

# Intercontinental Press

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**Women in U.S. Industrial Workforce**



**IRAN:  
U.S. Embassy  
Versus  
Iranian People**

**NICARAGUA:  
Capitalists  
Complain of  
Sandinista Power**

**Moves to Strengthen  
Worker-Peasant  
Alliance**

## U.S. Embassy vs. Iranian People

By Fred Feldman

In his November 28 news conference President Carter tried to fire up hatred of Iran by claiming that "innocent Americans" were being "abused" by the Iranian students holding the U.S. Embassy.

The news media here portray the fifty U.S. personnel as though they were working people like you or me who just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

That picture doesn't fit many of the hostages.

The students occupying the embassy say they have found documents that prove the hostages were spies and the embassy was a "spy center" that bears responsibility for many of the shah's crimes.

They say that the embassy continued to be a center for conspiracies against the revolution after the shah fled. Carter's decision to admit the deposed tyrant added to the evidence that the U.S. rulers were plotting to restore him to the throne.

And the students have begun to prove their case. They published a letter from U.S. charge d'affaires L. Bruce Laingen in which he asked that Malcolm Kalp and William Daugherty—two of the hostages—be given "cover" because of "great sensitivity locally to any hint of CIA activity."

For all of Carter's demagoguery about "innocent" hostages, the U.S. government doesn't deny the charges.

Instead, Carter is trying to swing public opinion behind a U.S. military attack on Iran if the hostages are even tried—regardless of what such an attack would mean for their fate.

One aim of the threats is to intimidate the Iranians from presenting the evidence they have accumulated.

Some U.S. officials try to defend U.S. spying in Iran. After all, they say, all governments use their embassies to "gather intelligence." But U.S. personnel in Iran and elsewhere are hardly limited to such scholarly pursuits.

In many countries dominated by U.S. economic interests, the U.S. embassy and spy agencies operating under cover of "diplomatic immunity" are often more powerful than local governments themselves.

This was true in Laos, where U.S. "ambassador" William Sullivan and his staff organized and ran a secret air war against Pathet Lao rebels. Hundreds of thousands of tons of U.S. bombs devastated the Laotian countryside, killing hundreds of thousands of people. Washington carried this out in

complete violation of international law and treaties.

When governments in Asia, Africa, and Latin America escape from U.S. control, U.S. embassies take on different tasks. Their job is to "destabilize" the government and help bring in a regime more amenable to the orders dished out by embassy personnel.

That's what happened in Chile after Salvador Allende was elected president in 1970. The embassy and its "diplomatic" staff funnelled money to opposition groups and forged close ties with right-wing generals.

The embassy's work bore fruit in September 1973 when General Pinochet led a military coup that resulted in the murder of Allende and thousands of Chilean working people.

### Students Release Embassy Spying Evidence

As the Iranian students occupying the United States embassy in Tehran sift through the documents that the embassy staff was unable to put through the paper-shredder, they have already proved that several members of the embassy staff are CIA operatives.

On December 6 the students released documents showing that Thomas L. Ahern Jr., an embassy political officer, had been provided with a false identity, a false Belgian passport made out in the name of Paul Timmermans, and seven pages of instructions to make his cover more convincing.

The document, entitled "Cover Considerations," outlines the details of "Timmermans'" background.

Despite the fact it is only about 90 minutes driving time between Brussels and Antwerp, you decided to live in one of the suburbs of Brussels, Jette. This would explain the issuance locale of your documentation. Working from your Brussels base, you have traveled to Europe on business in the past (as reflected in your passport) and are now assigned to the Middle East section of your company.

The passport was then stamped with travel visas to countries around the world "to enhance its validity." The report also gave detailed instructions on how to make false entry stamps for Iran.

In response to this evidence, Hodding

The Iranian people have had a lot of grim experience with the "intelligence-gathering" U.S. Embassy and its "innocent" employees.

In 1953, the masses in Iran rose up against the shah and he fled the country. The U.S. oil magnates wanted the shah back on the throne. So the CIA—operating through its agents at the embassy and elsewhere—put together a military conspiracy that brought down the new regime in August. The shah returned and began a twenty-five-year reign of terror.

CIA employees organized SAVAK, the shah's dreaded secret police force that terrorized Iranians for two decades.

Some 40,000 U.S. advisers helped run the shah's army, which gunned down 60,000 Iranians in the last year of the shah's regime.

Carter, the State Department's spokesman, stated "I have no comment on it at all," adding that the State Department never responds to questions about intelligence activities.

The students have also published a letter from U.S. chargé d'affaires L. Bruce Laingen to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance asking for "cover" for two embassy staffers, Malcolm Kalp and William Daugherty, because of "great sensitivity locally to any hint of CIA activity." Laingen wrote that "there is no question as to the need for second and third secretary titles for these two officers. We must have it."

Since the publication of this letter by the students, Daugherty has acknowledged that he is indeed a CIA operative.

In this case, too, the State Department refused to make any direct comments about the validity of Laingen's letter. Bernard Gwertzman reported in the November 20 *New York Times* that the State Department "insisted that the charge was irrelevant because even if some employees were engaged in intelligence-gathering functions their diplomatic immunity barred them from trial."

We can expect that more evidence of the role the U.S. embassy has played in Iranian politics will emerge as the Iranian students go through the remaining files. □

When the shah fell, an embassy staff of 1,000 was left—a remnant of the force that had overseen every detail of Iranian life from the torture of poets to evicting poor peasants from their homes. And all in the interests of the big U.S. oil companies, the arms manufacturers, the banks, and their faithful servant—the shah.

The U.S. ambassadors typified the nature of the embassy's activity. Until 1976 Richard Helms—former director of the CIA and a specialist in illegal, covert operations—was Washington's man in Tehran.

He was succeeded by none other than William Sullivan, fresh from his murderous "intelligence-gathering" in Laos. Sullivan stood by the shah as the monarch attempted to drown the rising revolution in blood, and left after the February insurrection.

Laingen's role in protecting CIA operations in Tehran places him in this ugly tradition.

Given this record, is there any reason to doubt that the U.S. rulers have been trying to undermine the new regime as they did when the shah left in 1953 or when Allende came to power in Chile?

U.S. working people have no reason to join Carter in trying to block the trials of the U.S. Embassy personnel in Tehran. We have an interest in giving the students every opportunity to lay out the full story of what the U.S. government has been doing in Iran.

If past experience is any yardstick, it will be a very educational experience.

### 'State of Emergency' In St. Vincent

St. Vincent and the Grenadines, a country in the Eastern Caribbean that gained its independence from Britain in October, was placed under a state of emergency December 7 by Prime Minister Milton Cato. A curfew was ordered, both on the main island of St. Vincent and in the smaller dependencies to the south.

The reason for the crackdown, according to police officials, was an armed rebellion on Union Island, in which insurgents were said to have captured the airport and police station.

### Next Week . . .

Next week's issue, our final issue for the year, will feature a report on the events in Iran by Cindy Jaquith, who is in Tehran to provide eyewitness coverage of the unfolding revolution for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* and the *Militant*.

This issue will also include major articles summing up the year's events in Nicaragua and Indochina, as well as our index for 1979.

There will be no issues for December 31 and January 7. We will resume our regular schedule with the January 14 issue.

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## Nicaraguan Bourgeoisie Complains About Sandinista Power

By Pedro Camejo

MANAGUA—As 1979 draws to a close, the Nicaraguan revolution faces a period of important decisions for the coming year. The entire cabinet has resigned to free the hand of the FSLN-led five-member government junta to make new appointments "according to the conveniences and necessities of the Sandinista revolutionary process." A major debate in government circles over an economic plan for 1980 has begun breaking into the public.

Much of that discussion is centering on economic prospects for the first five months of 1980. Orlando Núñez, a member of the Coordinating Commission of National Planning, explained in the December 7 issue of the Sandinista daily *Barricada* that January to May is the dry season, when it is impossible to plant crops. Normally there is a sharp increase in unemployment during this period. By January the coffee crop will be entirely picked, and agricultural workers would traditionally turn to picking cotton. But this year there will be virtually no cotton crop—because planting time came during the civil war, very little cotton was sown.

As a result the already extremely high level of unemployment is expected to climb.

Public works programs are now under way to alleviate some of this unemployment. One of the most visible, involving hundreds of workers, is in the center of Managua, where the 1972 earthquake totally leveled a large area. A huge recreation area is now being built there for the children of Managua. Rebuilding the center of Managua and the creation of new jobs is having a quite profound and positive impact on popular morale here.

The 1980 economic plan must be an emergency plan to help the Nicaraguan people make it through a very difficult period for the revolution. Nicaragua is still suffering under the destruction left by Somoza's bombing of factories and other workplaces.

### Capitalists Stall on Production

The Sandinista-led Government of National Reconstruction has offered concessions to sectors of the bourgeoisie, seeking their aid in reviving needed production. However, since the new government is based on the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, and has already instituted sweeping measures in their interests, the bourgeoisie is dragging its feet. Reactivating production inevitably requires new investment, and the capitalists are not eager to lay out large sums unless they are confident of a profit.

As Núñez expresses it, "... a great part of Nicaragua's businessmen have left the country, and those who stayed still vacillate before reactivating their activities. All this results in less production."

Although an important part of the economy—both in agriculture and industry—has been nationalized, it is impossible to initiate production simply by decree. A forced march of total nationalization at this point would result in a further drop of production.

While recognizing the resulting need to grant concessions to sectors of the capitalist class, the FSLN-led government has made clear that the national economic plan must focus on the needs of the majority, and that control of the broad direction of the economy must remain with the government.

The capitalists are not satisfied with the current arrangement. They insist that before they can really be confident in the future, there must be a basic change in policy and governmental structure. Essentially, the capitalists want to function as full partners in the government. They demand a long-range commitment to protect private property and profits.

They want to break the hold of the FSLN over governmental decision-making power and reverse the growing political role of the neighborhood committees, unions, and other mass organizations that arose during the fight against Somoza.

These demands by the capitalist class were made explicit in a formal document presented to the Nicaraguan government November 14 and made public by the Managua bourgeois daily *La Prensa* December 8. It is presented in the name of Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), which includes the Nicaraguan Development Institute, the Confederation of Chambers of Commerce of Nicaragua, the Association of Agricultural Producers, Chamber of Industry of Nicaragua, and the Confederation of Professional Associations of Nicaragua.

Although much of the document is written in somewhat coded language, it is the most important and clearest presentation of the position of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie to date.

The document begins by complaining about the two decision-making organs of the present revolutionary power in Nicaragua—the five-person junta, three of whom are Sandinistas, and the FSLN's nine-member National Directorate. Its message is that the FSLN has not lived up to the agreement codified in the July 9, 1979, Program of Government, issued prior

to the fall of Somoza. It says that the FSLN and junta have "unilaterally altered" the original accord.

### The July 9 Program

The July 9 plan was to have established three governmental bodies: the junta of five members, a thirty-three member Council of State, and a supreme court. The Council of State was to have been largely composed of representatives of bourgeois institutions and parties. It could have overruled junta decisions by a two-thirds vote and issued decrees over the head of the junta by the same margin, and it was supposed to draw up what the capitalists hoped would be a bourgeois-democratic constitution. The Supreme Court, whose function would have been to enforce this constitution, was to have served as another check on any "unconstitutional" measures undertaken by the FSLN, the junta, or the Nicaraguan masses.

If implemented, the July 9 plan would have put in place a government heavily influenced by a small minority—the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. The FSLN agreed to this arrangement, believing that the relationship of class forces after Somoza's departure would dictate such a course.

But the massive intervention of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants in the June and July 1979 battles that toppled the dictatorship, culminating in the tumultuous July 19 urban insurrection in Managua, radically altered the class relationship of forces. And the insurgent toilers got a chance to contrast the courage and tenacity of the FSLN to the vacillation and hesitations of the bourgeois opposition, and draw the appropriate conclusions.

As a result, the FSLN became the decisive political force after July 19. It took the mandate of the masses to begin constructing a government in the interests of the majority, not the moneyed minority.

The convocation of the Council of State has now been postponed by the junta until May 1980, and the Supreme Court's jurisdiction has been limited to routine matters such as divorce cases. While according to the July 9 program the new army was to have included sections of the ousted National Guard, it is in fact based entirely on those who fought to overthrow Somoza. Neighborhood committees, called the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), gained in strength and confidence, along with other mass organizations—the Sandinista trade unions, peasant organizations, and organizations of women and youth.

In postponing the Council of State, the FSLN has also stated that it will be

"restructured" to properly represent the majority—the workers and peasants. The Sandinistas have called for it to be based on the mass organizations. In this, the FSLN has the overwhelming support of the masses (see p. 1238).

#### Council of State

This is exactly the point that the COSEP document attacks. While they concede that it is all right to allow representation to "those sectors that were traditionally without voice and influence," they consider it "wrong to excessively concentrate the power in one political group or party." By this they mean that it is wrong to place power in the hands of the workers and peasants organizations, which they correctly associate with the FSLN. The document calls this "State-Party" confusion.

### CDSs Demand Right to Representation In the Council of State

MANAGUA—Below are sections of a December 2 declaration by the Council of Sandinista Defense Committees in a neighborhood here called Colonia Centroamérica.

"The CDS of the neighborhood Centroamérica, conscious of its historical and political responsibility, declares before public opinion its view of why all CDSs in the country have the right to be represented on the Council of State. We all know that since independence from Spain the wealthy social classes have governed this country with laws made by them to protect their own interests to the detriment of those of the majority of the people.

"This was possible because the rich (the bourgeoisie) owned the agricultural farms and ranches, the factories, the banks, and commerce—they monopolized everything, including the opportunity to study for and have access to a 'career in politics.' The Conservative and Liberal parties were founded (with different names) by the exploiting classes; their leaders, as one would expect, promulgated laws that were interpreted in defense of their class interests, and against those of the dispossessed classes. . . .

"We consider that the basic outline of the Program of Government\* in regard to what is referred to as the 'Political Area,'—and concretely the 'Legislative Power'—does not adequately reflect the present national reality. Some of the political organizations cited no longer

\*This refers to the original Program of Government, made public by the Junta of National Reconstruction on July 9, 1979. This program called for a Council of State with a bourgeois majority (see page 1236).

"The private sector feels it is absent from the decisions of the government," COSEP continues. "That situation is prejudicial for everyone. . . ."

In contrast to this opinion of the bourgeoisie, the main governmental slogan popular among the Nicaraguan masses is "Workers and Peasants to Power." There has been no groundswell of support for bourgeois representation; this demand is voiced only by a small circle of capitalist politicians and institutions.

In a section titled "Judicial Vacuum," the COSEP document complains that the Supreme Court has not been functional. It also expresses concern over possible "excesses" in the upcoming trials of some 7,000 Somozaist criminals—even though the defendants have been guaranteed full legal rights, including the right to appeal.

exist; others do not have the popular support necessary to occupy a place in the Council of State, whose members should be first and foremost revolutionaries.

"It is clear that some parties that now present themselves as revolutionary, and who aspire to be part of the Council of State . . . are none other than the old parties who at the most crucial moments of our struggle wanted to compromise and lent themselves to the maneuvers of the imperialists. Today, these parties have adopted new names and present themselves as 'revolutionary.' They hope to fool our people by palming off as 'revolutionary' old philosophical and political concepts that in reality stem from outdated bourgeois capitalism.

