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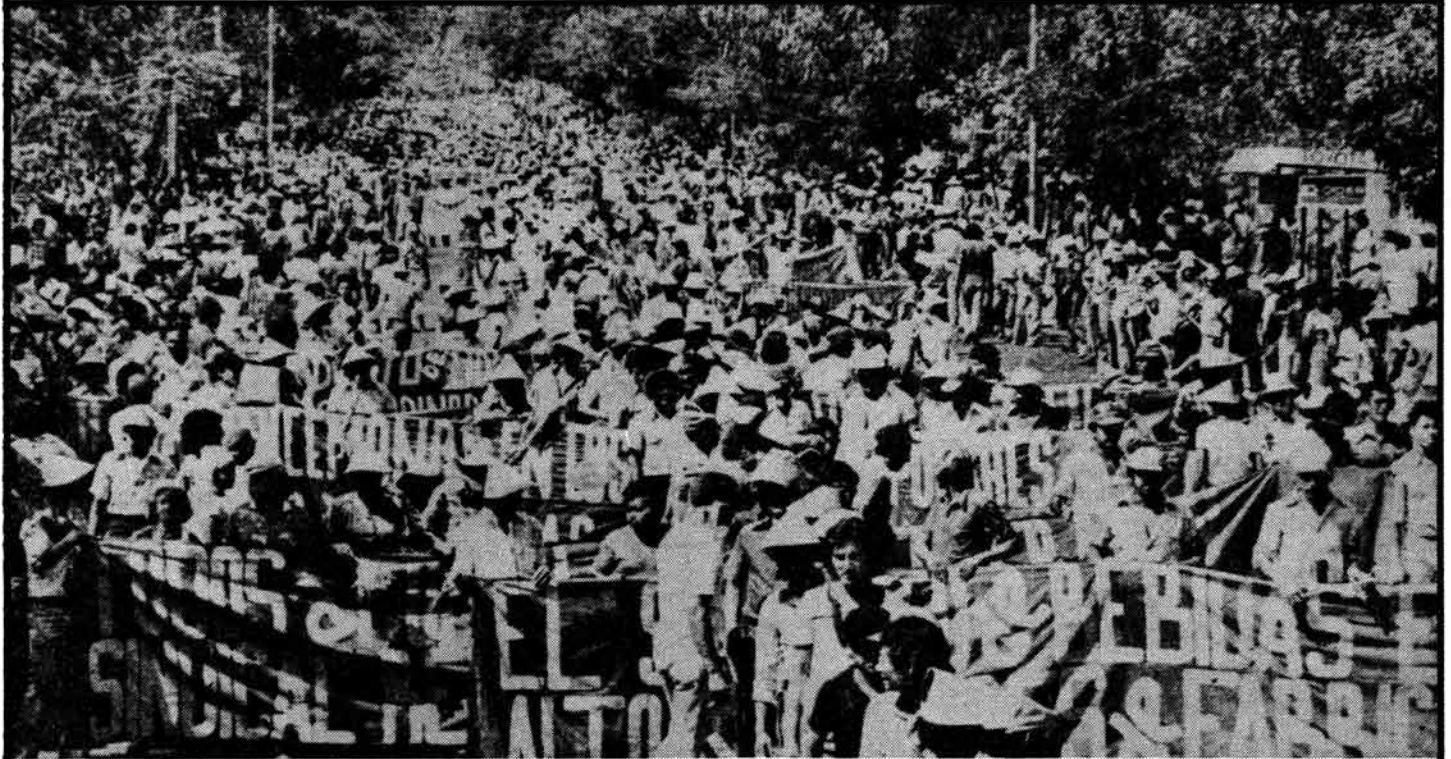
Vol. 18, No. 4

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February 4, 1980

USA 85¢

UK 30p



January 22 antigovernment march of 200,000 in San Salvador.

Eyewitness from El Salvador:

Demonstration Deals Blow to Military Junta Despite Murderous Repression

U.S.A.: Thousands Join Labor March for Women's Rights

Stop the Kremlin's Persecution of Andrei Sakharov!

Hugo Blanco Opens Campaign For President of Peru

Opening of Trotsky Archives, A Resource for Revolutionists

Sakharov Exile—Attack on Rights of Soviet Masses

By David Russell

The Soviet government's expulsion from Moscow of dissident Andrei Sakharov is an attack against the interests of all workers and other citizens of the Soviet Union. It deserves the condemnation of working-class organizations throughout the world.

