

Intercontinental Press

combined with **INPRECOR**

Vol. 18, No. 1

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January 14, 1980

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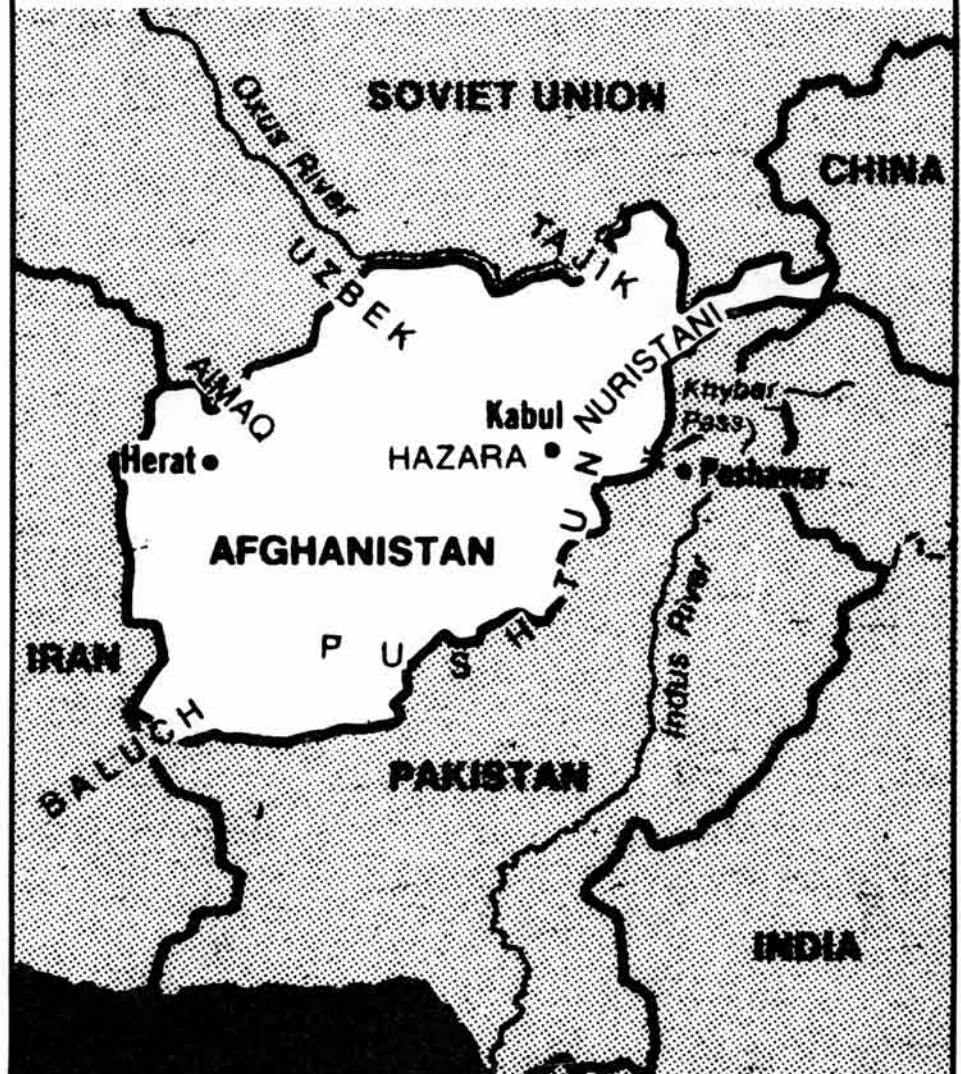
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HOW WASHINGTON INSTIGATED COUNTERREVOLUTION IN AFGHANISTAN



Zimbabwe Accords: Will They Stick?

NEWS ANALYSIS

Zimbabwe—Can Imperialists Make Accords Stick?

By Ernest Harsch

Following months of stepped-up Rhodesian bombing and military raids on neighboring Black regimes providing sanctuary to Zimbabwean liberation forces, a formal cease-fire agreement was signed in London December 21 between the Patriotic Front and the Rhodesian government.

The imperialist sponsors of the fifteen-week "negotiations"—a diplomatic cover for the white racists' intensified use of naked military force—were quite pleased with the results. Under the intense pressure applied by raids against Angola, Zambia, and Mozambique, Patriotic Front leaders Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe were compelled to make important political concessions. In exchange, the front was legalized and its two constituents, Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), were promised that they could participate in elections scheduled for February.

The British, along with their imperialist allies—particularly Washington—hoped that this agreement would give them an opportunity to defuse the Zimbabwean insurgency, increase their own direct intervention in that country, and better contain the struggle for Black majority rule.

Unfortunately for the imperialist plans, the Zimbabwean workers and peasants themselves did not take the London agreement as a cue to halt their struggles. Taking advantage of the limited opening that had been provided, they began mobilizing in their tens of thousands in cities around the country in support of the Patriotic Front and the struggle for independence and majority rule.

On December 13—even before the Patriotic Front was legalized—several thousand ZAPU followers rallied in downtown Salisbury, before being dispersed by police. A

week later a similar ZAPU demonstration was attacked by police armed with shotguns.

A December 22 Reuters dispatch from Salisbury reported, "Following the cease-fire and the lifting of the bans on the guerrillas' political parties, passions have been running high in the townships where blacks are concentrated. Jubilant blacks sang and danced into the night as word of the cease-fire spread."

The following day, about 25,000 ZANU supporters turned out for an unauthorized rally in one of Salisbury's Black townships.

New York Times correspondent John F. Burns reported December 23 that the British authorities were facing difficulties "in controlling unruly crowds of blacks demonstrating in townships across the country in support of the Patriotic Front."

Three days later, an estimated 50,000 ZAPU and ZANU supporters gathered for a huge demonstration at the Salisbury airport to greet the arrival of several leading Patriotic Front guerrilla commanders. According to Burns:

The scene at the airport went beyond anything experienced here in the long struggle for black rule, outstripping the huge demonstrations organized in the past by supporters of Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa, Prime Minister of the coalition Government of blacks and whites that was supplanted by Britain. . . .

Standing 10 deep along the road out of the airport, the Mugabe supporters cheered, sang and waved signs with such legends as "Welcome home comrades, you are the liberators of Zimbabwe" and "Watch out Bishop, the boys are back in town."

On December 30 another 50,000 Blacks turned out for a pro-ZANU rally in Salisbury's Highfields township.

These urban mobilizations are a reflection of the depth of popular support for the Zimbabwean liberation struggle. Together with the rural-based insurgency—which had already been successful in wresting day-to-day control of large sections of the countryside away from the Rhodesian army—they underscore the determination of Zimbabwe's six million Blacks to take power out of the hands of the 250,000 white settlers and to advance the interests of the workers and peasants.

To the British, American, and South African governments, that reality makes it even more imperative for them to try to step up their efforts to maintain imperialist domination over the country.

They had already been doing so for some

time, but the London talks marked a new stage. Confronted with the inability of the Rhodesian settlers or the proimperialist Muzorewa to contain the insurgency, the imperialists were compelled to step in more openly themselves, under the guise of the London agreement.

Under the terms of those accords, Zimbabwe was formally returned to the status of a direct British colony December 12, ending fourteen years of "independence" by the white colonial settler regime of Ian Smith. Official United Nations-sponsored economic and military sanctions against the country were lifted, following unilateral moves by London and Washington.

A new constitution came into effect. It formally provides for the establishment of an "independent" Black majority government following the February elections, but contains provisions giving the white minority disproportional representation in parliament and a strong position in the civil service, courts, police, and military.

The cease-fire accord stipulated that the more than 17,000 Patriotic Front guerrillas operating in the country report to at least sixteen "assembly points," where they are to be confined throughout the election campaign. If successfully implemented, these measures would have the effect of isolating the freedom fighters from their base of support in the villages and leaving them vulnerable to reprisals by British, Rhodesian, or South African troops.

Formally, Rhodesian troops are also to be confined to bases, but they will be in a much better position than the guerrillas to quickly resume the war—and to continue fighting against those insurgents who refuse to report to the assembly points.

Even before the final cease-fire accords had been hammered out, Lord Soames flew into Salisbury as the new British governor, armed with dictatorial powers and accompanied by a Commonwealth "monitoring" force of more than 1,200 troops. About 900 were from Britain and the rest from Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, and Kenya. (See p. 17 for statements by British, Australian, and New Zealand Trotskyists condemning the use of troops from their countries.)

The Carter administration in Washington expressed its full backing for this British military intervention, providing two dozen transport planes and forty-six military technicians to assist in the troop airlift.

The British government maintains that Soames's role is to be a "neutral" one, with the primary aim of preparing the elections before the country receives its formal independence from Britain. But the real British intention of seeking to disarm and demobilize the Zimbabwean population became clear through Soames's first acts as governor.

Police were sent against the initial Patriotic Front demonstrations in Salisbury, and Soames openly approved a police raid against the ZAPU offices in that city.

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Intercontinental Press/Inprecor
410 West Street
New York, New York 10014

Although the bans against ZAPU and ZANU were lifted and most political prisoners were released, Soames warned that the bans would be reimposed if the Patriotic Front failed to abide by the cease-fire. Some martial law restrictions were eased, yet martial law still remained in effect throughout most of the country.

On December 30, Soames ordered the Rhodesian army—which is now formally under his authority—into action against insurgent forces trying to return home from their places of sanctuary in Zambia and Mozambique. Soames warned that any freedom fighters who did not report to the assembly points would be considered “unlawful” and would face military action.

Soames also persuaded Nkomo and Mugabe, who had been planning to return to Salisbury over the weekend of January 5-6, to postpone their arrival by a week. He feared that they would be greeted by even more massive support rallies than had already been held, overshadowing a scheduled rally by Muzorewa supporters on January 6.

Besides the danger from the British and Rhodesian forces themselves, the Zimbabwean masses also face the prospect of continued South African intervention, which is being carried out with the complicity of London and Washington.

Between 1,000 and 2,000 regular South African troops and police are now stationed in the country, as pilots, gunners, technicians, and artillery officers in the Rhodesian armed forces. South African armored car units and Mirage jet fighters have been helping to back up the Salisbury regime's war drive.

The cease-fire agreement provides for all “external forces” to leave the country, but London has taken no measures to ensure the withdrawal of the South African troops.

Combined with this, the British government has openly displayed its eagerness for closer—and more open—ties with the apartheid regime. Speaking in New York December 18, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher stated that the cease-fire agreement in Zimbabwe made it possible to end “the isolation of South Africa in world affairs.” In the context of the South African intervention in Zimbabwe, that can only be read in Pretoria as a sign of encouragement.

At least on paper, the London agreement imposes severe restrictions on the liberation movements and gives the imperialists new openings for intervention. But the growing popular support for the freedom struggle will make it difficult for the imperialists to put their plans into effect.

While many of the basic provisions of the London accords are to the disadvantage of the Zimbabwean masses, they at the same time provide some limited openings for political mobilization, openings that the supporters of ZAPU and ZANU have already begun exploiting.

The lifting of the bans on the two groups and their ability to hold mass public rallies has made it possible to more openly air the many important social and political issues facing the Zimbabwean workers and peasants—such as the popular demand for land reform, which has been raised at many of the rallies (whites own nearly half of all land).

The provisions of the cease-fire notwithstanding, the liberation forces are also taking precautions not to leave themselves too exposed to attack.

On December 27, Mugabe told his followers not to give up their arms, warning of possible enemy “trickery.” He stated that if the South African troops were not withdrawn, ZANU would not feel bound by the cease-fire.

In a similar vein, a ZAPU guerrilla commander, Sithunywa Zithe, told a reporter that if the Rhodesian forces “start their damned tricks, then it is over with the cease-fire and there will be no more peace until the war is won.” □

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Intercontinental Press (ISSN 0162-5594).
Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street,
New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New
York each Monday except the first in Janu-
ary and the third and fourth in August.

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

Editor: Mary-Alice Waters.
Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio
Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Managing Editor: Michael Baumann.
Editorial Staff: Dan Dickeson, Gerry Foley,
David Frankel, Ernest Harsch, Fred
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class and airmail.

Subscription correspondence should be
addressed to Intercontinental Press, 410
West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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from London send £22.00. Address sub-
scription correspondence to Intercontinen-
tal Press, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP,
England.

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possible, an address label from a recent
issue.

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

Afghanistan—Blow to U.S.-Backed Counterrevolution

By Ernest Harsch

During the last days of 1979, the government of the Soviet Union sent tens of thousands of troops into Afghanistan to prevent the growing threat that an openly proimperialist regime would come to power on its southern border.

This move by the Soviet rulers came in reaction to increasing military activity over the past year by rightist guerrilla forces determined to roll back the land reform and other social gains that had been initiated following the April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan. From the outset, this counterrevolution has been organized, financed, and equipped with the backing of Washington and the capitalist military dictatorship in Pakistan.

The major Soviet and Afghan offensive to defeat the rightist bands is an aid to the oppressed in their battles against imperialist domination, not only in Afghanistan, but also in neighboring Iran and throughout the entire region and the colonial and semicolonial world. It is a sharp blow to imperialism's efforts to hold back the world revolution.

In one of the first assessments in the imperialist press of the implications of the Afghan developments, Drew Middleton, a political and military affairs analyst for the *New York Times*, noted that some "specialists on the Soviet military" expected the rightist insurgents to be quickly crushed. "If they are right and the Russians succeed," Middleton wrote in the December 28 issue, "then the balance of power in the Middle East and southern Asia is seen as shifting further against the United States."

The offensive against the counterrevolution in Afghanistan comes in the context of a series of popular upheavals and imperialist setbacks throughout the region over the past two years.

Anti-imperialist Ferment

This new wave of mass ferment began in Afghanistan itself in April 1978 with the seizure of power by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and the beginning of the Afghan revolution. It continued with the massive urban mobilizations in neighboring Iran that led to the overthrow of the shah in early 1979. It has been reflected in political instability and anti-imperialist outbursts in Pakistan, India, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and elsewhere.

Afghan President Babrak Karmal, who came to power December 27 through a Soviet-backed coup, has explicitly linked the anti-imperialist struggle in Afghanistan with those in Iran and throughout the

semicolonial world.

In a televised speech January 1, Karmal hailed the "national, Islamic, anti-imperialist" revolution in Iran. At a time when imperialism is trying to sow divisions between the two revolutions, such overtures can do much to help win support for the Afghan struggle from the workers and peasants of Iran, whose own struggle against imperialist domination is very similar.

Karmal added that in Afghanistan's fight against the imperialist-backed counterrevolution, "We shall ask for help from . . . Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, the Palestinian Arab people and others. We shall not back down."

