**CHINESE TROTSKYISTS RELEASED AFTER 27 YEARS**

## Carter Plans Military Build-up in Caribbean

By Fred Feldman

Signals from Washington are pinpointing the Carter administration's real goals in shouting about Soviet troops in Cuba. Carter is preparing American public opinion for a massive increase of the U.S. military presence in the Caribbean and Central America.

The aim is to block the extension of Cuba's socialist revolution elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere.

Correspondent Richard Burt reported in the September 19 *New York Times* that Washington officials are considering "an increase of American naval and air force units in the area." Options include "an increase in the U.S. naval presence around Cuba, where the United States already has a naval base at Guantánamo."

Writing in the *Times* two days later, Bernard Gwertzman paraphrased White House press spokesperson Jody Powell as saying "that the Administration was considering various options, short of outright intervention."

References to Guantánamo and "outright intervention" are none-too-subtle reminders of how a beefed-up U.S. military presence in the Caribbean can be used. During the October 1962 "missile crisis," the Kennedy administration slapped a naval blockade on Cuba, bringing the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust.

Washington's 1965 intervention in Santo Domingo is a reminder that a military build-up in the Caribbean is not directed at Cuba alone.

It is aimed at the victorious Sandinista-led revolution in Nicaragua.

It is aimed at the accelerating mass struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala.

It is aimed at the new government in

Grenada, brought to power last March in a popular uprising.

It is aimed at intimidating any government in the region—Michael Manley's in Jamaica, for example—that collaborates too closely with Cuba or is deemed too unreliable by Washington.

Carter's national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski told reporters September 18 that the issue of Soviet troops is part of a "larger problem." On September 22 he got more specific: "... that brigade is present in a country which itself is using force around the world to promote its own ideological aspirations and uses that force occasionally, directly, or indirectly, against our interests." Brzezinski's answer, according to Richard Burt is "expansion of U.S. military capabilities 'across the board.'" On September 18, the U.S. Senate voted to add \$40 billion to the arms budget over the next three years.

Washington also wants more help from Moscow in containing revolutionary struggles. Burt was told that a scheduled meeting between Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko was put off to induce Moscow "to think about the consequences of this problem for the future state of the relationship."

Above all, the Carter administration wants the Kremlin to place no obstacles in the way of its efforts to isolate the Nicaraguan revolution by denying it vitally needed food and other aid.

The answer to Carter's military threats must be a worldwide action campaign for massive aid to the Nicaraguan people, and to demand that Washington keep hands off Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

## U.S. Blacks Back Palestinians

By David Frankel

Ten leaders of the Black community in the United States ended a five-day tour of Lebanon September 21 by linking arms with Yasir Arafat and singing "We Shall Overcome."

There could hardly have been a more dramatic expression of the changing attitude of the American working class, and especially of Blacks, toward the struggle of the Palestinian people for self determination.

Moreover, this political shift is being registered just as Washington is trying to

whip up support for a greater U.S. military role in the Middle East. Israel plays a key part in imperialist military plans in the region, and the stand taken by Black leaders is a sharp blow to the U.S. war drive.

Since the October 1973 war Israel has suffered growing international isolation. Support for the Zionist state was also eroding among the American people, although not as visibly as elsewhere in the world. Over the past month, however, a qualitatively new point has been marked

in this process.

On August 20, following the forced resignation of UN Ambassador Andrew Young, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) President Joseph Lowery met with the Palestine Liberation Organization's representative at the United Nations and declared the SCLC's support for Palestinian rights.

Two days later, more than 200 Black leaders—including representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League—issued a statement condemning Israel's ties with South Africa and Rhodesia and endorsing the SCLC's meeting with the PLO.

Zionist leaders responded to these developments with a storm of racist abuse. One called the position of the Black leaders "anti-Semitic nonsense."

But the Blacks did not back down. A delegation that included Lowery and Walter Fauntroy, the District of Columbia's delegate in Congress, went to Lebanon on the invitation of Arafat.

In the city of Damour, devastated by Israeli bombing raids, Fauntroy picked up a chunk of metal from a 1,000-pound bomb made in the U.S. and told reporters: "I intend to show this shrapnel on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives."

The Lebanese government estimates that in just the last six months, 175,000 Lebanese civilians have fled Israeli bombardment of the southern border area. In addition, the PLO reports that 50,000 Palestinian civilians have fled the bombing and shelling of the refugee camps clustered around the city of Tyre.

These refugees do not include the almost 300,000 who fled the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in March 1978.

Although the Zionist regime's savage policy in Lebanon has been a big factor in deepening its international isolation, it is hardly the only one. Others include:

- Israel's expansionist character, exemplified by its continuing establishment of new colonial settlements on the West Bank.

- Zionist racism, expressed both in the systematic mistreatment of the Palestinians living under Israeli rule and in Israeli foreign policy.

- Israel's role as a defender of imperialist exploitation, including its sale of arms to South Africa and the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, and its participation in training the shah of Iran's secret police.

Discounting the anger aroused around the world by such policies, Zionist leaders claimed that the action of almost every independent Black African government in breaking relations with Israel was due to the influence of "Arab oil money."

Now they claim that American Blacks are motivated by anti-Semitism, and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin refuses to sit down not only with the PLO, but also with American Black leaders such

as Jesse Jackson and Lowery.

It is not surprising that Black organizations have taken the lead within the United States in support to the rights of the Palestinians. As Arafat noted September 15 at the close of his visit to Spain, American Blacks, like the Palestinians, have considerable experience with "unjust and barbaric treatment." They are also well aware of Israeli support to the racist regime in South Africa.

However, in this issue, as on others, Blacks are acting as the vanguard of the American working class as a whole. Reality has begun to catch up with the image of the Israeli state.

In November 1974, Arafat was invited to speak before the UN General Assembly, and the following year that body passed a resolution branding Zionism as a form of racism.

This July Arafat was invited to meet in Vienna with Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and former German Chancellor Willy Brandt in their capacity as leaders of the Socialist International.

On September 13, Arafat arrived in Spain at the invitation of the Spanish government, and met with Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez.

All these diplomatic victories for the PLO reflect the pressure of the world working class, which more and more sees the justice of the Palestinian liberation struggle and the reactionary character of the Zionist state.

Israeli support to the shah and Somoza did not pass unnoticed by American workers, and it certainly didn't pass unnoticed in Iran and Latin America. The Nonaligned Conference in Havana condemned Zionism as a form of racism and declared its solidarity with the Palestinian struggle.

Although the U.S. ruling class depends on Israel as a reliable outpost for the protection of its empire in the Middle East, it does its best to avoid taking the heat for Israel's most provocative and unpopular policies.

But frictions between Washington and Tel Aviv merely reflect the growing pressure against imperialist domination in the Middle East being exerted by the world working class. The pressure focuses on the Zionist state as the most visible and brutal expression of that domination, but the ultimate target is Wall Street.

After watching the embraces between Arafat and Black leaders in Beirut, Pentagon planners are no doubt asking themselves how the U.S. Army—especially its heavily Black combat units—would perform if it were ordered to fight against the Arab masses.

Finally, more and more Jewish workers in Israel, as they look at what is happening in the rest of the world, are going to have second thoughts about playing the role of cannon fodder for American imperialism in the Middle East. □

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## El Salvador—Mass Upsurge Defies Repression

By Anibal Vargas

MANAGUA, Nicaragua—In nearby El Salvador, the murderous regime of Carlos Humberto Romero is staging a big publicity campaign about the "democratization" of a country that has suffered military dictatorship for forty-seven years.

The rhetoric about "democratization" is being urged on the Romero dictatorship by William Bowdler, a special U.S. envoy. Bowdler has been shuttling between El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras—all ruled by repressive right-wing regimes—to see what can be done to block a spread of the Nicaraguan revolution. Earlier he helped try to save Somoza.

The talk of "democratization" is, of course, a big lie worthy of Hitler. Information received here confirms that the government repression in El Salvador is more fierce than ever.

But despite the bloodshed, popular mobilizations against the regime are growing bigger and stronger.

The United Popular Action Front (FAPU), which includes trade unions as well as peasant, teacher, student, and human rights groups, demanded on September 6 that Romero resign immediately.

On September 8, masked killers armed with machine guns opened fire on a busload of students near the El Cuco resort. Seven youths were murdered and at least five others wounded. The act is attributed to right-wing death squads made up of off-duty police and soldiers.

A coffin with the body of one of the students was placed in front of the church of El Rosario in San Salvador. The church is occupied by members of the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BPR) who are demanding freedom for all political prisoners.

The BPR called a demonstration against the government for the following day. Other Salvadoran groups demonstrated their solidarity, covering the coffin with floral wreaths.

On September 13 a demonstration of more than two thousand people from a nearby city traveled through the streets of the capital demanding Romero's resignation. The demonstration, called by the FAPU, also demanded better wages for urban and rural workers and freedom for political prisoners.

In support of these same demands, the BPR, FAPU, and another mass organization, the February 28th People's League, have occupied churches, schools, and factories throughout the country.

Reflecting the tremendous impact of the revolution in Nicaragua, the occupied

buildings have been covered with banners of red and black, the colors of the Sandinistas and of Cuba's July 26 Movement.

Nicaraguan slogans such as "*Patria Libre o Morir*" ("Free Homeland or Death") are frequently heard.

In the face of this growing radicalization, the government responded with open and official repression. On September 14 agents of the Treasury Police opened fire on a march of thousands of people. Two persons were killed and at least twenty-seven wounded.

The demonstration, called by the teachers union, was the fifth that week demanding a halt to repression, freedom for all political prisoners, and Romero's resignation. Also, expressing the solidarity among the masses of Latin America, the demonstrators marched by the U.S. Embassy chanting, "*Cuba sí, yanquis no!*"

Meanwhile, the bullet-riddled bodies of another three youths appeared on the streets of San Salvador at dawn on September 14. All three were leftist militants. The right-wing terrorist group White War-

riors Union (UGB) is blamed for the murders.

But the repression has not stopped the masses. The next day, more than 2,000 supporters of the BPR took part in a funeral march for the two teachers murdered by the police the day before.

*Barricada*, published daily in Managua by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), carried an article September 11 entitled "Repression grows in El Salvador." It reported: "No one in El Salvador is believing, much less supporting, Romero's supposed 'democratic' opening, when every day young people turn up murdered with a brutality comparable only to that used by the Somozaist National Guard."

The leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution have declared their solidarity with the struggles of the people of El Salvador.

While rejecting imperialist claims of Nicaragua "exporting" revolution, solidarity with El Salvador was declared recently by Comandante Tomás Borge, Nicaragua's minister of the interior. □

## Romero—Bloody Butcher 'Made in USA'

By Maura Rodríguez

In the wake of the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, the Carter administration is discussing the renewal of military aid to the dictatorship of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero in El Salvador.

The August 2 *Washington Post* reported that "spokesmen for the Pentagon and the intelligence agencies contended that the United States should help the armed forces in El Salvador and Guatemala to counter the threat [of popular insurrection] by resuming the former U.S. role as their principle supplier of arms and training."

Washington openly backed the Salvadoran dictatorship until 1976, when military aid was rechanneled through the Israeli regime as part of Carter's human rights charade.

Military dictatorships have ruled in El Salvador since 1932, when a peasant rebellion was crushed, with the massacre of at least 20,000 persons. As in Nicaragua, the dictatorship was installed, trained, and armed by the U.S. government.

Although El Salvador is a relatively wealthy country in terms of its actual

resources, the vast majority of Salvadorans live in desperate poverty. The capitalist class—"the fourteen families"—owns 86 percent of all the land and holds the bulk of the national income in its hands.

Agricultural workers make up 90 percent of the population and subsist on less than in any other Latin American country. No less than 70 percent of all children under the age of five suffer from severe malnutrition and related illnesses, according to the United Nations.

Trade unions were completely illegal until 1950. Despite their late development and the severe restrictions imposed on them by the government, they grew to include the most highly organized working class in Central America. Farmworker unions were formed in the late 1960s with the assistance of activist Catholic priests.

Opposition forces in the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), the United Popular Action Front, and the February 28th People's League have won broad support. Trade unions and peasant unions affiliated with these groups are fighting for

better wages in the face of sky-high inflation and agrarian reform.

They also demand freedom for political prisoners, that political exiles be allowed to return, and that the government respect human rights.

The government has responded with organized terrorism, declaring many of the mass organizations illegal. Since Romero took office in 1977, there has been a dramatic escalation of the detention, "disappearance," and murder of trade unionists and peasant organizers.

During the first six months of Romero's administration, Amnesty International documented cases of imprisoned unionists from the textile, construction, manufacturing, and baking industries, as well as from public employees unions. Salvadoran trade unionists have testified to more than 500 such cases.

The January 23 *Washington Post* reported the "unsolved" murders of four priests, all of whom were active in building the unions of agricultural workers.

A paramilitary organization called ORDEN has been set up by the government. It is directed from the Ministry of Defense and its president is Romero.

After an action by farmworkers in San Pedro Perulapán in March 1978, a regional leader of FECCAS (Christian Federation of Salvadoran Peasants), Tránsito Vásquez, was detained by ORDEN. His body was found the next day covered with torture marks, his head hanging from a nearby tree.

On-site investigations by the Organization of American States' Human Rights Commission concluded that "government security and paramilitary organizations in El Salvador are responsible for the deaths of 'numerous persons,' as well as for acts of physical and psychological torture and inhuman imprisonment in secret dungeons."

The terror against Salvadoran workers has escalated in the last four months. In May, the government killed more than eighty persons at a peaceful demonstration demanding freedom for BPR leaders at the National Cathedral. This incident was accidentally filmed and televised internationally.

The archdiocese of San Salvador lists 123 persons killed by the government in the month of June.

On August 16, eight workers in an auto repair shop were gunned down execution-style by a right-wing organization. The government has made no arrests.

Right now, Romero is trying to cover up the truth about the repression by issuing a phony amnesty for political prisoners and exiles. He has invited the Red Cross to come in and inspect his prisons.

Romero is not afraid of them finding political prisoners because none are being taken. Trade unionists and students are now brazenly machine-gunned in broad daylight. □



Marka

Hugo Blanco with other hunger strikers in Lima.