"Prior to the insurrection, many of these organizations even sought—in order to keep their class interests intact—to make pacts with Somoza's genocidal National Guard, which almost liquidated our people with its destruction and murderous bombing and killed thousands and thousands of our brothers and sisters. These organizations were complicit with the dictatorship and imperialism and with the exploitation and repression of our people.

"This is why we ask: Do such organizations deserve to participate in the Council of State, and not the CDSs?"

The declaration goes on to explain that the organizations that really represent the masses in Nicaragua are the peasant and workers unions and the women's and youth organizations. It calls for a truly representative Council of State, pointing out that the CDSs above all deserve representation.

COSEP also complains that the rights of private property have not been accorded the treatment assured in the July 9 document.

#### Anti-'Sandinista'

COSEP's document reflects an acute class instinct when it objects to calling institutions of the state and government, especially the army and police, "Sandinista." It proposes that some more abstract term be considered, such as "national"—or better yet—"revolutionary." This objection reflects a class reality: that the Sandinista government, army, and police are not bourgeois institutions, even though the continued existence of private ownership of substantial agricultural and industrial property means that there is still a weakened bourgeois state in Nicaragua.

The growing involvement of the CDSs in governmental functions is extremely irritating to COSEP. It protests that "the CDSs have no legal existence, nor were they contemplated in the Program of Government." Worse yet, the document adds, every day "they [the FSLN] grant them [the CDSs] more prerogatives than before."

But what these "revolutionary" bourgeois fail to note is that the CDSs represent the majority of Nicaraguans. They are the most democratic of all existing institutions. The COSEP document also expresses concern over freedom of the press, although there has been no censorship whatever. Here they have only a certain kind of freedom in mind: the freedom of wealthy families, such as the Chamorros, who own *La Prensa*, to operate a daily newspaper, while the toiling majority is in practice denied access to the press by their lack of finances.

Likewise, the Sandinista Television System comes in for some criticism by COSEP. "Why only the Sandinista TV?" the bourgeoisie complains. Why not let the capitalists control the airwaves?

#### 'Free' Trade Unions

The document also speaks of freedom for the trade unions—a matter over which the employers showed little concern before July 19. They protest most emphatically what they perceive as government aid to the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) in its efforts to organize Nicaraguan workers into a single, strong trade-union federation.

What really bothers the capitalists is the rapidly declining support among the Nicaraguan workers for the docile, procapitalist trade-union leaderships that held sway under Somoza. Formations such as the Confederation of Trade Union Unification (CUS), set up in 1968 with the help of the Meany bureaucracy in the U.S. AFL-CIO, and the Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN), whose officialdom is tied to the bourgeois Social Christian Party, are losing large sections of their ranks to the Sandinista-led CST.

The fact is that the workers of Nicaragua are free to choose their own unions through democratic elections. The government does not interfere, unless "interference" means promoting the same revolutionary program and goals with which the Sandinista unions seek to win new members.

The COSEP document also demands "adequate labor relations, so that production will not continue to suffer the amount of time lost in the Ministry of Labor, in meetings, conflicts, etc." In code words, this means "discipline the workers." And that can only be accomplished by repressive steps against the labor movement.

#### A Basic Fact

In essence, the COSEP document comes down to a basic fact of modern society: capitalism cannot flourish where the government is not in the hands of the capitalist class and where the institutions of communication and repression are not clearly bourgeois. Deprived of the above

conditions, the capitalists seek other shores where profit is placed before human needs, rather than vice versa.

COSEP's essential message to the FSLN is simple: to really win the bourgeoisie's cooperation in reconstructing Nicaragua, the FSLN must abandon its policy of defense of the workers and peasants, and instead seek an alliance with the bourgeoisie in defending capitalism.

The bourgeoisie is not satisfied with concessions. They want governmental power.

The FSLN correctly has sought to transform Nicaragua in a way least disruptive to Nicaragua's economy and thus least painful for the impoverished masses. The Sandinistas have sought to win time to revive production and build up a professional army and volunteer militia to defend the country from the inevitable U.S. imperialist-backed attacks as the revolution deepens.

But no revolutionary process can be

completely controlled. Class conflicts develop—both at the initiative of the exploited and the exploiters—without regard for what may be the planned tempo of change.

1980 will be a decisive year for the Nicaraguan revolution. The FSLN is continuing to mobilize the masses to advance their interests. It is also continuing to offer the bourgeoisie concessions if they help maintain production.

The choice rests with the bourgeoisie: They can accept the new workers and peasants power in Nicaragua and, in effect, begin serving as well-paid technicians and administrators, which the revolution needs; or they can pass over actively to the counterrevolution and seek to crush the revolutionary process. A large section of the bourgeoisie in Nicaragua today is secretly preparing for the latter option, while trying to use their remaining points of support in the economy to slow down and ultimately reverse the anticapitalist course set by the Sandinistas.

## In Nicaragua's Council of State

# FSLN—'Make Worker-Peasant Alliance a Reality'

By Fred Murphy

The Sandinista-led mass organizations and trade unions in Nicaragua have backed up the revolutionary government's October 22 decision to "restructure" the Council of State and postpone its convocation until May 1980 (see *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, November 12, p. 1093).

In a series of statements issued in early November, the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), Field Workers Association (ATC), and July 19 Sandinista Youth (JS19J) all issued strong calls for the Council of State to be fully representative of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants and their interests.

According to the provisional constitution promulgated by the Junta of National Reconstruction on July 20, the Council of State is to "share legislative powers" with the junta and draw up a new electoral law and constitution. It is empowered to veto junta decisions with a two-thirds vote.

Originally, as a result of agreements reached between the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and other opposition forces prior to the fall of the dictatorship, the Council of State was to have been composed of thirty-three representatives. The bulk of these were to have come from bourgeois parties and capitalist class organs such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Industry.

As the revolutionary course charted by the FSLN after the July 19 victory became apparent, the bourgeois forces agitated for

immediate convocation of the Council of State, hoping to use it to put a brake on the revolution. These efforts were dealt a sharp setback by the junta's October 22 decision. The subsequent statements by the mass organizations reaffirm the FSLN's intention to make the Council of

State into an institution radically different from what the bourgeois forces were hoping it would become.

On November 2 the CST and four other union federations issued a joint statement supporting the council's postponement. They noted that "the political conditions



are very different from those that existed when the form of the Council of State was first considered."

"Now, more than ever," the trade unions declared, "the workers understand that this instrument [the council] is a valid one for raising our class demands. . . ."

The National Commission of the CDSs explained in a November 7 statement that postponement of the Council of State "will permit us to consolidate all our popular organizations—the CST, ATC, AMN [Nicaraguan Women's Association], and JS19J—which along with the CDSs are today opening the way in the national life as the legitimate representatives of the interests of the Working People and its tactical and strategic allies."

The CDS statement continued:

The heroic people of Nicaragua has been forging a new historic reality for itself, one in which mass organizations of a genuinely democratic character are arising. A new political panorama is appearing before our eyes, one that is eliminating the old relationship of forces that existed before the triumph of the Sandinista people's insurrection.

This new framework obliges us to revise the role, nature, and composition of the Council of State.

The statement went on to call for giving "majority participation" in the Council of State to "all the mass organizations, since these represent the true interests of the heroic working people and their allies." In this way, the Council "must take on, concretely, a true class character."

A similar statement by the ATC, the union of peasants and agricultural laborers, was printed in the November 14 *Barricada*. The ATC addressed itself directly to the question of the bourgeois parties' presence in the Council of State:

There are organizations without any following among the masses, which express interests foreign to the masses and which even allow themselves the luxury of putting obstacles in the way of our revolution. These groups—such as the Social Christian Party, the Democratic Conservative Party, the Social Democratic Party, and so on—are trying to demand a place in the formation of the future Council of State. In demanding this place, these groups argue that they were present in the struggle against the dictatorship, a struggle that they certainly embarked upon to safeguard their own particular interests but that in the critical moments they betrayed by allying themselves to the imperialists and to Somozaism.

Thus the ATC called for the Council of State to be composed "only of those organizations that really represent the interests of the people and that are involved in carrying out—whatever the cost—the tasks of the revolution and the construction of a new Nicaragua."

The same positions were expressed at a November 6 news conference held by leaders of the July 19 Sandinista Youth.

The FSLN's overall approach to the Council of State was summed up in the final paragraphs of a November 13 *Barri-*

*cada* editorial that hailed the growth of the ATC:

It is on the basis of a solid nationwide organization [the ATC] that the farm workers and the peasantry are demanding for the first time in the history of Nicaragua their participation in power, to defend their own interests and not those of the dominant classes, in the Council of State. And the workers in the cities that today find themselves fraternally linked [to the pea-

sants] in that demand must strengthen their political and organizational ties to the peasantry to make the worker-peasant alliance a reality in the Council of State.

"With the forces of the ATC, the CST, and the mass organizations," *Barricada* concluded, "the Council of State will not be a parliamentary organ but rather the expression of the power of the organized people." □

## Solidarity Committees in 12 Swiss Cities

A number of Nicaragua solidarity committees, encompassing several hundred activists, have been set up in recent months in Switzerland.

According to a report in the November 24 issue of the Swiss Trotskyist fortnightly *La Brèche*, committees now exist in twelve cities, including Geneva, Lausanne, Zurich, and Basel.

The committee in Lausanne has already published two issues of the bulletin *Nicaragua-Solidarité*. The group in Geneva has put out a brochure. Posters, T-shirts, records, and tapes are being sold to raise funds for reconstruction in Nicaragua, and medicine is being collected.

In Basel, a solidarity week conducted by the local committee raised 8,000 francs

(US\$5,100) for the reconstruction effort. The Geneva committee has helped obtain medical equipment for the hospital in Estelí. In Berne, more than 150 persons attended the first public meeting held by the solidarity group.

National coordination of the committees is gradually being established, with the aim of undertaking a nationwide project of raising \$25,000 to help a textile cooperative for women workers get off the ground in Estelí.

"The task of anti-imperialist activists, of all those who want to concretely show their solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution, is clear," *La Brèche* states.

"Join the support committees, contribute to the success of their campaigns!"

## Sectarians Released From Jail in Nicaragua

Members of several sectarian leftist groups in Nicaragua were detained in mid-October as part of a campaign against "ultraleftism" mounted by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).<sup>1</sup> All these persons have since been released.

Most of the jailed leftists came from a group of Maoist origins known as the Movimiento de Acción Popular (MAP—People's Action Movement). The MAP functions in the trade unions as the Frente Obrero (FO—Workers Front) and expresses its views through the Managua daily *El Pueblo*.

On November 9 forty FO members and three journalists from *El Pueblo* were released from jail at the Central Police Headquarters in Managua. Two weeks earlier the FSLN had responded positively to the MAP's call for a "dialogue" and talks had begun between the two groups. FSLN Comandantes Jaime Wheelock and Tomás Borge went to the Police Headquarters when the FO members were released; "They are being put in liberty in the name of the revolution," Borge said.

In subsequent days other FO members who had been arrested in other cities were also released.

1. For a full discussion of the issues involved in this campaign, see the article "How to Answer Ultraleft Sectarianism in Nicaragua," by Pedro Camejo and Fred Murphy; *Intercontinental Press/ Inprecor*, November 12, p. 1095.

Several members of the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR—Revolutionary Marxist League)—a tiny sect that claims to be Trotskyist but has no connection to the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization—were also detained in mid-October. As of November 22, according to reports appearing in *El Pueblo*, all of the LMR prisoners had been released. They included Mario Miranda and Rodrigo Ibarra, who had been held for more than a month at the La Pólvora Command in the city of Granada. LMR members in Managua confirmed to *IP/I* on December 10 that all LMR prisoners had been released by November 23.

Carlos Petroni, an Argentine supporter of the Colombia-based Bolshevik faction (which also claims to be Trotskyist),<sup>2</sup> was deported from Nicaragua on November 9. He had been arrested several weeks earlier in Managua. □

2. The world Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International, rejects the sectarian views of the LMR and the Bolshevik Faction (BF) and defends the Nicaraguan revolution. For example, see the statement of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International published in *IP/I*, October 22, 1979, p. 1023. The Fourth International also condemned the sectarian adventure mounted by the Bolshevik Faction in Nicaragua in the guise of the "Simón Bolívar Brigade"; see *IP/I*, October 22, p. 1033. In line with the logic of its course against the Nicaraguan revolution, the BF split from the Fourth International in November.

# How U.S. Left Responded to War Drive Against Iran

By David Frankel

Along with the war in Indochina and the October 1973 Mideast war, the current crisis over Iran is the most serious international confrontation of the past decade.

So far, the imperialist war machine has been held in check by the power of a mobilized people in Iran, by the solidarity of workers and peasants around the world with the Iranian revolution, and by the deep antiwar sentiment of the American working class.

But at any time an order from President Carter could unleash the U.S. armed forces against Iran. Such a move, on the borders of the Soviet Union, could end in disaster for the entire world.

In this situation, the activity of the American left represents an important factor. The experience of the Vietnam War and the movement against it in the United States showed that even groups of a few hundred can play a decisive role in initiating and helping to organize demonstrations that eventually draw millions into action against the government.

How has the American left responded to the current crisis? How has it met the test of events?

For the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), defense of the Iranian revolution has been the top priority task.

SWP candidates for president, vice-president, and other offices have spoken out on radio, television, and in newspaper interviews. They demand the extradition of the shah, the withdrawal of U.S. warships from the Arabian Sea, and an immediate end to the racist attacks on Iranian students in the United States.

Public forums explaining the issues and urging solidarity with the Iranian people have been organized by SWP branches in—among other areas—New York, St. Louis, Portland, Berkeley, San Antonio, Salt Lake City, Seattle, Newark, Boston, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Baltimore, Chicago, Gary, San Francisco, Miami, Albany, San Jose, Oakland, Cleveland, Detroit, and in the iron mining district of Minnesota.

SWP and YSA members joined with others in demonstrations and teach-ins against the U.S. war drive on campuses and in cities around the country. And the SWP helped initiate a law suit challenging the government's roundup of Iranian students.

SWP and YSA members brought the issues into the auto plants and steel mills, the mines and factories where they work.

Workers looking for the truth about the U.S.-provoked crisis were able to turn to the *Militant* newspaper. More than one quarter of the SWP weekly's November 23 issue was devoted to the Iranian events. The following week, thirteen of the *Militant's* thirty-two pages dealt with the crisis. And the issue after that carried nine pages on the Iranian revolution and the U.S. attack on it.

Unfortunately, the main groups on the American left outside of the SWP and YSA reacted very differently to the crisis.

### Communist Party Stuck on SALT II

The U.S. Communist Party saw the confrontation between U.S. imperialism and the Iranian revolution as an annoying diversion from what it considers the most important political issue facing the world working class: ratification of the SALT II arms treaty by the U.S. Senate.

Out of the twenty-one issues of the CP's *Daily World* published from November 6 (the first issue after the occupation of the U.S. embassy) to December 5, eight had a main headline dealing with the SALT pact. Three had main headlines dealing with the Iranian crisis.

At first the CP could hardly restrain its hostility to the new rise of the anti-imperialist struggle in Iran. Tom Foley declared in the November 7 *Daily World* that the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran "violates international law."