The reaction in Washington to these developments has been one of extreme alarm and strident denunciations of Moscow and the Afghan regime. But its reaction has been tempered by the fact that American imperialism's ability to launch a military response has been greatly weakened in recent years. There is little it can do at this point to directly force Moscow to pull its troops out of Afghanistan.

Washington's Response

In a press statement December 28, President Carter condemned the sending of Soviet troops into Afghanistan, a move, he said, that "has caused increased concern about peace and stability" in the region. "Soviet military action beyond its own borders gives rise to the most fundamental questions pertaining to international stability. . . ."

In a hypocritical attempt to divert the anti-imperialist sentiments of many Muslims away from Washington, the American government and capitalist press has consistently referred to the counterrevolutionary insurgents in Afghanistan as "Muslim rebels" and "Islamic freedom fighters." In a televised speech January 4, Carter claimed that the Soviet dispatch of troops to Afghanistan "is a deliberate effort of a powerful atheistic government to subjugate an independent Islamic people."

In light of American imperialism's active opposition to the struggles of the oppressed, including its racist propaganda against those who adhere to Islam, Carter's arguments on this score will not go very far.

The White House has also taken some concrete retaliatory measures against both Afghanistan and Moscow.

American aid programs to Afghanistan had previously been cut, but now Wash-

ington is attempting to get other imperialist powers to do likewise.

On January 4, Carter announced steps to curtail trade with the Soviet Union, including the blocking of a sale of 17 million tons of grain (a move that immediately sparked protests from American farmers); a cutoff of sales of computers, oil-drilling equipment, and other high-technology items; and curtailment of Soviet fishing "privileges" in U.S. waters. The opening of new U.S. and Soviet consular facilities were to be delayed, and Washington initiated a major diplomatic campaign within the United Nations to try to obtain condemnation of the Soviet move.

Most seriously, Carter has pressed for increased military aid to the Pakistani junta of Gen. Zia ul-Haq and more open assistance to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

In his January 4 speech, Carter announced that he would "provide military equipment, food and other assistance" to the Pakistani regime. Although Carter maintained that this would only be used to help the Zia regime "defend its independence and national security," it will in fact enable Zia to funnel more assistance to the Afghan guerrilla bands, many of whom operate out of bases in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province.

Unrest in Pakistan

The White House attempts to bolster the Pakistani regime's military position has already run into some political difficulties, however. Sectors of the Indian ruling class, which has three times gone to war with Pakistan, reacted with concern over the prospect of their rivals receiving more arms.

The Pakistani regime itself is reluctant to appear too closely aligned with Washington, particularly at a time of rising anti-imperialist sentiment in the region and in face of sympathy for the Iranian and Afghan revolutions within Pakistan. That sentiment has been reflected in the occupation and burning of the American embassy in Islamabad in November in response to the U.S. threats against Iran and in public expressions of support for the Afghan revolution by some Pakistani political organizations and trade unions.

To partially overcome these political problems, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown was sent to Peking January 5 to urge the Chinese regime—which has declared its support for the Afghan rightists—to send some military aid to Pakistan. Peking, however, may also be

reluctant to get too deeply involved, particularly after the failure of its U.S.-instigated invasion of Vietnam in 1979. According to one "Western diplomat" in Peking quoted in the January 5 *New York Times*, the Chinese government now recognizes that that invasion "was a disaster."

In an effort to provide channels for more direct backing to the Afghan counterrevolution, White House officials have likewise revealed that legislation will be sought to approve assistance for the Afghan "refugees" in Pakistan. Many of these "refugees"—who include former landlords, loan sharks, military officers, and monarchists—are actively engaged in trying to overthrow the regime in Kabul.

As propaganda cover for its current moves against Afghanistan, the White House claims that it is simply responding to a Soviet "invasion." At the same time, it denies that it had already been intervening against the Afghan revolution or had anything to do with the rightist guerrilla forces.

The April Revolution

But the record shows otherwise. From the very beginning, the American imperialists have opposed the Afghan revolution and have sought to impede its advance.

The seizure of power on April 27, 1978, by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan was not just a "coup," as the imperialist press usually refers to it, but the culmination of a series of mass mobilizations in the streets of Kabul that marked the opening stages of the Afghan revolution.

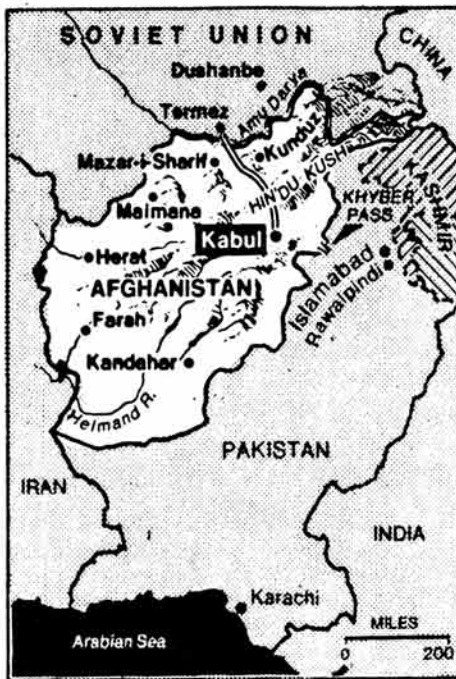
Ironically, the events of April 1978 were precipitated, in part, by Washington itself. In response to inducements from the American imperialists and the shah of Iran, the capitalist regime of Mohammad Daud, which originally had close economic and other ties with Moscow, shifted toward a more openly proimperialist stance. As part of this shift, Daud cracked down more heavily against the PDPA, a pro-Moscow Stalinist party.

On April 18, 1978, Mir Akbar Khyber, a prominent leader of the PDPA, was assassinated. This provoked an immediate popular response. More than 15,000 persons turned out for Khyber's funeral procession. Led by party leader Noor Mohammad Taraki, the procession marched on the U.S. embassy to denounce the American CIA and the shah's secret police, SAVAK, for their complicity in Khyber's murder. Daud promptly arrested Taraki, Babrak Karmal, and other PDPA leaders.

In response to both the antigovernment upsurge and Daud's crackdown, the PDPA was impelled to seize power. On April 27, large crowds gathered at the central park in Kabul to protest the arrests. Against the background of this mass mobilization, PDPA activists and supporters within the military attacked the government palace.

Daud and other government officials were killed in the fighting. By that evening, the PDPA leaders were free and the party was in power.

Moscow was taken by surprise by the insurrection. Although imperialist propaganda often tries to portray it as a "Soviet-engineered" takeover, one American State Department official admitted, "We have no evidence of any Soviet involvement in the coup."



All the posts in the new government were held by PDPA members and Taraki became the country's president. On May 9, he described the armed uprising as the beginning of a "democratic and national revolution." He outlined a thirty-point program of democratic and social reforms aimed at breaking the power of the semi-feudal landlords and improving the position of the workers and peasants, the overwhelming majority of Afghanistan's nearly 20 million people.

How U.S. Intervened

Washington reacted with alarm. In late June, just two months after the beginning of the revolution, some 270 senior generals, admirals, diplomats, officials, and others gathered at the NATO Atlantic Command at Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss the implications of the Afghanisthan upheaval. They concluded that it threatened imperialist interests throughout the region.

Acting on this assessment, the Carter administration adopted measures aimed at trying to strangle the Afghan revolution. All new economic aid to the country was cut off and American officials tried to block loans by international financial agencies to Afghanistan. While a public propaganda campaign against Afghanistan was being put into motion, Washing-

ton and its local allies began probing and seeking out counterrevolutionary forces that could be used against the government in Kabul.

Meanwhile, the Afghan leaders started to implement a series of significant social reforms.

- The debts of poor peasants to landlords were cancelled, a measure that was to have benefited up to 11 million persons.

- An extensive land reform was promulgated on January 1, 1979, setting a ceiling on land ownership of about fifteen acres. All surplus land was to be expropriated without compensation and distributed free to landless peasants and nomads. By June 1979, the government announced, about 1.4 million acres (out of a total of 1.6 million covered by the program) had been distributed to 248,000 families in the first phase of the land reform.

- Trade unions were legalized for the first time in Afghanistan's history.

- Major steps were taken to recognize some of the national rights of Afghanistan's various peoples, in contrast to previous regimes, which upheld the domination of the Pushtun nationality. Schooling, newspapers, and radio programming were established in previously neglected languages, such as Uzbek, Turcoman, Baluchi, and Nuristani.

- A mass literacy campaign was initiated, and by mid-1979 about 800,000 persons had been enrolled in the campaign. New schools and medical centers were built in rural areas.

- Special measures were taken to improve the status of women, in a society where women are extremely oppressed. Primary schooling was declared mandatory for young women and married women were offered special courses. Child marriages were outlawed and dowries were reduced.

- Anti-imperialist foreign policy stands were adopted, including support for Puerto Rico's independence from the United States.

Despite portrayals in the capitalist news media of the Kabul regime as "atheistic" or "anti-Islamic," no restrictions were ever placed on freedom of religion.

When the PDPA seized power in April 1978 it had only a limited base of support in some cities. But the social measures it enacted won it greater popularity. At least until mid-1979, when the fighting with the counterrevolutionary bands began to escalate, demonstrations in support of the government were held on almost a daily basis in Kabul, some of them drawing up to 150,000 participants.

Ties with Soviet Government

The Soviet government had no hand in the beginning of the Afghan revolution, but the Kremlin could not ignore it; Afghanistan was too strategically important. Moscow was impelled to provide considerable assistance.

The two countries share a 1,000-mile

border. Some nationalities—such as the Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Turcomans—live on both sides of the border. Historically, Afghanistan had had very close economic ties with Moscow. The Soviet Union has long been Afghanistan's main trade partner, and has been a major source of foreign aid for decades. Many Afghan officials and technicians have been trained in the Soviet Union.

The unfolding of the Afghan revolution put added pressure on Moscow to come to the new regime's aid. Since the bureaucrats in the Kremlin claim to favor proletarian internationalism, they could not politically afford to brush aside the Afghan regime's direct appeals for help.

As a result, some forty new economic aid agreements had been signed by late 1978, and the number of Soviet military and civilian advisers rose to several thousand.

It was not Moscow's increased influence in Afghanistan that alarmed Washington—though there was some concern over that—but the Afghan revolution itself and its repercussions throughout central Asia. The imperialists were opposed to the social gains that had been won by the Afghan workers and peasants and feared that the revolution would advance toward the overthrow of capitalist property relations.

Following the initiation of the land reform in particular, the counterrevolution began to rear its head.

Dispossessed landlords, former military officers, monarchists, usurers, smugglers, opium dealers, and corrupt officials and exploiters of every stripe began to organize small guerrilla bands to oppose the land reform, the literacy drive, and other measures. Many crossed the border into Pakistan to prepare their counterrevolution from a place of sanctuary.

Some groups, like the Hezb-i Islami (Islamic Party), favored the restoration of the monarchy, which had been overthrown by Daud in 1973. Others, like the Jamiat-i Islami (Islamic Brotherhood), had close ties to rightist Pakistani circles. Some fought specifically to maintain their control over the opium trade, others were more interested in loot. Virtually all of the groups claimed to be fighting in the name of Islam against the "godless" regime in Kabul, but this was nothing more than a cover for their counterrevolutionary aims.

U.S.-Pakistani Collusion

The support of the Pakistani regime—and behind it, Washington—was vital to the activities of these groups.

In February 1979, Peter Niesewand of the *Washington Post* visited one of the Afghan guerrilla camps in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), where forces of the Hezb-i Islami were undergoing training at a former Pakistani military base. "The camp, freshly painted, still contains some Pakistani Army vehicles and is under the guard of Pakistani soldiers," Niesewand reported in the Febru-

ary 2 issue. "The Pakistanis, therefore, are clearly aware of any activity on the base."

Two months later, *New York Times* correspondent Robert Trumbull visited four of the Afghan camps in Pakistan and reported that the "nerve center" of the guerrilla operations was in Miram Shah, in the NWFP.

American officials have admitted, according to a report in the January 3, 1980, *New York Times*, that some of the arms used by the Afghan rebels had originally come from the Pakistani government, though they still denied that the Zia regime was behind the assistance.

The American imperialists did not hide their sympathy for the counterrevolutionary forces. When the regime in Kabul sought to suppress them, Washington denounced it as "repressive." When Moscow gave some assistance to the Afghan government, Carter warned against "interference."

An article in the March 2, 1979, *Wall Street Journal*, one of the most authoritative organs of the American ruling class, underlined the hopes that Washington was placing in the rightist forces: "The large-scale opposition in Afghanistan provides the anti-Soviet forces in the region and the world with an opportunity to increase significantly the price of expansionism for the Soviets and reduce the likelihood of the consolidation of a Cuban-style regime in a crucial part of the world."

The support for the guerrillas was not just verbal. Washington fully backed the Pakistani regime's assistance to the guerrillas and unquestionably provided some of its own.

A report in the January 1, 1980, *Izvestia* charged that "CIA agents operate in the area of the Afghan-Pakistan frontier, specifically under the cover of the anti-drug board and the American Asian Fund."

State Department spokesman Hodding Carter III responded the following day by claiming that the Soviet charges were "ridiculous" and a "crude ruse" to "disguise the reality of Soviet intervention."

Such denials are standard White House doublespeak. At the time, Washington denied that its planes were bombing Laos, that it was coordinating its intervention against Angola with the South Africans, that it was trying to assassinate Fidel Castro, or that it played a role in the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile. In each case, the real facts later surfaced and Washington's lies were exposed.

The *Izvestia* article was not the first time charges of direct American intervention against Afghanistan have been raised. Months before Moscow sent its combat troops in to help the government forces, opposition politicians in Pakistan itself were accusing Washington of channeling funds to the Afghan guerrillas through that country.

According to a report in the June 17, 1979, issue of the Lahore weekly *View-*

point, leaders of the People's National Front "in a statement alleged that the American Government was lavishly spending money in countries bordering on Afghanistan to destabilize the new Afghan regime." Leaders of the National Progressive Party accused Washington of being behind the Zia regime's propaganda campaign against Afghanistan.

With such backing, the various Afghan counterrevolutionary groups stepped up their activities in many parts of Afghanistan, ranging over wide stretches of the rugged countryside, destroying bridges and schools, ambushing government forces, murdering PDPA members and administrators sent out to implement the land reform, and seeking to create so much insecurity that the government would be unable to carry through with its programs.

Factionalism Weakens Mass Support

Although the guerrillas' claims of success were undoubtedly exaggerated to an extent, they did cause severe disruption and damage and wore down the morale of the Afghan army, some units of which reportedly defected to the insurgents. The fighting was generally confined to the countryside, but armed clashes also erupted in some of the major cities, including Kabul and Herat.