## In Support of Striking Teachers

# Wave of Hunger Strikes in Peru

The Andean city of Cuzco was paralyzed by a general strike September 17, as unionists stopped work for a day in solidarity with the three-month-old strike by the Peruvian teachers' union SUTEP.<sup>1</sup> One- or two-day general strikes were also carried out in the towns of Ayacucho, Junín, Cañete, and Juliaca.

At the same time, a wave of hunger strikes in support of the teachers has swept the country. Thirty-two leaders of left parties began a hunger strike in Lima September 3, and other hunger strikers staged sit-ins at the Swedish, Italian, and Bulgarian embassies in Lima, as well as the offices of the OAS and UNICEF.<sup>2</sup> Nationally, at least 345 persons have joined in hunger strikes, including in Trujillo, Cajamarca, Piura, Cuzco, Nazca, Juliaca, and Yurimagnas.

The strikers are demanding that the government negotiate directly with representatives of SUTEP, rehire 6,800 fired teachers, release all the SUTEP members jailed in the course of the strike, and pay back wages to the strikers.

The teachers went out on strike June 4, demanding legal recognition of their union, a 100 percent wage increase, as well as reinstatement of those fired.

The strike poses a crucial challenge to the government's austerity program, and as such it has won overwhelming support among working people. The June 15 *Latin America Economic Report* estimated that

1. Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores de la Educación del Perú—United Union of Educational Workers of Peru.

2. The Organization of American States, and the United Nations Children's Fund.

inflation in Peru is running at an annual rate of 73.7 percent. This combined with the government's wage-restraint policy, has driven the average wage for employed workers down to less than 75 percent of the government-estimated "minimum subsistence" level.

The regime has taken a hard line against the teachers, refusing even to negotiate seriously with SUTEP and unleashing brutal repression against the union and its supporters. When the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP) organized one-day work stoppages in most cities July 19, police attacked some of the strikers' demonstrations, killing three and arresting more than 2,000 in Lima alone.

On September 16, *Le Monde* reported that two persons had been killed in clashes with police in Arequipa and Ayacucho.

The spreading hunger strikes and work stoppages, however, have pushed the government into a weaker political position than at any time since the failure of the ill-prepared general strike in January. They have also put pressure on the Stalinist leadership of the CGTP.

Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco also began a hunger strike September 10, after returning from Nicaragua. Writing in the September 13 issue of the Lima weekly *Amauta*, Blanco scored the CGTP leadership for its failure to organize a serious campaign in support of the SUTEP strikers. On September 11, SUTEP, the national miners union, and several other major unions issued a call for the CGTP to launch a united general strike. □

# 'This Revolution Is for Workers and Peasants'

By Fred Murphy and Pedro Camejo

MANAGUA—The first rifts are beginning to appear in the broad array of social forces that came together to bring down the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua.

Facing a situation of widespread destruction, scarcity of credit and foreign exchange, and deepening radicalization and organization among the labor force, many of the capitalists who opposed Somoza are refusing to invest or resume production. (The vast holdings of Somoza and his collaborators were immediately expropriated by the revolutionary forces.)

Through lack of confidence that things will improve for them politically, a growing number of capitalists are exhausting their stocks and leaving the country. Some are reportedly trying to dismantle their machinery and ship it out as well.

Among the workers and agricultural laborers, on the other hand, demands are being voiced for higher wages, improved working conditions, job security, and a say over production decisions. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) is encouraging the workers to organize and seeks to protect their interests when conflicts arise with the employers.

The unfolding clash of material interests has been reflected in a lively ideological debate in the pages of the two main dailies here—*La Prensa*, the capitalist paper with a tradition of anti-Somozaism (its publisher, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal, was gunned down by Somocistas in 1978); and *Barricada*, the official organ of the FSLN.

### Role of Bourgeoisie

The capitalists appear to be uneasy and worried that the Sandinista-led revolution is simply going to use them for a time and then cast them aside. In *La Prensa*'s editorial column on September 5, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Barrios\* complained of "demagogy" on the part of those who use the word "bourgeoisie" as a "synonym for exploitation."

Chamorro's aim seemed to be to warn the FSLN leadership to slow down the revolution and avoid antagonizing the bourgeoisie. He declared that "participation by the progressive bourgeoisie is not only important but essential" in the reconstruction of Nicaragua. He called for avoiding "class hatred."

To back up his position, Chamorro

\*Chamorro Barrios is the son of the late publisher. His mother, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, is a member of the Government of National Reconstruction.



Lynn Silver/Militant

Conflicts are sharpening between Nicaraguan masses, led by Sandinista National Liberation Front, and capitalist forces. Above, three FSLN leaders at September 1 rally in Managua. From left: Luís Carrión, Jaime Wheelock, and Henry Ruíz.

argued that many current leaders of the revolution come from bourgeois families; that within the bourgeoisie there are non-exploiters and exploited as well as those who exploit; and that in all great revolutions—"the French, Russian, Mexican, and Cuban"—the bourgeoisie has played the predominant role "as leaders or as critics of the defects of their class."

Pedro Rivera Mendoza answered Chamorro in a letter published in the September 7 *Barricada*. "Telling the truth is not demagogy," Rivera said, explaining that the nature of the capitalist system makes all members of the bourgeoisie exploiters, no matter how much some of the less wealthy ones are exploited in turn by more powerful sectors of their own class.

In the September 14 *La Prensa*, Guillermo Rothschild Villanueva recommended to members of the bourgeoisie who want to help the revolution that they leave their class and take up the cause of the proletariat. Rothschild explained that this was what great revolutionists like Engels, Marx, and Lenin did. He urged readers with doubts on this score to consult works by Michel Lowy, Ernest Mandel, and Leon Trotsky.

### Social Democrats

As the debate on their role unfolded in the press, the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie took the first public steps since the insurrection toward reorganizing themselves politically. Formation of the "Sandinista Social

Democratic Party" (PSDS) was announced on September 7. Actually a regroupment of figures from various factions of the old Conservative Party, the PSDS capped its "Statement of Principles" with the provocative slogan, "Sandinism yes; communism no!"

Appropriation of the name "Sandinista" by this anticommunist outfit appears to have been a colossal blunder for the PSDS. The move touched off an immediate reaction from the leaders of the FSLN.

"We cannot allow others who did nothing outstanding politically or militarily in favor of the liberation of the people to now try to call themselves Sandinistas or to falsify the content of Sandinism," said FSLN Comandante Carlos Núñez in Masaya on September 9.

A letter by José Luis Medal published in the September 11 *Barricada* challenged the Social Democrats' anti-communist slogan. "Sandino was an anti-imperialist revolutionist, and imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism," Medal wrote. "It was the imperialist capitalists who ordered Somoza to murder Sandino. So the only slogan that fits would be, 'Sandinism yes; capitalism no!'"

### FSLN Communiqué

The FSLN Joint National Directorate issued a special communiqué on the subject on September 12. It was printed beneath banner headlines on the front page of that day's *Barricada*, and reissued as a poster two days later.

The statement denounced the Social Democrats for "usurping and staining the political image of Sandinism." It made the following four points:

1. The leading figures in the "Sandinista Social Democratic Party" had not only failed to support the popular struggle against the dictatorship but openly opposed the Sandinista Front.

2. "Absolute freedom of organization by Nicaraguan citizens" is guaranteed by the revolution and the FSLN. However, the FSLN "rejects and condemns" any group that tries to water down the revolutionary content of Sandinism.

3. The FSLN is the legitimate leadership of the revolution, proven in action and expressing the will of the people.

4. Only the FSLN has upheld in struggle the anti-imperialist legacy of Gen. Augusto César Sandino and his Army to Defend National Sovereignty (which fought the U.S. Marines in Nicaragua from 1927 to 1933).

The statement concluded with a series of FSLN slogans. Among them was a new one: "Death to the counterrevolution!"

As of September 17, the Social Democrats had yet to make a public response to the FSLN's hard-hitting campaign.

The widening discussion over the bourgeoisie's role and the meaning of Sandinism comes as the FSLN leadership is making a shift in the way it explains the goals of the revolution and the obstacles to achieving them. While earlier they spoke primarily of the need for unity in the construction process, FSLN leaders now place greater emphasis on the role of the workers and peasants, and openly criticize the bourgeoisie.

#### No Deal with Capitalists

During the Conference of Nonaligned Nations in Havana, Comandante Daniel Ortega told the press that the FSLN had signed no agreements of any kind with the capitalists, and that "private enterprise . . . never played a firm role in the liberation process."

In an interview published in the September 14 *Barricada*, Agrarian Reform Minister Comandante Jaime Wheelock said that the enemies of the agrarian reform include not only the Somocistas but also "the idle landlord . . . who has never worked the land, who has lived as a parasite . . . possessing huge tracts of land that do not benefit the people. . . ."

And in a recent speech in Rivas, Interior Minister Comandante Tomás Borge noted that during the civil war, "those with great economic possibilities left Nicaragua" while the workers and peasants were in the forefront of all the battles.

"So, since they were the ones who gave the greatest quota of struggle and sacrifice, and since besides that they are the ones most in need, this revolution must necessarily be for the workers and peasants." □

## Symbol of Power of Old Ruling Class

### Trade Unions Take Over Managua National Theater

By Jesús Rodríguez

MANAGUA—Thousands of trade unionists marched here on September 18 from the headquarters of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) to the newly renamed Rubén Darío People's Theater (formerly the Rubén Darío National Theater). The purpose of the march was to demonstrate the growing strength and unity of the trade unions and to symbolically "take over" the Rubén Darío Theater—the country's most important and luxurious cultural center—for the working people of Nicaragua.

Before the march, a ceremony was held to inaugurate the CST's headquarters, which has been named after José Benito Escobar, a construction worker, union organizer, and one of the founding leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) who was gunned down by the National Guard in July 1978.

At the theater, CST leader Pedro Ortiz explained that the "takeover" of the site was "a demonstration that justice is being done for the workers, since this theater was built by the workers and with the people's money. Therefore it should be the people who participate in it and not the agents of Somoza and stooges of imperialism. . . ."

The importance of the September 18 march and rally lies not only in the number of participants, but also in the fact that the theater has been a symbol of the power of the Nicaraguan capitalists. Two days earlier a similar event had taken place in Granada, where the local Sandinista Defense Committees organized a peaceful takeover of the aristocratic Social Club.

Chanting "Expropriate the Social Club from the bourgeoisie," workers, housewives, and students had entered the old, exclusive bastion of the Conservative Party oligarchy and set about changing it into a "House of the People."

In Managua, as the workers filed in to take their places in the velvet covered seats of the Rubén Darío People's Theater, the militant strains of the song *Trabajadores al Poder* (Workers to Power) came repeatedly over the theater's loudspeakers. The growing self-confidence of the Nicaraguan workers was evident as hundreds raised their fists and shouted over and over the song's title and the similar slogan "Obreros y campesinos al poder" (Workers and peasants to power).

The evening's program included a musical based on Nicaraguan history entitled *Notes on Uncle Sam*, a reading of poetry written by the martyred Sandinista intel-

lectual Ricardo Morales Avilés, and a humorous one-act play also entitled *Trabajadores al Poder*.

The political side of what had been billed as a "political-cultural event" was provided in speeches by FSLN comandantes William Ramírez and Mónica Baltodano.

Ramírez, Managua's chief of staff of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS), brought greetings in the name of the EPS and the Joint National Leadership of the FSLN. His remarks offered the clearest explanation made by the Sandinista leaders so far of the role of the workers and peasants in the Nicaraguan revolution.

"As the most revolutionary social class," Ramírez explained, "the workers have the greatest obligation to lead the reconstruction process. . . ."

"Exploitation is going to end in this country. In this country the land will belong to the peasants who work it and the workers [will be] the owners of the means of production."

Ramírez received heavy applause when he strongly criticized those who "wear a uniform and think they are going to fool everyone"—a reference to individuals who joined the Sandinista Front or the army at the last minute hoping in that way to safeguard their privileges. "We've seen a whole lot of *burguesitos* [little bourgeois] wearing olive green and playing at being revolutionaries. But they aren't fooling us."

The revolutionary workers, Ramírez declared, are the only "legitimate representatives of our people. It is they who have the right to enjoy the triumph and the privileges of this revolution. They are the exploited; the rest are extras who will separate themselves little by little. Or else we will separate them ourselves."

Baltodano spoke for the FSLN's Secretariat of Mass Organizations. Referring to the "heroes of Mandaimé"—four Sandinista leaders who were massacred by Somoza's National Guard on September 18, 1973—Baltodano said that "they did not die so that a group of bourgeois could remain in power."

"No one fought for that, nor gave their blood for a situation like the one we're still living in—where illiteracy, malnutrition, and social injustice still exist. No one fought or died for that situation to continue."

"We must all keep working," Baltodano continued, "because the future they envisioned for the people has not yet arrived because we have not finished the task they left for us with their lives and their example." □

## Hugo Blanco Hails Advances of Revolution in Nicaragua

[Hugo Blanco, one of the best-known revolutionary leaders in Latin America, visited Nicaragua recently.]

["I have come to Nicaragua to learn," Blanco said upon his arrival August 29. Blanco, who was a deputy in Peru's Constituent Assembly until its dissolution in July, interviewed workers, peasants, and Sandinista leaders while visiting a number of cities in Nicaragua, including Managua, Matagalpa, Masaya, Granada, and Chinandega.]

[During his visit to Nicaragua, Blanco also gathered information to help Peruvian workers and peasants launch a solidarity campaign with the Sandinista revolution.]

[The following interview was obtained in Managua by Fred Murphy.]

\* \* \*

*Question. After spending a week here, what are your main impressions of the Nicaraguan revolution?*

*Answer.* Fortunately, the revolutionary process is moving forward. In Peru, we had feared that it was stagnating, or even slipping backward, because that's how it seemed on the surface, since a provisional government was formed that included some bourgeois figures.

In addition, the call for turning in arms appeared to be a negative sign. From our experience of other revolutions, it was those who wanted to put a brake on the revolution or turn it back who followed such a policy.

But seen firsthand, it is clear that the situation is much more optimistic. At the moment, real power rests in the hands of the FSLN.

On the question of arms, we learned that counterrevolutionary Somocista bands were still active throughout the country. Naturally, if just anyone can carry arms, the Somocistas can use those arms to attack people. Therefore, we think it is correct that the people remain armed, but in an organized way—both through the people's army and the militias—in order to disarm the Somocista bands.