Sakharov, a physicist and member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, was stripped of his honors and flown to the city of Gorky along with his wife, Yelena Bonner, January 22. For his key role in developing a hydrogen bomb to counter the U.S. nuclear threat, Sakharov had been awarded a Stalin Prize, the Order of Lenin, and other honors.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin accused Sakharov of "carrying out subversive activities against the Soviet state." They charged that he had "blabbed about things that any state protects as important secrets."

To the bureaucrats, it was a subversive action whenever Sakharov "blabbed" about the suppression of political freedom in the Soviet Union. He has helped expose frame-up trials against dissident artists and scientists, the jailing of government opponents in "psychiatric hospitals," denial of the right to organize and strike to Soviet workers, and the abuse of non-Russian nationalities.

As a member of Amnesty International, Sakharov had also supported the successful effort to free imprisoned Black activist Martin Sostre. He joined protests against the use of torture by right-wing military dictatorships in Uruguay and elsewhere.

For U.S. imperialism, the move against Sakharov could not have come at a better time. As David K. Willis pointed out in the January 23 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Action against [Sakharov] came as President Carter was trying to gain support for shifting or boycotting the Olympic games in July, to isolate Moscow diplomatically after the Soviet strike into Afghanistan, and to counter Soviet missiles with increased long-range defense spending at home and in NATO.

"The move against Dr. Sakharov may help the President in all those fields. . . ."

The capitalist media wasted no time in picking up on Sakharov's victimization and linking it to Carter's call for a boycott of the Moscow Olympics. To cite just one example, *New York Times* correspondent Craig R. Whitney said in a January 22 dispatch from Moscow: "Diplomats speculated that the move against Dr. Sakharov was part of a long-rumored plan to clear Moscow of the most active dissidents before the Summer Olympics in July."

Carter and the capitalist press hope to convince working people that a boycott might actually help the fight for democratic rights in the USSR.

But the opposite is the case. Washington care nothing about democratic rights anywhere in the world, and Olympic boycotts, trade bans, and rhetoric about human rights are all part of the ideological offensive that the ruling class has been carrying on in hopes of reversing the deep antiwar sentiment of American workers.

Thus, Carter's Olympic boycott is an act of hostility not only against the Soviet government, but also against the Soviet workers, the gains they have made through abolishing capitalism, and against workers and peasants throughout the world.

Sakharov himself has unfortunately supported such a boycott—an action that can only hurt his standing in the eyes of Soviet workers. He has also made statements opposing the use of Soviet troops in Afghanistan—a position that revolutionists disagree with.

But there is *nothing at all* progressive about the bureaucracy's attempts to silence Sakharov or prevent his views from being heard. To the contrary, by denying Sakharov the right to express his opinions, the Stalinist regime was issuing a warning to every single Soviet citizen that no expression of differences with the government will be tolerated. That is an attack on the rights of the Soviet workers and peasants, not on incorrect political ideas.

The only effective way to answer Sakharov's views on Afghanistan is by publicly explaining and debating the real issues there. That's how a revolutionary government in the Soviet Union would respond to political views it opposed. Such an open discussion would strengthen the position of the Soviet workers state internationally, and help to solidify support for the Afghan revolution among Soviet workers and peasants.

But the privileged caste that rules the Soviet Union fears any open discussion. Free thought and debate is a direct challenge to the bureaucratic and undemocratic means by which they hold onto power and deny decision-making to the Soviet working class.

By its outrageous victimization of Sakharov, the Stalinist regime has not only struck a blow against the rights of Soviet workers and peasants. It has also weakened the position of the Soviet workers state in its confrontation with U.S. imperialism. □

U.S. Athletes Say 'No' to Olympic Boycott

By David Frankel

No talk of an Olympic boycott was heard in the White House or in the halls of Congress in October 1968. The Mexico City Olympics went ahead as planned, although ten days before their opening Mexican troops gunned down 400 students engaged in a peaceful protest.

No U.S. official ever threatened to lift the passport of American athletes for participating in sports events in South Africa, where Black workers are held in servitude by the apartheid system.

But the Mexican and South African governments support the interests of the rich. When Soviet troops intervened in Afghanistan on behalf of a regime that had taken some steps in the interests of

the workers and peasants, the response in Washington was different.

By a vote of 386 to 12, the U.S. House of Representatives went on record January 24 in support of President Carter's call for a boycott of the Olympic Games scheduled in Moscow this summer. But the near-unanimous vote in Congress was deceptive.