The Afghan government forces managed to hang on to the major cities, but their struggle against the counterrevolution was seriously impeded by factional conflicts within the PDPA.

As early as July-October 1978, one of the two major factions in the party—led by Karmal and known as the Parcham (flag) wing—was purged. Some of its leaders were imprisoned and others, like Karmal, exiled. The victorious faction—known as the Khalq (masses)—was itself rent by divisions. The resulting factional maneuvers and purges of suspect members sapped the government's strength. In September 1979 President Taraki was mortally wounded in a shootout and Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin seized power.

It also appears that some of the regime's reforms were implemented in a bureaucratic manner, without any serious attempts to organize, mobilize, or educate the masses, particularly in the countryside. This gave the counterrevolutionaries openings that could be exploited.

Both Taraki and Amin repeatedly requested increased Soviet military aid to help combat the counterrevolution. Some was provided, but as the article in the January 1 *Izvestia* admitted, Moscow hesitated to fully meet their appeals, in the hopes that the rebellions would lose momentum on their own.

According to a report in the January 2 *New York Times*, Gen. Ivan G. Pavlovsky, a Soviet deputy defense minister, visited Afghanistan from August to October 1979 to assess the extent of the insurgency. Pavlovsky, correspondent David Binder

wrote, delivered a "grim report" to Moscow.

In November a major Afghan-Soviet operation was launched in the Paktia Valley, south of Kabul, against the largest guerrilla concentration. It was only partially successful.

At a time when Washington was threatening military aggression against Iran and preparing to bolster its military position in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf area, Moscow feared that the escalation of the rightist guerrilla activity in Afghanistan, combined with the evident weakness of the Afghan regime, could result in the government's overthrow and the establishment of a staunchly proimperialist regime.

Moscow felt compelled to act. The January 1 *Izvestia* pointed out that "it should have been clear to all that we would not permit a neighboring country with a long common border to be turned into a base for the preparation of imperialist aggression against the Soviet state."

In the process of sending Soviet combat troops into Afghanistan to deal with the rightist insurgency, Moscow at the same time backed the overthrow and execution of Amin, in whom they had little confidence. As the Kremlin bureaucrats often do with ousted Soviet officials, Amin was made into a scapegoat for past failures. Karmal, whom Moscow gambled would be more reliable, was brought back from exile in Eastern Europe and became the new president.

Karmal reinstated a number of leaders of the previously purged Parcham faction, but also retained at least two Khalq leaders and reappointed to positions of authority several popular PDPA military officers who had earlier been purged, including Gen. Abdel Qader, the leader of the April 1978 insurrection. The government promptly announced that 9,000 political prisoners had been released.

Like the previous PDPA regimes, Karmal renewed the government's appeals for cooperation from "merchants and representatives of national capital," but at the same time pledged to wage a "holy war" against the counterrevolution and to continue the struggle "against imperialism and reaction, for the liquidation of the exploiter classes in society, for democracy, progress and social justice."

As the Karmal regime established its authority in Kabul, Soviet troops continued to arrive, many of them Uzbeks and Tajiks. They quickly fanned out to the areas of guerrilla activity, to launch a major offensive against the counterrevolution.

U.S. Hands Off!

The American imperialists would certainly like to do more than they have so far to stop this Soviet drive, contain the Afghan revolution, and recover their position in the region, but their options are limited under the present circumstances.



Land being distributed to peasants in Alingar.

Der Spiegel

They have been limited by imperialism's growing political weakness, especially since Washington's defeat in Vietnam.

Within the United States, the sentiments of working people against another Vietnam-type war have continued to obstruct the White House's efforts to militarily intervene abroad.

Throughout much of the colonial and semicolonial world, Washington and its imperialist allies have suffered blow after blow: the extension of the socialist revolution throughout Vietnam; the overthrow of the capitalist Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea; the revolutions in Iran, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and Grenada; the growing international support for the Palestinian struggle; the downfall of the Portuguese dictatorship and the attainment of independence by its African colonies; the rise in mass mobilization and insurgency in southern Africa; the increasing international influence of revolutionary Cuba.

The ability of Moscow to send large numbers of troops into Afghanistan—the first time it has done so in a capitalist country since the end of World War II—is a reflection of the shifting relationship of class forces on a world scale, in favor of the oppressed and to the detriment of imperialism. This rise of the world revolution also weakens the Soviet bureaucracy, brings added pressures on it, and undermines its efforts to achieve détente with U.S. imperialism.

Although Washington's ability to press forward with its war drive has been weakened, its threats of military aggression must nevertheless be taken seriously. The imperialists constantly seek ways to inter-

vene abroad and to regain lost ground. If they are successful in striking serious blows against the anti-imperialist struggle, they will be better able to bolster their political position and lay the groundwork for future war moves. All threats and acts of aggression against the peoples of Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries must be vigorously opposed.

The size and rapidity of the Soviet move into Afghanistan could do much to help break the back of the rightist insurgency and further weaken imperialism's position.

According to Drew Middleton in the January 6 *New York Times*, "Only a minority of United States officials consulted in government departments believe that the Soviet Union can be deterred from completing the occupation of Afghanistan and eliminating all but scattered and ineffective resistance."

With continued outside support, however, even remnants of the guerrilla forces could cause considerable damage.

The only sure way to definitively defeat the counterrevolution—and to further undermine imperialism's ability to intervene—will be to back up military action with concrete steps to advance the Afghan revolution. New social measures and the organization and mobilization of the workers and peasants will help consolidate support for the revolution.

An aggressive foreign policy drive by Afghanistan in support of anti-imperialist struggles around the world—particularly in countries like Iran and Pakistan—can substantially undercut Washington's current efforts to isolate the Afghan revolution. It will win the Afghan workers and peasants greater international class solidarity. □

Cabinet Changes Ratify FSLN Course Since July Revolution

By Aníbal Yáñez

MANAGUA—For the first time in more than forty years, the Nicaraguan people celebrated New Year in freedom, a freedom won in the prolonged struggle that culminated in the mass popular insurrection here last July 19.

Now, the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), are entering a new stage of their struggle. During the last weeks of 1979, the Sandinistas took further steps, including important changes in the government, to defend, deepen, and consolidate the revolution.

As Commander of the Revolution Victor Manuel Tirado López explained during a public meeting in Managua on December 27, the main goals of the revolutionary government for 1980 are the literary crusade (see box) and planning for economic reconstruction. "The battle now passes from the military field to the field of production and distribution," Commander Tirado said.

The vast majority of Nicaraguans have lived in abject poverty. This is the result of the voracious capitalist system maintained by Somoza and his U.S. imperialist backers. The situation was worsened by the dictator's deliberate destruction of the country's industry during the war of liberation and the accompanying disruption of the planting season. Today, unemployment, hunger, disease, and child malnutrition are among the tremendous problems that the Sandinista government must begin to solve if the revolution is to march forward.

Its proposed solution is the 1980 Plan for Economic Reactivation. According to Tirado, this plan is aimed at benefiting "mainly the poorest, most backward sectors of the population, those who have always had to bear the weight of the crisis, of social or natural catastrophes."

"It is not a question . . . of only raising production, but at the same time of distributing it in a just way, to progressively close the social chasms that the *somozaist* regime deepened every day," Tirado explained.

The plan will place emphasis on reactivating the production of basic goods, such as food, clothing, shoes, and medicine. It also projects creating 90,000 jobs to help reduce unemployment and underemployment; raising the minimum wage; and protecting the real wages of the poorest sectors through government-supplied basic goods, price controls, and state spending on education, health, and social welfare.

In order to carry through these mea-

asures, the government made significant changes in several posts. In early December, the five-person Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction had asked the entire cabinet to resign to free its hands to make new appointments "according to the conveniences and necessities of the Sandinista revolutionary process." On December 27, it announced a thoroughgoing reorganization.

The most outstanding personnel change, much to the chagrin of the capitalist press, was the removal of Roberto Mayorga, a bourgeois technocrat, as minister of planning. He was replaced by Commander of the Revolution Henry Ruíz, a long-time FSLN leader and a member of the Sandinista National Directorate. Ruíz enjoys tremendous popularity among the workers and peasants because of his courageous role as "Commandante Modesto" in the struggle to overthrow Somoza.

Upon assuming the post, Ruíz explained that the Ministry of Planning is "the key to the present situation, and the FSLN National Directorate has thought it necessary to assign a member of the Directorate to this post."

"I have been and will continue to be a soldier of the revolution," he said, "and I will take my place wherever the revolution needs me."

Key areas of production and services have been nationalized since July 19. This demands a consciously planned economic policy to advance the interests of the toiling masses. The private sector must also be subordinated to the government's overall social goals and investment priorities.

In an interview in the FSLN daily *Barricada* on December 30, Ruíz explained that if the private sector "takes a wait-and-see attitude" with regard to reactivating production, "the Revolution will take measures, and here the unproductive latifundio will disappear. If the private enterprise does not understand that the secret of harmony consists in all of us working for the benefit of the people, they will have made an enormous mistake."

Sergio Ramírez Mercado, a member of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction, made the same point at a seminar for government workers where he explained the cabinet changes: "We are no longer going to have what is called 'private initiative,' the kind of initiative that means investing in what is most profitable and not in what is required for economic and social needs."

The central slogan propagandized far

and wide by the FSLN's political education department is "Raise production, smash the counterrevolution!"

There is no doubt in anybody's mind that high on the list of counterrevolutionaries are any capitalists who attempt to obstruct, sabotage, or boycott the revival of the economy. Those who do not want to join in this effort are called the *burguesía vendepatria* (traitorous bourgeoisie).

Defense and Agriculture

Besides the crucial change in the Ministry of Planning, Bernardino Larios, a former National Guard officer who had defected from Somoza, was removed from his post as minister of defense. He has been replaced by Humberto Ortega Saavedra, commander-in-chief of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) and a member of the FSLN National Directorate. (Larios never had any control over the army or police and was rarely even heard or seen in public.)

Also, Commander Edén Pastora ("Commander Zero") is now vice-minister of defense in charge of organizing the People's Militias. "One of the great projects we have for next year will be the military training of each and every Nicaraguan to defend our liberated homeland," Pastora declared December 28. He noted that Sandinista militias will be organized at all levels: factories, schools, universities, barrios, cities, and towns.

"They will be the true people in arms to defend our Revolution," Pastora affirmed.

A third key change was the consolidation of the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) and the Ministry of Agricultural Development (MIDA). A new integrated ministry, also called MIDA, has been created to oversee the most important sector of the Nicaraguan economy. (Agricultural production, primarily cotton and coffee, made up nearly 56 percent of the value of Nicaragua's exports in 1978.)

The new head of MIDA is Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock Román, who replaces an anti-Somoza landowner. Wheelock remains director of INRA, which is now part of MIDA.

In each case, these changes ratified the deepening proworker and propeasant direction of the revolution by consolidating the FSLN's direct control, both actual and official, over planning, agriculture, and defense.

Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega Saavedra was interviewed by *Barricada* on December 27 about the government reorganization. He explained that on

July 19, when the FSLN took power, "the Revolutionary Government was set up on the same governmental skeleton of the previous regime. We had to respond rapidly and there was no time at that moment to make structural changes; conditions did not allow it. Now, five months after the Revolution, we are carrying out those changes in the structure so that it will be in harmony with the interests of the Revolution, which are the interests of the Nicaraguan people."

Strengthening Mass Organizations

Strengthening the mass organizations of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants is central to the success of the government's social and economic programs, and the FSLN has continued its efforts along these lines.

On December 20 the Rural Workers Association (ATC) held its first congress, marking the consolidation of the organization in fourteen departments of Nicaragua.

The Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) are now organized on a national scale and centralized at a departmental and national level. The CDSs are scheduled to hold a national assembly in late January, according to Patricia Orozco, national secretary of the CDS. The Sandinista women's and youth organizations have thousands of members all over the country.

The Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) has organized nearly 360 unions throughout the country and has about 100,000 members. It has placed great emphasis on instilling a class-struggle consciousness in workers and has just launched its own weekly newspaper, *El Trabajador*. The CST has also called its first national congress for February 16 and 17.

In late December, the CST publicly answered a document in which the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie—organized in the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP)—made clear its opposition to the course of the Sandinista-led government.*

The COSEP document contained one basic message to the FSLN: Before cooperating in the reconstruction of Nicaragua, the bourgeoisie demanded that the Sandinistas abandon their policy of defending the interests of the workers and peasants and instead promote "private enterprise." The capitalist class also wanted to regain its say over political decisions and block the increasing involvement of the CDSs and other mass organizations in government.

Responding to this, the CST published a declaration in the bourgeois daily *La Prensa*

*See "Nicaraguan Bourgeoisie Complains About Sandinista Power," by Pedro Camejo, *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, December 17, 1979, p. 1236.



Education and Organization

MANAGUA—Under the name "Heroes and Martyrs for the Liberation of Nicaragua" National Literacy Crusade, the FSLN-led government here will mobilize 200,000 young students and workers across the country to teach almost 800,000 illiterate Nicaraguans how to read and write. Pilot projects are already under way in factories and in the countryside, testing manuals and methods. Moreover, the crusade, slated to go into full swing in March, is being projected not simply as an educational task, but as a strategic political one. As *Poder Sandinista*, the weekly of the FSLN Secretariat of Propaganda and Political Education, explained, the goal is for every person who learns how to read and write, "to become integrated in a mass organization, ready to work

consciously to consolidate and deepen this revolution."

By decreeing that 1980 will be the "Year of Literacy," the Sandinistas are tying the gigantic task of raising the political consciousness of the toiling masses to the struggle to get the economy back on its feet. Both tasks "will permit a strengthening of the revolutionary process in this stage of transition towards a new society, free of exploiters and exploited," noted *Poder Sandinista*.

Funds are desperately needed for the literacy campaign. Contributions in dollars can be sent directly to: Donaciones Cruzada Nacional de Alfabetización, Account #51-57, Banco Central de Nicaragua, Managua, Nicaragua.

—Anibal Yáñez

on December 22 (the COSEP document had appeared in *La Prensa* a few weeks earlier). Addressed to "our brother workers," the CST document declared that COSEP "brings together the country's most reactionary and exploitative class," and charged it with "coming out against our revolutionary process and its vanguard, the FSLN and our governmental junta, which is the genuine expression of the consensus of the majority [of the people of Nicaragua]."

The CST denounced "these gentlemen [who] demand a place in this revolution and unity and the consolidation of the revolution, but [who] do not talk about unconditional support of the revolution . . . do not talk about creating jobs with the money they have taken out of the country, nor of taking an honest attitude toward economic development, which is the only way they will be able to have a part in the process."