These are concrete questions, not abstractions, and that is how they came up in the concrete case of Nicaragua.

In the countryside, we were able to see advances in the agrarian reform, initiated by the Nicaraguan Institute for Agrarian Reform (INRA). The peasants have taken over the land of the big landlords. And not simply the Somocista landowners, but also of non-Somocista landlords who had stolen land from the peasants or occupied land that belonged to the state.

The working class has also won gains, such as the two months' pay that the workers had been demanding. The workers wanted to be paid for the two months that they were on strike, the last two months of the war. This measure was taken by the government, which demanded that the bosses pay the workers their lost wages.

There has been a big wave of unionization in the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). This is also progressive. There are many other advances of the working class that could be mentioned. Many of the complaints of the workers are being attended to.

But unfortunately, much of Nicaragua's industry has been crippled by Somoza's bombing raids. Production is at a standstill. The war was very brutal, and Nicaragua is now in a very difficult economic situation. Imperialism is trying to use this to strengthen the bourgeois sectors.

I believe that the Sandinista government truly wants to move forward. But it faces many problems and the advance of the revolution toward socialism is not yet guaranteed. It is possible that the capitalist sectors will grow stronger.

One big weakness of the Nicaraguan revolution is the lack of organization of the masses. The Sandinistas are aware of this and are trying to encourage mass organization in all areas, including the army, workers, peasants, youth, and residents of the poor neighborhoods. Naturally, it is more difficult to confront the bourgeoisie as long as the people are unorganized.

The efforts of the Sandinistas to organize the people show that they are interested in moving forward. Even if we may not agree with all the tactics that are used, it is clear that the Sandinistas are genuinely in favor of organizing the masses and therefore of pushing the revolution forward, since the organization of the masses is the best guarantee of progress.

This shows us that the Sandinistas—even if we don't agree with all their tactics—are not trying to halt the revolution, to protect capitalism, but to advance the revolution.

Even in relation to their tactics, it is very difficult to criticize them without knowing the actual situation.

I believe that the progress of the revolution depends to a great extent on the attitude of the rest of the world toward Nicaragua. For that reason, I think that revolutionists throughout the world have a major responsibility. That is to initiate a broadly based Nicaragua solidarity campaign involving not only revolutionists but everyone who agrees that the Nicaraguan people should not starve to death as a

result of Somoza's barbarism.

We must call on all humanity to help save the Nicaraguan people, so that Nicaragua can really become the master of its own fate.

We must also launch a campaign to prevent any military attacks against the Nicaraguan people, who have already suffered so much as a result of Somoza's genocide.

And we must fight against any indirect attack on the Nicaraguan people, such as the miserly way in which aid is being doled out, aid that Nicaragua needs in great quantities. Countries that produce as much food as the United States and Canada should send aid quickly and directly to the Nicaraguan government, something that has not happened yet. Instead they send promises.

They sent aid to Somoza—to help him kill the Nicaraguan people—and now they are withholding aid that could help the Nicaraguan people live.

It is necessary to build an international campaign that can force an end to this hypocrisy and provide open and direct aid to the Nicaraguan people.

*Q. You went into the countryside to observe the land reform. Can you compare the land reform here with the one carried out in Peru by the Velasco Alvarado government?*

A. I still can't say much about the land reform here, because much of it is still in the planning stage and in some places it has just recently gotten under way.

In some areas land has been given to the peasants who work it. I hope that in practice the decisions of the peasants are respected. In other areas that I visited, farm laborers were demanding justice on many labor questions, and it seemed that they were getting it.

I listened to the declarations of [Sandinista leader Jaime] Wheelock, who is in charge of agrarian reform and planning, and they seemed generally correct.

I am not too familiar with Nicaraguan agriculture, but the little that I do know shows aspects that are very similar to those in Peru. There are Indian agrarian communities, small individual peasant plots, and big agricultural companies. All these sectors exist in Peru as well.

In Peru we propose the nationalization under workers control of the big mechanized landholdings. We propose the redistribution to the peasants of the nonmechanized holdings, and those where the peasants actually want their own plots of land. And we propose that where the peasants may want to form Indian com-



munities of a primitive communist type, they should be able to do so.

The proposals of the Agrarian Reform Ministry here are similar, but I still can't say much about how they are being carried out, because I have only been able to see a little.

The takeover without compensation of Somoza's land seems quite significant to me. This is very different from the Peruvian land reform, where the oligarchy was paid bonuses to help transform them from landlords into industrial capitalists.

Here, I do not think they paid one cent to Somoza, and justifiably so. After all, he took not only a few pennies out of Nicaragua, but millions of dollars from both the countryside and other productive sectors.

*Q. What impact do you think the Nicaraguan revolution will have in the rest of Latin America?*

A. I think it will have a big impact in Latin America, since there has not been a victory of such magnitude since the Cuban revolution. The overthrow of Somoza and the upsurge of the Nicaraguan masses as they struggle to become their own masters will naturally have an impact and be an inspiration throughout Latin America.

We can already see that—not only in Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, whose peoples have escalated their struggles—but also in other countries like Costa Rica, where the workers have been encouraged to struggle more firmly as a result of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Even countries like Peru have had big demonstrations in support of Nicaragua. In Paraguay, where Somoza has taken refuge, student organizations and other groups have demonstrated to protest the reception he has been given by the Paraguayan government. The fact that this has happened in Paraguay, which is ruled by a dictatorship like Somoza's, is quite significant.

*Q. Finally, the Peruvian government and other members of the Andean Pact, as well as Panama, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and Mexico, say they support the revolutionary process in Nicaragua since the downfall of Somoza. What was the real role of these governments, both before and now?*

A. If they had really supported the Nicaraguan people in their struggle against Somoza, the first thing they would have done was denounce the role of American imperialism in propping up the dictatorship. They didn't do that. That shows that they didn't really support the Nicaraguan people.

Even now they could send the kind of aid that has been provided by Cuba, which sent 1,000 teachers and 200 medical personnel, as well as medicine and other kinds of assistance. All these governments could do the same, but they don't. □

## Nicaraguan Social Welfare Minister:

### 'We Urgently Need Food, Particularly for Children'



Socialist Challenge  
LEA GUIDO

[The following interview with Lea Guido, Nicaraguan minister of social welfare, was broadcast over Radio Havana. We have taken the text from the September 2 issue of the weekly English-language edition of the *Granma*.]

\* \* \*

The Government of National Reconstruction is now faced with quite a difficult job because we were left with a country in ruins and which has suffered incalculable losses, a country whose industry, commerce and housing have been destroyed by the genocidal bombings carried out by the Somoza dictatorship, where a series of targets which weren't exactly military, like dairies, residential areas, etc., were bombed as well.

Naturally this situation has resulted in a high level of unemployment and a serious food shortage among the civilian population. At this moment, the most pressing problem facing our people, and the one requiring the most urgent attention, is hunger.

To resolve this problem, we are working hard to get the country back to normal in the shortest time possible. This means normalizing services, trying to open the few remaining factories, normalizing the agricultural situation, organizing the peasants in the sectors included within the Agrarian Reform and normalizing the sectors linked to agricultural production.

However, the most immediate solution to the problem is international aid, aid from sister peoples, be it in the form of food, clothing, work implements or technical assistance.

The Government of National Reconstruction has given the Ministry of Social Welfare responsibility for getting supplies to the population. We are in urgent need of all kinds of food, and particularly food for children.

This year, designated the Year of the

Child, has been a year of misery for children in Nicaragua. And now our emergency plan gives Nicaraguan children top priority. We've been receiving food through international aid, but not in sufficient quantities. To solve the problem in both rural and urban areas, we need about 300 tons of food a day.

Food has been sent directly to our government from a number of countries such as the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Mexico, Cuba, Canada, Sweden, Costa Rica and Panama, to name a few.

I'd like to take this opportunity to send a special message to the Cuban people, who are known for their generosity towards oppressed peoples, towards those peoples who have waged a just struggle for their liberation. We feel that today the people of Nicaragua legitimately fall within this group. I want the Cuban people to maintain their solidarity with the Nicaraguan people, so that they may play a direct role in solving the enormous problems facing us today, such as the problem of hunger.

*Question. Can you give us a rough idea of the amount of aid you're receiving daily?*

*Answer.* Yes, it's not yet reached even 100 or 150 tons daily. We've been receiving around 40, 60, sometimes 20 tons.

*Q. How has the distribution of this food been organized?*

A. The government feels that the best method of control and distribution is through the Sandinista Defense Committees, which arose as a spontaneous form of organization and appeared during the first insurrection in September 1978. The people spontaneously looked for a more legitimate form of organizing themselves and formed what were then called Civil Defense Committees.

*Q. Which parts of the country have been most affected by the war and are, therefore, most in need of aid?*

A. After the June 9 insurrection, fighting took place throughout the country, including here in Managua. But it's not only a question of where the fighting took place. Because of the overall economic problems in Nicaragua, all areas are affected by hunger and unemployment. Nevertheless, there are areas of greater priority such as the areas of Masaya, the western region, León, Chinandega, the Managua area and some rural areas near Matagalpa. □

## **U.S.-Led Drive Keeps Pol Pot in UN**

By Fred Feldman

UNITED NATIONS—The General Assembly voted September 21 to reaffirm the toppled Pol Pot forces as representatives of Kampuchea. The vote, coming at the end of a seven-hour debate, was 71 in favor of Pol Pot, 35 opposed, and 34 abstentions. Twelve UN members cast no vote.

The outcome facilitates Washington's efforts to deny desperately needed food to famine-stricken Kampuchea. The imperialists are using mass starvation to obtain leverage in trying to force a withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the establishment of a government there more to their liking. One of the main excuses for failing to aid the new government is that it is not the legitimate government, as "proven" by its lack of UN recognition.

Prior to the General Assembly vote, the credentials committee had refused by a 6-to-3 vote to even consider credentials submitted by representatives of the Heng Samrin government, which with the Vietnamese had overthrown the Pol Pot tyranny in January. The new government actually rules the overwhelming majority of Kampuchea's people and territory.

The outcome contrasted with the recent decision of the Sixth Summit Meeting of the Nonaligned Nations in Havana. There, Pol Pot was unseated and Kampuchea's place was left vacant for the time being.

The imperialist powers in the UN, headed by the U.S. government, generally supported Pol Pot's claim (representatives of the Spanish, Swedish, Austrian, and Dutch governments abstained). None voted to unseat him. The outcome reflected the continuing ability of the imperialists to shape most decisions of the UN, which they founded (in collaboration with the Kremlin) at the end of World War II to advance their interests.

The main pretext given for backing Pol Pot was that his regime was toppled by an invasion. But there was no opposition in the UN to recognizing the government that replaced Idi Amin's tyranny in Uganda—even though it was the product of a massive invasion by Tanzanian troops and Ugandan exiles. The difference is that Tanzania's action got Washington's go-ahead, while the Carter administration opposed the toppling of Pol Pot.

The debate here in the General Assembly showed that U.S. imperialism remains committed to preserving Pol Pot's killer bands—now aligned with the Khmer Serei and other overtly rightist forces—as a viable opponent of the Heng Samrin government and the spread of the Vietnamese

revolution elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

Representatives of U.S.-dominated regimes in Thailand, Singapore, and Indonesia hailed the "war of resistance" by "patriotic forces fighting Vietnamese domination" in Kampuchea—after attempting to cover themselves by denunciations of Pol Pot as a mass murderer. (Only Peking's delegate made a minimal effort to defend the ousted Khmer Rouge government.)

Speaking for Cuba, Raul Roa Khouri denounced the proposal to recognize Pol Pot as "totally devoid of reality," noting that the ousted Khmer Rouge regime seemed to have its capital in Peking and New York. He compared the move to the way U.S. imperialism had used a "mechanical majority in the General Assembly year after year to accept the puppet regime in Taiwan as representing China."

Roa linked the stands taken by the Thai, Malaysian, and Indonesian governments to their support for U.S. imperialism during the Vietnam War.

In addition to Vietnam, Cuba, Albania, and the Soviet bloc, many semicolonial governments that have frequently clashed with imperialism—from India and Afghanistan in Asia, to Syria in the Middle East, Libya in North Africa to Mozambique and Guinea in Africa, to Jamaica and Grenada in the Caribbean, to Panama in Central America also voted to unseat Pol Pot. Still others—such as Venezuela, Mexico, Tanzania, Iran, and Jordan—abstained. The semicolonial regimes backing Pol Pot were those most overtly subordinate to U.S., French, or British imperialism.

The Yugoslav and Romanian delegates voted with the imperialists. The Stalinist bureaucracies in these two East European workers states seek to maximize maneuvering room relative to Moscow by offering support to Washington on some key questions.

At the back of the General Assembly hall, Ieng Sary—the number-two figure in Pol Pot's deposed regime—grinned broadly. He was evidently untroubled by the denunciations that even most of his supporters felt obliged to make.

The statement by acting U.S. Ambassador Richard Petree, one of the last speakers, signalled Washington's goals in engineering the vote. Petree claimed that the Heng Samrin government is putting up political obstacles to efforts to relieve the current famine.

The fraud of Petree's charges was ex-

posed by John Pilger, a reporter for the London *Daily Mirror*, who recently visited Kampuchea. Challenging British officials who also cited "political obstacles" to aid, Pilger reported in the September 13 *Daily Mirror* that, "Any relief plane can come, without conditions." He noted that Oxfam, a British relief organization, has received complete cooperation in sending aid to Phnompenh.

Pilger charged that UNICEF has sent only one relief plane to Phnompenh. He quoted an official of the International Red Cross in Kampuchea: "I am desperate. In Geneva the Red Cross is still studying the framework of a plan of relief for Cambodia and the situation cannot wait!"

Pilger, who also complained of the skimpy aid being sent by Moscow, concluded:

The truth is that no substantial relief is reaching the most ravaged country on earth, a country stricken by the most intense famine in memory. The majority of the population of Cambodia are children, many of them infants. Their parents have been killed and they cannot plant the rice because they are too small and too weak from hunger and disease.

Why are these children being allowed to die? . . .

The Western governments and their dependents have mounted a campaign to blockade and punish the Vietnamese. One of the reasons given for this campaign is Vietnam's "aggression" in Cambodia—that is, its overthrow of the murderous Khmer Rouge regime.