Echoing the charges coming from Washington, Carl Bloice—editor of the CP's west coast weekly, the *People's World*—said in the November 17 issue of that paper, "We cannot condone the act of holding embassy personnel as hostages. It violates international law and is a precedent no one should want established."

Such declarations simply lend credence to Washington's hypocrisy. International law is continually violated by the U.S. government in pursuit of its counterrevolutionary aims. The hostages are simply being used by Carter to obscure the real issues at stake in Iran.

President Carter and his flunkies can talk all they want to about international law. It does not change the fact that they are the international outlaws—not the Iranian people struggling to defend their revolution against U.S. threats and to secure the rights so long denied them.

Although he didn't come right out in his November 7 article and accuse the students occupying the U.S. embassy of acting in the interests of U.S. imperialism,

Foley strongly suggested that the action was a rightist-inspired provocation.

For example, he said "There was concern in many quarters that the seizure of the Tehran Embassy might be used by the Carter Administration as an excuse for some sort of hostile, damaging action against the Iranian revolution."

The same charge, of course, can be leveled against any action of the oppressed likely to inspire hatred among the oppressors. As Leon Trotsky noted in his book *Whither France?*: "Liberalism has always said to the workers that by their class struggle they 'provoke' the reaction. . . ."

"These accusations reduced themselves, in the final analysis, to the profound thought that if the oppressed do not balk, the oppressors will not be obliged to beat them."

Foley's article was the *Daily World's* first major statement on the crisis. As the crisis built up, the *Daily World* continued with its main emphasis on an arms deal between Washington and Moscow—a deal that actually sanctions a significant *expansion*, not a limitation, in both the size and death-dealing diversity of Washington's nuclear arsenal. "Salt II Urgent, Say Top Medics" and "SALT II Reaches Senate Floor" were front page headlines.

The November 13 issue announced: "New National Body to Push Peace Fight." The article was datelined November 12—the day Carter banned Iranian oil from the United States, and the day troops from the Pentagon's Rapid Deployment Force carried out "readiness maneuvers" at Fort Hood, Texas.

But the "Peace Fight" referred to by the *Daily World* had nothing to do with the real fight going on to defend the Iranian revolution. The article on the formation of the U.S. Peace Council never bothered to mention the U.S. government's threats against Iran.

As the crisis deepened, the *Daily World* began to give it additional coverage. But the *tone* of the coverage was hardly that of champions of the Iranian revolution and the rights of the Iranian peoples. Typical headlines from the *Daily World* included:

"Carter Freezes Iranian Assets" (November 15);

"Officials React to Hostage Release" (November 21);

"Iran Wants the Shah Extradited" (November 24);

And, "Deportation of Iranians Starts" (November 28).

Reading such headlines one might well



wonder what side the *Daily World* was on. Was it for or against freezing Iranian assets? For or against the extradition of the shah? For or against the deportation of Iranian students? More often than not, you have to read the fine print to find out.

In keeping with this approach, the CP has abstained almost completely from actions in solidarity with Iran. For example, while the CP is building a pro-SALT demonstration in Washington, D.C., for December 8, it did not help publicize or build actions such as the December 1 protest in New York City demanding the extradition of the shah and a halt to the U.S. military threats against Iran.

#### **Carter a Man of Peace?**

Behind the reluctance of the Stalinists to campaign in defense of Iran is their unwillingness to confront Carter or undermine his position. As the Stalinists see it, Carter is a man of peace, a voice for moderation in the circles of the ruling class. In other words, *he supports the SALT II accords.*

If Carter will only keep on supporting SALT II, there is not too much he can do that will really upset the CP.

Thus, the *Daily World* ran a front-page article November 30 responding to Carter's televised news conference of November 28. That news conference was held after Carter had initiated economic war against Iran, after he had sent a fleet of nineteen U.S. warships to the Arabian Sea, and after he had repeatedly threatened to use military force. These threats were reiterated at the news conference.

But according to the *Daily World*, Carter's "remarks concerning the need for a peaceful solution contrasted sharply with the calls from right-wing U.S. politicians for U.S. military intervention in Iran."

Carter is trying to present himself as a fighter for peace while he increases the military budget, sends the navy to Iran, and prepares for war. And the *Daily World* does its best to help him.

"Many of the questions asked by reporters concerned the issue of military intervention," the article noted, "but Carter cautioned 'if anybody thinks that we can dominate other people with our strength, military or political strength or economic strength, they're wrong.'"

The Stalinists even presented Carter—the man who ordered the round up of Iranian students—as an antiracist, taking for good coin his hypocritical declaration against "hatred—toward anyone. . . . and certainly not against Iranians who may be in our country as our guests."

Apologies for Carter were further developed in the December 1 *Daily World*. Conrad Komorowski argued that "there is a division in the ruling class on overall policy and on Iran too."

According to Komorowski, "Warhawks, like Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's national security adviser. . . . have become increas-

ingly vocal and insistent during the Iranian conflict. Fierce talk about retribution, retaliation and punishment of Iran is heard in Washington in increasing volume."

But the Iranian people have a defender. None other than the commander-in-chief of the U.S. armed forces himself. "At his press conference," Komorowski explains, "Carter soft-pedaled such [war] talk."

Of course, Komorowski has to admit that there were some threats. But as the CP sees it, such threats were really indications of pacifism. To quote Komorowski:

"Carter did plainly say that 'other actions I might decide to take would come in the future, after peaceful means have been exhausted.' This is contrary to the demands of the fire-eaters who want military action now."

And anyway, Komorowski argues, you have to understand that Carter is under pressure, that he really cannot be held responsible for his actions. ". . . Carter is brandishing the big stick of future punitive action, not only as a 'psychological weapon' now but to conciliate the warhawks."

In this way the main representative of U.S. imperialism, the man who is orchestrating the U.S. government's war drive against the Iranian revolution, is painted up as an opponent of aggression by the CP.

#### **Following Moscow's Lead**

The CP's halfhearted response to Carter's war drive is simply a reflection of the Soviet bureaucracy's attempt to straddle the issue.

At different times Soviet radio broadcasts and newspaper articles expressed sympathy with the demands of the Iranian people and warned against Washington's military buildup in the Arabian Sea.

However, Moscow has absolutely refused to take the lead in denouncing and opposing the U.S. war drive. This reactionary policy reached a low point December 4 when the Soviet government voted in the UN Security Council for a resolution that demanded the release of the American hostages in Tehran without mentioning the Iranian demand for the extradition of the shah or the U.S. threats against Iran.

Expressing his satisfaction at the outcome, U.S. Ambassador to the UN Donald McHenry said after the vote that "the family of nations speaks with one voice in calling for the immediate release of the hostages."

From the very beginning of this crisis, Washington's strategy has been to try to focus all attention on the hostages and to deny that the context of their seizure is of any importance. Carter *must* do this if he is to prevent the American people from concluding that the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran is a direct result of Washington's unjust policies and that the solution is to extradite the shah.

As the editors of the *New York Times* put it December 5: "So long as the hostages sit bound in Teheran, they should be the focus of American concern. No matter what the grievance, or pretext, a nation that kidnaps diplomats threatens the very process of diplomacy that guards the peace."

It was this position that Moscow bolstered in the United Nations. In doing this it strengthened Carter's hand against opposition to his war moves in the American working class, and it stabbed the Iranian revolution in the back.

#### **Maoists Point to 'Soviet Imperialism'**

Like the Brezhnev regime, the Peking Stalinists lined up behind Washington at the United Nations.

Pro-Peking sects in the United States are politically isolated and are losing ground. An indication of why this is so was the coverage of the Iranian crisis by the *Call*, the weekly of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the main pro-Peking group.

As the U.S. fleet gathered in the Arabian Sea, the *Call* warned November 19 that "either superpower is capable of some sort of military intervention in the region."

The *Call* returned to this theme in its November 26 issue. Its front page described "eyes turning toward the Soviet Union to see if that superpower will try to make use of the destabilized situation."

In its November 19 issue the *Call* also addressed the question of the United Nations, which, it said, "has now become a focus for the struggle with the UN Security Council's unanimous call for release of the hostages on grounds that such an action violated diplomatic norms.

"Iran has also taken its cause to the UN charging the U.S. with bringing the world to 'the brink of war,' and calling on that body to declare the Shah 'a criminal.'"

And where does the *Call* stand? Is it with the Peking regime, which has voted with Washington in the Security Council? Or is it with the Iranian revolution? The CP(ML) isn't saying.

#### **Social Democrats 'Outraged'**

After remaining completely silent in its November 14-20 issue, *In These Times*, a Social Democratic weekly did comment in its November 21-December 4 issue. *It did not have a word to say in defense of the Iranian revolution.*

Instead, along with a racist cartoon of a demented Ayatollah Khomeini swinging a bloody sword, *In These Times* printed a page 3 column by Diana Johnstone, who said:

"The Nov. 4 occupation of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran took Iran 'out of the world,' out of an internationally shared rationality. The outrageous capture of embassy personnel to back the outrageous demand to yank Shah from his deathbed has deepened the isolation and complicity

of the Ayatollah Khomeini and his followers."

Johnstone's outrage at the occupation of the U.S. spy base, her respect for the "internationally shared rationality" of world capitalism, and her concern for the butcher shah on his prematurely announced deathbed would not appear out of place in the *Wall Street Journal*. Her article reveals nothing about what is happening in Iran, but a good deal about *In These Times*.

In the same issue, an article by Paul Sullivan attempts to analyze the events. The thesis of his article is that the seizure of the U.S. embassy was an attempt by Khomeini to divert the masses from the real problems facing Iran. (Sullivan obviously does not count imperialist domination as high among these problems.)

Sullivan's theme comes straight from the imperialist ruling class. As Joseph Kraft put it in the November 22 *Washington Post*: "To arrest the rot and recharge his supporters, the ayatollah whipped up nationalistic and religious feelings. . . ."

A similar point was made by the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* November 30. "What is going on in Iran," they claimed, "is less a spontaneous outpouring of grievances than an attempt by a highly skilled demagog to retain power by finding a villain to use in unifying his unstable political coalition and obscuring the increasingly dire economic crisis he has created. The shah makes a handy villain, but the United States makes an even better one."

And Joseph Harsch says in the December 4 *Christian Science Monitor*: Khomeini's "grip on his countrymen was slipping. He presided over economic chaos. . . ."

"The ayatollah had to do something drastic to save his revolution and his regime. Anti-Americanism was ready at hand."

All of these bourgeois commentators try to present the current mobilization of the Iranian masses against U.S. domination as being *counterposed* to the struggles of the oppressed nationalities in Iran, as being a *diversion* from the economic and social demands of the workers in the factories and the peasants in the villages.

Just the opposite is the case. The problems faced by every layer of Iranian society are shaped and deepened by imperialist exploitation and domination. They can be solved only within the context of the struggle against this domination.

Far from being a diversion, the mobilization of the Iranian people in their millions that was sparked by the occupation of the U.S. embassy will help to advance every aspect of the class struggle. Rather than supporting the anti-imperialist struggle in Iran and applauding the progressive stance that the Khomeini government has taken in regard to it, *In These Times* opposes it.

It is worth taking note of the December 5-11 issue of *In These Times* as well. It did not bother to mention the fact that an American fleet was in place in the Arabian Sea. It did not bother to mention the fact that the U.S. government is driving toward war in the Middle East.

*In These Times* columnist Roberta Lynch—a leader of the New American Movement, another Social Democratic group—complained about "editorial cartoons depicting Khomeini as a madman and a murderer" without noting that her own paper had printed just such a cartoon in its previous issue.

In any case, Lynch made the limits of her disagreement with the capitalist media quite clear. After all, "oil may be a legitimate political weapon, hostages are not. Iran today risks not only the intensification of hostilities with the U.S., but its standing in the world community."

Think of it. If Khomeini doesn't watch his step, Pinochet and Pol Pot—not to mention Kissinger and Carter—will no longer accept him. He will be rejected by "the world community."

Another component of the American left is the *Guardian* newspaper, a weekly that is widely read among unaffiliated radicals.

Along with *In These Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Guardian* asserted that the occupation of the U.S. embassy was merely a maneuver by Khomeini, a diversion. An editorial in its November 21 issue said:

"Deeply troubled by Iran's economic and social problems, which he is incapable of resolving, plagued by national uprisings, unable to stabilize his government. . . . Khomeini is taking advantage of this popular and anti-U.S. trend to consolidate his own political position and divert the masses from Iran's others difficulties."

With the U.S. fleet maneuvering in the Arabian Sea, the December 5 *Guardian* headlined its front page: "Khomeini seeks advantage from crisis."

The *Guardian* is so preoccupied about Khomeini gaining greater popularity with the Iranian masses that it misses the fact that what is happening in Iran is an overall rise in the class struggle. The Iranian people as a whole, and especially the Iranian workers and peasants, are in a better position in relation to imperialism than they were previously.

Khomeini has gained in popularity because he has acted in the interests of the masses by standing up to imperialism. That is a gain for the workers and peasants, not a defeat.

The *Guardian's* hostility to Khomeini leads it to deemphasize the threat of a U.S. military attack. Its headline in regard to this—on page fourteen—is "Tensions mount over hostages."

In the *Guardian's* case, hostility to Khomeini is also related to hostility to the Iranian masses. Thus, speaking of the December 2-3 referendum on Iran's new

constitution, Simin Ahmadi says in the December 5 issue: "Khomeini's forces are counting on that 65% of the population which is illiterate and cannot understand what it says to favor the document."

A more abysmal expression of class prejudice and fear of the toiling masses, especially those ground under the heel of imperialism, would be hard to find. Unfortunately, one group that has been associated with the left did provide precisely such an example.

#### Spartacists Join in Denouncing Iran

Joining the anti-Iranian frenzy of the American ruling class was the Spartacist League, a sect which distinguished itself in the past by inventing a "Marxist" rationale for abstaining from the mass movement against the war in Vietnam.

Although it claims to be Trotskyist, the Spartacist League is completely isolated from the American labor movement and has increasingly taken outright racist and pro-imperialist positions.

For the Spartacists, the enemy in this showdown between imperialism and an oppressed nation was not the U.S. government. Rather than directing their fire at the imperialist power that held the Iranian people in servitude for decades, and which is now threatening military intervention against the Iranian revolution, the Spartacists aimed all their venom at Ayatollah Khomeini and the millions of Iranian workers and peasants who view Khomeini as their leader.

"Iran Embassy Crisis" was the main headline of the November 23 *Workers Vanguard*—the Spartacist paper. "Khomeini Fanatics Provoke Imperialist Threats" was the secondary head.

"The Khomeini-led Muslim fanatics have violated diplomatic prerogatives in a way that not even the Nazis did," fumed the outraged *Workers Vanguard*.

Refusing to grant the slightest progressive content to the struggle of the Iranian people, the Spartacists declared, "The mullahs have not been waging a struggle against imperialism at all. . . . The Tehran embassy seizure and hostage-taking was a *diversion*. It was fundamentally an attempt to refurbish Khomeini's anti-shah credentials in a period of growing disillusionment with, and opposition to, his clerical-reactionary rule."