The CST noted that the only rule of the game for the capitalists is to get to Miami or New York to divide up "the sweat of the people, converted into dollars." And it stated that "here [in Nicaragua] the only game is the will . . . to demand that this

process go forward until it culminates in the victory of the working class."

The CST statement concluded:

"We believe that COSEP represents the traitorous bourgeoisie, and that therefore they are playing into the hands of the most reactionary elements, the agents of imperialism, the enemies of this process, to undermine in this way the true economic plans of the Revolution. . . ."

"We consider that this COSEP statement is a counterrevolutionary tactic aimed against the working class, which is the only source that generates our wealth and which is conscious about its definitive liberation.

"We reaffirm our stance, taking up the words of the legacy A.C. Sandino. . . ."

"Only the workers and peasants will go all the way; only their organized force will bring about the victory."

A widely-sold 1980 calendar bears the same message, this one signed by the National Directorate of the FSLN: "The Revolution is not only to defeat the enemy, but to defeat poverty. And the ones who will defeat poverty are those who create the wealth. . . . the workers and peasants." □

Iranian Workers Defend Revolution Against U.S. Threats

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—More than two months after it began, the occupation of the U.S. embassy here—renamed the “den of spies”—remains at the center of political developments in Iran.

The refusal of the students holding the embassy to compromise on their demand for the return of the shah, and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's support for their stand, have inspired new mass mobilizations by workers and peasants in recent weeks.

Just as Washington stood behind the brutal dictatorship of the shah, it now confronts the Iranian people with a calculated campaign of political and economic sabotage. To defend themselves, the toiling masses are taking bolder and bolder measures to free their country from imperialist exploitation, end capitalist profiteering and sabotage, and reconstruct the country on the basis of their needs.

To do this, the masses have begun to organize themselves. This is most evident in the factories, where elected committees of workers, or *shoras*, exist on a wide scale. In recent weeks, the individual *shoras* have begun to join together for common actions.

A powerful example of this was a demonstration held December 23 in Tehran by the Islamic Workers Shora to support the occupation of the embassy and oppose any compromise with imperialism.

The Islamic Workers Shora consists of representatives from *shoras* in 128 factories. The December 23 demonstration was called on only one day's notice. Nevertheless, some fifty factory *shoras* took part. Tens of thousands of workers, organized in contingents from each plant, turned out.

The banner at the head of the march read: “Unity, Martyrdom, Shora.”

Among the most popular slogans were: “America, America, you are our enemy,” “The trial of the spies must begin,” “The Imam [Khomeini] is not going to compromise,” and “Long live the people of Panama” (a reference to the protests against the shah there).

The participants were mostly industrial workers. Many auto factories were represented—General Motors, British Leyland, Mercedes Benz, Renault, and Iran National Car. Another section of the march consisted of textile workers, including many women. There were also workers from the Kian Tire Co. and Philips Electronics. The *shoras* organized their own marshaling teams.

Demonstrators marched to the embassy, where a woman worker spoke of the many

martyrs killed in the struggle against the shah. A representative from the students inside the embassy—who call themselves Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line—hailed the workers as “the arm of the revolution.”

“You are organizing yourselves in *shoras*,” he said, “which you consider the only way to cut Iran's ties to imperialism.”

Also presented was a fifteen-point resolution of the Islamic Workers Shora (see p. 12). This resolution solidarized with “the oppressed of the world,” and in particular with the struggles of the Palestinian and Panamanian people. It also called on the government to “Cut off the hands of the capitalists who are sabotaging production” by taking control of “all factories in collaboration with the *shora* in each plant.”

In addition, the resolution urged the government to solve the land question by launching a drive “to wipe out the feudal elements and the big landlords with ties to the U.S. . . . The land and its fruits belong to those who work it!”

The resolution also demanded a purge of all collaborators with imperialism from the Iranian government.

'Students, Continue the Exposures!'

Prior to the December 23 demonstration, the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line made public U.S. embassy files which show that Amir Entezam, the first deputy prime minister under Mehdi Bazargan, had met with U.S. officials and offered to provide them with information last September. The students announced that Entezam had just been recalled from his ambassadorial post in Sweden and placed under arrest in Qum.

On December 25 two students appeared on television and announced that they had more files.

First, they explained that the press had handled the case of Entezam so as to make it appear that his was an isolated, individual case. The students insisted that Entezam represented “a current of deviation from the revolution.” They then quoted from U.S. Embassy documents detailing Entezam's meetings with U.S. representatives *before* the overthrow of the monarchy.

According to a report filed by a CIA agent named Stemple, Entezam met with U.S. officials in January 1978 as a representative of the central committee of the Liberation Movement. This was an oppositionist organization headed by Bazargan under the shah's regime.

The documents showed that Washington wanted Entezam's help in arranging a compromise under which opposition figures would merge with the regency council appointed by the shah in order to form a government acceptable to Carter once the shah had left.

According to the files, Entezam said that the Liberation Movement would accept such a compromise. He also agreed to try to pressure Ayatollah Khomeini—still in exile—to restrain the massive demonstrations demanding the overthrow of the monarchy.

Moreover, the students said the documents showed that Washington had received direct information from somebody in Khomeini's household in Paris. The White House was especially interested in delaying Khomeini's return to Iran as long as possible.

The students said other Iranian political figures were implicated by these files, but they refrained from mentioning any names. Many TV viewers assumed Bazargan and Ibrahim Yazdi, one of Khomeini's aides in Paris and later Bazargan's foreign minister, must have been involved.

The following day, Bazargan announced that he was filing suit against the students for slander. A big campaign in the mass media was opened against the students.

Students at the embassy responded by apologizing for editorial comments made when the files were released. But then they said that they were waiting to hear from the Iranian nation on whether it wanted them to continue releasing files.

The response was not long in coming. On December 28, tens of thousands marched from the Friday afternoon prayer meeting at the University of Tehran to the embassy. Their slogan was, “Students, continue the exposures!”

On the same day, a memorial demonstration was held in the city of Qazvin to commemorate the anniversary of the massacre carried out there by the shah's forces. According to the television news, some 400,000 participated. One of their slogans was, “Students, continue the exposures!”

Smaller demonstrations have continued in front of the embassy since then. Airline mechanics marched there January 1. Six hundred oil workers came the next day. And in the meantime, the students have declared that they will continue releasing material from the embassy files.

In addition, in a January 4 statement the students accused the embassy's air force attaché, Lieut. Col. David Roeder, of war crimes because he flew bombing missions in Vietnam. The students announced



Workers at December 23 protest in front of U.S. embassy in Tehran.

Cindy Jaquith/IP-I

that they would invite the "brave and militant people of Vietnam" to send representatives to Roeder's trial.

UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim was given dramatic evidence of the revolutionary temper of the Iranian people during his three-day visit here at the beginning of January. Waldheim, whose organization had just threatened the Iranian people with economic sanctions, was confronted by angry demonstrators wherever he went.

Tehran newspapers published photographs of Waldheim shaking hands with the shah and kissing the hand of his sister, Princess Ashraf. The students at the embassy hoisted a poster of Waldheim kissing Ashraf's hand and refused to meet with him. Khomeini wouldn't see him either. Instead, Waldheim was introduced to some of the shah's victims, including one boy whose arms had been cut off in order to convince his father to talk.

The deepening resolve of the Iranian masses to resist imperialism and take their case to the oppressed people of the world has sharpened opposition to those viewed as compromisers within the government.

Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh has been flatly contradicted by students holding the embassy whenever he has predicted the imminent release of the hostages.

At the very beginning of the embassy takeover, Khomeini forced former Prime Minister Bazargan to resign, along with his cabinet. Bazargan opposed the embassy occupation, and had earlier aroused widespread indignation when he and Yazdi held a closed meeting with Zbigniew

Brzezinski, one of Carter's top advisers. Both Bazargan and Yazdi remain on the Islamic Revolutionary Council, however.

The latest incident in the conflict came January 4, when the students demanded that L. Bruce Laingen, the top U.S. diplomat in Tehran, be handed over them for questioning. Laingen has been holed up at the ministry of foreign affairs ever since the embassy was occupied.

Gotbzadeh, who had earlier declared that Laingen was "free to leave" Iran, and then been forced to back down, rejected the students' demand and appealed to Khomeini to make a final decision on the matter.

Workers Gain Self-Confidence

The class polarization within Iran is being deepened by the military and economic threats of the U.S. government and imperialist-dominated institutions such as the United Nations. Such pressures have resulted in the capitalists and big landowners coming out more openly for a compromise with imperialism. But the same pressures have had a different effect on the toiling masses.

Peasants have demonstrated in Tehran, Qum, and other cities, riding on tractors with their shovels and farm tools, and vowing that they will increase production in the face of an economic blockade. In general, the peasantry is more highly mobilized now than during the struggle against the shah. Small peasants have seized many of the big landlords' estates and are calling on the government to carry out a land reform.

Workers have gained in self-confidence

and experience. They are taking the initiative in calling demonstrations against imperialism, fighting for workers' control in the plants and establishing links with other factories.

In the industrial city of Isfahan, for example, the shora at the Nakh Tab textile plant held a joint meeting with workers at an adjacent plant. The two factories also joined forces for a demonstration demanding the return of the shah. As one young Nakh Tab worker explained, "In our fight with the shah, we had no idea what was going on in the next factory. But now we can unite our forces."

Along with the opposition among American working people to any new wars, the scope and intensity of the mass mobilizations in Iran has prevented Carter from taking any decisive military action against the Iranian revolution. But the Iranian workers and peasants are also under fire from imperialism on another front.

Iran's native landlords and capitalists, in conjunction with Washington's threats of an economic blockade, are sabotaging the country's economy in order to protect their own wealth.

They are hoarding raw materials in expectation of shortages and higher prices. They are holding back new investment, refusing to make needed repairs, and failing to import needed parts and supplies. They are shutting down factories, refusing to maximize agricultural production, and sending money out of the country.

The result of all this is hardship for the toiling masses. The capitalists and their imperialist backers hope to wear down the

revolutionary morale of the workers and peasants.

In the face of these hardships, the Iranian government has promised to carry out land reform, to initiate extensive housing programs, and to provide jobs for the unemployed. However, such social programs, in order to be effectively carried out, require the direct supervision of the workers and peasants, organized in their own committees.

The capitalist government also faces

deepening demands from the country's oppressed nationalities—especially Kurds, Azerbaijanis, and Baluchis—for their full national rights. Realization of these demands for autonomy within Iran, and for full language and cultural rights, would help strengthen and unite all the nationalities against Washington's counterrevolutionary moves.

Iran's working people lack a mass political party of their own today that could

unite the struggles against imperialism, against capitalist sabotage, and for the rights of the oppressed nationalities. But they are developing and expanding their use of shoras as instruments of struggle. Uniting the factory shoras in their common struggles, and seeking to ally them with shoras in the army, in the rural areas, and in the working-class neighborhoods, is the next step in forging the revolutionary leadership that can carry this new upsurge forward. □

Iranian Workers Demand: 'Abolish Capitalism and Plunder!'

[On December 23, tens of thousands of workers turned out for a demonstration at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. They expressed support for the students occupying the embassy and opposition to any compromise with U.S. imperialism.

[The demonstration was called by the Islamic Workers Shora, which represents 128 factory committees in the Tehran area. The following resolution was passed by the Islamic Workers Shora and read at the demonstration.]

* * *

In the name of God, the beneficent and merciful:

We are going through a very critical period, a time when nations dominated by colonialism are being revitalized by the rise of the Iranian Islamic revolution and its resolute leader, Imam Khomeini.

Day by day grows the wrath of the oppressed peoples of Iran, and of freedom fighters around the world, against U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of our Islamic revolution. Among the U.S. imperialists' schemes is the vile propaganda of the racist and Zionist mass media, which are using the most shameless methods to poison world opinion. But these schemes are now being frustrated, thanks to the justice of our revolution and to the awakening consciousness of peoples—both liberated and oppressed—everywhere.

We, workers in industry, organized in the Islamic Workers Shora, support the great leader of the revolution, and the revolutionary action of the students following the Imam's line. These are our demands:

1. We declare our hatred of world imperialism, headed by the criminals in Washington, and we pledge to continue the struggle with the United States to the end. We will not be intimidated by an economic blockade, and in case of military intervention we will make Iran the graveyard of the American troops.

2. We insist on the extradition of the criminal shah, whom the U.S. has merely transferred from one place to another. We want him back.

3. We demand that the American spies be brought before open, revolutionary trials, which will also be trials of U.S. imperialism for its crimes.

4. We support the struggling people of Panama, and we warn the puppet government of that country to learn a lesson from the shah about what happens to Washington's stooges. The fate of those who trample the rights of the people can only be destruction. The Panamanian government should heed the demand of the oppressed people of Panama, and extradite the shah.

5. We demand a rapid break from our country's abject dependence upon imperialism in the economic, commercial, and military fields. We ask that Islamic ideology be presented more widely on the radio and television.

6. We condemn the shameless conspiracies of the comprador capitalists and looters here in Iran. Cut off the hands of the capitalists who are sabotaging production! Abolish capitalism and plunder! The government should take complete control of industrial planning, and run industry in the interests of national growth. The government should run all the factories in collaboration with the shora in each plant.

7. We demand fundamental changes in agriculture. Resolution of the land question should be speeded up, to wipe out all the feudal elements and the big landlords with ties to the U.S. Their lands should be confiscated and divided up in accordance with a plan that meets the needs of the farmers and agricultural laborers. We must nip in the bud the conspiracies of these dirty stooges in Seistan and Baluchistan. The land and its fruits belong to those who work it!

8. We demand that the Islamic Revolutionary Council act in accordance with the line of the Imam, a line which is totally clear to our people. We warn the Council of the worldwide ramifications of our deepening revolution. The radius of the revolution is spreading internationally. Revolutionary methods, and economic, political, social, cultural, and military planning must be the guiding principles for struggles

throughout the Islamic world, and in all dominated nations.

9. To put an end to the colonial dependence of our industry—a product of U.S. penetration of Iran—we demand the development of basic industry and production of raw materials and spare parts.

10. We call for a general mobilization of all the heroic forces of our country, to create an army 20 million strong.

11. We condemn the cowardly acts of terrorism by SAVAK and the CIA. We warn these lackeys of the U.S. that we will avenge the blood of the martyrs they have slain.

12. We fully support other Islamic and anticolonial movements, especially the Palestinian revolution. We demand deeper ties between Islamic Iran and our heroic brothers in all parts of the world.

13. We emphatically demand revolutionary trials for all the traitors, like Abbas Amir Entezam, who in the guise of intellectuals have conspired against the revolution to the benefit of the U.S. We warn them that the revolution will not leave their crimes unpunished.