Just as American farmers have protested Carter's cutback of grain sales to the USSR and just as young workers and students have protested his moves toward reviving the draft, so have those most directly affected by the Olympic boycott spoken out against it.

"Frankly, I'm sick and tired of being

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someone's political pawn," marathon runner Roy Kissin snapped.

"I am 100% opposed to any pullout, for any reason," declared shot-putter Al Feuerbach. "We make the sacrifice, we pay our own way, we're not connected to the Government. It's not their life dream that's being tampered with."

"If it came to a vote, I think the athletes would go against the President's wishes. I personally would," said weight lifter Bob Giordano.

Dozens of athletes training at the U.S. Olympic Center in Colorado called a news conference January 25 to speak out against the boycott. Accounts in the capitalist press admit that opposition to the boycott among athletes is overwhelming.

One television news program showed amateur boxers filing onto their Moscow-bound flight January 20 to participate in pre-Olympic competitions there. State Department officials were on hand to ask each athlete not to go, and airport personnel refused to load their luggage, but the team went anyway, as had a team of wrestlers a few days earlier.

Although he insisted that he had "no expectation that it will be necessary," U.S. Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti warned that the government would try to force athletes to honor the boycott. "We have explored the various options that are available under the law . . . with regard to enforcement or implementation of a boycott," Civiletti said January 25.

The day before the editors of the *New York Times* had expressed the fear that "if many American athletes were to turn up in Moscow while Afghanistan is occupied, they would flout and diminish the American Presidency. . . ."

Trying to blame the domestic opposition to Carter's moves on Soviet propaganda, the *Times* warned that the Soviets "will use American freedom to their advantage to encourage discontent among farmers, businessmen, athletes and others affected by the countermeasures. In time, they may well blunt those measures."

Internationally, Carter's demand for a boycott has fallen flat. "Africa will be there in full force. We will not boycott the Games," said Abraham Ordia, president of the forty-nine-nation Supreme Council for Sport in Africa.

Although the idea of a "Free World Olympics" has been raised by the White House, it appears doubtful that Washington could even get all of its allies to join in.

The West German government said it "deeply regretted" Carter's proposal. The French government sharply rejected any boycott, and Greek Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis declared that "Greece will not take part in the crusade that has begun to sabotage the Olympic Games in Moscow."

A handful of governments have come out in support of Carter's boycott. These include the British, New Zealand, Cana-

dian, Australian, Israeli, and Dutch imperialists, and U.S. clients such as the Saudi Arabian monarchy and Egypt's President Sadat. However, in many of these countries as well there has been strong resistance to any boycott by the athletes.

As Robert J. Kane, president of the U.S. Olympic Committee, warned in a congressional hearing January 23: "We do have a problem to face if we're out there alone swaying in the wind." □

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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 January
and the third and fourth in August.

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

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

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

European Subscribers: For air-speeded subscriptions write to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England. Britain and Ireland, send £11.00 for one year. Continental Europe and Scandinavia, send £15.00 for one year. For airmail from London send £22.00. Address subscription correspondence to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

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

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. Copyright © 1980 by Intercontinental Press.

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410 West Street
New York, New York 10014

Murderous Repression Fails to Intimidate Salvadoran Masses

By Gerhard Müller

SAN SALVADOR—I was among the hundreds of people trapped in the Metropolitan Cathedral after the military carried out a massacre against an enormous demonstration here January 22.

Inspired by the recent formation of the National Revolutionary Coordinating Committee (CNR), which involves the four main leftist organizations in El Salvador, the LP-28, FAPU, BPR, and UDN,* more than 200,000 persons took to the streets on January 22 in the first united demonstration convoked by the four organizations. Although right-wing terror groups had vowed to stop the demonstration, the demonstration was by far the largest action held in El Salvador during the more than fifty years this country has been governed by military juntas.

The marchers were supporting the economic and social demands of the Salvadoran working people and protesting the repression that has taken the lives of 600 people since the October 15 coup against Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero. The protesters chanted "Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win!"; "The fascist military junta will die when the revolution comes!"; "All power to the workers and peasants!"; and "Long live revolutionary unity!"

The demonstrators marched in a completely peaceful demonstration through the most important streets of the capital. It was a fantastic illustration of the broad popular support that the CNR enjoys. The majority of the demonstrators were San Salvador workers, peasants who had come into the capital from the countryside, as well as teachers, students, slum dwellers, and market vendors.