Taking up Khomeini's attempt to appeal to the American people by the release of Black and women hostages, the Spartacists are quick to discourage any positive response. As they see it, such an appeal is:

"Nonsense! Islam's 'regard' for women is expressed in the *chador*, the head-to-toe veil which is the symbol of their enslavement and imprisonment within the home. Islam has also given institutional support to the slave trade, and to this day black chattel slavery exists in Islamic countries on the Arabian peninsula."

According to this argument, the millions

# Brains Washed While You Wait

By Allen Myers

[The following article appeared in the November 29 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

\* \* \*

The Americans being held hostage in the Tehran embassy have been brainwashed, according to Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell. Powell said the hostages had been "subjected to very sophisticated and very subtle techniques . . . reminiscent of some of the sophisticated techniques used to break down prisoners or hostages that we have seen in the past."

If this is true, then the Iranian students occupying the embassy have clearly made a breakthrough. After all, the CIA, as is well known, has spent millions and millions of dollars over the last 20 or 30 years trying—without success—to come up with a reliable brainwashing technique. And now Iranian students have done it, apparently without spending a cent. No wonder Carter is mad at them.

US presidents have grown increasingly touchy about brainwashing over the years as the evidence has mounted that the enemies of freedom have mastered the art while America lags behind. In the early 1950s, for example, the Chinese Communist Party brainwashed hundreds of millions of peasants and thus forced them to overthrow capitalism in direct defiance of Washington's better judgment. Not long afterward Castro did the same thing to the Cuban people so thoroughly that not even the Bay of Pigs and the opportunity to buy Coca Cola again could unwash their brains. The same thing happened in Vietnam, and today the US government is certain that the Vietnamese are brainwashing the surviving Kampuchians to dislike Pol Pot. From Angola to Nicaragua, from Ethiopia to Mozambique, the evidence mounts: Hundreds of millions of people are being brainwashed into an irrational hatred of poverty and of the governments Washington has appointed to look after their welfare.

The brainwashing now going on in Iran is particularly galling, for Iran was the scene of one of Washington's most ambitious anti-brainwashing campaigns.

Beginning in 1953, when it discovered a Communist plot to brainwash the Iranian people into disliking their shah, the CIA went all out to unwash Iranian brains. After removing one of the dirtiest washers—Mohammad Mossadegh, who had

brainwashed many Iranians into accepting the absurd notion that Iranians should own Iranian oil—the CIA helped the shah set up a vast anti-brainwashing operation.

The CIA's experts had discovered that the first step of brainwashers was often to get people to dislike extreme poverty. They therefore advised the shah to teach the Iranian people to love poverty, which could be done, of course, only if they had the opportunity to experience it. This is why the shah found it necessary to deposit most of the proceeds from Iran's oil in overseas banks.

But the central feature of the CIA's campaign to save the Iranian people from brainwashing was the creation of SAVAK. Under the direct control of the shah, SAVAK set out to counter the "sophisticated and subtle" brainwashing techniques mentioned by Jody Powell. Obviously, the most effective opposition to such techniques could only be unsophisticated and unsubtle. Borrowing heavily from the pioneering anti-brainwashing work of the Nazis, the CIA helped SAVAK perfect its methods. These included electric shock, rape, pulling out nails, and burning. A particularly effective means of dealing with washed brains proved to be crushing the skull in a vise. On the theory that it was best to get to people before they had been brainwashed, these techniques were often used on small children.

But despite these humanitarian efforts, the brainwashers won out and the shah was deposed. Now, to add insult to injury, Americans are being brainwashed too. How else can you explain some of the hostages saying that the shah should be extradited to Iran to stand trial?

Jimmy Carter now faces a real dilemma. He would, of course, be fully justified in a military attack on the Iranian people, who have repaid Washington's 25 years of devotion to their welfare by allowing themselves to be brainwashed. The problem is that large numbers of Americans are also susceptible to brainwashing—as shown by a recent US poll in which nobody said they loved the shah enough to die for him. There is therefore a real danger that brainwashers could use sophisticated and subtle techniques to play on this sentiment if, for example, the Marines were sent into Iran.

Thus Carter is in a no-win situation. Around the world, and even in the US itself, Washington's every effort seems only to result in still more washed brains.

of Iranians—not to mention Egyptians, Iraqis, Syrians, Pakistanis, and others—who still identify with the Muslim religion are incapable of any progressive act. Especially against what the Spartacists portray as the more civilized Western capitalist nations. No wonder the Spartacists are so frightened by those millions of workers and peasants on the march in Tehran!

But the Spartacists go even further, justifying the violent and chauvinist activities organized by a handful of American ultrarightists.

"The mullahs claim their action is directed against the U.S. government. . . . But that is not the way the American people are viewing it. It is not just the right-wingers organizing flag-waving anti-Iranian demonstrations."

One wonders if the Spartacists joined in some of those anti-Iranian demonstrations themselves. At the very least, you get the impression that the Iranians brought their problems on themselves.

"The Tehran embassy is denounced not merely as a 'nest of spies,' which it certainly is, but also as a 'den of corruption.' Purging 'corruption' in Khomeini's Iran includes banning popular music, movies, alcohol, mixed bathing, extra-marital sex, homosexuals and most other aspects of 'decadent Judeo-Christian' Western culture. . . ."

If that doesn't warrant sending the aircraft carriers, what does?

As for the Iranians who tried to stand up and demonstrate in the United States, the Spartacists remark with smug satisfaction that "marchers carrying Khomeini icons in the streets of Washington, D.C. and Houston, Texas soon discovered that they were not in Teheran or Abadan under the mullahs' rule."

Finally, in regard to Carter's round-up and deportation of Iranian students, the Spartacists state:

"While students who hailed the ayatollah should have no complaints about returning to join the 'Islamic Revolution,' such expulsion orders would also be applied against those who opposed *both* the shah and Khomeini."

One can only conclude that if Carter's plan victimized just pro-Khomeini students, the Spartacists would be willing to go along.

A majority of the groups on the American left have failed miserably in the face of the biggest international crisis in the past five years. This is even more striking because American workers have not been suckered in behind the war hysteria that Carter tried to generate. This big majority of the working class remains deeply distrustful of the U.S. government and adamantly opposed to any new war. And an important layer of the most advanced workers have drawn their own lessons about which currents on the left can be depended on to express their class interests. □

# Revolution Opens Road to Liberation of Women

By Suzanne Haig

[The following article appeared in the December 14 issue of the *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

"He's taking [Iranian] women back into the twelfth century under his rule," right-winger Phyllis Schlafly says of Imam Ruhollah Khomeini.

Are "frenzied Islamic mobs" led by Khomeini trying to take women backward, as Carter, most of the news media, and Phyllis Schlafly would have us believe? The suspicions of women should be aroused by the fact that Schlafly opposes putting a simple statement of women's equality in the U.S. Constitution. Even Iran's new Islamic constitution includes that.

No, what is happening in Iran today is progressive, not reactionary. The media's charges about "Iran's return to the dark ages" are being used to justify U.S. intervention to stop the advances of the Iranian revolution.

Under the shah, women, as well as workers, peasants, and the oppressed nationalities, were brutally exploited. U.S. corporations and the Iranian capitalists profited from paying women less than men and from women's unpaid labor in the home.

Traditional laws and customs—such as the right to murder women for "violating male honor"—were used to keep women completely subjugated.

The shah's policies left millions of peasants homeless and forced them into miserable urban slums. Under such conditions there was no possibility for women to better their status.

Opposition to the shah's brutal repression and the desire for a better life brought the masses into the streets in the insurrection that toppled the monarchy last February.

That was the beginning of a revolutionary process that has opened the road for millions of women to win liberation.

Women are freer than ever before in Iran. The participation of millions of women in overthrowing the shah has changed their consciousness and given them tremendous self-confidence. They will never return to the degrading position they held under the shah's rule.

The concept of an Islamic republic is identified by many Iranians with their nationalist and anti-capitalist aspirations—not as a movement toward reaction. Khomeini is looked to by the workers and peasants because of his resolute stance against the U.S. government and the shah.

Like the masses of workers and peasants in Vietnam and Nicaragua, the Iranians want to be rid of U.S. domination of their country. They are fighting for social and economic reforms such as health care, housing, education, jobs, land, a decent standard of living, women's rights, political freedom, and independence for the oppressed nationalities.

What is now occurring in Iran is a gain for the entire working class and the peasantry—and therefore for women.

Armed women are taking part in the defense of the demonstrations outside the U.S. embassy in Tehran. They are leaders in the fight for factory committees that are organizing workers to control their job conditions. Women are participating in land redistribution, in the setting up of schools. Women are beginning to raise their own demands for child care and equal pay. They are getting the support of men for these demands.

Iranian women are not being pushed back by working men, but are being welcomed as co-fighters.

In the course of the struggle, many issues affecting women will be raised, including far-reaching aspects of women's

liberation. These gains will be fought for and won by the oppressed themselves.

A lot has been said in the media about the wearing of the chador—the veil assigned to women in many Moslem societies—as proof of reaction in Iran.

Iran is a semicolonial country. Millions of women are still affected by, and accept, age-old oppressive traditions, including the wearing of the chador. But millions of women have also come into the streets—with and without the chador—to fight for a better life for all.

Some women who never wore the veil are now doing so as a symbol of national liberation. Some wear it in opposition to western dress styles that turn women into sex objects. Some have chosen not to wear it.

When women demonstrated earlier this year against Khomeini's statement that women at work should wear the chador, he quickly agreed that it was not to be compulsory.

As the masses of Iranian women become self-confident through the revolutionary struggle they will shed many of the shackles of customs that bind them to the past. The main thing is that they are fighting now for the material changes that alone can lay the basis for real equality between the sexes.

It is a striking fact that Schlafly's denunciation of Iran finds no echo among millions of Iranian women.

The revolution that is occurring in Iran deserves the unqualified support of the women's movement in this country. □

## Growing Openness to Socialist Ideas

The area in front of the U.S. embassy in Tehran has become the scene of daily demonstrations and political discussions since the occupation began on November 4. These discussions cover a wide range of questions—everything from the nature of socialism, to events in Nicaragua, to the character of the Soviet Union.

The Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) is taking part in this process of discussion. The HKS has been setting up daily literature tables in front of the embassy, as well as selling its newspaper *Kargar* (Worker). *Kargar* salespeople report that there is far greater receptivity to a socialist newspaper among demonstrators than was the case before the current struggle against U.S. imperialism began.

At one demonstration, for example, 400 copies of *Kargar* were sold. On the cover was the HKS call to arm the Iranian people to resist any U.S. invasion. Many of those who purchased a copy of the paper were women who tucked it inside their veil.

One of the best-selling items on the HKS

literature tables is the Persian-language edition of Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed's pamphlet *Is Biology Women's Destiny?* which explains how the oppression of women is rooted in class-divided society.

There has also been interest in *Kargar's* analysis of the constitution that was put to a referendum vote on December 2-3. The HKS advocated voting "No" in the referendum. An article entitled "A Worker's Guide to the Constitution" showed how the document does not reflect the gains the revolution has made, and how it does not contain guarantees of democratic rights or rights for the national minorities in Iran.

There are big new openings for socialist ideas in Iran. In addition to the receptivity to the socialist press, the HKS reports that it has received phone calls from people who wish to join the revolutionary-socialist party. A group of sailors, a glass cutter, a General Motors auto worker, and a few nurses are among those who have expressed their support and asked to join.

## Women's Increasing Role in U.S. Industrial Work Force

By Nancy Cole

The growing participation of women in the U.S. work force, especially its industrial sector, was dramatically shown in events of the past year.

From trade-union women's conferences to the election of Alice Peurala as the first woman president of a basic steel union local, women workers are having an unprecedented impact on the labor movement.

Two events stand out as guideposts for this new march by women workers:

- In September, 1,100 women unionists met in New York for the fourth national conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. CLUW, the only national organization of women unionists, has chapters across the country and includes women from more than sixty unions.

This year's CLUW gathering was nearly twice the size of the last one in 1977. The delegates reaffirmed the group's priority of winning ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment for women to the U.S. Constitution. It also reaffirmed stands in support of reproductive rights and affirmative action.

- In August, more than 500 unionists, along with women's and civil-rights activists, met in Richmond, Virginia, for a Labor Conference for the Equal Rights Amendment. The conference, called by the

Virginia-based Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), decided on a national action campaign to win approval of the ERA in the Virginia legislature. Virginia is one of thirteen states that hasn't ratified the amendment (three more states are needed by 1982) in order for the amendment to become part of the U.S. Constitution.

In October, national officers of CLUW came out in support of the LERN campaign, which will culminate in a march in Richmond on January 13, 1980.

The annual conference of the National Organization for Women also supported the Virginia ERA action.

### Women Unionists Meet

These two important gatherings were preceded by a series of meetings of women from particular unions.

- In February, nearly 400 members of the United Steelworkers—in their majority women and about one-third Black—met in Chicago for the second Women's Conference of USWA District 31.

- In April, 135 women postal workers held their first conference in St. Louis. Women are 35 percent of the 300,000-member American Postal Workers Union. They formed POWER (Post Office Women for Equal Rights).

- In May, 300 delegates attended the

United Auto Workers sixth annual Women's Conference.

- In June some seventy-five women coal miners and 125 supporters gathered in West Virginia for the first national women coal miners conference, sponsored by the Coal Employment Project. Then, in November, the United Mine Workers held its own national meeting of women coal miners, the first in the union's history.

According to federal statistics, women miners have grown from none on record in 1973 to some 2,500 women underground last spring—that's somewhere just over 1 percent of the total U.S. coal mining work force.

"The emergence of outspoken women miners seems especially dramatic because it has happened so quickly," wrote *Business Week* in its report on the June conference.

"But throughout the labor movement," continued the big-business magazine, "women workers, who not long ago were considered timid and hard to organize, are becoming increasingly active and demanding better representation."

This alarm is well justified. The influx of women into union jobs introduces an explosive new element into current and future class battles.

"Many of the women that entered the steel mills after 1974 were young, they had children and were often the sole supporters of their families," Carolyn Jasin, a founding member of the women's committee of her United Steelworkers local in South Chicago, told the U.S. socialist weekly, *The Militant*.

"Their jobs—some of the best-paying a woman could get in Chicago—were very important to them. The discrimination they faced at every level made them angry and willing to fight."

### 43 Million Women Work

Although it's fast growing, the small percentage of women in the better-paying industrial jobs is in sharp contrast to the near majority of women making up the general U.S. work force.

The latest Labor Department figures show that 43 percent of the work force is women, or more than 42 million. It's increasing at a rate of almost 2 million women workers every year, and two-thirds of all new jobs are taken by women.

More than half of all U.S. adult women work or are looking for jobs. The figure is even higher for young women—69 percent



June conference of women coal miners in West Virginia.

Nancy Cole/Militant

for those between 20 and 24 years of age and 62 percent of those between 24 and 34.

This trend began with the boom that followed World War II. Capitalism went through a prolonged period of growth, lasting until the late 1960s. Millions of new jobs were created, and workers were needed to fill them. The employers pulled women and Blacks into the work force as second-class workers. Blacks were relegated to the dirtiest, hardest jobs. Women were channeled into the clerical and service fields. Both categories were the lowest-paying, helping the capitalists add to their boom profits.

Between 1950 and 1974, the number of women workers in the United States nearly doubled. But at the same time, the gap between men's earnings and women's widened. In 1977, the median income for full-time male workers was \$14,626 while that for female workers was \$8,618—a full \$6,000 less.