14. We demand a purge of persons linked to SAVAK and the CIA from all offices and factories. In particular, all such elements in the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Mines and Factories must be exposed. The purge of the Ministry of Labor must be carried out in direct collaboration with the Islamic Workers Shora.

15. We express our gratitude to all Muslim fighters and oppressed people of the world who have stood with us in this struggle. We appeal to all the oppressed of the world to join with us in struggle against the colonial system headed by U.S. imperialism.

*Organizing Center for the March
of the Islamic Workers Shora*

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Thousands Demand Ouster of Shah

PANAMA CITY, Panama—The Panamanian government's December 15 announcement that it would grant political asylum to the former shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, sparked demonstrations against the decision throughout the country.

The first demonstration against the shah's presence in Panama came only two hours after his arrival at Contadora Island in the Bay of Panama. That demonstration, in Panama City, was organized by the Revolutionary Socialist Movement (MSR) a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

The capital city has been the scene of a number of confrontations between anti-shah demonstrators and National Guard riot squads, who have attacked protesters with clubs, rubber hoses, shotguns, and tear gas.

For five days, December 17 through December 21, daily demonstrations at the U.S. embassy, the Foreign Ministry building, the University of Panama, and the Instituto Nacional, a secondary school bordering on the former Canal Zone, were attacked by the National Guard.

The most vicious incident was a December 19 assault on a peaceful demonstration in downtown Panama City. As marchers were assembling in front of the Don Bosco church, two National Guard captains told one of the organizers, Miguel Antonio Bernal, that the group would not be permitted to march.

Bernal, a law professor and leader of the Trotskyist MSR, responded that since there was no legal basis for banning the march, it would take place as planned.

Within minutes several dozen motorcycle police roared up to the march and plowed into the crowd, swinging rubber hoses and beating demonstrators with their fists. They were joined by about thirty club-wielding plainclothes cops.

Bernal was surrounded by police and National Guard troops who shouted "Get Bernal, get Bernal!" They beat him mercilessly with clubs and rubber hoses. After the beating he was taken to a National Guard barracks and finally to a hospital, where he spent a week recuperating from his injuries. He is still confined to his home recovering.

The beating was filmed by television crews and was shown on one station in Panama.

Bernal was singled out by the National Guard because of his well-known consistent opposition to the ruling military regime. As a radio commentator Bernal has exposed the violations of democratic rights and the exploitation of the working class

and peasants by the regime and U.S. imperialism. He was a well-known opponent of the Carter-Torrijos treaty regarding the Panama Canal. He also served as the legal adviser to the teacher's union during its more than two-month-long strike last year.

In February 1976 Bernal was seized by Torrijos's secret police, the G-2, and forced



Miguel Antonio Bernal, a leader of the antishah demonstrations, singled out for vicious beating by riot troops and plainclothes cops.

bly sent into exile. Only in April 1978 was he allowed to return to his country.

The attack on Bernal has been condemned by a number of organizations and prominent individuals, among them the Association of Professors at Santa Maria La Antigua University, the National Council of Lawyers, the Law and Political Science chapter of the Association of Professors at the University of Panama, the Association of Professors at the Instituto

Socialists in Iran, Panama, USA: 'Extradite Shah!'

[The following statement was issued December 29 by the Revolutionary Socialist Movement of Panama (MSR), Socialist Workers Party of the United States (SWP), and Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS).]

On December 15, the bloody criminal Mohammed Reza Pahlavi arrived in Panama, where Yankee imperialism has decided to put him up, acting through the intermediary of the military dictatorship of Gen. Omar Torrijos.

Ever since the insurrection by the Iranian people against the shah, U.S. imperial-

América, the Partido Panameñista, and the Panamanian Union of News Reporters.

Despite the opposition to the government's repressive moves, however, the National Guard is continuing to try to prevent antishah demonstrations. On January 3, the first demonstration after the schools reopened following the Christmas holidays was broken up by National Guard troops firing shotguns and tear gas.

About twenty-five demonstrators were wounded as the guardsmen surrounded the Instituto Nacional to prevent the 1,700 students from marching to the center of Panama City. Students resisted the National Guard for more than an hour before

being forced to retreat back into the school.

The Revolutionary Socialist Movement is calling for an international campaign to demand the expulsion of the ex-shah from Panama and his return to Iran to stand trial for his crimes against the Iranian people. It is also mounting a campaign to demand an end to the threats and attacks against Miguel Antonio Bernal, who is being singled out for victimization by the Torrijos regime. □

ism, headed by President Carter, has spared no effort to save him from being brought to justice by the Iranian people, who are justly demanding the trial of one of the greatest criminals of this century. The shah bears responsibility for hundreds of thousands of murders, attacks on democratic rights, and violations of the human rights of the workers and peasants of Iran.

The shah represents all the evils of capitalism: corruption, nepotism, repression, torture, murder, superexploitation, the theft of natural resources—in sum, the negation of every principle of human justice.

U.S. imperialism has again shown itself to be the enemy of the working class of the entire world. Washington's war drive against Iran has been accompanied by a racist campaign to depict the Iranian people as mindless fanatics and to deport Iranian students living in the United States.

Reflecting the opposition of the vast majority of Panamanians to the butcher shah, his presence in Panama has been repudiated by demonstrations there. In Iran, demonstrators outside the U.S. embassy have displayed banners and shouted slogans welcoming the solidarity from the people of Panama.

The economic and political dependence of the Torrijos dictatorship on U.S. imperialism has served Washington's interests once again. In an attempt to frustrate the just demands of the Iranian people, the Carter administration decided to send him out of the United States, putting him under the protection of its ally in Panama. Panamanian troops guarding the shah are being backed up by the U.S. forces stationed at the military bases in the Panama Canal Zone. This shows the real meaning of the "joint defense" provisions in the Carter-Torrijos treaties on the Panama Canal.

The Panamanian government continues to shelter the shah in total violation of the right of the working people of Panama to decide their country's affairs. The governments of Carter and Torrijos are protecting the shah, who has served *their* interests, *not* the interests of the American people, the Iranian people, nor the Panamanian people.

Consequently, Carter and Torrijos have found it necessary to shed the blood of the Panamanian people, too. Protests in Panama demanding the extradition of the shah have been attacked by the Panamanian government's repressive forces.

Miguel Antonio Bernal, a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Movement, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Panama, was singled out for a particularly savage beating because of his leading role in mobilizing opposition to the shah. Bernal's injuries required him to be hospitalized for a week.

The Revolutionary Socialist Movement of Panama, Socialist Workers Party of the United States, and Socialist Workers Party of Iran call for an international campaign to demand that the ex-shah be expelled from Panama and returned to Iran to be brought to justice. In addition, we denounce U.S. imperialism and the regime of the dictator Torrijos for their protection of this murderer, who has been repudiated throughout the world.

Out with the criminal shah!

Stop the imperialist attacks against the Iranian revolution!

Extradite the ex-shah to face trial before the Iranian people!

Although they moved him to Panama . . .

U.S. Troops Still Guarding Shah

By Miguel Antonio Bernal

PANAMA CITY, Panama—The arrival of the ex-shah of Iran in Panama has brought with it bloodshed and suffering. Since his stay began December 15, the Panamanian people have repudiated the Iranian tyrant in demonstrations, rallies, declarations, and radio broadcasts. They have protested this imposition by Carter, which has been abjectly accepted by the Torrijos regime.

Fully aware that the real solution to the problem—one that would secure release of the U.S. hostages in Tehran—is the return of the genocidal criminal to Iran to be judged for his crimes, Carter decided instead to send the shah to Panama. Carter and his henchmen would not doubt rather have kept the Hitler of Iran closer at hand, say in New York or Washington. But U.S. public opinion has shown no desire to shelter someone who is guilty of tens of thousands of murders, of torture, and of the exploitation of his country's wealth for personal enrichment.

Sending the ex-shah to Panama is one result of the Torrijos-Carter treaties signed in Washington in 1977, under which Panama remains subjugated in perpetuity to the will of the U.S. government regarding the Panama Canal.

The Carter-Torrijos treaties allow the Pentagon to militarize any part of Panama in the event of danger to the "security" of the waterway. This flagrant violation of the principle of national sovereignty is highlighted by the ex-shah's presence in Panama. The treaties' provisions could be activated to protect Contadora Island, where the Torrijos dictatorship has lodged the ex-shah. An article by Francisco Ruiales of the ACAN-EFE news agency, published in the December 17 issue of the Panama daily *República*, made this quite clear. Under the headline, "Several Security Belts Guard the Shah," Ruiales stated:

"Artillery batteries and short-range missiles from the U.S. bases near the canal can sweep the entire area around Contadora if the need should arise, sources in the deposed emperor's security apparatus told ACAN-EFE. . . .

"Any flying object approaching the island could be brought down within seconds by U.S. Hawk missiles. The location of Contadora Island, thirty-five miles from the Panamanian coast, allows its entire area to be kept under permanent surveillance by the electronic radar installations operated from the U.S. bases that border the canal. In the event of need, supersonic planes could be in the air above the island four minutes after a red alert."

Ruiales also noted: "The current guard force for the ex-emperor is almost entirely Panamanian, although there are two Americans in the team that forms the first echelon of the mission. They could be described as playing a coordinating role."

In addition to the U.S. military presence here, there is a military dictatorship with a civilian mask that is imposing a more and more restrictive "democracy" on the Panamanian people. The armed forces decide everything through their "strong man" Omar Torrijos, who has committed himself to use all the power of the state apparatus to protect the Iranian ex-monarch.

The criminal attack on me in broad daylight on a public street (see accompanying article)—which was photographed and filmed by a number of international news agencies and viewed by millions of persons—stands as incontrovertible proof that the Torrijos dictatorship, with Carter's blessing, is prepared to kill with impunity to defend the shah and the economic interests that stand behind him.

The repression launched by Torrijos's security apparatus, the G-2, to prevent the December 17-21 demonstrations makes a mockery of the "human rights" policy professed by Carter and Torrijos (which even involves their self-proclamation as candidates for the 1980 Nobel Peace Prize!)*

"Protecting the shah" serves as a pretext by the military dictatorship for attacking, dividing, and destroying organizations that demand full respect for democratic rights and the end of dictatorial rule.

We in the Revolutionary Socialist Movement of Panama reiterate our total opposition to the presence of the Iranian ex-monarch on our soil, and we reaffirm our readiness to continue the struggle against the ruling dictatorship. We call on all the democratic, progressive, and revolutionary organizations of the world to solidarize with the Panamanian people in our struggle against the shah's presence and for the protection of those of us whose lives have been threatened by the Panamanian government.

January 2, 1980

*A "National Committee to Obtain the 1980 Nobel Peace Prize for Omar Torrijos Herrero and Jimmy Carter" has been receiving wide publicity in the government-controlled press in Panama.—*IP/1*

100,000 in Japan Say 'Free Narita Airport Demonstrators'

By Jun'ichi Hirai

TOKYO—Between February and May 1978, in the course of demonstrations to stop the opening of the unsafe and environmentally disastrous Narita Airport near Tokyo, more than 200 worker and student supporters of the Sanrizuka Opposition League's struggle were arrested.¹

More than 90 percent of those arrested were indicted, and held in custody for a year or more. Twenty of these militants, including some who were arrested after the events, remain in custody without bail today, over a year and a half later, despite petitions demanding their release signed by more than 100,000 persons.

In the police stations after the arrests, intensive interrogation of the detainees went on day after day, from early morning to late at night, ten hours or more at a time. The militants who had occupied the airport control tower were transferred to different police stations to separate them from other activists and leave them feeling isolated. Even visits by lawyers were obstructed. But despite all this pressure, nearly all the arrested militants remained totally silent when confronted by police and prosecutors.

Among the workers arrested, many were public employees. As soon as these militant workers were indicted, they were fired from their jobs. These firings were carried out by management on direct instructions from the central government.

At the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, nine arrested members of the postal workers union, who had not even been indicted yet, were summarily fired as soon as their names became known.

In some places co-workers of the arrested militants have defied the union bureaucracy by organizing defense committees in their unions. Another important component of the broadening defense campaign has been the struggle carried on by relatives of the victimized activists.

Relatives have formed the National Family Members Council for the Sanrizuka Struggle and are now playing a leading role in the campaign to defend the indicted activists. Building on the accomplishments of these defense activities, on November 19, 1978, a nationwide defense committee for the Sanrizuka struggle was established at a meeting of more than 600 activists.

Thanks to the efforts of this defense campaign, some of the arrested workers who were employed by private companies have regained their old jobs, or been rehired, upon their release on bail.

But meanwhile the government has aimed a new series of attacks at the forces involved in the Sanrizuka struggle, through modifications of the judicial system. These included splitting up the defendants into several small groups for trial, disregarding their demand to be tried together and enormously increasing the expenses for legal assistance; denying them bail for over a year; and finally setting bail at outrageous sums of 1 million yen [US\$4,300] per person.

The government also tried to bring before the Diet a bill which, under the pretext of dealing with the "slow pace of trials in extremist incidents," would have permitted trial without counsel.² As a result of widespread criticism, this bill has been dropped for the time being. But even while backing off on this measure, the authorities have used threats of disbarment against lawyers in an attempt to intimidate them. The lawyers federation has capitulated in face of this pressure.³

Thus the government is planning to wind up the court proceedings in a hurry and shut the defendants away in prison, cutting them off from society.

The fourteen defendants who occupied the control tower will be charged with "endangering an airport." This charge, which has never been used before, could bring sentences of ten years or more.

Despite the fact that they have already spent over a year and a half in custody, these defendants have not been allowed bail. Four other militants charged with attempted murder have also been kept in jail. The defendants' health is deteriorating.

In June 1978, the Committee for Victory in the Sanrizuka Trials was formed in response to a call put out by numerous

2. Although judicial proceedings in Japan are very slow in general, the trials of radical activists are often unusually drawn out even by Japanese standards. There have been numerous cases in which defense attorneys resigned, walked out, or boycotted court sessions to protest procedural rulings, or were simply unable to attend all scheduled sessions because a group of defendants which could not afford a large defense team was being tried simultaneously in several small groups. In such cases, when the defendants refused to accept court-appointed lawyers, trials have often gone on for years.

The "trial without counsel" bill submitted to the Diet [parliament] would have allowed court sessions in cases such as these to continue in the absence of defense attorneys.—IP/I

3. On March 30, 1979, the Japan Lawyers Federation arrived at an agreement with the Justice Ministry and the Supreme Court, under which professional sanctions will be applied against attorneys who "disrupt the orderly progress" of courtroom proceedings.—IP/I

intellectuals, cultural figures, university professors, along with the Defense Work Section of the Opposition League. A movement has developed to take this campaign, demanding immediate release on bail of the defendants, to working people. At the end of November a protest hunger strike was staged by relatives of the defendants outside the Tokyo District Court building.