During the demonstration, a new clandestine radio station, the Revolutionary People's Radio, broadcast for almost two hours. The station was set up by the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP), the armed wing of the LP-28. It broadcast political statements from the mass organizations and the guerrilla groups, along with a declaration by ERP Comandante Ana Guadalupe Martínez—who is a living legend in El Salvador. Many participants in the demonstration were listening to this

*The February 28 People's Leagues, United People's Action Front, Revolutionary People's Bloc, and Nationalist Democratic Union, the legal arm of the Salvadoran Communist Party. For stories on the formation of the CNR and background to the current situation in El Salvador, see the January 21 and January 28 issues of *IP I*.

station, which the military did not manage to track down.

The size of the demonstration, the popular support for the CNR, and the existence of the radio station all marked a major political defeat for the military junta and its allies, the Christian Democratic Party. It also showed that the workers and peasants are ready for a final showdown against the repressive regime and the landlords and capitalists it represents.

At about 1 p.m., when the FAPU contingent was passing the National Palace in the center of the capital, National Guard troops opened fire from the balconies of the palace, instantly killing or wounding many persons. There is absolutely no doubt that the massacre was started by the Salvadoran army. It was carried out simultaneously from several locations, and apparently the whole operation was directed by officers in army helicopters circling over the crowd.

When the shooting began, I was standing on the roof of the Metropolitan Cathedral, sixty meters away from the National Palace.

[Another *IP/I* correspondent, on the line of march, also saw the police firing from the balconies of the National Palace, as well as from atop the Bank of El Salvador. Maria Elena García Villa, president of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador, confirmed these reports, stating that

the Salvadoran army and police opened fire on the march "without any provocation whatsoever."]

Demonstrators instantly sought cover wherever they could. More than 300 demonstrators managed to get into the cathedral, which had been occupied earlier by the FAPU.

For more than an hour the shooting did not stop for one second. And for more than five hours the cathedral was surrounded by the army, which was apparently cooperating with the right-wing terror organizations ORDEN and the White Warriors Union (UGB).

The interior of the cathedral was a nightmare. Bullets from the National Guard's German-produced G-3 rifles penetrated the windows and doors. The bodies of slain peasants lay on the floor. Ten or more demonstrators were wounded. Those of us inside sought cover wherever possible. Through the windows, one could see bodies of murdered demonstrators scattered around the square in front of the National Palace.

The situation was critical. There was no food, nor medicine to treat the wounded. But at no time did people panic. Discipline, organization, and confidence in the revolutionary leadership were beyond description.

About fifteen journalists from Europe and Latin America were among those

Washington Arms Military Butchers

The vicious repression unleashed by the Salvadoran military junta has the full support of the U.S. government. The day after the January 22 massacre, Robert White, the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, met behind closed doors with the country's military rulers.

"A source close to the [Salvadoran] government . . . said that they discussed the possibility of the United States sending military aid," the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario* reported.

White House backing has not been limited to promises. On January 24, U.S. Undersecretary of State William G. Bowdler flew to San Salvador to demonstrate the Carter administration's political support to the junta.

At the end of Bowdler's visit, the

regime announced that the promised U.S. aid would amount to "millions of dollars."

At a January 26 news conference in Managua, Nicaragua, Bowdler declared, "The United States supports the [Salvadoran] government," and he claimed that the regime "is pressing forward basic reforms for social and economic development, respect for human rights, and a return to constitutionality."

But El Salvador's ruling classes showed long ago that they are incapable of governing peacefully. Washington's dollars are aimed at strengthening the repressive military apparatus to enable the junta to carry out even greater attacks on El Salvador's working people.

inside the cathedral. Using the loud speakers of the church, each of us appealed to the Red Cross, the Human Rights Commission, and the San Salvador diplomatic corps to do everything possible to guarantee the safety of everyone inside the cathedral.

After about an hour and a half, a Red Cross team was allowed to enter the cathedral to bring out the wounded. Finally, after five hours, the rest of the demonstrators were escorted away by the Red Cross.

After the attack on the demonstration, more than 40,000 participants, mostly peasants from outside the capital, sought refuge inside the campus of San Salvador University. A few hours later, the military launched a new siege, this time against the university, which was totally cut off. Snipers fired into the campus, killing a member of the LP-28 and wounding several others.



Insecticides were sprayed over the people by military airplanes.

Once more, the organization and discipline of the Salvadoran revolutionists impressed me enormously. Although many had not eaten for two days, and despite the intense pressure from the military encirclement of the campus, the people remained organized. There were absolutely no signs of panic—on the contrary, time was spent in political discussions and organization of self-defense groups. Everyone remained calm.