The employers assumed that women, as well as Blacks, would be content with their second-class status, which included considerably less job security than their white, male counterparts.

But then in the 1950s, the movement against the racist Jim Crow system of legal segregation in the American South exploded onto the scene. Its rejection of racist stereotyping, and the changes in consciousness it brought in general, had a deep effect on women. The defeat of Jim Crow not only had a profound impact in the South, it also changed the relationship of forces throughout the country to the betterment of Blacks, other national minorities, women, and the working class.

#### 1964 Civil Rights Act

The crowning legislative accomplishment of that decade-long struggle was the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title 7 of the act was to have prohibited racial discrimination in hiring, promotion, or any other employment conditions. Hoping to ensure its defeat in Congress, several southern senators threw the word "sex" in alongside "race." To their chagrin it passed anyway, making sex discrimination in employment also illegal.

That didn't mean, of course, that employers ended their discrimination against women. But it laid the basis to fight for affirmative-action plans that establish hiring and upgrading quotas, along with special training programs, to move toward greater equality for women and oppressed minorities.

Affirmative action, which in practice has helped to unify the working class, has broader acceptance in the United States than anywhere else in the world. This can be credited to the gains of the civil-rights movement.

With the reemergence of the women's movement in the early 1970s, women began to develop, on a massive scale, the confidence and clout to reject the female-job stereotypes and fight for better-paying,

traditionally male jobs.

Women in large numbers challenged their job status in the courts. The first big breakthrough on an industry-wide scale was the 1973 consent decree signed by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

In response to the mountain of complaints that had been filed with the federal government charging discrimination, AT&T was forced to agree to hiring and promotion goals. At that point, 98.6 percent of all craft jobs were held by men in the 767,000-member work force.

At the end of six years, women were to hold 19 percent of all outside craft jobs and 38 to 40 percent of all inside craft jobs. Goals were also set for Black and Hispanic workers.

Although AT&T never met its goals, by the time the decree was allowed to expire at the beginning of 1979, tens of thousands of women and Blacks held jobs that they would never have had otherwise.

#### Steel Consent Decree

Fifteen months after the AT&T agreement was signed, in order to head off a flood of antidiscrimination court suits, nine huge steel corporations and the United Steelworkers of America signed the basic steel consent decree.

It provided for plant-wide seniority. Before, with departmental seniority, Blacks were effectively trapped in segregated departments with the lowest pay, since they lost all seniority if they transferred to better jobs. (Women were virtually locked out of basic steel altogether.)

The consent decree set hiring goals: one in five new hires for production and maintenance jobs were to be women. Other goals and timetables were established for women and oppressed minorities in apprenticeship programs.

The USWA recently reported that 5 percent of basic steel production and maintenance workers are women.

No such industry-wide agreement has been reached in coal, although the first company-wide settlement was reached last December with Consolidation Coal Company (Consol), the second-largest coal producer in the country.

Consol agreed to hire one woman for every four male inexperienced miners.

The Consol consent decree resulted from a complaint filed with the government against 153 companies by the Coal Employment Project, a group based in Tennessee dedicated to getting women jobs in the mines. Other such agreements are expected to follow.

The employers, however, have had to be dragged into such affirmative-action agreements at every step. And they're still not willing to resign themselves to the fact that women are in industry to stay. They are too lucrative to the employers as a low-paid reserve that can be readily shunted in and out of the work force with the ups and downs of the business cycle.

During the 1974-75 depression, women held their own, refusing to be driven back into the home. But now the employers have another chance with the current recession. Many of the gains women workers have made in the industrial sector have come only during the last several years. Women are low on the seniority lists and are already finding themselves victims of discriminatory layoffs.

Organizing a fight to preserve the affirmative-action gains of women should be quickly moving onto the agenda for women unionists and the entire U.S. labor movement. One way of accomplishing this is the establishment of dual seniority lists, thereby ensuring that the percentage of women and minorities does not decline during a downturn.

#### Women's Committees

The special problems women face as new members of the industrial work force—from lack of toilet and shower facilities to sexual harassment on the job—have in many cases sparked women's formations within the unions.

The organized clout of their women members has in turn played a major part in prodding the union bureaucracy to take a more forthright stand in support of women's rights.

For instance, several international unions have recently pulled their scheduled conventions out of states that have not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment.

The militancy of women unionists was undoubtedly a factor in the positions taken by the union officialdom on the Weber case. The overwhelming majority of U.S. unions opposed Brian Weber's court challenge to an affirmative-action plan negotiated by the United Steelworkers. The U.S. Supreme Court decided in June to concur with the labor movement and threw out Weber's case.

The union movement has also spoken out on other women's issues, such as maternity benefits. The United Auto Workers filed a suit in April charging General Motors and Ford with discrimination for refusing to treat pregnancy like any other disability.

As early as 1962, the United Auto Workers mandated its locals to establish women's committees where there were women members. For the most part, however, such formations in the unions have developed over the past several years.

One of the earliest women's groups was that set up in early 1977 in United Steelworkers District 31, the Chicago/Gary, Indiana, area.

The District 31 Women's Caucus was a product in many ways of the insurgent campaign of Ed Sadlowski for international president of the USWA. The general ferment of the campaign encouraged the women to organize their own forces.

The district Women's Caucus is not an official part of the union, but the local women's committees it spurred forward

are. And they're considerably different from other union committees. Instead of a few appointed members with the local president in overall charge, the women's committees try to involve all union women, advertising their meetings and activities through the plants.

A year after the caucus began, the district officials called an official district women's conference in cooperation with the Women's Caucus. Two hundred unionists attended. Then this last February, the second conference attracted nearly 400 steelworkers.

In contrast to the 1978 meeting, this year's women's conference was presided over by international officials of the union—a legitimacy the bureaucracy had declined to offer before.

While the women were generally appreciative of the pro-women's-rights pronouncements of the officials, they minced no words in demanding answers to their problems.

Their spirit was testimony to the role women will play in revitalizing the Steelworkers union.

#### Probationary Firings

One of the biggest problems they grappled with was probationary firings of women steelworkers. While the companies have been forced to hire women under the consent decree, they are not required to retain them. So a disproportionate number of women are fired during their first 520 hours on the job. Women steelworkers call it the "revolving door."

This is a plight not restricted to women workers. The probationary period is used by the bosses to screen out "undesirables" or "troublemakers" before they have union rights. The period (negotiated as part of the contract) was doubled around the same time that corporations were forced to sign the consent decree.

The union officialdom has generally acceded to the industry's "right" to fire anyone it wants to during probation. But the District 31 Women's Caucus and committees fought it and won several victories.

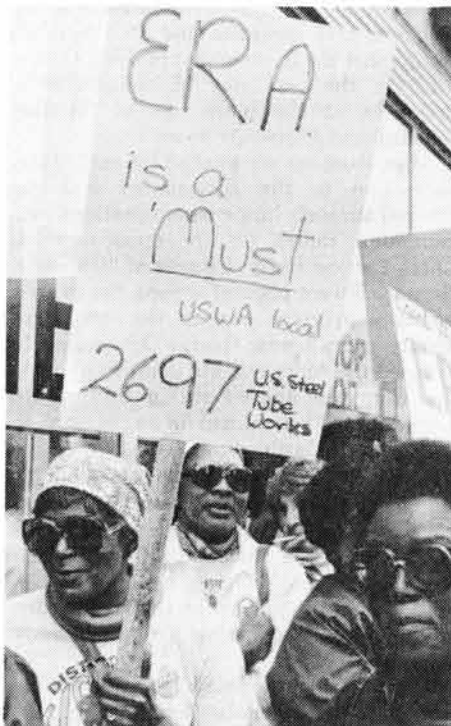
At Bethlehem Steel's giant Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore, Maryland, the union is officially demanding that two women be rehired who were fired before their probation was up. Women's advisory committees of both USWA locals there were recognized by the union this year.

Women are still a very small proportion of the industrial work force. If their numbers are to continue to swell, they will need the entire union movement behind them in their fight to remain on the job with rights equal to their male co-workers. Women's committees that are part of the union, and viewed that way by officials and the ranks alike, can be a more effective vehicle for achieving this goal. And experience has already shown that it is possible to win such official status in

many cases—and each new success keeps the momentum going.

The U.S. coal mines have long been the exclusive domain of male workers. If ever there was a place where you might expect hostility to women workers, it's underground. But it also follows that if ever women needed the support of their union brothers, it is in the mines.

When women coal miners met in June, they wanted to make it clear that they were a part of the union. They declared their intentions to go back and get active



Charles Ostrofsky/Militant  
Chicago march for Equal Rights Amendment.

in their union locals, to educate and work with their union brothers to solve the problems of women miners, thereby helping to strengthen the entire union and its battles for health, safety, and better working and living conditions.

When a minority of women at the coal conference tried to steer the gathering into a sectarian attack on the union's international leadership, miner Sylvia Leierer responded, "I'm from New Mexico and women there are not active in the union. I'm guilty of that also, but I'm going to change it. And I don't want anybody getting up and saying women miners don't support the union."

#### Management Is to Blame

In its report on the May United Auto Workers women's conference, the union's magazine *Solidarity* asked one delegate if men are the biggest obstacle to equality. Sophie Kinney answered, "No, management is. Most men are great. They actually help the women they're working with, because they'd like a change, too!"

Sexual harassment on the job is not new, nor is it confined to industrial work sites. But the growing number of women unionists organizing to fight for equality on the job has helped bring this problem more into the open.

In May, the state of Michigan held hearings on sexual harassment on the job. The UAW hosted one of the sessions at its headquarters. Women, many of them auto workers, poured out their stories of victimizations.

They said they had come to the hearings because they had "nowhere else to go." In nearly all the cases described, the harassment came from foremen and supervisors. Complaints to management merited silence at best, further victimization or firing at worst.

The employers use sexual harassment and encourage it among the work force to try to keep women workers in "their place"—and where appropriate to drive them out. They pit women workers against male and try their best to convince the latter that they have to make up for the slack that women on the job supposedly create. There's no question that some male workers fall into this trap.

But women are more and more looking to their unions to help educate union members that sexual harassment is not only antiwoman, it is antiunion; and, on that basis, to take on the company.

And the unions are beginning to respond. At the Michigan hearings, for example, several union officials testified, backing up their female members.

#### National Organization for Women

These developments in the unions have been reflected in the feminist movement. The largest U.S. women's group, the National Organization for Women, has doubled in the past few years to 110,000 members. More unionists attended its October convention in Los Angeles than ever before.

An entire session of the conference was devoted to working women, including a medley of working women's songs and a slide presentation on working-class battles.

Unions sent official representatives to the NOW meeting, and the United Steelworkers and the Coalition of Labor Union Women both set up literature tables. A workshop on the Problems of Women Workers was attended by steel, auto, public, Teamster, postal, and rail workers.

The women unionists asked for ideas on how to fight sexual harassment on the job and they asked for support for strikes they were waging.

A resolution approved by the workshop endorsed several labor boycotts, solidary with union organizing drives, opposed antiunion "right to work" laws, urged a fight to protect affirmative action during layoffs, and denounced sexual harassment on the job. □

## Grenada—Flashpoint of the Caribbean Revolution

By Ernest Harsch

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada—"A wind of change is blowing through the Caribbean," Prime Minister Maurice Bishop told the United Nations General Assembly on October 10, "bringing with it a new regional balance of forces as a result of the changes towards progress by the peoples of Nicaragua, Grenada, St. Lucia and Dominica. . . ."

The unfolding revolution here, led by the New Jewel Movement (NJM), has sent shockwaves throughout the Caribbean. With the exception of the Dominican Republic in the early 1960s, the overthrow of the Eric Gairy regime on March 13 was the first time since the Cuban revolution that a Caribbean dictatorship has been toppled through popular insurrection.

Like the Cuban revolution twenty years ago and the ongoing revolutionary upheavals in Nicaragua today, the Grenadian revolution has inspired oppressed peoples throughout the region to redouble their own efforts to win political and economic freedom.

### Caribbean Tremors

The immediate political repercussions of the upsurge in Grenada have been felt most directly in some of the smaller, English-speaking islands of the Eastern Caribbean, especially Dominica and St. Lucia. Political and labor ferment had already been mounting in both islands before the Grenada insurrection, but Gairy's overthrow did much to spur it on.

In Dominica, revelations of the Patrick John government's economic ties with South Africa—combined with new measures to suppress freedom of the press and the right to strike—prompted mass opposition. On May 29, some 15,000 persons (out of a total population in Dominica of 80,000) rallied outside the government headquarters in Roseau, the capital. Troops opened fire, killing a young dock worker. A six-month-old baby suffocated from tear gas.

The deaths provoked widespread anger and led to mass demonstrations and an island-wide general strike to force John's ouster. Crowds attacked the businesses of government supporters. The discipline of the police force broke down, as most police refused to intervene against the demonstrators.

Under considerable mass pressure, almost all of John's supporters in parliament had defected to the opposition by June 21, leading to his downfall. Oliver Seraphine, a former minister in the John

regime, became the new prime minister.

In St. Lucia, which gained its independence from Britain on February 22, a series of strikes and demonstrations by teachers, civil servants, and dock workers challenged the government of John Compton. On the very day of independence, prisoners at the main jail in Castries rebelled and burned it down.

After elections were called for early July, opposition to the government was expressed through large demonstrations and campaign rallies for the opposition St. Lucia Labour Party. Chants of "Grenada, Grenada" were popular among the party's young supporters. During the campaign, deputy party leader George Odlum openly accused the American government of backing Compton and of trying to turn St. Lucia into a "beachhead for capitalism" in the Eastern Caribbean.

When the voters went to the polls in July, they threw Compton out of office and gave the Labour Party twelve out of seventeen seats in the House of Assembly. The new government quickly established ties with Cuba and has asked the Cubans for assistance in organizing a mass literacy campaign.

Underscoring the links between the developments in Grenada, Dominica, and St. Lucia, officials from all three governments met in Grenada in mid-July and adopted the "Declaration of St. George's," which called for greater cooperation among the countries of the Caribbean, vowed to oppose imperialist domination of

the region, and pledged support for the liberation struggles in southern Africa and Nicaragua.

Echoes of the Grenada revolution have been felt in other Caribbean countries as well. Within days of the March 13 insurrection, rallies were held in Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and elsewhere to hail Gairy's overthrow.

Informal political links exist between the New Jewel Movement and similar formations in other islands, including the New Beginnings Movement in Trinidad, the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement, and the United People's Movement (UPM) in St. Vincent. They have all been encouraged by the NJM's seizure of power.

Ralph Gonsalves, a central leader of the UPM who was visiting Grenada, emphasized during a discussion with me that the revolution here "is having a big impact in the Caribbean." In an article he wrote a few days after the insurrection, Gonsalves stated that the revolution "has raised the political consciousness of even the most backward of the working people in the Caribbean, about the new possibilities for the realisation of their humanity."

### A 'Circle of Crisis'

The overthrow of Gairy, the revolution in Nicaragua, and the growing world role of Cuba have set off alarm bells in many offices and conference rooms in Washington, D.C. The American ruling class, which views the Caribbean as part of its "backyard," is seriously worried about





these new challenges to its domination of the region.