The Japan Revolutionary Communist League, the Japanese section of the Fourth International, appeals to working people around the world. Raise your voices in protest against the Japanese government, which is ramming through completion of the airport. Send telegrams demanding the immediate release of the fourteen militants who occupied the control tower to the Tokyo District Court.

Protest telegrams should be addressed to:

Judge Naoshi Hanajiri
8th Criminal Division
Tokyo District Court
1-1 Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo, Japan

with copies to:
Shinjidaisha
5-13-17 Shiba, Minato-ku
Tokyo, Japan

New Move to Gag Philip Agee

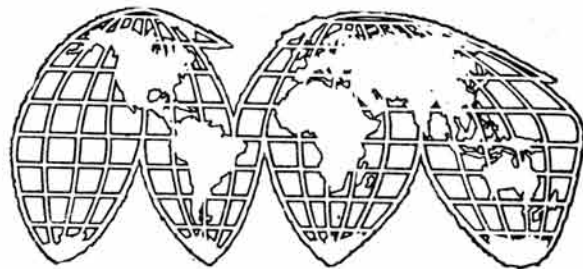
The American State Department announced December 23 that it had revoked the U.S. passport of Philip Agee, a former CIA agent now living in Hamburg, West Germany. The reason given was that his activities "were causing or were likely to cause serious damage to the national security and foreign policy of the United States." The action followed published reports, which Agee denied, that he might help the students occupying the U.S. embassy in Tehran to identify the CIA agents among the hostages being held there.

Since resigning from the CIA, Agee has been active in helping to expose and publicize the crimes of the spy agency. His 1975 book *Inside the Company: A CIA Diary*, was initially banned from publication in the United States, and Agee himself has since lived in exile under threat of arrest if he returned to the U.S.

The extraordinary step of revoking the passport of a U.S. citizen solely on the basis of views *he might express at some future date* deprives Agee of the legal right to travel to any country but the United States. U.S. government pressure had previously secured his expulsion from Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Norway. Now West German officials have an excuse to revoke his residence permit, since he lacks a valid passport.

1. For an account of the more than a decade-long struggle against Narita Airport, see *International Press/Inprecor*, July 3, 1978, p. 812.

AROUND THE WORLD



100,000 Steelworkers on Strike in Britain

The first countrywide steel strike in more than half a century in Britain began January 2, as 90,000 iron and steel workers and 13,000 blast-furnace operators for British Steel Corporation walked off the job to press their demand for a 20 percent wage increase. Union leaders are saying it could be a long, hard-fought strike.

British Steel is a nationalized corporation which accounts for at least three-quarters of all steel production in Britain. A prolonged strike could bring much of the country's industry to a halt.

Many manufacturing firms have built up big stockpiles of steel and are prepared to turn to imports if necessary. Thus the solidarity of other unions will be a key factor in the strike. Some unions have already pledged not to cross the steelworkers' picket lines nor to transport privately produced or imported steel.

The strike is shaping up as a major confrontation between the labor movement and the Tory government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The Tories have been calling for restrictions on unions' right to picket ever since the trucker's strike last year, and Thatcher's policy toward nationalized firms such as British Steel has been to attempt to increase their profitability by driving down real wages and closing factories that continue to operate at a loss. A total of 30,000 iron and steel jobs have been eliminated in the past four years, and British Steel management is threatening to eliminate as many as 52,000 more.

On the issue of wages, management has so far offered nothing more than a 6 percent raise in basic pay, at a time when inflation in Britain is running at about 20 percent per year.

An effective mobilization of the powerful trade union movement behind the steelworkers could deal a severe blow to Thatcher's government, just as the coal miners' victory in 1973 brought down the last Tory regime.

Spain: One Million Strike Against Antilabor Bill

More than one million workers in the Spanish state took part in a general strike December 7 to protest a new labor law coming before the Spanish Cortes (parliament).

On December 13, a trade-union march against the bill drew 300,000 participants

in Madrid, while 60,000 marched in Barcelona and 12,000 in Galicia. Two persons were killed and many injured in Madrid when police attacked a contingent of students who were trying to link up with the trade-union march.

The next day, in response to the killings, 30,000 persons marched in Madrid despite the opposition of the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaderships to further mobilizations. There were also short protest strikes and factory assemblies by workers in a number of plants in Madrid. In the Basque cities of Vizcaya and Pamplona teachers struck to protest the murders, and thousands of students rallied in Barcelona. On December 18, secondary schools and all 22 state universities suspended classes in memory of the slain students.

The proposed labor law "reform" bill introduced by the ruling Democratic Center Union would restrict the right to strike, make it easier for employers to dismiss workers, require workers—but not employers—to pay social security taxes, and set a legal workweek of forty-three rather than forty hours. The government would also be allowed to arbitrarily adjust the minimum wage each year on the basis of its own projected rate of inflation for the coming year, rather than the actual inflation rate in the past period.

A new upsurge of student struggles also occurred in December. Students as well as teachers joined in protests against two bills before the Cortes. If passed into law, these measures would raise tuition in public universities so high as to virtually exclude all working-class youth, and also infringe on the hard-won autonomy of university faculties in the allocation of budget funds and hiring of new professors. At the same time, government financial assistance would be provided to religious and other private schools.

A December 13 march against these bills by students in Madrid drew 100,000 participants—the largest student demonstration in the history of the city. The murderous police attack occurred when a section of the student marchers tried to join in the massive trade-union demonstration later that day.

General Strike in Belgium

A twenty-four hour general strike against government austerity plans shut down much of Belgium on December 7.

The strikers were also protesting the refusal of employers to agree to any reduction in the workweek, despite an unemployment rate that now exceeds 10 percent.

Newspapers did not publish, banks were closed, post offices and schools were shut, as were department stores, railways, and factories. Television workers began their strike on the evening of December 6, in order to come on the air with strike reports on the evening of December 7.

The strike was one of the largest in Belgium since the eleven-week general strike of 1960-61.

Student Protests in Indonesia

A new upsurge of the student movement has begun in Indonesia, for the first time since February 1978, when student protests against General Suharto's "reelection" as president were brutally suppressed.

On November 10, the national day of commemoration for Indonesian martyrs in the war for independence from the Netherlands, over a thousand students rallied at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta. They called for the removal of Daud Yusuf, the regime's minister of education and culture who ordered the disbanding of the national Indonesian university students federation after the 1978 protests.

Clashes between students and police were also reported that day in the west Java city of Bandung.

Despite the ban on their national council, student leaders from several campuses coordinated their efforts to build a series of national days of protest. On November 12 and 13, there were new demonstrations in Jakarta and Bandung, and plans were reportedly under way for student protests in the central Java city of Jogjakarta. In Jakarta students burned effigies of Daud Yusuf, and on both days delegations of students went to the Education Ministry and attempted to present Yusuf with a funeral wreath.

On November 17, an estimated 1,500 students staged an all-night rally at the University of Indonesia.

Although no arrests were reported in any of these actions, police and government troops in each case stood by outside the campus gates to prevent students from marching into the city streets.

On November 27, General Suharto made a major speech defending the Education

Ministry's "Campus Normalization Policy." The November 29 issue of the Tokyo daily *Yomiuri Shimbun* reported that Admiral Sudomo, commander of the political police, issued a blunt warning that "any students who oppose normalization ought to be thrown off the campuses."

The regime had already moved to inhibit press coverage of the students' actions and their demands. On November 13, the Ministry of Information instructed the country's newspapers to "exercise restraint" in their reporting, and two days later Education Minister Yusuf called in the editors of major Jakarta dailies to "explain the situation" to them.

The military regime is worried about this new campus upsurge because Indonesia's students have for years been the bell-weather of political ferment in that country. In January 1974, when Japan's then-Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka visited Jakarta, student protests against imperialist domination drew in masses of working people, and developed into major antigovernment demonstrations.

This time too, the focus of student demands is tending to go beyond campus issues. Students in Bandung have raised slogans calling for the elimination of government corruption, and opposition to a proposed revision of the election law to the detriment of opposition parties.

The November 11 *Yomiuri Shimbun* quotes one speaker at a campus rally in Jakarta who denounced "this system of rule that has suppressed the political rights of the Indonesian people, cast democracy aside, and robbed us of our freedom."

At the traditionally militant Bandung Institute of Technology, students burned effigies of General Suharto along with those of Yusuf. A popular poster at that campus reads: "Suharto is no different from the shah!"

The Haitian Boat People

More than 8,000 Haitians who have sought political asylum in the United States since 1972 are threatened with deportation back into "President for Life" Jean-Claude Duvalier's repressive hands. Many of the refugees have arrived in Florida on tiny, overcrowded, unseaworthy boats after a danger-filled 800-mile voyage.

It is impossible to determine how many have been lost at sea trying to make their way to the U.S. But one striking disaster occurred within sight of the Florida coast and gives some indication of the risks Haitians face trying to escape their impoverished homeland.

Last August 13, as a boat carrying eighteen Haitians was approaching the Florida coast it was spotted by a police patrol car on shore. The boat's crew, who had been paid \$550 by each refugee, responded by forcing the Haitians into the sea at gunpoint. Before help could arrive, five children and a young mother had

Trotskyists Demand: No Troops to Zimbabwe!

The sections of the Fourth International in three of the main British Commonwealth countries reacted quickly to the announcement of a Commonwealth "monitoring force" being sent to Zimbabwe.

In Britain, the December 13 issue of *Socialist Challenge*, the weekly paper of the International Marxist Group, carried a front-page headline "Hands Off Zimbabwe," and an editorial denouncing the dispatch of British troops to that country. Noting that the British Army's ten-year occupation of Northern Ireland also began under the guise of sending "peacekeepers," the editorial concludes "... our task is clear... we must seize the opportunity now to build the largest possible campaign in defense of Zimbabwean self-determination.

"Hands Off Zimbabwe!
"Troops Out Now!"

In Australia, the December 13 issue of *Direct Action*, the weekly paper of the Socialist Workers Party, printed a statement by Steve Painter, SWP candidate for Parliament in the 1980 elections, under the headline "No Australian Troops to Zimbabwe!" Painter asks, "Is [the purpose of the Australian Contingent] to supervise a cease-fire and help bring about a peaceful, democratic settlement of the war in Zimbabwe, as [Prime Minister] Fraser claims? Certainly not.

"Its real aim is to help imperialism's puppet regime in the country set up a situation where it can smash its Black nationalist opponents. . . .

"The thrust of our demands has to be: Imperialism out of Zimbabwe! And that includes the Australian imperialist army, that will side with the Rhodesian whites every time. No Australian troops for Zimbabwe!"

In New Zealand, the December 14 issue of *Socialist Action*, the fortnightly paper of the Socialist Action League, carried an editorial entitled "No NZ Troops to Zimbabwe!"

"There are now 77 New Zealand troops, armed with rifles and pistols, in Zimbabwe as part of a 1200-person Commonwealth 'ceasefire monitoring force'. . . .

"The ceasefire these forces will be 'monitoring' is a situation that has been imposed on the Black nationalist forces by the Salisbury regime. . . .

"The sending of this New Zealand force overseas . . . is also a public relations attempt to prepare working people in New Zealand to accept future NZ military involvement in other countries. Since Vietnam, New Zealand workers have been highly suspicious of such involvement.

"The labour movement should be opposed to any New Zealand involvement in policing this ceasefire."

drowned. Survivors were turned over to immigration officials.

The U.S. has thus far refused to recognize Haitians as political refugees since the Duvalier government is a staunchly anti-Communist U.S. ally. In fact, only 80 Haitians have ever received political asylum in the U.S., while some 600 have thus far been sent back to Haiti.

When asked about the deportations, Raymond Morris, Miami director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, callously remarked, "It is no big deal. The United States has deported many thousands of Mexicans who are coming over for basically the same economic reasons."

Trotsky's Centenary Commemorated in Bombay

A public meeting to commemorate the life and work of Leon Trotsky was held in Bombay, India, on November 7. The meeting was chaired by the noted sociologist A. R. Desai, and featured a broad range of speakers, including activists in the Indian labor movement, who discussed Trotsky's contributions to the revolutionary movement and the relevance of his ideas today.

A Hindi-language pamphlet on the life of Trotsky was also published to mark the occasion.

Irish Feminists Harassed by British Courts

Eleven members of the Belfast feminist group Women Against Imperialism were brought before a Unionist judge January 2 on frame-up charges of assault and obstruction stemming from a police attack on a demonstration in support of Irish political prisoners last March 8.

Seventy spectators—including feminists who had come from Dublin and Britain to show their support—attended the trial, only to have the case postponed for three months at the prosecution's request—the third such postponement in the case. Defense demands that either the women receive a speedy trial or the charges be dropped were denied by the judge.

The defendants are asking that messages of support, protesting this form of judicial harassment against them, be sent to Women Against Imperialism, c/o Connolly Bookshop, Avoca Park, Andersonstown, Belfast, Ireland.

Statement of the Fourth International

Crisis of Capitalism and Struggle for Socialist Revolution

[The following manifesto was issued by the World Congress of the Fourth International in November 1979.]

* * *

Capitalism is at present undergoing its gravest crisis since the beginning of the 1930s. The victory of the Indochinese revolution heightened the antiwar attitudes of the toilers in the United States, which have for several years blocked any massive military intervention by Washington against revolutionary upsurges. Thus there has been no international gendarme capable of effectively defending capital around the world. This coincides with and has been reinforced by a long-term crisis which has affected the capitalist economy since the beginning of the 1970s. Flowing from this economic and political situation has been a new deterioration of the relationship of class forces on a world scale against imperialism. This in turn contributed to the fall of the shah of Iran, the main counterrevolutionary bastion in the Middle East, as well as that of Somoza, the main counterrevolutionary bastion in Central America.

Unemployment continues to grow in the imperialist countries. It remains at a high level even during the periods of recovery which occur in the context of this long-term crisis. The different variants of bourgeois policy cannot bring inflation under control. The expansion of credit takes on greater and greater dimensions, and the international financial system is threatened by the bankruptcy that haunts the poorest capitalist countries, who are up to their ears in debt. The horrible spiral of hunger, poverty, sickness, and illiteracy continues to afflict the peoples of the semicolonial countries.

The relative weakening of American imperialism, and the sharpening of inter-imperialist competition, have given rise to a serious crisis of leadership of the international bourgeoisie. This is intertwined with a crisis of leadership of the bourgeoisie in the majority of the big imperialist countries affected by, among other things, successive scandals (Watergate, the Lockheed scandal, the affair of Giscard's diamonds, etc.). In the last analysis, these crises reflect the fact that the relationship of forces between capital and labor makes it impossible for any present variant of bourgeois policy to decisively reestablish the conditions necessary for relaunching a major long-term accumulation of capital, whatever temporary and limited gains they might be able to accomplish.