It was thus a major political victory that the military, after ten hours of siege, had to give in to public pressure and return to their bases. Shortly afterwards, the 40,000 workers, peasants, and students marched out of the university grounds in a protest demonstration against the massacre of the previous day.

The CNR at the same time declared a three-day nationwide period of mourning and protest strike. The bodies of the slain were carried to the cathedral, where Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero celebrated a mass.

Official figures claim that only twenty persons were killed during the massacre. This number is far below the real toll. At

the university and in the cathedral I saw at least fifteen dead. There is no doubt that the Salvadoran junta is lying when it puts the number of victims so low.

[The Salvadoran Red Cross estimates that 100 persons died and that more than 300 were injured.]

On January 24 the junta held a news conference and denied any participation in the massacre. Antonio Morales Ehrlich, a Christian Democrat and junta member,

Thousands Protest Massacre in El Salvador

Reports from *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* correspondents in Central America indicate that the Salvadoran workers and peasants are fighting back in response to the January 22 massacre. The following day, more than 150,000 workers in the cities and countryside answered a CNR call for a three-day strike.

On January 24, thousands defied the threat of a new massacre and held a funeral march in honor of those who had been gunned down in the big demonstration. As the coffins were being lowered into the ground, marchers chanted, "No one can stop this revolution."

The growing strength of the revolutionary forces was clearly shown in the massive march, the outcome of the January 11 meeting that established unity among the main opposition groups.

Since that meeting, left-wing groups and guerrilla organizations have occupied dozens of churches and schools, organized meetings in working-class neighborhoods to explain the need for armed struggle against the dictatorship, and, in at least one neighborhood, repeatedly set up barricades and provided military training to the young people.

While there have not yet been large military confrontations, the government over the past several months has been evicting peasants from land they have occupied all over the country. In the north, several hundred peasants have been killed. In the cities, political and trade-union leaders are being murdered daily.

There has also been a step-up in the activities of right-wing paramilitary forces. On December 26, some 50,000 rightists staged an armed march through the capital under the sponsorship of ORDEN, a paramilitary group sponsored by the government.

On January 21, another right-wing murder squad, the National Warriors Union (UGN), blew up the San Salvador headquarters of the BPR.

In addition to its own military and paramilitary forces, the junta is counting on the aid of "observer troops" from the Organization of American States who are

put all the blame on "members of the extreme right." Later this story was altered. The government claimed that some police at the National Palace had fired "in self defense."

The junta, its Christian Democratic supporters, and the capitalist-landlord oligarchy are more isolated than ever, and the Salvadoran workers and peasants are organizing and preparing for further battles. □

already inside the country, stationed along the border with Honduras.

Members of the ruling oligarchy and armed forces high command are also reported to have been making large purchases of weapons in Miami, to better equip the terrorist ORDEN and UGN.

Meanwhile, the workers and peasants of El Salvador are under attack on the economic front as well. The country is in a deep economic crisis, with many basic items of consumption in short supply or unavailable.

Unemployment is rising steadily, as local and foreign capitalists sabotage the economy. An estimated \$100 million in capital was sent out of the country in the last three months of 1979 alone.

Coffee exporters, for example, have stopped paying the producers, who in turn have stopped paying the wages of agricultural laborers. Several large coffee planters have suspended their harvest. This has brought unemployment up to about 15 percent, at a time of the year when jobs are usually plentiful.

The coffee crisis affects the entire economy, since coffee is the country's chief export and employs nearly 40 percent of the workforce.

In an effort to appear to be doing something to stop the flight of capital, the junta announced January 9 that it was nationalizing the Bank of El Salvador. And in an attempt to stem the rapidly growing support for revolutionary change, the military rulers declared that they are in favor of agrarian reform and nationalization of other sectors of the economy.

But these measures are a case of too little, too late. The crisis is already extremely deep.

A Christian Democratic leader who supports the junta acknowledged to a *New York Times* correspondent that the country is already "bankrupt," and that it needs at least \$300 million from abroad just to finance the April planting.

He added that if the aid is not forthcoming, "there will be such hunger that the country will be ungovernable." □

Heroin Peddling and Counterrevolution in Afghanistan

By Fred Feldman

[The following is from the February 1 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary socialist weekly published in New York.]

* * *

How do the Afghan counterrevolutionaries and their backers in Washington finance the war against the government of Afghanistan?

One big source of income is dope peddling.