*Every Cambodian I have met regards this "aggression" as having saved their nation from slavery and extinction.*

Pilger also denounced the Thatcher government and the European Common Market for cutting off food aid to Vietnam, which he called "the *only* country attempting to hold back the famine in Cambodia with supplies of food and drugs that it badly needs to combat its own critical shortages."

UN recognition provides a shred of legal cover to the U.S., Thai, and other regimes that are providing military aid or other backing to the Pol Pot gang. U.S. Ambassador Petree denounced the new offensive being launched by Vietnamese and Kampuchean government forces as further proof of Heng Samrin's "cruelty." The U.S. rulers fear that the remains of the Khmer Rouge army may face destruction.

In an effort to block the offensive, U.S. officials are also threatening Vietnam. "If Vietnam mounts the major assault that seems to be in the works," one official was quoted as saying in the September 24 *Newsweek*, "it is our analysis that the Chinese will not sit idly by." □

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Anibal Vargas/Perspectiva Mundial

30,000 in Managua September 14 welcome Vietnamese delegation.

## Thousands Rally in Solidarity With Vietnam

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—"The heroic Nicaraguan people salute the thousand-times heroic people of Vietnam."

That was the theme of a rally of 30,000 or more persons held here September 14. The crowd filled the Plaza de la Revolución to welcome a Vietnamese delegation headed by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong.

The people who turned out to express their solidarity with Vietnam came overwhelmingly from Managua's poor and working-class neighborhoods, in contingents organized by the Sandinista Defense Committees, the Sandinista Workers Federation, the July 19 Sandinista Youth, the women's organization AMPRONAC, and other such groups.

Nearby cities such as Jinotepe and Masaya were represented, and Indians from the combative community of Monimbó carried banners.

The rally was publicized for several days by the Sandinista daily *Barricada* and on radio and television. *Barricada* also carried a series of articles detailing the history of the Vietnamese liberation struggle.

The Sandinista paper's coverage stood in marked contrast to that provided by the capitalist daily *La Prensa* here, which saw fit to mention the Vietnamese delegation's visit only in the next-to-last paragraph of a long article on another topic in its September 14 edition.

Hundreds of hand-made banners and placards expressing solidarity with Vietnam were carried at the rally.

Hanging from the front of the Palace of the Heroes of the Revolution (formerly the National Palace), above the speakers platform, were enormous portraits of Nicaraguan national hero Augusto César Sandino, Ho Chi Minh, and Che Guevara.

"Nicaragua has not failed to be affected by the influence, prestige, and ability of the victorious Vietnamese people," said FSLN Comandante Carlos Núñez in a speech at the rally.

Explaining the significance of the new ties between Nicaragua and Vietnam, Núñez said: "They are two peoples, two nations that although separated by great distance have both fought to the death against similar enemies—in different circumstances, with different experiences, but with a common bond: the struggle by an entire people to shake off foreign domination, to battle to the end against internal enemies, and to carve out a promising future. . . ."

### Washington's Devastation

Núñez also pointed to another bond of solidarity between the two peoples—their mutual determination to overcome the devastation suffered when Washington and its local puppets unleashed terror and

war to maintain their rule:

"How could we not call this people a thousand times heroic? Like our own people, it suffered attacks in almost all its cities, along with the destruction of 12 provincial capitals and 51 district seats; the bombing of 4,000 [agricultural] communes, with 30 totally destroyed; extermination of industrial zones and severe attacks against all electric-power stations; destruction of 5 million square meters of housing; attacks on all rail lines, bridges, port facilities, rivers and waterways; damage to 1,600 flood-control dikes; and the bombardment of 3,000 schools and 350 hospitals. How could we not declare a thousand times heroic a people that is raising itself from the ruins in infinitely adverse conditions to unite, produce, organize, and build?"

Speaking with a red and black Sandinista bandana draped around his neck, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong hailed the "great revolutionary effervescence" now sweeping "the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean." He also noted the continuing resistance by Kampuchea, Laos, and Vietnam to imperialist pressure, and denounced the Chinese government's reactionary military attacks on Vietnam.

### Nicaragua's First Victory

The September 14 rally here also marked the 123rd anniversary of the battle of San Jacinto—the turning point in the 1855-57 war to oust the American proslavery adventurer William Walker from Nicaragua.

The defeat of Walker's forces was Nicaragua's "first victory against interventionism," said Alfonso Robelo of the Government of National Reconstruction in his remarks at the September 14 rally.

"From now on," Robelo continued, "it should be clear to all interventionist forces that our country will rise up as a single man to repel them the moment they dare set foot on Nicaraguan soil.

"We must state clearly," Robelo said, "that just as the counterrevolutionary forces could not [defeat] Vietnam, neither will they be able to do so with Nicaragua."

Robelo closed his speech by taking note of another example of international solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution. He read a government decree granting full Nicaraguan citizenship to Comandante Victor Tirado López, a Mexican who has been a leader of the Sandinista Front since the 1960s and is today part of the FSLN's nine-member Joint National Leadership. □

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## Protests Pour In to Iran Embassies Around World

By Janice Lynn

The emergency campaign to save the lives of fourteen members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (Hezbe-e Kargar-e Socialist—HKS) continues to win support from labor leaders and union organizations throughout the world.

Significant support has recently come from Mexico, Turkey, Hong Kong, and Ireland.

Twelve of these longtime antishah fighters were sentenced to death August 26 by a secret tribunal in Ahwaz. Two others, both women, were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Six of the HKS members are in Karoun Prison. They are: Hadi Adib, Firooz Farzinpour, Ali Hashemi, Mahmoud Kafaie, Kambiz Lajevardi, and Kia Mahdevi.

Six are in the jails of the Special Court building. They are: Hormoz Fallahi, Mor-teza Gorgzadeh, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Mohammed Poorkahvaz, Mustafa Seifabadi, and Hamid Shahrabi.

The two women, Mahsa Hashemi and Fatima Fallahi, are in Dezful Prison. The only charges made against them at the time of their trials were for speaking or writing about their political ideas.

Supporters of the case in Mexico include a number of unions of university workers; Rodolfo Echeverría of the Executive Committee of the Mexican Communist Party; the national committee of the Mexican Workers Party (PMT); and the Revolutionary and Independent Peasant Coordination. The National Union of Education Workers (SNTE) has also sent a telegram.

From Hong Kong, recent support for the HKS prisoners has come from the Revolutionary Marxist League and the Socialist Workers League of China.

From Turkey, Muhittin Karkin, vice-president of the Wood Industry Workers Union, has written a telegram protesting the death sentences.

In Ireland, the arrests of the HKS members have been condemned by Mi-



March of 300 to Iranian embassy in Mexico City September 13. Action was called by two Mexican Trotskyist groups—Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of Fourth International; and Marxist Workers League (LOM), affiliated with Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

chael Mullen, general secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union; Matt Herrigan, general secretary of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union; the secretary and chairperson of the Arab Society of Ireland; Michael Farrell, an Irish historian and leader of the civil-rights movement; and others.

New support has also come from New Zealand and Australia.

In New Zealand, a telegram has been signed by Bill Rowling, the leader of the opposition and former Labour Party Prime Minister; G.H. Andersen and P. Purdue, president and vice-president of the Auckland Trades Council; S. Davies, executive of the Federation of Labour; and others.

In Australia, recent support has come from Chris Huford, a member of Parlia-

ment and shadow minister for industry and commerce; the National Council of the Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists; New South Wales South Coast Trades and Labor Council; Australasian Meat Industry Employees Union; and numerous other unions and unionists.

Defense committees have been formed in several countries to carry on the emergency support campaign. In Britain the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Iran has organized several meetings and demonstrations. In Sweden, there is a Committee for Defense of Trade Union and Democratic Freedom in Iran. Two hundred people formed a solidarity committee at an August 31 meeting in Denmark.

In the United States a Committee to Save the Iranian 14 was launched September 19. Its goals are to stop the executions and win the release of all fourteen prisoners.

Among the initial sponsors of the U.S. committee are: writer Noam Chomsky; human rights activist Philip Berrigan; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of United Auto Workers District 65; Michael Harrington, national chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC); Kurdish activist Taleb Berzinji; Marxist philosopher and Socialist Workers Party leader George Novack; Robert Allen, editor of *Black Scholar*; and Wilfred Anderson, president of United

### How You Can Help

Telegrams protesting the death sentences given the 12 HKS prisoners in Ahwaz and demanding the immediate release of all 14 socialists 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, Zartoshtian Alley, Tehran, Iran; to *Ettela'at*, Khayam Avenue, Tehran, Iran; *Kayhan*, Ferdowsi Avenue, Tehran, Iran; and to *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

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

Steelworkers of America Local 1845.

The committee is soliciting protest telegrams to the Iranian government and organizing delegations to the Iranian embassy in Washington, D.C., and to Iranian consulates in other American cities.

On September 18 one such delegation composed of four professors, including DSOC leader Harrington, met with the Iranian consul general in New York City. The four had been organizers of a 1977 campaign to abolish a university program used by SAVAK in its widespread spying on Iranian students abroad.

The U.S. defense committee is also one of the sponsors of the tour of HKS leader Farhad Nouri, who is seeking support for his imprisoned comrades. At a protest meeting in San Francisco, California, \$1,500 was raised for the defense efforts.

In Mexico City, Nouri was interviewed for the widely read weekly magazine *Proceso* and the Mexican daily *Uno más Uno*. Members of the Marxist Workers League (LOM), affiliated with the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, have been circulating petitions among their co-workers for the release of the HKS members. □

## Canadian Labor Backs HKS Prisoners

VANCOUVER—Seven hundred delegates to the convention of the British Columbia New Democratic Party (NDP)—Canada's labor party—voted unanimously September 3 for an emergency resolution to be sent to Iran. It said in part:

"We strongly protest the massive arrests and executions of Iranian citizens. We demand an end to secret trials and torture, and the immediate release of all political prisoners. We strongly protest the sentences of death and life imprisonment issued to fourteen members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) in Ahwaz. We demand their lives and the lives of all other political prisoners be saved."

The resolution also protested executions of Kurds, Fedayeen, and members of the Tudeh Party. It demanded democratic and political rights for all Iranians.

On September 12 the officers of the British Columbia Federation of Labor, representing 250,000 workers, sent the same emergency telegram. So did the Simon Fraser student council.

Regional Council Number One of the International Woodworkers of America, which represents 55,000 woodworkers in western Canada, also passed a resolution at its regional convention and voted September 14 to send a protest telegram to Iran. —Robert Simms

## Statement by Socialist Workers Party

### Havana Summit Deals Blow to U.S. War Drive

[The U.S. capitalist press has been on a campaign to portray the Nonaligned Conference held recently in Havana as a "threat" to American working people. The Socialist Workers Party, answering this lie, has explained that the conference was a setback for imperialism and a gain for American workers. The following is the text of a statement issued September 19 by the SWP Political Committee, reprinted from the September 28 *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

American working people have every reason to hail the outcome of the Sixth Summit Meeting of Nonaligned Nations in Havana. The gathering gave voice to the most burning needs and demands of peoples in the semicolonial and underdeveloped countries, who make up the great majority of the human race.

The capitalist press has dismissed the conference as "anti-American."

That is a lie.

Its fire was directed at only a tiny minority of the people of this country—the owners of the big corporations, who dominate and exploit most of the world's people, including the American workers and farmers.

The conference showed that this exploiting minority is isolated as never before. And that is good news for the struggles of American working people against war, against racism, and for a better life.

The Havana summit condemned U.S. war moves in the Middle East and Central America. It demanded independence for Puerto Rico, which is today a colony of the U.S. It called for removing U.S. troops from Cuba and South Korea. It gave new inspiration to the fight for the massive international aid that the peoples of Nicaragua and Indochina desperately need to rebuild their war-ravaged lands.

These actions put new obstacles in the way of the Carter administration's war drive, which threatens to use American working people as cannon fodder, as it did in Vietnam.

The conference registered the hatred that hundreds of millions of people feel for apartheid, Zionism, and every other form of racist oppression. That will strengthen the fight against racist oppression and discrimination here in the United States as well.

The Cuban government, which hosted the gathering, argued forcefully for the adoption of these progressive stands. The leadership displayed by the Cubans at the conference is an extension of their anti-imperialist actions in Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere.

This heroic and self-sacrificing

example—not "Soviet troops" or "Soviet domination"—is the reason for the escalating U.S. attacks on Cuba. The capitalists who run this country harbor an undying hatred for a government that, in Fidel's words, cannot be bribed, bought, or intimidated.

Not least of all, Washington hates the Cubans because they tell the truth to the oppressed masses of the world.

As Fidel Castro told the conference, the evils of war, poverty, underdevelopment, and racial oppression are "inseparably linked in the course of history to the system of the exploitation of man by man and the tremendous greed of that system to take over the natural resources of other peoples. As we one day said at the UN, 'Halt the philosophy of plunder and the philosophy of war will be halted.'

"Socialism as a system does not require arms production for its economy. It doesn't need armies to seize the resources of other people. . . .

"In short, if the system is socially just, the possibilities of survival and economic and social development are incomparably greater."

War, economic misery, and social catastrophes are built into the capitalist system—not only for the peoples of the colonial and ex-colonial countries but for the American working class as well.

The Vietnam War, the drive to lower workers' living standards, and near-disasters like Three Mile Island are only a taste of what the rulers of this country have in store for us if their decaying system is not replaced.

The nuclear arsenal being piled to ever greater heights by the U.S. rulers shows that they are ready to consider the mad act of destroying the world in order to defend their profits.

More and more workers in this country are realizing that their interests lie in opposing the policies of the capitalist government at home and abroad. Their thinking is beginning to converge with the consciousness of superexploited millions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

They are coming to the realization that the fate of the American working people and of the peoples whose demands were voiced in Havana are completely tied together.

The rule of the rich means economic ruin, environmental destruction, and war for all of us.

Fighting together against capitalism and imperialism, we can open the road to the abolition of war, inequality, exploitation, and every form of injustice.

United, the working people of the world can build a socialist future for humanity.