The capitalist morass is further deep-

ened by the crisis of all bourgeois social relationships. Millions of women throughout the world are rebelling against their oppression. The struggle that has broken out in many countries on a mass scale for free abortion on demand is only one of many manifestations of this general revolt. This massive awakening of women is in the final analysis directed against their subordinate status, maintained by the family system, an indispensable institution for the defense and transmission of private property. The anticapitalist potential of this struggle becomes increasingly clear.

The mass struggles against nuclear power stations, and more generally against the growing danger that capitalist anarchy and the frantic search for profits means for the natural environment constitute an implicit challenge to the relations of capitalist production.

The gravity of the overall crisis affecting the capitalist system and the deterioration of the relationship of forces between the classes on a world scale does not mean, however, that imperialism has been forced into a permanent and passive retreat. Not at all. It is feverishly preparing its counter-offensive. It still retains enormous reserves that it can bring to bear. Its military force is greater than ever. Washington is already in the process of reorganizing its forces to intervene in the Caribbean, the Middle East, and the Far East, and has launched a campaign to win American public opinion to support its war threats. A new stage in the drive for nuclear arms has unfolded behind the smokescreen of the SALT II accords.

What is holding back the rapid realization of all the imperialist plans for overcoming the crisis at the expense of the international proletariat, the oppressed peoples, and the workers states, is the fact that the extent of the contradictions rendering the system demand "solutions" of the same dimension as the crisis. Only by dealing severe blows to decisive sections of the industrial proletariat and its organizations in the major capitalist countries can there be a significant increase in the rate of profit. Only the reconquest of the major markets lost through the successive victories of the socialist revolution can create the necessary framework for a new long-term capitalist economic revival. As during the 1920s and 1930s, the capitalist "solution" is bloody dictatorship and war. But in order to impose these "solutions" crushing defeats must first be dealt to the toiling masses. These defeats have not taken place. The decisive battles are before

us and not behind us. It is these battles that we must prepare for. Their outcome will determine the future of humanity. They can and must end with the victory of the world socialist revolution if humanity is to avoid falling back into barbarism or even suffering annihilation in a nuclear holocaust.

Defend and Develop Iranian Revolution

The fall of the bloody dictatorship of the shah, who tortured and massacred tens of thousands of oppositionists, youth, workers, and militants of the oppressed nationalities, was the product of mass mobilizations unprecedented in recent history. In successive waves, literally millions of men and women poured into the streets of Tehran and other major cities of the country despite savage repression by the army. A revolutionary general strike, spearheaded by the oil workers, paralyzed the entire economy of the country. Finally, the army broke apart under the battering ram of the mass struggle. The urban insurrection triumphed. The Pahlavi dynasty was thrown out of the country.

However, due to the shameful capitulation to the shah's regime by the Stalinist Tudeh Party and the bureaucrats of Moscow and Peking, as well as the collapse of the traditional liberal-bourgeois opposition, the Shi'ite clergy was able to gain the leadership of this huge upsurge of the mass movement thanks to Khomeini's intransigence. A bourgeois state remained; its repressive apparatus and army were disorganized but not destroyed. The economy remains capitalist. The government is bourgeois.

The channelizing of the antidictatorial and anti-imperialist mass movement by a nationalist populist religious current placed the revolutionary process in Iran in an enormous contradiction. Despite the religious feelings they hold to differing degrees—not so much the proletariat as such, but the semiproletarian and plebeian urban layers—the masses in motion are fundamentally motivated by class aspirations: the elimination of massive unemployment, the struggle against the high cost of living, for workers control over production and employment, for democratic liberties and the free development of the workers movement, for the right of self-determination for oppressed nationalities, and for a decisive break with imperialism.

The Khomeini regime cannot satisfy these aspirations because it cannot break with capitalism and these demands cannot be met in the framework of capitalism. The regime can begin attacks on sectors of the

mass movement, as it did during the month of August. It can slow down the development of class consciousness and hold back the achievement of political and organizational independence of the proletariat and the poor peasantry through the reactionary influence of clericalism. But neither can this regime defeat the mass movement, given its particular links with the masses and the apparent absence of an effective instrument of repression, that is, of a bourgeois army firmly reestablished as a striking force. It cannot resolve the fundamental contradictions which rend it. In the long run, it is inevitable that the masses will become disenchanted with the regime. The present anti-imperialist mass mobilizations go beyond the limits desired by the regime, and will only reinforce the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Revolutionary Marxists unconditionally defend the Iranian revolution against imperialism, which is stepping up its threats of aggression, and against any attempts to overthrow Khomeini through a reactionary coup d'état. Our fundamental orientation is the intransigent defense of the material interests and democratic liberties of the masses of workers and peasants, the achievement of their political class independence, the defense of the rights of the oppressed nationalities, the encouragement of all forms of organization of the masses, and the building of a revolutionary party—the Iranian section of the Fourth International.

End the blockade of Iran and seizure of Iranian funds by American imperialism!

Halt the economic war against the Iranian revolution!

The American Seventh Fleet should get out of the Arabian Sea!

Give back to the Iranian people the wealth that has been robbed from them by the Pahlavi dynasty and its accomplices and collaborators through transferring this wealth out of the country! Send back the assassin shah to the people of Iran!

Release from prison the worker militants and antishah, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist fighters repressed by the Khomeini regime, beginning with our comrades of the HKS and the militants of the Kurdish national movement!

Freedom of organization and full political freedom for the working class, the poor peasantry, and the oppressed nationalities!

Full political and civil equality for Iranian women, and support to their specific demands for liberation after centuries of obscurantist oppression!

The right to unconditional self-determination for the Kurdish people and all the oppressed nationalities in Iran!

For a sovereign constituent assembly!
For a workers and peasants republic!

For the Defense and Victory of the Nicaraguan Revolution

As in Iran, the dictatorship in Nicaragua

was overthrown by a tumultuous mass mobilization ending in a generalized urban insurrection. But the revolutionary process in Nicaragua differed from that of Iran. On the one hand, there was the total destruction of the bourgeois army and its replacement by the Sandinista People's Army which emerged from the popular insurrection against Somoza, and, on the other hand, the growth and weight of committees of the masses (Sandinista Defense Committees) and the growth of other organizations of the toiling masses (unions and organizations of agricultural workers and poor peasants), which have been pushed forward and led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). The Sandinistas have evolved to the left over the course of the past year, under the impact of the upsurge of the masses. They stimulated and led the insurrection, and have taken a whole series of radical anti-imperialist and anticapitalist measures.

Imperialism is utilizing different tactics to try to prevent the Nicaraguan revolution from taking the road the Cuban revolution took twenty years ago.

It is placing conditions on economic aid, including on food and how such aid is used; it is preparing a military intervention and is supporting the attacks already launched from Honduras, where the National Guard is reorganizing.

To realize its designs, it can count on various initiatives of the Latin American bourgeoisies. American imperialism, as well as the Latin American bourgeoisies, will try in the immediate period to guarantee the stability and extension of the private sector of the economy, to assure a real relaunching of capitalist accumulation which means limiting the demands of the masses, and to maintain the Nicaraguan economy in the framework of the international capitalist economy. Measures furthering these goals would put a break on the mobilization of the masses and on the dynamic of the revolution.

However, nothing is definitively decided yet in Nicaragua. The bourgeoisie retains strong positions of power: in the economy, in the press, among the clerical hierarchy, in the professional associations and the Chambers of Commerce. These positions, in this particular situation of dual power, are reflected inside the government, which remains a government of coalition with the bourgeoisie.*

Revolutionary Marxists resolutely support all the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist measures carried out up to now by the FSLN. The advance of the revolution requires the extension of the agrarian reform, generalization of workers control

*A minority of the World Congress holds that the revolutionary process has developed further in Nicaragua, and that a workers and peasants government has come into existence. Another minority holds that the present government is bourgeois.

and the massive unionization of the workers, building the new Sandinista People's Army and the general arming of the workers and peasants through the militias, centralization of the Sandinista Defense Committees in order that they become organs of power of the toiling masses, refusal to be tied to imperialism through conditions imposed by it concerning the foreign debt, the expropriation of the holdings of the remaining big capitalists and imperialists.

The application of such measures can only lead to a rupture with bourgeois forces present in the government and other state institutions.

This road will end in the complete destruction of the bourgeois state and the birth of a workers state. The creation of a mass revolutionary party is an indispensable instrument for carrying through these tasks.

It is excluded that imperialism and the Latin American bourgeoisies will passively watch the birth of a second workers state in the Americas. As the social and political forces assemble for the decisive test of force in Nicaragua, the counterrevolutionary intervention of imperialism will reach a qualitatively higher level, including against Cuba. There is the risk that the Nicaraguan revolution will have to confront this intervention under conditions of isolation, apart from the aid it can receive from the Cuban workers state, whose resources are limited. Symbolically, the Kremlin has recognized the new military junta in El Salvador, while mass struggles and armed confrontations continue. This is a clear signal to Washington that the Soviet bureaucracy is once again ready to sell out the revolution in Central America. The economic aid granted up to now to the Nicaraguan revolution by the bureaucratized workers states is negligible when compared to the aid they have given to bourgeois governments such as India, Egypt, or Indonesia.

The Nicaraguan revolution will not be able to break out of the vise that is closing in around it except by the deepening and regional extension of the revolution and the development of international solidarity. The upsurge of the mass movement and the growth of revolutionary organizations in El Salvador—which the preventive overthrow of the dictatorship by the “liberal” military junta was not able to hold back—the crisis of the dictatorship in Guatemala and Honduras, the difficulty of the Bolivian bourgeoisie to stabilize the situation after the massive resistance to the military coup, and the rise of workers struggles in Brazil and the first mass mobilizations in a long time in Venezuela, all indicate that the Nicaraguan revolution is part of a new revolutionary upsurge in Latin America. The creation of a new workers state in Nicaragua would in turn accelerate and deepen this rise of struggles.



"Workers Forward With the Sandinista Revolution."

Barricada

It is the duty of revolutionaries and of the workers and anti-imperialist movements of the entire world to launch a vast campaign of internationalist solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution, of the same type as the movement against Washington's war in Vietnam.

Immediate, massive, and unconditional aid to Nicaragua, which has been devastated by the Somozaist dictatorship, a dictatorship financed, armed, and aided by the international bourgeoisie! Imperialism has a debt of blood to pay to the people of Nicaragua. It should pay up now!

Immediate cancellation of Nicaragua's foreign debt by the imperialist governments and banks!

Dismantling of the imperialist military bases in Guantánamo, Panama, Puerto Rico, and elsewhere in the Caribbean and Central America!

Direct aid from the big workers organizations of the imperialist countries to the FSLN, trade unions, and mass organizations of Nicaragua!

Massive aid from the USSR, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and the People's Republic of China for the reconstruction of Nicaragua!

An end to the Yankee imperialist blockade and threats against Cuba!

Solidarity and support to the rising revolution in El Salvador!

Defeat the Austerity Policy of the Bourgeoisie!

The bourgeoisie in all capitalist countries has launched an austerity offensive against the working class and all wage earners. The immediate aim of this offensive is to make the workers pay the costs of the crisis and to raise the profit rate through a reduction of real wages, speedup and refusing to cut back the working day in spite of growing unemployment. Sharp

cuts in social spending (social security, health, education, subsidies for housing) are counterbalanced by enormous subsidies to big capital as well as a constant increase in military expenditures.

The closure of factories and massive unemployment are aimed at "rationalizing" capitalist industry by reducing the number of jobs and increasing productivity. This is accompanied by attacks on particular bastions of the workers movement (British Leyland, coal mining in the United States, Seat in Barcelona, the steel industry in the Lorraine and Liège, the Italian petrochemical industry), and by attempts to deal blows to the fighting vanguard of the workers (dismissal of the sixty-one militants at Fiat in Turin, the firing of a trade-union leader in British Leyland).

In the longer run, the bourgeoisie is hoping to wear down the organized force of the proletariat through the demoralizing consequences of massive and long-term unemployment, and to cut into basic trade-union rights such as the right to strike. The latter is manifested most clearly in the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and Australia. Often so-called "anti-terrorist" laws serve as the juridical base for chipping away trade-union and democratic liberties—as has happened in West Germany, Italy, and Spain. Such attacks can lay the groundwork for a generalized assault on working-class rights at a later stage.

However, while this offensive has scored important advances in some semicolonial countries, where the living standard of the workers has been significantly lowered, especially under conditions of dictatorship (for example, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Pakistan) or semidictatorship (the state of emergency in India under the regime of Indira Gandhi), this is not

the case in most of the imperialist countries. In these countries, after an initial disarray provoked by the shameless role of collaboration with, or even initiation of, the austerity policy, played by the leaderships of the CPs, SPs, and the unions, the workers have fought back vigorously. Through broad protest movements and strikes, especially in Great Britain, Italy, Denmark, Canada, and Australia, and through pressure exerted through the trade-union organizations such as in West Germany, Sweden, and Belgium, they have often largely recovered the drop in purchasing power they suffered from the austerity policy, or are in the process of doing so.

This is particularly true for the strongest and best organized bastions of the proletariat. The superexploited layers of the proletariat, the least organized, the most vulnerable, defended badly or not at all by the major trade-union organizations, have suffered the most serious blows: the immigrant workers, a section of women wage earners and the youth, and the victims of structural, long-term unemployment.

The fightback by the workers found its first expression in the revolt inside the trade unions against the policy of collaboration with and support to the austerity policy. This opposition has been accompanied by an attempt of the workers to fight for democracy inside the unions, to challenge the bureaucracy's control over negotiations and over the union structures inside the big plants. This trend has taken on significant dimensions in Italy, Spain, and France. It has begun to appear in the United States and Japan.

However, this response to the austerity offensive of the bourgeoisie is as yet limited. Austerity measures are more and more the axis of governmental policy. They cannot be fought at the union level alone. The working masses sense that the crisis is a crisis of the regime, which requires overall political solutions. Successive union struggles against limitations on wage increases, even if successful, risk in the long run to wear down worker combativity if they do not lead to radical political changes.

This is why the policy of division of the SPs and CPs, the policy of fragmenting strikes, and the absence of any overall alternative solution to the economic policy of the bourgeoisie, holds disastrous consequences for the working class. It is nothing but the other side of the coin of accepting the crisis as inevitable—since the capitalist regime itself, which produced the crisis, is not challenged.

Against this policy of abandoning the defense of the immediate and historic interests of the working class, the Fourth International struggles to organize an effective fightback by the workers to the bourgeois offensive:

Against inflation—a sliding scale of wages and social allocations!