In the wake of the revolution in Grenada, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance termed the Eastern Caribbean one of the world's "trouble spots."

Another American official, quoted in the July 6 *Washington Post*, stated, "There's not an island in the Caribbean that couldn't go the way of Grenada within five years. If you take Central America as the western point and the ministates as the eastern one, you could say we've got the potential for a 'circle of crisis' right on our doorstep."

Although the American imperialists have few direct interests in Grenada itself, their economic and political stakes in the Caribbean as a whole are enormous.

In 1977, American investments in the Caribbean—excluding the American colony of Puerto Rico—were valued at \$4.5 billion and amounted to a quarter of all foreign investment in the area. U.S. companies control oil refining; bauxite, nickel, and copper mining; petrochemical industries; sugar; and other industries on many of the islands.

The Caribbean provides more than two-thirds of the bauxite used in the United States, and about 25 percent of the United States' oil imports are refined there.

The Caribbean's location—bordering on South America, Central America, and the United States itself—gives it an obvious strategic and political importance.

To protect its interests, Washington has stationed 30,000 troops around the Caribbean perimeter, and has some twenty army, navy, and air bases there. These installations have at times been used as staging areas for counterrevolutionary intervention in the Caribbean, most notably against Cuba and the Dominican Republic. The specialized police forces and counterinsurgency experts of various proimperialist regimes in Central America and the Caribbean have been trained at these bases.

Washington's concern over political ferment in the Caribbean is particularly acute because of the presence in the region of a workers state—Cuba. The Cuban revolution has provided a living example to people throughout the islands that it is possible to stand up to the U.S. imperialists and win. The concrete social gains won by workers and peasants in Cuba have shown other Caribbeans how poverty, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment can be wiped out.

American officials recognize that Cuba's influence in the Caribbean is growing. One of them, quoted in the October 22 *Time*, stated, "If the Cubans were to lure the little island countries of the eastern Caribbean into their sphere of influence, it would send shock waves throughout Central America all the way to Cape Horn."

Grenada is a small island, with a population of only 110,000. Yet the imperialists

are taking the revolution here very seriously. They have reacted with hostility ever since the establishment of the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG).

The previous ties between Washington and Eric Gairy had been close. In fact, the day before he was overthrown, Gairy conferred in nearby Barbados for two hours with a close friend of his, U.S. Ambassador Frank Ortiz (who served as ambassador to several Eastern Caribbean islands, including Barbados, and Grenada). After



Ernest Harsch/IP-1

Announcement of Che Guevara commemoration, on Barclay's Bank office in St. George's.

his ouster, Gairy was allowed to take up residence in the United States.

Having received reports that Gairy was attempting to organize a mercenary force to try to retake the island—with American backing—the People's Revolutionary Government requested public assurances from Washington, London, Ottawa, and other powers that they would not aid Gairy. Although most of the governments gave such assurances almost immediately, Washington refused to do so for ten days.

In face of the danger of a counterrevolutionary attack, the PRG appealed for arms and other military assistance from various foreign governments—including Cuba.

At a rally of 5,000 persons in the northern town of Sauteurs on April 8, Bishop declared, "We recognise only too clearly that, not only are the Cubans our Caribbean neighbours, but we understand that in different parts of the world, especially in the African liberation struggles, when the people have been most pressed and deceived the Cubans have gone to their assistance and fought with them to defend them." He announced that diplomatic and other ties with Cuba would soon be established.

The Carter administration was furious.

A few days after the Sauteurs speech, the State Department sent Ambassador Ortiz to Grenada to deliver a message to Bishop. It was short and to the point: "We would view with displeasure any tendency on the part of Grenada to develop closer ties with Cuba."

That night, Bishop went on radio, read out Ortiz's message, and denounced it as an attempt to interfere into Grenada's affairs:

... no one, no matter how mighty and powerful they are, will be permitted to dictate to the government and people of Grenada who we can have friendly relations with and what kind of relations we must have with other countries. We haven't gone through 28 years of fighting Gairyism, and especially the last 6 years of terror, to gain our freedom, only to throw it away and become a slave or lackey to any other country, no matter how big and powerful. . . .

We have demonstrated beyond any doubt that we were prepared to die to win our freedom. We are even more prepared to die to maintain that freedom now that we have tasted it. . . .

We are not in anybody's backyard, and we are definitely not for sale. Anybody who thinks they can bully us or threaten us, clearly has no understanding, idea or clue as to what material we are made of.

That same night, a Cuban ship docked at the harbor here and began unloading supplies. The next day, it was announced that Grenada and Cuba had established diplomatic relations.

The White House then weighed taking direct action against Grenada. According to a report in the June 16 *New Republic* by Tad Szulc, an American journalist with good sources of information in government circles, "The National Security Council gave passing consideration to the possibility of establishing a naval quarantine around Grenada to prevent continued deliveries of Cuban arms, but this idea was quickly dropped."

Nevertheless, according to Szulc, the "Central Intelligence Agency reportedly is bolstering its covert information-gathering capabilities in the Caribbean." The White House also established, in late May, an interagency Caribbean Task Force, headed by former undersecretary of state Philip Habib, to evaluate U.S. interests and policy in the region.

Other forms of pressure and intimidation against Grenada were stepped up.

On May 29, Ortiz sent a memorandum to the State Department and various U.S. embassies in the region urging a campaign against "serious human rights violations in Grenada"—that is, the detention of Gairy's henchmen and thugs. It was not long before proimperialist newspapers and governments in the Caribbean—including the right-wing *Torchlight* in Grenada itself—began calling for the release of the prisoners.

Although Ortiz was replaced in June, the new U.S. ambassador in Barbados, Sally Shelton, repeated the warnings about Grenada's relations with Cuba, stating

that Washington was "troubled by Cuban military involvement in certain states."

American oil firms have cut back on oil supplies to Grenada, contributing to frequent power blackouts here.

Acting on behalf of the imperialists, some of the governments on nearby islands have also been applying pressure on Grenada.

In the weeks immediately following the insurrection, the Eastern Caribbean Currency Association delayed the delivery of new currency notes to the country. Companies on some of the other islands, such as Caroni in Trinidad, have done the same with shipments of sugar and other items imported by Grenada.

Threats have also been made to set up a Caribbean military force armed and funded by Washington, and possibly London. According to Robert Pastor, an adviser to the National Security Council, both Prime Minister Eric Williams of Trinidad and Tobago and Premier Lee Moore of St. Kitts and Nevis favor the creation of "a regional strike force to prevent a repetition of the Grenada coup."

Just before the conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in Havana in September, the American State Department tried to pressure the Grenadian government into not attending. Again defying Washington, Bishop went to Havana, stating in his speech that Grenada's participation in the conference was "the most categorical reply we could give to any suggestion that we were going to try to divide and undermine the process of non-alignment." He also condemned the presence of 30,000 American troops in the region, called for independence for Puerto Rico, and hailed the example of the Cuban revolution. When Bishop finished speaking, he was embraced by Daniel Ortega, a central leader of the Nicaraguan revolution.

On October 1, Carter issued the most direct threat yet against Grenada and the rest of the Caribbean, in particular Cuba. He announced that a military task force, based in Key West, Florida, was being established to make possible the rapid deployment of American troops into the Caribbean. Shortly after, 1,800 American troops participated in a military exercise at Guantánamo Bay, a U.S.-occupied portion of Cuba.

In articles, news conferences, and speeches, the leaders of the Grenadian revolution condemned Carter's speech as a threat to the sovereignty of the Caribbean.

Speaking at the United Nations, Bishop stated, "The Caribbean belongs to the peoples of the Caribbean. We reject the U.S. plan to set up a Caribbean task force and call upon the international community to join with us in demanding an immediate withdrawal of this proposal."

As intended by Washington, the outside pressures on Grenada have encouraged

domestic opponents of the revolution to step up efforts to sabotage it.

Although many former supporters of Gairy have been won over to the revolution as a result of the government's economic and social policies, there are still some—particularly former police and government officials—who remain bitter enemies of the New Jewel Movement.

Immediately after the insurrection, the Chamber of Commerce, which had opposed Gairy, declared its support for the new government. But as the NJM started implementing more and more progressive measures—such as the law compelling employers to recognize trade unions—many businessmen became increasingly concerned about the radical course of the revolution. "We are worried about how far left these boys are going," one told me.

Leaders of the Grenada National Party (GNP), the main bourgeois opposition party under Gairy, have openly criticized the government's warm relations with Cuba. But the GNP has very little support left. The two times it tried to hold public meetings since the insurrection, few people turned out and the speakers were shouted down by supporters of the NJM.

Some of the sharpest opposition to the government has come from a sector of big business, represented by D.M.B. Cromwell. He was one of the largest owners of the right-wing *Torchlight* (the only significant capitalist newspaper on the island), as well as a major financial backer of the various rightist formations led by Winston Whyte, such as the United People's Party and the People's Action Liberation Movement.

From the early days of the revolution, the *Torchlight* conducted an incessant propaganda campaign against the government, and even carried out such provocative acts as publishing photographs of Bishop's bodyguards and revealing the location of an army camp.

Through the deliberate spreading of false information, the opponents of the revolution sought to sow confusion about

the government's policies and to incite antigovernment demonstrations and strikes.

In October, the *Torchlight* urged "massive numbers" of Rastafarians—members of a Caribbean-wide religious nationalist movement—to protest against the government. This did provoke demonstrations—but against the newspaper itself.

On October 12, Rastafarian members of the People's Revolutionary Army rallied outside the *Torchlight* offices here in the capital, carrying placards that read, "Rasta Say Down With CIA Torchlight" and "Rasta Support the Working Class for Equal Rights and Justice." The next day, about 200 persons demonstrated, chanting, "Out the Torchlight!"

The same weekend, the government moved decisively against its bourgeois opponents. The *Torchlight* was shut down. Twenty persons were arrested, including Winston Whyte, several dissident Rastafarians, and a number of Gairy's former policemen and troops. Three weeks later another twelve persons were arrested, among them Dr. Rupert Japal, a leader of the GNP.

According to the government, those who were detained had been planning to overthrow the government, possibly in conjunction with an attack from outside. The government has displayed arms, ammunition, and maps of coastal areas that were seized during raids on the homes of the accused.

As it has around most other major questions, the NJM leadership has called mass rallies to explain its actions and to mobilize popular support to help defend the revolution against attack.

#### **An Internationalist Revolution**

By itself, Grenada is very vulnerable. If left to its own resources, the revolution here could not survive in face of the pressures it is under.

But Grenada is not alone. Its revolution has won political support from working

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people throughout the Caribbean, a factor that has made it much more difficult for the imperialists and their local allies to openly attack it.

The governments of Jamaica and Guyana have provided some material assistance to Grenada since the beginning of the revolution. But the most important aid—including political backing—has come from the revolutionary government of Cuba.

"Cuba's assistance in the darkest hours of the revolution has been fantastic," NJM leader Selwyn Strachan told me. "Although we have gotten assistance from other countries in the region, Cuba's assistance was definitive in helping to consolidate our revolution. And it will continue to be an important asset in the region."

The leaders of the NJM understand the importance of international solidarity in helping to defend their revolution. They realize that the problems facing Grenada cannot be solved in isolation, that the revolutionary process here must be linked as closely as possible to the struggles of oppressed peoples everywhere.

According to Bishop, it is "our duty to support all just causes and contribute to all just causes around the world. Part of our debt to humanity is to support these struggles."

The internationalism of the Grenadian revolution is striking.

On the front of the Barclay's bank building here in St. George's is a poster publicizing a mass rally to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Che Guevara, the internationalist fighter who for many NJM members symbolizes the worldwide struggle against imperialism.

A sound car has been circling through the island announcing another rally to express solidarity with and to raise funds for the people of Dominica, which was devastated in August by Hurricane David.

On May 27—African Liberation Day—hundreds of Grenadians demonstrated in Victoria, twelve miles north of here, in support of the southern African liberation struggles. "We the people of Free Grenada must express our solidarity with our brothers and sisters," a government representative said, "not only by giving them moral support, but if necessary contributing money, food and other items towards helping them in their struggle."

The newspapers here closely followed the massive upsurge of the Nicaraguan people against the Somoza tyranny, and the PRG was one of the first governments in the world to recognize the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction. In face of the danger of imperialist attack against Nicaragua, the *New Jewel*, the weekly organ of the NJM, proclaimed, "It is the task of all Caribbean countries to make sure there is no foreign military interventions in Nicaragua."

The PRG has also spoken out in support

of the Palestine Liberation Organization in its struggle against Israel and on behalf of the Polisario Front, which is fighting for the independence of Western Sahara from Moroccan rule. It backs the Heng Samrin government of Kampuchea against the "fascist, genocidal, criminal Pol Pot." It has called on the U.S. government to give Guantánamo Bay back to Cuba. It supports the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for independence from the United States.

Although Grenada is a poor country, its solidarity has not been limited to verbal proclamations. It has given \$25,000 to the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and several thousand dollars to Nicaragua. It sent

relief aid to St. Vincent following a destructive volcano eruption and also to Jamaica after that country was hit by severe floods.

Though by necessity limited, such concrete material assistance to suffering and struggling people in other countries is a symbol of this revolution's internationalism.

The commitment of the NJM to the worldwide struggle against imperialism and capitalist exploitation was perhaps best summed up in a slogan on the front page of the September 3 *New Jewel*: "We oppose oppression—in whatever country! Forward to a just and liberated world!" □

## U.S. Out of Puerto Rico!

[The following editorial appeared in the December 14 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

\* \* \*

Responsibility for the deaths of two navy personnel in Puerto Rico December 3 falls squarely on the U.S. government's brutal colonial repression of the island.

The ambush of the navy bus by a clandestine group was an expression of the rage created among the Puerto Rican people by eighty years of U.S. occupation of their country and disregard for their rights.

The group that carried out the attack declared that it was in response to three killings of Puerto Rican activists at Washington's hands.

One was Angel Rodriguez Cristóbal, who was found hanged in a Tallahassee, Florida, prison last month. Authorities said it was "suicide," but could not explain a gash on his forehead or a bruise on his temple.

Rodriguez Cristóbal was among a group of demonstrators jailed for protesting U.S. Navy use of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques as a shelling ground.

The other two died in July 1978 when Puerto Rican police ambushed three people. As the December 4 Newark *Star Ledger* blandly recalled, "Two of the three were killed, and the third turned out to be a police undercover agent who led them into the trap."

Each of these deaths clearly warrants a full-scale federal investigation. Yet none have been forthcoming.

Vieques has come to be a major symbol of U.S. colonial rule over Puerto Rico.

Claiming to own 80 percent of Vieques,

the navy is continuing to bomb and shell the island for "practice" despite the mounting protest of the Puerto Rican people.

The lives of the people of Vieques have been totally disrupted and the livelihood of Vieques fishermen impaired.

Despite the broad protests, the navy remains adamant. In response to the death of the two young navy people, Rear Admiral Arthur Knoizen declared the navy had no intention of giving up its firing range. "If they think they will drive us out of Vieques with this action," he belligerently asserted, "they had better think again."

What is at stake, clearly, is not the need for a firing range. The admiral's hardened stand is a measure of U.S. response to mounting independence sentiment among Puerto Ricans. Washington is determined to resist the nationalist aspirations of the Puerto Rican people by any means necessary.