## Trotskyist Leader Zheng Chaolin Released in China

By Gregor Benton

The extraordinary news has reached Europe that Zheng Chaolin (Cheng Ch'ao-lin), a leader of the Chinese Trotskyists, was freed on June 5 this year, together with his wife Wu Jingru (Wu Ching-ju), herself an old revolutionary, who voluntarily shared his last seven years of captivity.

He and Wu were allocated a flat in the city center by the Shanghai Municipality.

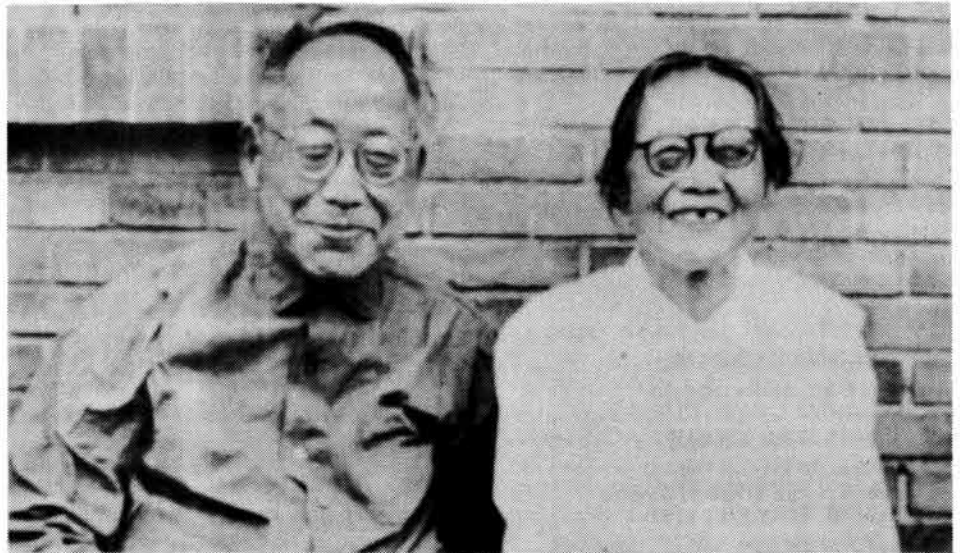
Since the fall of the so-called Gang of Four the new government has released many thousands of alleged "rightists" imprisoned in the late fifties and numerous people arrested during and after the Cultural Revolution (although new arrests in recent months may signal the beginnings of a reversal of this flow). Even several hundred Kuomintang war criminals were freed by Deng in 1975.

What distinguishes Zheng's release from those of the "rightists" is that he is a victim not of the Maoists but of the Party as a whole. His arrest took place in 1952, before the polarization of the Party into factions, and so the responsibility for his imprisonment cannot be given to the Maoists alone. It is therefore justified to demand (although perhaps naïve to expect) some sort of explanation from the Peking leaders of Zheng's experience that goes beyond the usual denunciation of the "radicals."

Zheng Chaolin was a founding member both of the Chinese CP and of its relatively influential Trotskyist offshoot. He has spent nearly half his life in jail, first as a "dangerous revolutionary" under the Kuomintang and then as a "counterrevolutionary" under the CP. Traditionally, August Blanqui, who spent 33 of his 75 years behind bars, has been considered as the "record-holder" for political prisonership. Now Zheng has beaten that record by one year.

His many years in jail under the CP were a standing mockery of the view, fashionable at least until recently in some radical circles, that China practiced a libertarian style of communism, qualitatively different from the Soviet one.

Zheng's case was recently taken up by Amnesty International, although at the time of the campaign Amnesty had no firm proof that he was still a prisoner or even that he was still alive. They were also unaware that Zheng's 72 year old wife, Wu Jingru (also known as Wu Jingzhen), had joined her husband in 1972, after he was transferred to a labor-camp in Pudong, on the east bank of the Huangpu River in Shanghai. Earlier Zheng had occupied a cell in the infamous Ward Road Jail, as it



Zheng Chaolin and Wu Jingru in Shanghai after their release, in photo obtained by Amnesty International. Zheng, a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Trotskyist movement, has spent nearly half his life in jail, first under the Kuomintang and then under the Chinese Stalinist regime.

used to be known in the days of the Shanghai International Settlement.

In Pudong Zheng's conditions improved somewhat. He enjoyed greater freedom (including his own room) and could even earn a small income from teaching English to fellow camp inmates, although both he and Wu suffered persecution when the Gang of Four was at its peak. Wu's reason for applying to the authorities to join her husband was partly that she was too ill to attend to herself, being blind and paralyzed. Her health has recently worsened, and she frequently collapses.

The tragedy of this old couple is all the more appalling when one learns something about their past.

Zheng Chaolin entered revolutionary politics in Paris after World War I, when he joined with other young Chinese émigrés to found the famous French section of the Chinese CP, which ranked in terms of the glittering array of talent it assembled with the newly-founded party in China. Among Zheng's Paris comrades were Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yi (later foreign minister in Peking) and Li Wei-han (later head of the party's united-front work).

Zheng, who was born in 1901, went to France as a worker-student in 1920, and in 1923 was among the first Chinese to study in Moscow at the University for the Toilers

of the East. In 1924 he returned to China to become secretary of the party propaganda department and coeditor of *Guide Weekly*, the main party publication. He was a talented linguist, mastering several European languages besides his native Chinese, and was responsible for translating Bukharin and Preobrazhensky's *ABC of Communism* into Chinese. This work immediately established itself as the standard text for a whole generation of revolutionaries. Zheng also won prominence as a writer and contributor to party journals.

During the summer of 1927 Zheng was appointed to the important Hubei Provincial Committee of the CP, which was directly responsible for leading the revolutionary struggles in the Yangtze tri-city of Wuhan during those stormy months. Zheng was also among the fewer than twenty delegates to the CP's August 1927 emergency conference, which represented a decisive turning-point in party affairs.

Among party workers in Wuhan was Wu Jingru, a young Yunnanese woman born into a rich Gunming Mandarin family in 1907. At the age of 19 Wu started work in the party's agitation and propaganda department and "married" Zheng (without formal ceremony or registration, as was then the fashion among radical youth in China) sometime in 1927.

After the defeat of the revolution in the

same year, the couple moved to Shanghai, then in the grip of a regime of bloody terror. In Shanghai Zheng worked under Qu Qiubai as chief editor of the party journal *Bolshevik*, simultaneously organizing the underground activities of left-wing writers and artists in Shanghai. Wu undertook dangerous clandestine assignments for the party, dodging the military patrols and the political police of Chiang Kai-shek.

The defeat of 1927 led many of the dwindling band of Communists in the Chinese towns to question the strategy of the party and of the Moscow-based Comintern behind it. In Moscow itself a Trotskyist current developed among the Chinese students, claiming the support of about half of them. Many of these Chinese Trotskyists were arrested and died in Soviet labor camps, but a handful made their way back to China and took with them secret documents outlining the views and proposals of the Left Opposition. In China they won the support of a large number of party activists, among them Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu), the founder of the Chinese Communist movement, who had earlier been made scapegoat for the failure of the Comintern's strategy for China.

Zheng and Wu enthusiastically declared themselves for the Trotskyist line, and were among the eighty-one signatories of the political platform of the Chen Duxiu group in 1929. After their expulsion from the official party, they directed their energies toward building an independent Trotskyist tendency.

In 1931 Zheng was elected to the Central Committee of the Left Opposition of the Chinese CP, as the new body called itself. In May of the same year both he and Wu were arrested by the Kuomintang, along with most other Trotskyist leaders. Wu was released after several months of interrogation and maltreatment, but Zheng was sentenced to fifteen years in prison.

During the early 1930s Wu courageously maintained liaison between the underground Trotskyists and their imprisoned leaders, particularly Chen Duxiu. From 1934 to 1936 she ran a vocational school for women in Shanghai, through which she won new sympathizers for the revolutionary cause from among women activists.

In 1938, after completing seven years of his sentence, Zheng was freed from prison during a general amnesty proclaimed after the outbreak of war with Japan. His condition was extremely weak, and he retired for a while to a village in Anhui, where Wu tended him back to good health. During this period in the countryside Wu gave birth to the couple's only child, a son, who they named Frei [German for "free"] in an internationalist gesture to celebrate Zheng's new-found freedom. Frei died in Shanghai of tuberculosis at the age of four.

After Zheng's recuperation, the couple

moved back to Shanghai in 1940, where they actively participated in the underground anti-Japanese resistance. Wu headed one of the two workers' schools run by the Trotskyists (under the very noses of the Japanese occupiers) in the workers' district of west Shanghai. This school, nominally an ordinary, privately-financed primary school, was run entirely by women, who taught children from workers' families during the day and adults during the evening. The school was the source of no few proletarian recruits to the Trotskyist resistance.

During the Japanese occupation Zheng busied himself among other things translating Marxist literature into Chinese. He also wrote a biography of Chen Duxiu, a history of Chinese reformism, and a political novel entitled *Dialogue of Three Travelers*.

After the war Wu continued her educational activities, while Zheng directed his main effort to editing *The New Banner*, a fortnightly revolutionary journal published in Shanghai.

In 1949, after a split in the Chinese Trotskyist movement, Zheng became leader of the International Workers Party. Its membership never exceeded a few hundred, and its life was cut short not long after the CP's victory on a national scale in the same year, although Zheng, Wu and others fought bravely to keep the party functioning under worsening conditions.

Zheng's old friends in the new government, recognizing his considerable talents, contacted him through Li Weihang, who knew Zheng in Paris, and urged him to compromise with them, but he refused.

On the night of December 22, 1952, Chinese Communist security forces arrested between two and three hundred Trotskyists and their sympathizers—

among them Zheng and Wu—in a nationwide raid. After a secret trial, Wu was sentenced to five years in prison.

On her release in 1957 she was paralyzed in both legs. She had long broken with her rich relatives, and found herself homeless. Fortunately she was given a room by one of her old neighbors in Shanghai, and existed on small sums of money remitted to her by friends in Hong Kong.

Of the fate of the Trotskyists other than Zheng and Wu, some of whom have been adopted as political prisoners by branches of Amnesty International, nothing is known. It is possible that some were among the seven other people released at the same time as Zheng. If still alive, many of them will have reached a rather advanced age.

Why did Zheng spend more than a quarter of a century of his life behind bars under the Communists? He stood accused of no crime other than his political beliefs. He had devoted his whole adult life to the service of the revolution. His friends knew him as a gentle man, more a martyr than a hero, motivated solely by an indomitable love for humanity.

One is driven to conclude that Deng Xiaoping waited until his old friend's energies were sapped by age and sickness before intervening to secure his release. This is, of course, a devastating comment on the pretensions of the post-Mao leaders to represent socialist democracy and legality, although Deng's action is to be welcomed as a humanitarian gesture.

Zheng's release must be seen in the context of the whole wave of recent rehabilitations, but it may be that Amnesty International's campaign was a decisive factor in it. If so, this would indicate a new and very welcome sensitivity in Peking to the pressures of world public opinion □

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## Pressure Mounts in Ireland for Halt to British Terror

By John Meehan

DUBLIN—The killings of Lord Mountbatten and twenty British soldiers August 27 touched off a deepgoing public debate about the causes of the political instability in Ireland. The immediate reaction of every section of the British ruling class and of its clients in Ireland was to engage each other in competition to see who could come up with the most violent condemnation of the Irish Republican Army. However, when it came to formulating a plan of action to deal with this challenge to the authorities, considerable problems were encountered.

To begin with, these attacks were a demonstration of increasing striking power by the IRA, which the British authorities have been claiming for years was on the brink of defeat.

In reality, a large section of the Irish people, especially in the North, has remained unshakably committed to republicanism. For more than a decade new layers of youth have continued to join the IRA, in defiance of the massive and brutal repression carried out by the British forces in the North and their neocolonialist allies in the South. And the IRA veterans have remained unbroken.

Although the republican leadership has not understood how to lead the mass movement forward and has even blocked its development, as a result of its primarily military conception of the struggle, the mass opposition to British imperialism has persisted and is now growing again. This creates a political balance of forces that makes it impossible for the British army to wipe out the IRA.

To create the political conditions for eradicating the IRA, all the bourgeois forces in Ireland have to be welded together into a solid bloc. In view of this need, it was only natural that the government of the formally independent Twenty-Six County Irish state was singled out for attack by the other counterrevolutionary forces—the British imperialists and the local supporters of union with Britain—for being “soft” on the IRA.

The governing party in the South, Fianna Fáil, is historically the more nationalist and populist of the bourgeois parties. It was returned to power in June 1977 with its biggest electoral victory ever.<sup>1</sup> Since then, it has found itself in serious difficul-

ties. On the one hand it has tried to hold in check the slowly maturing anti-imperialist sentiments of its primarily working-class and small-farmer base. On the other it has collaborated with the terror campaign of the British army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) against the oppressed Catholic minority in the Six County area of Ireland that is directly controlled by Britain.

### Hysteria in British Press

The leader of Fianna Fáil, Prime Minister Jack Lynch, happened to be holidaying in Portugal at the time of the killings and did not return to Ireland for another three days. The British press went into paroxysms of rage over this, which it denounced as an “open insult.” It contrasted Lynch’s “cowardice” with the “bravery” of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who took the opportunity to make a twelve-hour visit to the Six Counties, during which she visited troops near the scene of the ambush of the British paratroopers.

The British ruling class seized on the bombings to orchestrate a rabid anti-Irish campaign. Headlines such as “Murdering Bastards” and “Evil Bastards” were emblazoned across the front pages of the mass-circulation daily papers. The “quality” papers, such as the *Financial Times*, were less overtly racist. But all of them put forward the following demands.

- That British troops be allowed to go in “hot pursuit” into the South after the IRA.
- That there be extradition of people living in the South who are wanted by the RUC, the police of Northern Ireland.
- That the RUC be allowed to question suspects in the South.

### Incitement by Loyalists

Parallel to the campaign in the British press, the Ulster Defense Association (UDA), using its flag-of-convenience, the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF), the name under which it carries out its terrorist operations, has begun a campaign of random assassinations of Catholics in the North. There have been a number of anti-Catholic speeches by Loyalist<sup>2</sup> politicians seeking to justify this activity. It was an Official Unionist<sup>3</sup> member of the European

parliament, John Taylor, who went furthest. He issued an open call for Loyalist terrorist attacks in the South.