Against unemployment—an immediate and radical reduction of the workweek (thirty-five hours!) to hire new workers, without a decrease in weekly wages, and with workers control over the pace of work!

Against discriminatory and xenophobic laws—for equal social and political rights for immigrant workers. Against the division of the toiling masses—the mass organizations of the workers should champion the demands of the women and youth!

Against the maneuvers and offensive of the “multinationals”—international solidarity and organization of the workers, and preparation of protest campaigns and international coordination during strikes!

Instead of the state giving gifts to the capitalists, there should be nationalization without compensation of subsidized enterprises, to be managed under workers control!

In face of the prolonged stagnation of the economy—nationalization without indemnification of big industry, the banks, insurance companies, holdings, and other financial institutions—and their centralized management under workers control, in order to achieve an economic recovery based on a plan democratically worked out by the organizations of the workers and broad masses.

Against the policy of dividing the workers and class collaborationism! For the workers united front, uniting all organizations of the workers movement, to push forward the construction of factory committees and neighborhood committees! For trade-union unity and democratization of the unions!

For a generalization of struggles to prepare a united movement to install a workers government, a government of the mass organizations of the workers movement, to carry out the demands of the broad masses.

For the Antibureaucratic Political Revolution!

Although the bureaucratically deformed or degenerated workers states have not

experienced the crisis of overproduction and massive unemployment that affects all of the industrialized capitalist states—thus confirming the analysis of the Fourth International that these countries are no longer capitalist—these societies have in general experienced a crisis of a different but no less explosive character. In fact, the present worldwide crisis could be characterized as a combined crisis of the imperialist system, of the capitalist mode of production, and of the bureaucratic dictatorship in the workers states.

The latter is revealed above all by a high level of economic waste, a slowdown of the pace of economic growth as the reserves of labor power and raw materials shrink so that more and more rational choices regarding investments *must* be made—choices that *cannot* be made without broad workers democracy.

Incapable of taking this road—which would rapidly sweep away its power and privileges—the bureaucracy has no other alternative than to turn more and more to the recourse of the “market mechanism” and to a greater integration in the capitalist world market, administratively imposing priorities that are decided arbitrarily, and disproportionately extending fixed investments (factories, machines) which are increasingly underutilized. The needs of the toiling masses, which increase as their level of skill and culture rises, cannot be satisfied through bureaucratic management, which as the workers are well aware, implies enormous waste. This is the root of the generalized indifference toward maximizing production, which is reinforced by the more and more open growth of social inequality (special stores for the purchase of quality products in exchange for foreign currency, for example).

The ruling bureaucratic caste has no authority or respect. Its corruption, its cynicism, and its repressive policies are universally detested. As the crisis of the bureaucratic dictatorship sharpens, as the Stalinist monolith progressively crumbles (Titoism, destalinization, Maoism, “cultu-

ral revolution,” demaiozation, Eurocommunism), the political discussions and the search for “alternative models” are not limited to interbureaucratic conflicts. A slow political awakening is beginning to take place throughout all layers of the population. This awakening affects broad layers in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and the People’s Republic of China. The examples of the Hungarian revolution of 1956, of the “Prague Spring” of 1968-69 in Czechoslovakia, and of the successive waves of struggles in China since 1966 demonstrate that this phenomenon can take on a massive character in a favorable conjuncture.

There is a beginning of an awakening of advanced layers of the working class on the economic and political level, which is especially marked in Poland and in the People’s Republic of China, but which is beginning to come to the surface in the USSR as well. This awakening is enough to refute the myth that the political opposition developing against the bureaucracy would be basically reactionary and procapitalist—a myth that both the bureaucracy and the international bourgeoisie have a common interest in promoting. Quite a different image is presented by the young Chinese dissidents, proudly demanding socialist democracy in front of the court, or by the defendants of the Leningrad trial, speaking in the name of the “new left opposition,” or the Polish and Romanian strikers, the leaders of Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, defying the “normalizers.” It is these people—and not those nostalgic for the past, whether they be Stalinists or procapitalist elements—who embody, and open the road to, the future, which is that of the antibureaucratic political revolution.

Obviously fifty years of bureaucratic dictatorship in the USSR, with all its crimes and disgusting lies, and thirty years of the same kind of dictatorship in Eastern Europe and China, have discredited communism and socialism in the eyes of the workers and the youth of these countries. This makes it more difficult for the young generation of rebels to rediscover the true face and history of revolutionary Marxism.

Such things as “socialist” forced labor camps; “socialist” secret police; “socialist” repression of freedom of thought, discussion, and political and social action; and military conflicts between “socialist” countries are all aberrant and absurd concepts from the point of view of Marxism.

In the bureaucratically deformed or degenerated workers states, a ruling bureaucratic caste enjoys enormous material privileges in relation to the toiling masses. It utilizes its monopoly of political, economic, and social power to consolidate its privileges, and for that reason defends its totalitarian rule tooth and nail. These countries can only advance toward socialism by overturning the bureaucratic dicta-

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torship by means of a political revolution that establishes the power of workers and peasants councils, freely and democratically elected, with the legalization of political parties within them and with the workers themselves having the right to choose their own representatives; and the full enjoyment of democratic freedoms by the toiling masses.

One of the most repugnant features of Stalinism and the bureaucratic castes in power is their narrow, reactionary nationalism, an inevitable product of the theory and practice of "socialism in one country," which means subordination of the development of the world revolution to the interests of the bureaucratic castes. This has not only led to the reappearance of the phenomenon of national oppression, especially in the USSR; it has also increasingly poisoned the relationships between workers states. The exacerbation of the Sino-Soviet conflict, the cynical alliance of the Peking bureaucracy with bourgeois and imperialist forces against the USSR and Vietnam to improve its position, and the breaking out of military conflicts between bureaucratized workers states, are the most disorienting for the international proletariat.

The Fourth International forcefully affirms that these crimes are the products of the bureaucratic dictatorship and not of socialism. The bureaucratic dictatorship is, in turn, in the last analysis, the product of the defeats and delay of the world revolution and of the survival of capitalism in the industrially advanced countries.

The weight of the proletariat and of its specific classical forms of action and organization are becoming greater in all three sectors of the world revolution. This was revealed in May 1968 in France. It was reflected in the course of the Portuguese revolution of 1975-76. It was revealed in the "Prague Spring" and in the big strikes in Poland. It was revealed in the urban insurrections in Tehran and Managua, and in the great strike waves in Brazil. Sceptics and cynics can expound as much as they want about the supposed "crisis of Marxism." Real socialism, the only possible kind, will be built by the toilers together on an international scale, with the workers of all countries fraternally united because there are no fundamental conflicts of interest opposing one to the other. We will build it on the basis of a World Federation of Soviet Republics of Workers and Toilers, which will banish forever all exploitation, oppression, war, and violence between human beings.

Imperialism remains the enemy number one blocking the road to this World Federation. Against it, the gain represented by the abolition of capitalism must be defended, despite the crimes of the bureaucracy. We defend the USSR, the People's Republic of China, Vietnam, East Germany, and the other deformed workers states, against any imperialist aggression



Iranian peasants demonstrate in front of U.S. embassy in Tehran. Cindy Jaquith/IP-I

and against any attempt to restore the capitalist mode of production.

Against U.S. imperialist aggression and blockade against the Cuban workers state and all its conquests!

We are for the defense of the Pnompenh government of the Kampuchean workers state against the threats of imperialism, the Thai bourgeoisie, the restorationist Sihanouk forces and the Khmer Serei, together with the remnants of Pol Pot's forces with the criminal support of the Peking bureaucracy.

Hands off the Kampuchean workers state!

Stop the criminal imperialist blockade that is starving the Khmer people!

Stop the blockade and the threats against the Indochinese revolution!

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

For dissolution of NATO and all the imperialist pacts!

No new Chinese military aggression against Vietnam!

Withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Chinese border!

For an end to the racist and chauvinist propaganda in the Sino-Soviet, Sino-Vietnamese, and Khmer-Vietnamese conflicts!

The antibureaucratic political revolution is an indispensable link in the process leading to authentic socialism. This is why the international workers movement must fight to defend the victims of bureaucratic repression and for the liberties and rights of workers in the bureaucratized workers states.

Immediate freedom for Petr Uhl, Vaclav Havel, and the other leaders of Charter 77 convicted in Czechoslovakia!

Immediate freedom for Klebanov and all members of independent workers groups in the USSR!

Freedom for all the political prisoners in the USSR, in the People's Republic of China, and in all the bureaucratized workers states! Abolish the infamous institution of forced labor camps and imprisonment of oppositionists in psychiatric hospitals!

Immediate restoration of the right to strike, of the right of trade-union organization, of democratic election of factory trade-union committees, and of political liberties of the workers in all of these countries!

Management of the factories by the workers themselves and democratically centralized planning through a congress of workers councils!

Restore strict respect for Leninist principles in regard to self-administration and the right to self-determination of national minorities!

Forward to World Socialist Revolution!

The present world crisis reveals in a concentrated way all the fundamental contradictions of capitalism and the dramatic consequences of a system which has survived for more than half a century and which threatens to drag humanity down into frightening catastrophes. Various conferences, speeches, and publications speak of the so-called threat of overpopulation. But at the same time, every three or four

years the production of cereals is drastically reduced in the major exporting countries in order to increase their price on the world market. There is endless talk about the so-called energy crisis. But the capitalist system systematically wastes natural resources. Twenty million workers are condemned to unemployment in the imperialist countries, while underdeveloped peoples are desperately in need of tractors, fertilizers, schools, hospitals, and factories that could easily be produced by those unemployed workers. While imperialism is choked with overproduction and excess productive capacity, hundreds of millions of people are dramatically in need of food. Millions of children die of hunger every year. Big speeches on human rights are in style today, but torture has become an institutionalized practice in more than sixty countries of the world.

The Fourth International does not stand aside from any struggle for any immediate demand, however modest it might be, economic or democratic. The toiling masses can gain confidence in themselves, increase their level of organization, and develop their class consciousness only by defending all their interests and all their rights. The militants of the Fourth International take part in these day-to-day struggles. They attempt to win the confidence of their co-workers and comrades in struggle and gain authority in their eyes in order to be able to build real revolutionary workers parties that can bring together the majority of the vanguard workers who are recognized as such by the class.

But at the same time the Fourth International warns the workers that the capitalist system has become too sick, and that its contradictions are too explosive to be able to hope to escape a catastrophe through the road of reforms alone and a gradual transformation of the system. Two world wars, fascism, Auschwitz, Hiroshima, innumerable colonial wars, and famine in the "third world"—this is the price paid up to now for these kinds of illusions that decisively contributed to the survival of the system at times of great revolutionary crises, when the overthrow of capitalism was possible. Tomorrow, the price could be even greater.

This is why the Fourth International calls on the workers, the exploited and oppressed of all countries, to unite for the worldwide overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of a worldwide socialist order, which is the only real "new economic order" that is not a trick or an empty illusion. By abolishing the economic system based on private property, competition, and profit, and the crises and terrific waste that they produce; by eliminating the arms race, which in and of itself absorbs more resources than what would be necessary to close the gap in a relatively short time between the standard of living of workers in the imperialist countries and those of the semicolonial coun-

tries; by liberating enormous creative energies—intellectual and manual—to invent new technologies subordinated to the needs for human development, technology capable of reestablishing and safeguarding the ecological balance—in this way the socialist revolution can resolve the present international crisis and assure the future for humanity.

For socialism to be victorious, it is necessary to develop simultaneously the organization of the proletariat and its allies in all forms—since the emancipation of the workers can only be the work of the workers themselves—and build powerful proletarian vanguard parties and a powerful proletarian international, which will fight for the common interests of the workers before all special interests, the acquisitions of class consciousness as opposed to any temporary relapse into passivity and demoralization, and the concentration of forces and the necessary audacious initiatives against an enemy that is much more experienced and hardened. The Fourth International and its sections and sympathizing organizations are only the initial nuclei of this organized working-class vanguard that is required for victory. But after having successfully resisted in periods of reaction and retreat, it is integrated in the new worldwide revolutionary upsurge taking place on all continents.

This is why, with unshakeable confidence in the leading role of the proletariat in the three sectors of the world revolution, the Fourth International is continuing and deepening its proletarian orientation, through a radical turn to implant the majority of its cadres in industry.

It calls on vanguard trade-union militants to join it, militants who are in the front lines of the struggle against auster-

ity, who are indignant at the compromises and betrayals of the trade-union bureaucracies.

It calls on militants of the CPs and SPs to join it, militants who are disgusted by the policy of division and capitulation of their leaders, a policy which will allow the bourgeois system to emerge from the crisis on the backs of the toiling masses.

It calls on organizations adhering to Trotskyism, those who have hesitated up to now, to join with the Fourth International in building a single world party of the world revolution founded on democratic centralism.

The Fourth International calls on:

Women who are fighting for their liberation and militants of the oppressed nationalities who are demanding the right of self-determination;

All revolutionary militants who today find themselves in an impasse after the experience of the failures of the centrists and Maoists;

Militant Palestinians, South Africans, Algerians, Kurds, Zimbabweans, the guerrilla fighters of Thailand, fighters against the dictatorships in Argentina and Uruguay—militants who have been disoriented by the impotence if not betrayal of their traditional leaderships;

Militant communist oppositionists and the youth of the new left opposition in the workers states—militants who are trying to take the banner of communism out of the hands of the bureaucrats who have dragged it through the mud and stained it with blood;

To join its struggle to forge the mass revolutionary international, the instrument to achieve victory of the world revolution!

Together we will lead toiling humanity to a socialist world! □

"Human Rights" Pope Muzzles Dissident Scholar

Pope John Paul II, the media darling of the Western press, decided on December 30 to uphold a Vatican teaching ban against Swiss theologian Rev. Hans Küng.

Küng, a professor of theology at the state-run University of Tübingen in West Germany, will be stripped of his teaching position under the terms of a 1933 treaty between Germany and the Vatican that requires a Catholic theology professor at state institutions to have church authorization to teach.

Withdrawal of that authorization was delivered to the state education ministry January 2.

Küng is under attack from the Vatican for casting doubt on the infallibility of the church, questioning the virgin birth of Jesus, and deviating from other church dogmas. In response, Küng stated that

"human rights and Christian love are preached to the outside world but, despite all the fine words, are ignored internally."

The action against Professor Küng closely followed three days of questioning of a Belgian priest, Edward Schillebeeckx, who is accused of heresy, and the November disciplining of French priest Jacques Pohier for theological errors. Pohier, too, has been forbidden to teach, preside at liturgical functions, or organize public meetings.

The Vatican is also reported to be preparing to move against a Brazilian priest who is one of the main proponents of what is called the "liberation theology" in Latin America, according to which the church should be more involved in struggles for social justice. □

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