Because the United States rulers are so determined to hang on to their colony, it will take a massive movement of the Puerto Rican people to achieve independence.

It will not be done by underground grouplets engaging in such acts as the assault on the navy bus.

Such actions are counterproductive. They permit the U.S. rulers to shift responsibility for violence from themselves onto the Puerto Rican people, the better to justify new repression.

Already, it is reported, the Puerto Rican big-business news media are trying to whip up a campaign of hysteria against the entire independence movement.

There is a simple way to end violence in Puerto Rico. Washington should withdraw its 4,000 occupation troops and permit the Puerto Rican people to determine their own destiny. □

# Imperialists Step Up Pressure on Indochinese Revolution

By Pierre Rousset

Today the Indochinese revolutions have to confront a coalition of international interests that seem increasingly determined to bring them to their knees. It has reached the point that Roland Pierre Paringaux could write in the November 3 Paris daily *Le Monde* that "two camps face each other in a conflict with global repercussions. Lined up against an Indochina dominated by Hanoi and its Soviet allies is a de facto coalition with more or less convergent interests: China, the ASEAN\* countries, the United States, Japan, the West."

This conflict is expressed in every sphere: diplomatic, political, humanitarian, economic, and military. It threatens to envelop Indochina in a triangle of war: war on the Thai border, in Northern Laos, and along the Sino-Vietnamese land and sea borders.

The conflict has profound repercussions throughout the entire region. In particular, it is forcing the Communist movements of Southeast Asia to confront developments they are poorly prepared to deal with.

### Sihanouk's Return

The situation is now evolving rapidly. The evolution can be seen first of all in regard to the Khmer forces gathered on the Thai border. For a long time the Khmer Rouge received the most support. Despite Sihanouk's opposition, Pol Pot's regime was able to keep its seat at the United Nations as a result of determined activity by the United States. Peking exerted pressure on its "distinguished guest" Sihanouk to accept a formal alliance with his former jailers—to the point of provoking a public split with the prince, resulting in his withdrawal to North Korea for four months.

Two basic reasons, common to both China and the West, explain this support for Pol Pot. The first was the possibility of using the juridical fiction of the "continuity" and "legality" of Pol Pot's government in international proceedings. The other reason was that even after last January's debacle the Khmer Rouge forces included tens of thousands of soldiers while the Khmer Serei groups (the old far-right) were divided and did not have more than a few thousand soldiers, whose willingness to fight was highly questionable.

But since then the limits of giving too

much support to the Pol Pot leadership have become clear.

The support to the Khmer Rouge was becoming an embarrassment, particularly in the United States and Europe where the governments were using humanitarian questions as a pretext for denouncing Vietnam.

In addition, the guerrilla operations waged by the Khmer Rouge during the rainy season—which is militarily the most favorable period for them—did not meet Western expectations. The absence of any real popular support—aside from the families of the Khmer Rouge soldiers—became increasingly obvious.

The Khmer Rouge benefit from a vital rear area in Thailand, bases in several mountainous areas, and, it would appear, a network of informers and sympathizers inside Kampuchea. This allows them to carry out some blows, to create insecurity, and thus hamper the revival of agricultural activities. They contribute to keeping Kampuchea in a state of war, but they have been unable to wage major battles and are threatened with severe reverses during the dry season.

Because of these factors, the interested powers—China on the one side, and the U.S., Japan, the Common Market countries, and ASEAN countries on the other—now seem to be in agreement in favor of a three-pronged broadening of anti-Vietnamese opposition: on the political, military, and geographic planes. The "Sihanouk solution" may now be in the process of being implemented.

Already at the time of the Colombo, Sri Lanka meeting of nonaligned countries in June 1979, Ieng Sary, the deputy premier and foreign minister in Pol Pot's government, had confirmed the existence of agreements on the ground between the Khmer Rouge and the Khmer Serei (which had been fighting each other before the fall of the regime in January). Ieng Sary also confirmed Khmer Rouge cooperation with the anticommunist montagnard FULRO [Front for the Liberation of the Oppressed Minorities] forces in central Vietnam (cooperation that had been going on for a long time). In addition Ieng Sary declared his support for the tribal revolts in Laos (Nayan Chanda, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 22, 1979).

On September 5, 1979, Khieu Samphan proposed, as president of "Democratic Kampuchea," that Prince Sihanouk again become chief of state and form a government of unity. Sihanouk declined the offer. The prince returned to Peking on August

24, a sign of détente in the relations between Sihanouk and China.

Each of the contending forces then positioned their pawns. Sihanouk founded the Conference of Khmer Nationalists (CKN) on September 27, and one of his former prime ministers, Son Sann, set up the National Liberation Front of the Khmer People (FNLPK), also known as the Khmer Serika, on October 9. Each created "their own" guerrilla groups and stated their readiness to fight the Vietnamese on the ground.

Sihanouk, who yesterday had been isolated, was now invited to France as "a friend." He feels that things are evolving in his direction. "The Chinese are very intelligent," he declared in Peking. "Things are getting much worse for Pol Pot, so if they go bad for Pol Pot, they still have Sihanouk. I am the Sihanouk card. First they deal Pol Pot, and if that doesn't work, then they deal Sihanouk" (Jay Matthews, *Washington Post*, October 30).

Prince Sihanouk has expressed his policy at length in his recent book, *Chronique de Guerre et d'Espoir* (Chronicle of War and Hope), as well as in a series of declarations. That policy is to use political, military, and economic pressure (i.e., threats to cut off all aid) to force the Vietnamese to negotiate their withdrawal, leaving the Khmer Rouge leadership to die a natural death, and then take over the leadership of the opposition to the Heng Samrin regime. Sihanouk would then call for a new Geneva conference where the Western powers and the ASEAN countries would be represented, obtain international imperialist military protection, and in this context lay out a "political solution."

He comes out for a liberal capitalist economy in Kampuchea. He is convinced that time is working in his favor, with the Khmer Rouge unable to regain a base of popular support. He also knows that his "solution" would be pro-Western.

### The Triangle of War

While the Khmer Rouge are running out of gas on the political plane, they nonetheless remain the most solid anti-Vietnamese military force. And Sihanouk's return to center stage does not in any way mean a lessening of the military pressures weighing on Indochina.

The bloc of ASEAN countries are united in denouncing Vietnam. It was said in the past that Indonesia remained relatively neutral and hostile to China. But Jakarta quickly moved to remove the ambiguity. The Indonesian government made it

\* Association of South East Asian Nations, made up of Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

known that in the event of a conflict between Thailand and Vietnam it would send troops to help the Thai war effort. And quite recently Indonesian Vice-president Adam Malik declared that ASEAN intended to "strengthen its ties with China in order to preserve the equilibrium of forces and regional stability" (*Le Monde*, October 24, 1979).

Thailand also always claims to be "neutral." Despite that, we should not ignore the fact that the Thai army maintains very close relations with the Khmer Serei guerrilla groups. And in an interview in the October 21 *Bangkok Post*, Ji Peng Fei, the vice premier of China, told journalist Theh Chongkhadikij "that China is supplying the Pol Pot forces with arms by land and sea in order to aid them in their fight against the Vietnamese." We need hardly mention that this aid would be impossible without the active participation of the Thai army.

On several occasions journalists have witnessed humanitarian aid sent for Kampuchean refugees being delivered directly to the Khmer Rouge and Khmer Serei bases. Some reporters have also seen the Thai army distributing rice directly to Khmer Rouge soldiers in their camps.

Refugee camps have sometimes remained under the effective control of the Pol Pot forces. These forces distribute food and medicine very unequally, with the lion's share going to combatants, and they continue to apply the Khmer Rouge's very peculiar concept of justice on Thai soil.

It is no longer a secret that Thailand serves as a base camp and recuperation area for the anti-Vietnamese forces. In the October 31 *Le Monde*, Paringaux noted that some 30,000 Khmer Rouge had returned to Kampuchea, leaving a refugee camp that was being moved, in order to return to battle. This involved "the great majority of the Khmer Rouge cadres and combatants who had sought refuge in Thailand since October 10 to escape the pressure of the Vietnamese armed forces." In returning to Kampuchea they were following orders from the Angkar (the Organization).

"In addition," Paringaux remarked, "the Pol Pot fighters will benefit from increased mobility since they will no longer have to worry about the immediate fate of their exhausted families, who are now in the care of the Thai military authorities and the international assistance."

"This being the case," the *Le Monde* reported continued, "it appears that the first phase of the 'welcome to Kampuchea' program announced by the Bangkok government October 19 has primarily benefited the Khmer Rouge who had found refuge south of the border city of Aranyaprathet and whose state of health was miserable."

The American government is getting involved alongside its ASEAN protégés. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance went to the

ASEAN conference in Indonesia where, on July 2, he denounced the "fighting in Kampuchea" as an "increasingly grave threat to the security of the region." He then announced that the United States would "pursue the policy of strengthening its military potential in Asia, the Pacific, and the Indian Ocean," while increasing its military aid program to ASEAN (*Le Monde*, July 5).

Later Malaysia received new war planes and Thailand received F5E fighter bombers, 105mm long-range cannon, M-48 A-5 tanks, mortars, mines, and M-47 Dragon and TOW anti-tank missiles, not to mention light arms and munitions and armored cars.

Then in Peking on October 28, Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed to the president of the Thai National Assembly, Harin, that "China will line up with ASEAN if Vietnam attacks them. It will line up on the side of Thailand. . . ." Deng repeated that his government would use "all appropriate means to support the struggle of Democratic Kampuchea [meaning Pol Pot] and all the patriotic forces [the rightist Khmer groups] that oppose the Vietnamese aggressors" (*Le Monde*, October 30, 1979).

While Thailand is one of the principal places from which military pressure is exerted on Indochina, through the Thai borders with Laos and Cambodia, it is not the only place.

On October 29 the Laotian government announced that it had placed its army on a state of alert and denounced the presence of Chinese divisions on its northern border. It also denounced the training of Laotian "rebels and reactionaries" in Yunnan in southern China, who are sent into Laos to fight. There has apparently been a spread of tribal rebellions in the northern provinces of Laos adjacent to China. According to Thai military sources, four thousand opponents of the Laotian regime have been equipped and provisioned by China and organized in a "Lanna division" (*Le Monde*, August 3, 1979).

There appears to have been a new increase in border incidents between Vietnam and China, as well. Vietnam is denouncing major Chinese troop movements in the area (where army maneuvers are taking place) and is worried about a possible new intervention. Hanoi is also protesting against the aid Peking is giving to tribal dissidence.

At the same time, naval maneuvers have taken place in the South China Sea. Peking gave American oil companies exploration rights in waters whose control is disputed by Hanoi. The Chinese government has also prohibited aerial overflights in a number of maritime zones in the same region (around the Paracel Islands).

#### Cold War Tones

The countries of Indochina are therefore threatened from the west, the north, and the northeast. As long as the United

Nations was still to discuss the question of Kampuchea, it was unlikely that the Peking regime would decide to teach Vietnam "a new lesson." But there seems to be a real danger of new and large-scale battles breaking out in the not too distant future. This is even more likely since military measures are not the only ones that can be taken.

The U.S. economic and diplomatic blockade of Vietnam is continuing. The European Economic Community (Common Market) decided in July to suspend shipments of food aid that were to be furnished to Hanoi, while Vietnam's population goes hungry every day. Tokyo has also suspended its economic aid to Vietnam.

Clearly Vietnam, not to speak of Laos and Cambodia, is going through a very difficult economic and social situation. The goals of the 1976-1980 five-year plan had to be abandoned, including the goal of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs.

*Nhan Dan*, the Vietnamese CP daily, dealt with the "extremely complex situation" in the economy on October 9, 1979:

There is a lack of supplies and consumer goods. The life of the workers is very hard, economic management is failing. In addition to its serious consequences on daily life, this situation has had widespread unhealthy manifestations (embezzlement and corruption). . . . [*Le Monde*, October 11.]

This passage is even more significant in that it is written as a commentary on a recently adopted resolution of the Central Committee on the reorganization of the economic apparatus. Under these circumstances, it is easy to imagine the toll taken by having to maintain Vietnam on a war footing and by the continuation of its international isolation.

Those who decreed the blockade of the countries of Indochina, who decided to stop the economic assistance to Vietnam, who slowed down the sending of help to Kampuchea knew what they were doing.

Today the question of aid to the Kampuchean population gives rise to a vast anticommunist ideological offensive, as was the case very recently with the question of refugees. In the climate that has been established, we can often see the Western press express itself in cold war tones. Derek Davies, the editor of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, which is published in Hong Kong for business circles, wrote a tirade against the menacing "Shadow of the Kremlin" in the August 24 issue of that magazine. Davies' article began:

The Soviet Union poses the greatest single threat to Asia today. It is the superpower most likely to drag the region into a third world war, through direct conflicts with China (and possibly Japan) or as a result of the support it is giving to the destabilising policies of its ally, Vietnam. It is the only actively expansionist superpower, and is obviously preparing to use the toe-hold it has acquired in Indochina to spread its power and influence in the region.

The editorials in that magazine call on the ASEAN countries to do everything in their power to see that the UN decides to impose "maximum global pressure on Hanoi, including the imposition of all possible sanctions and the severing of all aid by the UN and its member countries, to persuade Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea, prior to free elections supervised by a UN force. . . ." (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 5, 1979.)

Even the French Socialist Party newspaper *Le Matin* published, in its October 26 issue, an editorial that implicitly praises the efforts of the Thai army and government to avoid incidents by moving refugees far from the border zone, but denounces "Hanoi, supported by Moscow," as guilty of "waging the first big war where the supreme weapon is hunger."

According to *Le Matin's* editors,

Nothing prevented the Hanoi leadership from sending home their soldiers [after the withdrawal of U.S. forces] to cultivate the land. They chose to continue the war and to live off the labor of populations they repressed by force. How far do they want to go? As far as Singapore? . . . A warlike instinct, an instinct for survival, and a desire for power, that is what underlies the operations of the Vietnamese army.

#### Stakes That Go Beyond Indochina

Might the negotiations now taking place with a view toward normalizing Sino-Soviet relations change this situation of extreme tension in Southeast Asia? While it is very difficult to foresee what might finally result from these negotiations—if anything at all—it is doubtful that they would relieve Indochina of the convergent pressures weighing on it.

The Vietnamese themselves have publicly voiced their concern over what they think is a Chinese attempt "to separate Vietnam from the Soviet Union and the socialist system," according to Vietnamese party General Secretary Le Duan.

From the Chinese bureaucracy's point of view, Vietnam is seen as a threat not only because of its relations with Moscow, but also because it is a screen between China and the rest of Southeast Asia. Indochina's geopolitical situation, the potential power of an Indochina that is politically unified by Hanoi, and the objective dynamic of the Vietnamese revolution in the region prevent China from fully carrying out its policy of winning influence and peaceful coexistence, which it views as indispensable.

Furthermore, there is nothing to indicate that the Chinese leadership is in the process of revising its worldwide anti-Soviet policy. Hua Guofeng's recent trip to Europe is an example. While in France, Hua reaffirmed that he saw no chance for a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean question. In West Germany he saluted Franz-Josef Strauss, who is the president of the Christian Social Union and leader of the right-wing opposition as well as a conservative candidate for the federal

chancellorship. Hua also spoke approvingly of the "legitimate aspirations" of the German people for reunification. In London, Hua delivered a violent attack on the USSR.