After noting the threats of the Loyalists to “resume action on the ground,” Taylor stated:

If the leadership of the Loyalist paramilitaries find it absolutely impossible to refrain from renewed action on the ground, then in no way can that action occur on Ulster soil. It should be directed to targets within the Republic of Ireland, from which most of the IRA attacks originate, and within which the Provisional IRA is facilitated by a weak-kneed government.

After initially making a few lame statements about Britain’s political responsibility for the problem of violence in Ireland, Lynch went to London for talks with Thatcher after Mountbatten’s state funeral. He emerged with a statement that he would be cooperating in carrying out new and as yet unspecified security measures. This quickly led to a serious political dispute within his party.

### De Valera Goes on Offensive

The dispute began in the days after Mountbatten’s death, with the *Irish Press*, a daily newspaper that supports Fianna Fáil and is controlled by the De Valera family, expressing a good deal of editorial concern at Lynch’s failure to pin the responsibility for the latest events on British policy. However, the conflict really exploded into the open when on September 9, Sile De Valera, a member of both the Irish and European parliaments, delivered a thinly veiled assault on her party leader.

De Valera, the youngest member both of the Dáil [the Irish Parliament] and the European parliament, is the granddaughter of the founder of Fianna Fáil, Eamon De Valera. She has been one of her party’s best vote getters, and has carved out a reputation for herself as a nationalist orator. She spoke in Fermoy, Co. Cork, Jack Lynch’s native county, at a commemoration for General Liam Lynch, who died in 1923 while fighting on the republican side in the civil war. (This conflict developed immediately after the acceptance of the partition of Ireland by the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, which sold out the fight for Irish unity.)

De Valera began by asserting that the Irish people should be guided by Liam Lynch’s example. She said, “We have the solemn duty to seek the freedom of our country.” She referred with approval to the writings of Patrick Pearse, the leader of the 1916 rising, and then stated that there

1. For analysis of the background of this victory, see “New Turn in the Irish Political Situation,” by Gerry Foley, in *Intercontinental Press*, July 4, 1977, p. 758.

2. The more right-wing of the proimperialist forces in Northern Ireland.—*IP/I*

3. Those who favor union with Britain are split into several parties. The Official Unionists are about in the center.—*IP/I*





Ted McCarthy/Irish Times

Protest for release of Republican prisoners in Northern Ireland in 1974. New rise in anti-imperialist sentiment offers fresh opportunities for united campaign in defense of democratic rights in all of Ireland.

was a danger of his ideas of a united Ireland being diluted by "dangerous opponents" who "only have material interests at heart."

What was worse, she said, was that these unnamed people "often cloak their views under such guises as reconciliation and peace." The Irish needed leaders who would not "succumb to British pressure."

The speech continued in the same vein, with many quotations from, and references to, nationalist fighters in the past. Throughout it she attacked the British propaganda, whose aim, she said, was to intimidate people who believe in a united Ireland, and to smear republicanism.

Then came two significant statements of policy. First she dismissed as futile the search for policies to reform the Six Counties. Devolution and the Council of Ireland<sup>4</sup> were only "half measures which can only serve to exacerbate and fester the problem." Secondly, she attacked the "effrontery" of the British government for demanding that its army and the RUC be allowed to come across the border.

"It must be pointed out to the British government in no uncertain terms," she declared, that "they were the cause of partition and we at no time would wish to cooperate in any scheme of theirs which is an attempt to keep the border in existence."

As for the RUC, "Well, you're all aware of the history of that particular force in the

Six Counties, a force which has sown the seeds of death, discord, and destruction from the days of the B-Specials to their present activities and brutality, not the least in Castlereagh, which has so recently been recorded and condemned."

Finally she referred to the danger of young people losing faith in "constitutional politics." This could be averted, she said, if leadership was given. That alone got very close to the bone for Lynch, but then came the final twist of the knife. She herself spoke as "a young person" who "looked to our party, and particularly our leadership to demonstrate republicanism." Every true Irish man and woman would be looking to Lynch for leadership. "After all, it had always been given in the past."

#### Open Rift in Irish Government

It has since become evident that this speech was part of a move against Lynch. It was handed to the media three days before it was delivered. Only after this did Lynch see it, by which time he could not stop it without creating an embarrassing row. All he could do was put out a statement regretting "the tone and tenor" of the speech. He also made an attack on the IRA, whose objective, he said, was "to destroy the democratic government that was defended by men like Liam Lynch."

Lynch denied that there was any dispute in Fianna Fáil about the policy the party should follow on the question of Irish unity. But at the same time he reiterated his support for the "half measures" that De Valera had castigated, thereby carrying forward the public battle she had launched.

Such open disputes are rare in Fianna Fáil. Obviously they are very dangerous

for such a party, since they expose its fundamental contradiction, the conflict between its largely anti-imperialist following and its commitment to defending the basic interests of imperialism in Ireland. Only very powerful pressures could produce this sort of public rift.

The last public dispute of this nature was in 1969-70 when there was massive fighting in the North between the Catholic ghetto population and the repressive forces, and when thousands marched in the South demanding guns so that they could go to the defense of the nationalists in the North.

A section of the Fianna Fáil party felt compelled at the time to send some weapons and military advisers into the Catholic ghettos in an attempt to maintain the influence of the Catholic moderates. The British could not, however, permit such a maneuver. They prompted the more proimperialist elements in the Southern political circles, civil service, and the press to raise a hue and cry about "gun running." This forced Lynch to dismiss a number of members of his cabinet who were implicated in the operation.

The ouster of these ministers, however, did not solve this problem for Fianna Fáil. One of the fired ministers in particular, Charles Haughey, has continued to build up a base in the party and was able to force Lynch to include him in his present cabinet. It seems clear that Haughey and his wing were behind De Valera's speech, and that it was only the opening gun of a general political offensive.

A number of Fianna Fáil deputies have already expressed their support for De Valera, and the *Irish Press* estimates that

4. Devolution refers to the scheme to institute some home rule in Northern Ireland. The Council of Ireland would include representatives from both parts of Ireland. It would have only consultative powers.—*IP/I*

about 40 percent of the party parliamentary fraction supports her. And the day after the speech, she went on a visit to the U.S., probably to bid for support in the Irish community there.

So, there is apparently a full-blown crisis brewing in Fianna Fáil, a fact that testifies to a major shift in the relationship of forces in the country to the detriment of imperialism and its allies.

#### Rise in Anti-imperialist Sentiment

There are a number of forces producing this shift. One is the rise in anti-imperialist sentiment in general. Another is the rise of labor militancy (a million workdays have been lost this year due to strikes, qualitatively more than at any time in the previous decade). And a third factor is the growth of an increasingly restive youth (the end of mass emigration has led to a rise of more than 10 percent in the population in the past ten years).

However, the show of resistance to British bullying that some Irish politicians now find it advisable to make is certainly not sufficient in itself to deter the British imperialists and their Loyalist allies from continuing their aggressive course.

On the other hand, all the institutions of the Twenty-Six County state, from the civil service to the Catholic church and the news media, are being mobilized to hold back and disorient the force that, if roused, could defeat the British offensive and at the same time would pose a mortal danger to the neocolonial bourgeoisie itself—the Southern Irish working class.

#### Defense Against Assassination

The reactionary offensive of the British and their allies will center around the

theme that the Protestants in the North must not be "provoked." It is evident that the Protestants are determined to seek revenge for the latest incidents, and some sort of attack by them in the South appears inevitable. Very probably it will take the form of attempts on the lives of persons prominently associated with the fight for Irish unity.

Revolutionists in Ireland and abroad must campaign to forestall such attempts, focusing the spotlight of public opinion on the British responsibility for the violence and supporting all initiatives aimed at opening up the way for the Irish people to determine their own future. This campaign must include defending the right of the Catholic minority in the North to organize an armed mass defense against Loyalist assassins.

The Loyalists dominate the Northern Irish state forces, namely the RUC and especially the Ulster Defense Regiment (the local militia). Far from protecting the Catholic minority, these forces, together with the British army, facilitate communalist attacks. The security of the Catholic areas cannot be assured except by expelling these forces from these neighborhoods, as a prelude to their complete disbanding and expulsion from Ireland.

The Provisional IRA have reorganized in a new tightly knit cell structure. Although this has allowed them to strike tactical blows against the occupying forces, it does not provide an effective means of defending the ghettos.

It remains to be seen how the Provisionals will respond to attempts by the people in the ghettos to organize self-defense, as has happened to some extent in the Bawnmore housing estate in Belfast.

The emerging crisis within Fianna Fáil and the general shift in the political situation also represent a test for the Provisionals, a test of their ability to take advantage of such new opportunities.

#### Position of Irish Trotskyists

People's Democracy, an organization in sympathy with the Fourth International, stresses the need for a coordinated campaign in defense of democratic rights in all of Ireland. It points up the need for all forces that agree with this aim to cooperate, without any political exclusionism of any kind.

In particular, People's Democracy calls for building the campaign for the restoration of political status to all anti-imperialist prisoners.

The Provisionals often insist that any bodies engaged in defending republican prisoners must explicitly support their armed campaign or indicate their confidence that this campaign will lead to victory. This kind of an approach only plays into the hands of bourgeois politicians such as Haughey and De Valera.

In the last analysis, these demagogues are just as committed as Lynch to defending the interests of imperialism in Ireland. They like nothing better than to be allowed to get away with sounding off republican speeches and then refusing to defend "violent subversives," that is, the actual victims of British repression.

The problem is how to break through the illusions that most workers have in these demagogues. This can only be done by insisting on the obvious need for those opposed to the imperialists' policies and actions to unite in common concrete struggles against the enemy. □

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## Guyana—Bauxite and Sugar Strikes Jolt Burnham

By Ernest Harsch

Using police attacks, jailings, and threats against strikers' families, the Guyana regime of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham was successful during the last week of August in breaking a six-week-old strike by bauxite workers. The strike had been called to demand higher pay and an end to the regime's austerity policies.

Sugar workers and government employees who had gone out in solidarity with the bauxite workers also returned to work. Sixty of the government employees were reported to have been fired for their part in the strike.

These moves against the strikers were part of a broader crackdown launched by Burnham to try to stifle rising opposition to his regime, installed with the support of U.S. and British imperialism in 1964. That opposition has been reflected over the past two months in wide support for the strikers, protests against repression, and mass meetings organized by the Working People's Alliance (WPA) to demand Burnham's resignation.

Signs of this growing ferment had been evident earlier in the year as well, when bauxite workers struck for a week in late January and early February, winning their demand for the reinstatement of two dismissed members of the Guyana Mine Workers Union.

The regime's response to the most recent opposition has been to ban all public meetings, shut down opposition newspapers, arrest a number of leaders of the WPA and other political and trade-union organizations, threaten strike leaders and their families, and set police and progovernment goon squads against demonstrators.

During the course of this political ferment, the WPA has emerged as one of the most active antigovernment groups in the country. It was originally formed five years ago, but only officially declared itself a party in early July, when it announced that it would field candidates in the next general elections.

The leadership of the WPA includes some of the most prominent left-wing political activists in Guyana, including Walter Rodney, author of *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, and Eusi Kwayana (formerly Sydney King), a veteran of the struggle against British colonial rule.

The WPA is composed of both East Indians and Blacks (descendants of indentured laborers from India and African slaves), a significant development in a

country where the major political parties have generally been based almost exclusively on one or another of the two main nationalities. In the past, Burnham, whose party is based on the minority Black population, has been able to exploit these divisions to remain in power.

The WPA also has closed relations with various radical nationalist groups in the Caribbean, such as the New Jewel Movement that seized power in nearby Grenada in March.

On July 11, when several government buildings in Georgetown, the capital, were firebombed, the regime seized on the incident as a pretext for a crackdown. Within hours eight political activists were arrested, including Walter Rodney and Rupert Roopnarine, both members of the WPA Executive. Rodney, Roopnarine, and two others were subsequently charged with arson and released on bail.

Three days later, a WPA demonstration to protest the arrests was attacked by thugs belonging to the House of Israel cult, which supports the government and Burnham's People's National Congress (PNC).<sup>\*</sup> Father Bernard Darke, a reporter for the *Catholic Standard* who had written articles critical of the regime, was stabbed to death.

Meanwhile, the strike by bauxite workers, which began July 12, was gaining support. By the end of the month some 5,000 workers at all four state mining locations had walked out.

The Guyana Agricultural Workers Union (GAWU), which represents the sugar workers, called its members out for a one-day strike on July 25 to press for implementation of an agreement for a higher minimum wage. The GAWU then again went on strike in solidarity with the bauxite workers, bringing two of Guyana's major export industries to a standstill.

The University of Guyana Union Association and the Commercial and Clerical Workers Union (CCWU), which represents government employees, also went out on strike in August to back up the bauxite workers.

The WPA held a mass meeting in

<sup>\*</sup>Numerous religious cults, often composed predominantly of non-Guyanese (like the late Rev. Jim Jones's People's Temple), have been welcomed in Guyana by the Burnham regime in exchange for financial contributions and votes for the PNC. Some, like the House of Israel, have also been used to attack antigovernment demonstrations and break strikes.

Georgetown August 16; police firing tear-gas cannisters dispersed the protesters. The same day, three persons in the bauxite mining area of Linden were arrested, including Ali Majeed of the Organization of Working People, which works closely with the WPA. On August 17, during a court appearance by Rodney and the other defendants in the arson case, twenty-eight WPA supporters were detained and beaten before they were released.

Two days later, police charged a march by 1,500 strikers in Georgetown and arrested CCWU General Secretary Gordon Todd.

In face of such police attacks and related moves—like the shutting down of opposition newspapers, including the WPA's *Dayclean*—the strikers and their supporters raised increasingly political demands.

According to a report in the August 24 issue of the London weekly *Latin America Political Report*, "Although the bauxite strike began over a wage demand, the movement has become a general protest against economic mismanagement and government repression of opposition. The recently-formed Working People's Alliance (WPA) party, which is heading the protest movement, is calling on Burnham to resign and hand over to a government of national unity. This would include all other parties except the PNC, and would oversee free elections, and the de-militarisation of the country."

To press its demand for Burnham's resignation, the WPA organized numerous public rallies. According to a dispatch from Georgetown in the August issue of the Barbados monthly *Caribbean Contact*, thousands of persons participated in the capital, along Guyana's east coast, and in Linden.

The demand for Burnham's resignation has also been backed by the People's Progressive Party, a predominantly East Indian party led by Cheddi Jagan, and, according to Rodney, by sectors of the "business community" as well.

"In spite of the breaking of the strike," the August 31 *Latin America Political Report* commented, "the internal opposition to the regime is likely to continue." □

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# Selections From the Left

[In this week's column, we continue with initial assessments of the revolution in Nicaragua.]

## QUÉ HACER?

"What Is to Be Done?" Fortnightly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Organization, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Costa Rica. Published in San José.

Issues No. 48, 49, and 50 feature extensive coverage on the Nicaraguan revolution.

A front-page article in the June 26-July 11 issue (No. 48), titled "The Three Cards of Imperialism in Nicaragua," says:

"The surest and also the most important card is the military triumph of Somoza. Despite all the declarations of Carter," Washington fears that the military defeat of Somoza would open new opportunities "for the Nicaraguan masses to come forth and struggle for their own demands, which would create much greater instability than what exists now."

Direct U.S. military intervention is the second card mentioned in the article. "But the crumbling of the National Guard could take place instantaneously and irreversibly, precipitating violent internal convulsions. . . . Political power in Nicaragua would immediately pass to the insurgent forces. Faced with this eventuality, imperialism also has its card prepared.

"The feigned neutrality of the United States in respect to the FSLN, the acknowledgment of it as an integral part necessary to any solution, and the recognition of the FSLN as a belligerent party in Nicaragua by the Latin dictatorships such as Brazil, Peru, and Panama have a meaning.

"All this unanimity of gorilas and democratic proimperialist governments has had its price. To obtain it, the FSLN has had to publicly pledge that in case of a military triumph it will hand over the reins of power to an antidemocratic Provisional Junta of bourgeois proimperialists, in which FSLN figures will serve only to give the junta validity in the eyes of the masses.

"In its declarations, this provisional government has already opposed the calling of free elections. This clearly demonstrates its intentions of safeguarding the interests of the national bourgeoisie and imperialism, and of maintaining the subjection of the masses to poverty and exploitation."

Issue No. 49, dated July 16-29, has the headline, "Yankee Troops Out." It features a photo of a demonstration against the U.S. military force that landed in Costa Rica July 8. The OST played an active part

in building the protests that forced the withdrawal of the imperialist troops.

While the front-page article focuses on the Costa Rican government and the imperialist danger, it also argues that "the fact that the FSLN looks to the government of [Costa Rican President] Carazo and not to the oppressed Costa Rican masses to obtain the support that it seeks and needs makes it more acquiescent to the imperialist pressures that the Carazo government transmits."

Two headlines are featured on the front page of the July 30-August 12 issue (No. 50). One is, "Somoza Falls—and Now . . . ?" The second is "Reconstruct Nicaragua—For Whom?"

The front-page article takes up the argument advanced by "some naïve people who profess left-wing ideas," who say the bourgeois figures in the Provisional Government "will be no more than a screen, a façade 'to keep imperialism quiet.' And that in the shadow of this façade, the Sandinistas will advance slowly, without falling into provocations, toward social progress, revolutionary changes, and socialism."

Not so, says the article. "Let us first see what the phrase, 'the Sandinistas have the arms' means. Sandinismo is not something compact and homogeneous. There exist three distinct tendencies. . . ."

The main leader of "the most right-wing sector," Comandante Eden Pastora, "is a declared and conscious procapitalist."

Nicaragua, the article concludes, can either go the way of Cuba—toward the socialist reconstruction of society—or toward the kind of right-wing coup that occurred in Chile in 1973. It warns that "the politics of the bourgeoisie have already been reflected in the first declarations and measures of the new government."

Two other articles analyze the character of the new Sandinista government and its measures. The first is titled: "Nationalization of Banking in Nicaragua: Revolutionary Action or Fraud?"

The article says: "The first economic measure announced by the new government has been the nationalization of the banks. This important act comes in the midst of alarm caused by the first decisions of the new government, such as the prohibition of the independent press, the disarming of the Sandinista people's militias, and the refusal to hold early elections. Concrete and detailed analysis of the actual nationalization shows that behind the magic word 'nationalization' is disguised the features of a fraud against the Nicaraguan people." The measure, the article says, "will benefit only the big financial sharks."

A second article, "Why Did the Nicara-

guan People Fight? And What Does the Government of National Reconstruction Offer?" asks: "Will the government of 'Reconstruction' satisfy the aspirations that the Nicaraguan people fought for over decades?"

It answers: "In the area of democratic liberties the government has not promulgated any bill of rights, it has not guaranteed democratic liberties. . . ."

"In the social field, all is indefinite, vague, unspecific. The attention of the masses is totally concentrated on the most elemental questions: to obtain food, to find shelter, to protect against the spread of disease. The capitalists in the government of 'reconstruction' are gaining time. But it is clear that they don't intend to touch capitalist property, although the situation requires that to meet the needs of the exploited. . . ."

"On the question of arms, we witnessed the disarming of the workers and of the genuine Sandinista fighters by the most right-wing sector of Sandinism. On this basis, the structure of a new army is already rising, and various ex-Somocistas have entrenched themselves in it and are beginning to spread their wings anew. There is no guarantee that there will not be another general prepared to open fire on the masses and reinstitute the terror in Nicaragua."

The following two issues, dated August 13-26 and August 27-September 9 (Nos. 51 and 52), did not have a word to say about the unfolding revolution in Nicaragua.

## COMBATE

"Combat," weekly organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), section of the Fourth International in the Spanish state. Published in Madrid.

LCR leader Miguel Romero, who went to Nicaragua following the fall of Somoza, writes in the September 12-18 issue: "The most important events that have occurred in the world since the defeat of imperialism in Indochina are taking place in Nicaragua. The future of the Fourth International depends in great measure on our knowing how to respond correctly to them."

Recounting the history of the struggle against Somoza, Romero takes up the agreement reached by the Junta of National Reconstruction in negotiations with U.S. representatives early in July—an agreement that Somoza would resign, but that his National Guard would be integrated into a new army.

"Clearly, if these accords had been put into practice, today we would not be speaking of a revolution on the march. But the fact is that they were not fulfilled at all. To speculate if the intentions of the Sandinistas were this or that in the hour of signing such grave compromises is of very

little interest. What is really important is that the leadership of the FSLN utilized the first favorable occasion that presented itself to turn that pact into a scrap of paper." . . .

"And so a process of permanent revolution has objectively opened in Nicaragua. . . . Certainly, this process is moving forward, moving toward the one radical solution to the aspirations of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, toward a complete break with imperialism and the establishment of the second Latin American workers state.

"But in order to help to successfully traverse this road, it is necessary to understand and to take responsibility for the immense difficulties and obstacles that exist. It is necessary to analyze the answers that are given by the FSLN to these difficulties on the basis of the actual, practical problems that exist, not on the basis of an ideal schema in which compromise is never necessary and revolutionary tactics are reduced to pressing the accelerator to the floorboard."

## El Socialista

Weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Colombia. Published in Bogotá.

An unsigned, two-part polemic with Fidel Castro appears in the August 31 and September 7 issues under the title "Nicaragua Must Not Be Another Cuba?"

Taking up Castro's July 26 speech in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution, the August 31 installment says: "For Fidel Castro, it appears that the most important political fact in relation to the Nicaraguan process is that 'around the Sandinista struggle what we would call a great democratic, pro-independence and anti-interventionist front developed tacitly in Latin America, something of historic significance and enormous importance.'"

The article argues that in Castro's view, "nothing is more important than to maintain a general political accord with the 'democratic' governments of the Andean Pact, of Panama, Costa Rica, and Mexico. The price of this accord is obvious—and he asks the Nicaraguan revolution to pay it. The price of this accord is to demobilize the Nicaraguan masses so that the process does not grow over into a socialist revolution. . . .

"Castro put into play all the weight of his prestige and authority with the Castroist sectors of the FSLN, urging application of a policy of demobilization totally in agreement with the Social Democratic sectors of Sandinism and the opposition bourgeoisie. The results of this policy can already be seen. . . .

"... the militias have been methodically disarmed. At the same time a process of selection and discharges in the Sandinista army is under way, and a regular

army and police are being reconstructed, full of 'instructors' and agents of the Panamanian National Guard and its intelligence service. . . .

"The demobilization is moving forward on every plane. Brakes have been applied to unionization; the organizations that grew up in the heat of the struggle against the dictatorship, such as the committees of defense, are being dissolved or converted into administrative and/or decorative organisms."

Castro's call for international aid to Nicaragua is also attacked. The article argues that Fidel "never tells the Nicaraguan people to have no illusions, that all Yankee, Venezuelan, or European aid inevitably has a political price. . . .

"Whatever 'help' is given by the 'democratic' countries of Latin America, the U.S., Germany, etc., etc., it can only have a similar aim, a similar condition: that the revolutionary process be reversed, that it not move forward to a socialist revolution."

Continuing in the September 7 issue, the article says the Latin American regimes "bought 'life insurance' for capitalism in Nicaragua with their intervention and support for the FSLN, so that the inevitable end of Somoza would not also mean the burial of Nicaragua's bourgeoisie. There are no favors or fronts without compromises, and it is these obligations that the leadership of the FSLN is paying today. Or, to use the words of Fidel Castro, that is its 'contribution . . . to the maintenance of the spirit of this broad front.'

"In a nutshell, the 'democratic' capitalists have sent the bill to the FSLN, and the advice of Castro is very clear: pay it!"

Returning to Castro's call for international aid to Nicaragua, the article claims Castro "does not begin by telling the truth to the people of Nicaragua." It complains that in his speech Castro failed to warn that "when the United States sends 'help' it is with the same objectives as when it sends bombs and marines."

In conclusion, the article says that "the line proposed from Havana is capitulation, on the altar of peaceful coexistence with the Latin American capitalists."



"Socialist Struggle," a newspaper reflecting the views of the Revolutionary Socialist party (PSR), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Colombia. Published in Bogotá.

An editorial in the August 27 issue describes the attempts of the imperialists to blackmail the Nicaraguan masses. Comparing this to what Washington did to Cuba after the revolution there, the editorial says:

"In December 1975 Fidel made an assessment of the Cuban revolution. He said something that applies to Nicaragua to-

day: '... the Cuban nation did not have any alternative (in August 1959). The people neither wished to stop nor could they stop. Our national and social liberation were indissolubly linked. To advance was a historical necessity, so as to put a stop to cowardice and treason that would have again brought us to being a Yankee colony and slaves of the exploiters.'

"The workers of the world must mobilize in support of the Nicaraguan people, a people who neither want to nor can stop. We salute examples such as the decision of the National Trade Union Council [CNS] August 9 to offer 150 million pesos for the reconstruction of Nicaragua on the basis of a campaign for fifty pesos from each unionized worker in Colombia.

"This monetary contribution and the participation of the CNS in demonstrations of the masses, such as that of August 3, are the type of moves that will be able to set the Colombian masses in action in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution, which needs this support so much."

In addition, this issue contains an eyewitness report from Managua by PSR leader Ciro Roldán. Titled "Nicaragua: a Revolution on the March," Roldán's account describes the organization of popular committees by peasants, in the neighborhoods of the poor, and in the factories.

Replying to the question of where Nicaragua is going, Roldán writes: "The answer has been given by the actions of the workers. And they are continuing to give it. Under the leadership of the Sandinistas they have carried out a political revolution; now they are beginning a social revolution.

"To the question of with whom and for whom reconstruction will be carried out, the Sandinistas have all responded, with the masses and for the masses."

## Socialist Action

Published twice monthly in Wellington, New Zealand.

"Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution" is the headline on the front page of the September 7 issue. In a page-two article George Fyson writes that "Socialist Action is throwing its resources into a special campaign of solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution, beginning with this issue of the paper."

Fyson reported that New Zealand Trotskyists had kicked off their campaign with a rally of 200 people in Auckland September 1, and had sent *Socialist Action* correspondent Matt Robson to Nicaragua to report firsthand on events there.

Five additional pages on Nicaragua feature an eyewitness report from Managua by Pedro Camejo, Sergio Rodríguez, and Fred Murphy, and an interview with Jaime Wheelock, FSLN minister of agrarian reform. (Both articles were published in the September 3 *IP/I*.)

## Speech by FSLN Leader Daniel Ortega at Havana Conference

[The following is the text of the speech delivered by Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega to the plenary session of the Non-aligned Conference in Havana. Ortega is a member of Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction and of the FSLN Joint National Leadership.]

[We have taken the text from the September 13 and 14 issues of *Barricada*, the FSLN daily newspaper. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

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In January 1928 the Panamerican Conference was held in Havana. At that time the Nicaraguan people were engaged in an unequal struggle against Yankee intervention. Calvin Coolidge, who was then president of the United States, participated in the Havana meeting, and the tyrant Machado was president of Cuba.

Sandino, hoping to gain the support of some delegations, sent the following message on January 2, 1928:

"Our voices must be heard in Havana. Men must not lack the moral courage to speak the truth about our misfortune. They must tell how the people of Nicaragua, who are valiantly fighting and suffering, are determined to make any sacrifice, even including their own extermination, in order to defend their liberty. The results in Havana will be null and void if the ideal of the Spanish-speaking peoples is not crystallized; if you let us be assassinated to the last man, we will have the consolation of knowing that we carried out our duty. Our Country and Freedom. A.C. Sandino."

Not a single voice was raised at that Havana meeting.

Today Havana is serving as the site for this Sixth Summit, and the peoples and governments that are represented in this assembly are motivated by common interests.

A free and hospitable people, filled with solidarity, is receiving these delegations. And the leader of the revolution carried out by this people is presiding over the Non-aligned for this period. The tyrant Machado no longer governs Cuba. It is the people of Cuba who determine their own destiny.

The Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua and the Sandinista National Liberation Front salute the people of Cuba, their government, and the president of the Council of State, Comandante and Comrade Fidel Castro.

We also salute the peoples of Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia for the solidarity they demonstrated in support of our cause.

On Saturday, September 1, in a Mexican

newspaper, we read a dispatch datelined Havana that made reference to Nicaragua's position regarding the "problem" of Kampuchea. And we say "problem" because it is a problem for imperialism that *a people are free*.