As for Washington's aims in the region, it is clear the U.S. does not want to abandon its policy of peaceful coexistence with the USSR. The Soviet Union is a much more important power in the world than China and Washington must deal with it in order to try to hold back the rising course of the class struggle. Nevertheless, the U.S. continues to play the "China card" in East Asia.

Moreover, Carter has just asked the U.S. congress to grant China "most favored nation" status for its exports to the U.S. During a speech to students at the University of Peking, Vice-president Walter Mondale went further than ever in defining the "numerous parallel strategic and bilateral interests." "Our interest," Mondale declared, "is to strengthen our cooperation in all spheres, since this helps to dissuade others [meaning the Soviet Union] who might try to assert themselves at our expense" (*Le Monde*, August 29, 1979).

The campaign against Vietnam assumes at least a three-fold importance in American imperialist policy. First, it provides an opportunity to deal very heavy blows against the revolutions in Indochina that only recently defeated it. In fact these revolutions were the first to defeat an intervention into which Washington threw all its resources.

Second, it provides an opportunity to try to restabilize the imperialist order in Southeast and East Asia. Some of the pillars of the imperialist order had been deeply shaken by the victory of the revolutions in Indochina.

The crisis that broke out recently in South Korea once again confirms the importance the American government places on this question. Even though the assassination of President Park Chung Hee was the work of one of the regime's main dignitaries, the head of the sinister Korean CIA, even though no one believed there would be a North Korean intervention, even though the American intelligence services might themselves have been involved in this murky affair, President Carter seized the occasion to prepare public opinion for maintaining and strengthening the imperialist presence in that part of the world. He warned North Korea against any "adventurist" inclinations; he showed the flag by placing U.S. forces on the peninsula on a state of alert and sent part of the Seventh Fleet to sail off the coast.

More fundamentally Washington is trying to restore, at whatever cost, the domestic and international political conditions that would permit it to again send major military intervention forces anywhere in the world. The U.S. has no longer been able to do this since the Indochina debacle and this fact goes a long way toward

explaining the relative paralysis of the U.S. during crises such as Angola, Iran, and Nicaragua.

This objective is thought to be so important that it is publicly proclaimed. In an extraordinary declaration, General Bernard Rogers, the U.S. Army Chief of staff, in effect announced last June 22 that the Pentagon had established a special military corps of 110,000 troops, whose purpose was to intervene in all theaters of operation in the Third World when the interests of the United States are threatened there (*Le Monde*, June 24-25).

The campaign against Vietnam is one of the key aspects in preparing American and international public opinion for new direct and massive imperialist military interventions.

#### Aid Campaign and Kampuchea Question

This is the context in which we must examine the questions posed by the unfreezing and delivery of the aid that is indispensable for saving the Kampuchean population, which is threatened by starvation and illness, and Vietnamese policy toward Kampuchea.

At present it is impossible for us to judge all the negotiations that have taken place between Hanoi, Pnompenh, the private humanitarian organizations, and the International Red Cross or UNICEF. But President Carter quite recently cited the "impossibility" of determining who controlled the country as grounds for suspending the shipment of all humanitarian aid to Pnompenh. Many have also called for stricter accounting of the use that would be made of aid allocated to the Heng Samrin regime (which has so far received very little aid from the West) than aid to the Khmer Rouge (which has clearly received the bulk of it).

The imperialist powers have in fact used the question of humanitarian aid—despite the urgency—for political ends. In this context questions could be raised about the character of the American proposal to send the aid by truck convoys from Thailand, which would have to cross right through the combat zones where various anti-Vietnamese groups are functioning with Uncle Sam's blessings, when the U.S. has done nothing beforehand to use or help to improve the air, sea, and river accesses to Pnompenh.

We can also understand why the French hospital ship *Ile de Lumières* makes the Pnompenh authorities nervous, even if it now carries only well-intentioned doctors and nurses. When the "Ship For Vietnam" operation was launched, it was, in fact, as much a political move as a humanitarian operation aimed at saving refugees lost at sea. In the final analysis, it was not coincidental that anticommunist right-wing Vietnamese, former members of the French government, and leaders of the American AFL-CIO (whose relations with the CIA were no secret) took charge of this initiative. It confirms what we said at the

time, that with such political types involved it was not possible to launch a rescue operation that would be strictly humanitarian.

It is necessary to fight to lift the political obstacles that prevent the massive delivery of food and material and medical aid to the Kampuchean population, along with aid needed to revive the country's socioeconomic life. But to do this it is also necessary to struggle against the attempts by the imperialist powers and the Chinese bureaucracy to fan the flames of war and try to strangle the Indochinese revolutions through every means at their disposal.

There must be determined activity to see that help is sent—and sent right away—to Kampuchea as well as to the refugees in Thailand, the living dead who are coming out of the border zones and forests. Even in the case of the refugees now in Thailand, the amount of aid that is actually distributed and the number of medical teams actually in place seem, in many cases, ludicrous given the needs. This is the case even though none of the obstacles that are invoked elsewhere exist there on Thai soil!

If this activity is to be carried out effectively, it must take into account the state of war that exists, particularly on the Khmer-Thai border. Unless this is done, the aid destined for a dying population could easily, as we have seen, turn into support to the Khmer Rouge, Khmer Serei, or Khmer Serika armies in their fight!

But we must also deal in a clear way with the question of the presence of Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea. Nearly a year after the Vietnamese military intervention, Heng Samrin's regime still seems basically dependent on the Vietnamese presence in getting an administration off the ground again, although some progress has been made, particularly in Pnompenh and the surrounding area.

The blood-letting against political, administrative, technical, and medical functionaries was terrible. The overwhelming responsibility for this situation lies with three parties: the Americans—who for five years were guilty of devastating this small country through one of the most savage and destructive wars in history; the Khmer Rouge—through their policy of forced resettlement of the population, forced collectivization, and sweeping purges; and the Chinese—through the political, diplomatic, and material support they provided to this leadership group.

In his recent book Prince Sihanouk specifically confirms what had already been reported about the double leap into the unknown—internally and on the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border—that tragically dominated the Khmer Rouge reign.

But it remains true that the Vietnamese leadership also bears important responsibility, even if not of the same degree. Because in the final analysis, the forced collectivization

policy, which undermined the ability to act of a population that had already been hard hit by the American war, was only gradually extended throughout Kampuchean territory. And the political purges that struck at the Communist Party and army cadres who might have opposed the orientation practiced by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary did not become massive until 1977-1978, although they had begun very early in the liberated zones against the militants "returning from Hanoi" during the war.

It was not, therefore, a foregone conclusion that the new Kampuchean regime that has been installed had to be so weak, so drained. If they had received aid earlier, a much stronger opposition than what was finally set up as Heng Samrin's Kampuchean National United Front for National Survival (FUNKSN) could probably have been established. But without aid from outside the country the opposition was mercilessly decimated, quite often, apparently, before it could even establish itself.

But this support would have had to be first of all political support. It was necessary for the Khmer and Vietnamese populations (and through them the peoples of the world) to be able to judge what was actually happening in Kampuchea and on the Khmer-Vietnamese border.

But, until too late, the Vietnamese leadership preferred to try to handle the "differences" between Hanoi and Pnompenh through secret negotiations. Hanoi maintained public silence on the real evolution of the situation, even though the extreme gravity and the character of the problems posed required the direct intervention of the masses if they were to be correctly resolved. Our knowledge of the history of those few key years between the victories of 1975 and the entry of Vietnamese forces into Kampuchea in December 1978 is still quite incomplete. But one cannot help but think that Khmer Communist opposition to the Kampuchean CP leadership's policies had been abandoned long before. And we can now conclude that the policy of trying not to wash Sino-Vietnamese and Khmer-Vietnamese dirty linen in public was a failure.

The December 1978-January 1979 Vietnamese "military solution" as such became an "inevitable" extension of the policy of silence of previous years. It was above all this aspect of the large-scale entry into Kampuchea that had to be condemned: as the outcome of an incorrect and profoundly bureaucratic *line*, with extremely grave consequences for Vietnam as well as Kampuchea, in Southeast Asia as well as in the rest of the world.

The new Heng Samrin government's dependence on the Vietnamese following the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime stems in part from the policy the Vietnamese leadership followed after 1975. This has major consequences even today. Journalists who have been to Phompenh can, in fact, testify that even among people who

recognize that their lives were saved by the Vietnamese intervention (and there are surely many in that category), there are many who are uneasy about the future of Vietnamese-Khmer relations. They fear both a premature departure of the Vietnamese armies that would leave the field open to the Khmer Rouge guerrillas, as well as a long-term occupation of the country by Hanoi (see particularly Nayan Chanda's article in the August 31 *Far Eastern Economic Review*).

As long as the Kampuchean regime cannot demonstrate its autonomy and its representative character by showing that it no longer depends on the massive presence of Vietnamese forces, there will always be the danger of a reawakening of a sentiment of national oppression among the Khmer as social life revives. This could provide a breeding ground for the influence of proimperialist forces, beginning with those of Prince Sihanouk.

It is therefore necessary to create the conditions for a withdrawal of Vietnamese forces that will not be accompanied by a return in force of the Khmer Rouge and anticommunist guerrillas. The Kampuchean masses must be armed so they will be in a position to defend themselves. Clearly a regular army cannot by itself definitively crush a guerrilla force that has the benefit of solid sanctuaries outside the borders and gets regular military and economic aid. Only the Kampuchean population can inflict such a defeat on the guerrillas.

But to do this it is necessary to aid the revival and reestablishment of political, economic, and social life. There has been very halting progress in this direction in recent months. This revival must be encouraged, and this is also one of the indispensable functions of the international aid.

The political lessons of the Sino-Indochinese crises must be widely discussed throughout the revolutionary and national liberation movements. But there is a pressing and indispensable task: to defend the Indochinese revolutions at a time when they are the target of renewed attacks by the imperialist and neocolonial forces as well as by the Chinese bureaucracy.

All indications, in fact, point to the real possibility of a new Chinese invasion. At minimum, the political, diplomatic, social, economic, ethnic, and military pressures now being exerted against Indochina will continue, and perhaps be stepped up.

November 4, 1979

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# AROUND THE WORLD



## U.S. 'Advisers' Return to Thailand

During the height of the Vietnam war some 40,000 U.S. troops were stationed in Thailand. B-52 bombers from the U Tapao and Sattahip airbases pounded Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia.

These forces were withdrawn from Thailand in 1975 at the request of the Thai government. But now they have begun to return.

Reporting from Bangkok in the December 2 issue of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Robert Whyment says:

"Analysts in one Asian embassy here talk of Americans arriving steadily ever since Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia to install a pro-Hanoi administration in Phnom Penh in January. These sources say the influx includes US Army, Air Force, and Navy personnel (in civilian attire), and a large contingent of CIA specialists."

Moreover, Whyment reports, "A military analyst from a West European country says that he knows of about a hundred Americans who reappeared recently at the U Tapao and Sattahip bases in southern Thailand."

According to Whyment's sources, U.S. Air Force personnel at these bases are "preparing ground systems in readiness for a squadron of B-52s."

Explaining why Washington expects further conflict in the area, Whyment points to the way its Thai client-regime is helping to keep the pot boiling in Kampuchea. He notes that "mopping up operations will be constantly frustrated as long as Khmer Rouge guerrillas continue to enjoy the use of sanctuaries in Thailand. Even before the large influx into Thailand of Pol Pot forces . . . Khmer Rouge guerrillas had been crossing the border to replenish supplies, treat their wounded, and regroup."

### Eritreans Report a Victory

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), one of the two main Eritrean independence organizations, announced December 5 that it had won a major victory in a four-day battle with Ethiopian troops. The EPLF said that it had captured hundreds of Ethiopian prisoners, routed seven Ethiopian brigades, and forced the Ethiopian army to retreat from three strategic positions in northeastern Eritrea. It said that the EPLF forces used tanks,

heavy artillery, rockets, and anti-aircraft guns.

Despite a massive Ethiopian offensive in Eritrea that began in late 1978, the Ethiopian regime has still not been successful in crushing the Eritrean independence struggle. Although the EPLF and the Eritrean Liberation Front, the other main group, were forced to withdraw from most of Eritrea's major cities, they still operate freely in wide sections of the countryside. The northern town of Nakfa is still in EPLF hands.

Ethiopian military commanders have admitted losing thousands of troops in the fighting.

### London Breaks Ties with Pol Pot

The British government announced December 6 that it had withdrawn its recognition of the former Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea. While London has not yet recognized the new Kampuchean government headed by Heng Samrin, still this marks a breach in the solid imperialist front that kept Pol Pot's representative in the United Nations.

London's move came in the wake of widespread exposure in the British media of the crimes of the Khmer Rouge butchers, at a time when the British relief agency Oxfam has been working—with the cooperation of the new Pnompenn regime—to provide badly needed food and medicine to Pol Pot's victims.

### Palestinians Win Important Victory

The Israeli government was forced to back down December 5 and free Nablus Mayor Bassam al-Shaka. It was a major victory for the 1.2 million Palestinians living under Israeli military occupation.

Shaka, who had been in prison since November 11, had been falsely charged with stating approval for terrorism during a private conversation with Israeli Gen. Danny Matt. Even if Shaka had stated such an opinion, it would have been a gross violation of freedom of speech to victimize him for it.

Nevertheless, Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman ordered that Shaka be expelled from the West Bank. Weizman's order was reaffirmed by the Israeli cabinet, but it resulted in a wave of protests in the occupied territories and the resigna-

tion of twenty-nine mayors in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

Even the U.S. government felt compelled to protest, so crude was the repressive move against Shaka.

Upon his release, Shaka declared that the Israeli regime's "intention was clear. It was the first time in the history of the military government that a private conversation was disclosed to the press within fifteen minutes. This is a plan against all the mayors in the occupied territories who are against their plans of occupation."

However, the unity in struggle of the Palestinian masses defeated this attempt to force compliance with Zionist aims. Shaka, who returned to Nablus amid festive rallies and Palestinian nationalist chants, said: "I am very happy and so proud of the people on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip."

Mayor Rashid Shawa of Gaza summed up the importance of the struggle to free Shaka by saying: "We are now in a much stronger position in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to oppose the autonomy plan"—the agreement in the Egyptian-Israeli treaty that is designed to perpetuate Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

### Massive Strikes in Honduras

At a time when the government of Honduras has been harassing Nicaraguan diplomats, and Honduran air force planes have been violating Nicaraguan air space, a series of strikes in vital sectors of the Honduran economy have shaken the military government of President Policarpo Paz García.

More than 14,000 workers on 34 banana plantations of the United Brands (formerly United Fruit) Company have gone on strike, demanding wage raises, better equipment, and medical services. There have also been a series of strikes by employees of the National Electrical Energy Enterprise. The only oil refinery in the country (owned by the multinational Texaco) is on the verge of being paralyzed by a strike. A previous oil workers' strike, in August 1977, was broken when troops were sent in.

"In the opinion of some diplomats," reports *Agence Latino-americaine d'Information*, "the Honduran government has created an artificial climate of conflict with Nicaragua as a way of alleviating domestic tensions."