The dispatch in question noted that Nicaragua's delegation had aligned itself with the Soviet bloc by recognizing the Government of People's Kampuchea. We all know what interests motivate the international press agencies of the so-called free world, so the deed does not surprise us.

We know that many of these press agencies, and with them the most reactionary sectors of the United States government and of Latin America, are waiting to pounce on our declarations at this meeting.



*Barricada*  
Ortega speaking at Havana conference.

These are the same forces that gave rise to the Somozaist dictatorship. They are the same forces that defamed and assassinated Lumumba, that defamed and assassinated Che. These are the same forces that slandered and assassinated [Vietnamese freedom fighter] Van Troi, the same forces that slandered and assassinated Sandino.

Imperialism cannot conceive of a free people, a sovereign people, an independent people. Because, simply and plainly, for them the people are nothing more than a grammatical expression. We just saw reconfirmation of this when our final offensive was launched.

They examined the war in mathematical terms. Somoza had a regular army. Somoza had more soldiers than the Sandinistas. Somoza had tanks, planes, artillery,

while the Sandinistas didn't. Somoza had more soldiers, more rifles, more communications than the Sandinistas. Therefore, Somoza had to win the war against the Sandinistas. But what was left out was that Somoza did not have the people, and that we Sandinistas were the people.

And when Somoza was losing the war, they were talking about Costa Rican intervention, Panamanian intervention, Cuban intervention, Soviet intervention—simply because they have never been able to understand, and are never going to understand, that people are capable of achieving their liberation, that people are able to solidarize themselves with people, and that therefore the free and sovereign people of Nicaragua today recognize the right of Kampuchea to occupy this seat.

I repeat, imperialism cannot understand it because for them people are nothing more than a simple grammatical expression.

The Nicaraguan people have won, with their blood, the right to be here today, in this way breaking with a historic past of servility toward imperialist policy.

For the first time in its entire history the Nicaraguan people can officially express their sovereign will, joining this movement of the Nonaligned barely forty-one days after their triumph.

We are entering the Nonaligned movement because in this movement we see the broadest organization of the Third World states that are playing an important role and exercise a growing influence in the international sphere, in the struggle of peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism and every form of oppression. Because they are for active peaceful coexistence, against the existence of military blocs and alliances, for restructuring international relations on an honorable basis, and are for the establishment of a new international economic order.

In the Sandinista revolution there is no alignment; there is an absolute and consistent commitment to the aspirations of the peoples who have achieved their independence and to those who are struggling to win it. That is why we are among the Nonaligned.

This transcendental step is part of the process of liberation that peoples are going through, peoples such as those in Grenada, Iran, Kampuchea, and Uganda who won beautiful victories this year.

In 1855 a certain William Walker arrived from the southern slave states of the United States with a gang of mercenaries, to make himself master of our country and of all of Central America.

The individual in question named himself president of Nicaragua and his first decree was the reestablishment of slavery; the United States press and more than a few U.S. legislators made William Walker into a hero.

In September 1856, after continual and bloody resistance, the people of Nicaragua and the peoples of Central America defeated the invader, who was obliged to flee to his country of origin, where he was received as a hero.

Some months later he again tried to invade our country. During his third attempt he was captured in Honduras, a country neighboring on Nicaragua, and was shot. In 1909 a liberal president named José Santos Zelaya, who tried to open new markets in Europe, was forced to resign by a note sent by the U.S. secretary of state of that time. But what Señor Zelaya lacked, the Nicaraguan people had plenty of, and they then rose up against Yankee intervention.

Because we reject Yankee intervention we are in the Nonaligned. For that reason, and because we are Sandinistas, we demand the reintegration, the unconditional return of the Guantánamo base to Cuba, and we recognize the heroic and unequal struggle waged by the Cuban people against the criminal blockade.

That is why we support the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for self-determination and independence, and why we are in solidarity with Lolita Lebrón and her companions in prison, who are authentic representatives of the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico.

That is why we stand behind the people of Panama in their struggle for sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

That is why we are with the people of Belize in their struggle for independence, for self-determination, and for territorial integrity.

Regular troops of the Yankee marines landed in our country in 1910 in an attempt to suppress our people's desire for independence. Bloody struggles were unleashed and this armed intervention was maintained until 1926, the year they withdrew, believing the situation to be under control.

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## **We have, from the beginning, identified with the struggle of Vietnam . . .**

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Because we are Sandinistas and because just causes are our causes, we have, from the beginning, identified with the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam, and we condemn all the aggressions that have taken place and are taking place against the people and government of Vietnam, which fought, and is fighting, against aggression and foreign occupation.

We also support the just struggle of the

people of Western Sahara, and from this moment Nicaragua must be included among the countries that fully recognize the Democratic Arab Saharoui Republic and the Polisario Front as the only and the legitimate representative of the heroic people of Western Sahara.

That is why we recognize the legitimate rights of the people of Namibia, represented by SWAPO. We support the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the sole representative of this people, and we condemn the imperialist maneuvers in Rhodesia, the puppet regime of Muzorewa, and the so-called internal settlement.

We solidarize ourselves with the front-line countries and condemn the aggression by South Africa and Rhodesia against them. And we solidarize with the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination.

We support the reunification of Korea and we demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea.

Only a few months were to pass when in 1927 Yankee marines again landed on our soil.

Then the figure of Augusto César Sandino vigorously rose up and, at the head of an army of workers and peasants, sought to militarily defeat the interventionist forces in an unequal campaign.

Sandino embodied the desire for liberty of a people who were systematically subjected to the attack of Yankee intervention and subjected to imperialist exploitation and domination. The same marines who had murdered the Filipino people thousands of miles from our country, arrived to soak Nicaraguan territory in blood in those days.

This explains the existence of Sandinism, which on May 4, 1927, gave rise to what Sandino called the "war of liberators to end the war of the oppressors."

The Yankees, who were unable to defeat Sandino's army militarily, who found themselves forced to withdraw in January 1932, again resorted to treachery, using as their instrument an army and an army chief named Anastasio Somoza Garcia, founder of the dynasty. This army and this army chief were created by the White House strategists to assassinate Sandino.

They thought that killing Sandino would solve the problem. They did not take into account that Sandino had initiated a process of liberation which, carried on by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, was to win one of its most important victories on July 19, 1979. On that day we both defeated the criminal Somozaist National Guard and expelled the last Yankee marine, Anastasio Somoza, from Nicaragua.

Our country is a small country, a poor country.

A little more than 2.5 million Nicaraguans live in 128,000 square kilometers. It is a country that is basically dependent on agriculture, and its production was paralyzed by the war. A country that had few

factories, which were destroyed by the Somoza air force.

A country with a small population that has had to sacrifice thousands of its best children to repel three armed Yankee interventions that have left more than 200,000 victims. A country that in its final offensive against the Somozaist dictatorship suffered more than 50,000 deaths, a high percentage of whom, 90 percent of the total, were youth from eight years of age to twenty.

A country with its schools and hospitals destroyed, with its cities levelled by 500-lb. bombs given to Somoza by the United States and Israeli Zionism. But we were not alone in the struggle. We know that we have the backing of the peoples. We know that this was what made it impossible for the Yankees to carry out a new armed intervention in our country before the tyrant was destroyed.

Among the files abandoned by Somozaism we have found proof of the loans for arms that the government of Israel had given to the dictatorship. Israel was an accomplice to the crimes of Somoza. Israel was the instrument that imperialism used up to the last moment to arm Somoza's genocidal dictatorship. Rockets, rifles, howitzers, planes, gunboats, and even helmets and uniforms were sent to the dictator. But the strength of the people was greater than that of the aggression.

As we said at that time, we will not repay these loans, this debt that adds up to millions of dollars. Nor will we pay any debt contracted with other countries for armaments for the Somozaist regime. On the contrary, it is Israel that owes a debt to our people.

We are Sandinistas; our people have been struggling against oppression and interventions for more than 150 years. That is why we have historically identified with the struggle of the Palestinian people and we recognize the PLO as their legitimate representative. And that is why we condemn Israeli occupation of the Arab territories and demand their unconditional return.

We support genuine efforts in the search for a just and true peace in the Middle East. But such a peace must take into account the interests of all the parties, and in the first place the rights of the Palestinian people.

On May 4, 1927, at the moment Sandino was rising up, a Nicaraguan traitor signed away the sovereignty of the people of Nicaragua to the Yankee government, in exchange for a dollar for each rifle turned in. We condemn the Camp David accords which, like the shameful treason of 1927 in Nicaragua, merit our energetic repudiation.

In June 1979, there were forces in the U.S. government that wanted to propose an invasion of our soil to the seventeenth meeting of representatives of the Organization of American States. But there were

also seventeen Latin American countries that said "No" to the imperialist proposal.

Here we must make special mention and take recognition of the Andean Pact countries.

We should mention the names of President Rodrigo Carazo of Costa Rica; ex-President Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela; President José López Portillo of Mexico; General Omar Torrijos of Panama; and Fidel Castro of Cuba—all of whom were and continue to be in solidarity with our struggle, despite the risks that such solidarity implies.

We should make special mention of the militant solidarity that Latin American fighters gave our struggle. The blood of these fighters was shed along the road to victory. We can state that Latin America helped to make this victory possible.

We are a small country that has waged war in order to win peace. And we support the establishment of a just and lasting peace that extends to all countries and regions.

We recognize the right of peoples to win their freedom through the path that is best for them, whether armed or not.

We are a poor country that wants to take the efforts and resources now being invested in defense of the revolution and invest it in tractors and plows. And we support general and complete disarmament, under strict international control. We are for an end to the arms race and we salute the SALT II accords as an important step in this direction. We demand respect for the territorial integrity of states and renunciation of the use of force in international relations. We condemn the existence of military bases.

Sandinism is the incarnation of the nation. The Sandinista National Liberation Front, as the genuine vanguard of the great people's insurrection that defeated the dictatorship, is now pushing forward a process of national reconstruction whose first measures have been the massive expropriation of the property of Somoza and his civilian and military accomplices. So far more than 500,000 hectares, close to 50 percent of the entire arable area of the country, has been recovered by the people.

More than 180 industrial and commercial enterprises have passed into the hands of the people.

More than 400 mansions and homes have been expropriated in the interests of the people.

The bank has been nationalized.

We have begun to put an Integral Agrarian Reform Plan into effect.

Agricultural exports have been nationalized.

The exploitation of natural resources has been nationalized.

By eliminating the 500 and 1000 Córdoba bills [US\$50 and \$100] and retiring them from circulation, we are hindering the maneuvers of the defeated Somozaists to destabilize our country financially.

A real social thrust is being given to education, health, and housing.

A foreign policy of relations with all countries of the world has been established.

We have become part of the movement of the Nonaligned.

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## **We will be inflexible in defense of the revolution . . .**

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Sandinista Defense Committees have been organized as bodies of people's participation.

The Sandinista People's Army has been set up to fulfill the pressing need to guarantee the defense and advance of the revolution.

And this revolution has been expansive and generous toward its enemies. Thousands of captured soldiers have had their lives protected. Groups such as the International Red Cross were authorized to set up centers of refuge to give shelter to the Somozaist criminals who were fleeing.

The revolution is marching forward. The difficulties are great. The counterrevolution is a potential threat.

There are some who assert that we are assassinating the prisoners.

There are some who are trying to put conditions on international aid. The conspiracy is powerful and the most reactionary sectors of the U.S. government have already succeeded in stopping a small grant of \$8 million that the U.S. government was going to give our country.

The most reactionary sectors of the Central American region are observing our process with trepidation. We have detected concentrations of Somozaist soldiers in neighboring countries. But just as we have been generous in victory, we will be inflexible in defense of the revolution.

To what has already been described, we must add the economic legacy of imperialist domination and the Somozaist war of aggression.

We find ourselves with a foreign debt of more than \$1.53 billion. Of this amount, \$596 million falls due this year, having been incurred as short-term loans at very high interest rates. The foreign debt is equivalent to three times the total annual exports of the country.

The loans obtained by Somozaism were misspent, squandered, and sent out of the country to personal accounts in the United States and Europe.

A study published August 14 by the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) maintained that Somozaist bombing resulted in \$580 million in material damage to the physical and social infrastructure in the agricultural, industrial, and commercial sectors. At present \$741 million is needed to reactivate production.

To the losses cited above, we have to add the losses to the system of production that stem from the paralysis of economic activities. In addition we must add the resources required for restoring the country's economic apparatus at a time when it is also being transformed.

To give us a more graphic representation of the problem, CEPAL estimates that the situation we have described means that the Gross Domestic Product has declined 25 percent this year, 1979. In per capita terms, this puts the GDP back to the level that Nicaragua was at in 1962, meaning we have slid back seventeen years.

And to top it all off, our revolution found only \$3,500,000 in the state coffers. That is all that Somozaism was unable to loot.

Nicaragua's situation has provoked interest in the countries of Latin America and the rest of the world. Regional bodies have expressed their decision to aid us. Bilaterally we have close relations with many countries.

But we want to be frank: The oppressive financial problem that confronts our process, which is directly related to restructuring the foreign debt and receiving financing in order to allow our economy to start up again, does not seem to seriously interest the developed countries.

The government of Mexico, which has aided us to the extent it is able, has raised the idea of an international sale of solidarity bonds that would come due at a deferred period and with low interest. Through this bond issue the debt that falls due this year, which as we said totals \$596 million, would be restructured on adequate terms. We support the proposal of President Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar, regarding the creation of a Financial Fund of the Nonaligned Countries.

We believe it is our duty to present before the movement of the Nonaligned both the advances and the problems of the revolution in Nicaragua.

We believe that by consolidating the Nicaragua revolution we will be strengthening the struggle of the underdeveloped countries.

We know that imperialism is interested in seeing our process fail and that it is going to use all the resources at its disposal to achieve that.

The liberation struggle in our country is continuing. And today more than ever we need the disinterested support of the Nonaligned. Nicaragua, which forty-one days after its triumph is showing you both the open wounds and the consolidation of our revolution, is a challenge for this movement.

The people of Sandino are not going to step back from the ground already gained. Our integration with the peoples of Africa and Asia raises our morale in this great battle. The future belongs to the peoples.

*The march toward victory will not be stopped!* □