Heroin from Afghanistan and Pakistan (and to a much lesser extent Iran) "has inundated Europe and is beginning to spill over to the United States," reported Nicholas Gage in the January 11 *New York Times*.

An example of the "spillover" was the \$40 million shipment of heroin that police seized at New York's Kennedy Airport on January 16. The source of the heroin seems to have been the Afghanistan-Pakistan border area.

The dope traders are the very same "Afghan rebels" who are being painted up as "freedom fighters" in the U.S. capitalist media.

These pushers—often landlords, usurers, and bandits as well—suffered a big setback when the Mohammed Daud regime was overthrown in 1978. The new regime's land reform measures and its efforts to halt the drug trade threatened to put them out of business.

"Afghan police are waging a vigorous attack on narcotics smuggling," reported Stuart Auerbach in the October 11 *Washington Post*, "partially because of the strict attitudes of their Soviet advisers and partially because corruption here has decreased."

Rather than see their profits go down the drain, and their poppy fields turned toward other production, the drug traffickers opened a guerrilla war against the new regime.

A report in the April 30, 1979, issue of *McLean's* magazine, a Canadian weekly, stated:

"Feudal landlords whose holdings are threatened with confiscation by the Afghan government are bringing the produce from their poppy crops into Pakistan, and use the proceeds to buy rifles, explosives, and other weapons. Pakistani arms merchants report . . . that their new customers come in daily and business is booming."

Opium from the poppies is refined into heroin and shipped to Europe and the United States.

"Although opium is illegal in Afghani-

stan," reported Gage, "it is the principal crop in the regions whose inhabitants are in revolt against the Soviet-supported government in Kabul." Gage notes that it is also a prime crop in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan, where the bases and supply camps of the counterrevolutionaries are located.

Last year 1,100 tons of opium were produced in this region.

This would not be the first time that the U.S. government used the heroin trade to finance covert operations against an anti-imperialist struggle.

Heroin paid many of the bills for mercenary armies the CIA organized among



Rightist Afghan guerrillas. When Afghan police began cracking down on narcotics smuggling, many drug traffickers joined the fight against the regime.

the Meo people in Laos during the Indochina War. Their job was to battle revolutionary Pathet Lao forces.

Opium produced by sections of the Meo nationality was processed into heroin in factories in northwestern Laos—formerly "one of the largest heroin producing centers in the world," according to Alfred W. McCoy in *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*.

American advisers such as Edgar Buell took a direct hand in stepping up opium production.

The CIA-controlled Air America, using U.S. pilots, flew the heroin abroad.

Much of this heroin was slated for use by American GIs stationed in Vietnam.

More than 50,000 American GIs paid for the war with their lives. But thousands of others were crippled by drug addiction to pay for the CIA's "secret war" against the revolution in Laos.

Gage reports that heroin from the Middle East has largely replaced the flow of heroin from the "Golden Triangle"—the heroin-producing areas in Laos, Burma, and Thailand. But he doesn't say why.

In the years since it came to power in December 1975, the Pathet Lao has fought a bitter civil war aimed at breaking the grip of the opium growers and heroin traders over parts of northern Laos. (Buell is still out there, operating out of refugee camps across the Mekong River in Thailand.) A sizable contingent of Vietnamese troops helped the government forces. As the Pathet Lao gained ground, heroin production went into decline.

Far from praising the Laotian government for beginning to deal firmly with the scourge of heroin, the Carter administration has been denouncing the Pathet Lao effort, using unproven charges of human rights violations as a pretext.

And as opium production in Laos plummets, Carter is funnelling arms to the dope-pushing reactionaries in Afghanistan.

Heroin from Afghanistan will be used in the United States to make addicts of more working people and youth, especially in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities. The proceeds will go to arm the Afghan "freedom fighters," and to line the pockets of corrupt officials and businessmen involved in the trade from Pakistan to New York City.

Carter asks us to help the dope traders by helping them bring down the Afghan government. Maybe he'll soon be telling us that heroin addiction is really a patriotic duty—one more sacrifice we must make to fight those Communists in Afghanistan.

But all working people have a life-and-death stake in supporting their brothers and sisters in Afghanistan, and the Soviet soldiers who are helping them wage a fight that will be a step toward ending this criminal traffic. □

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South African Troops Remain in Zimbabwe

By Ernest Harsch

The British colonial authorities now administering Zimbabwe have openly approved the South African military intervention into that country.

At a news conference in Salisbury January 6, a spokesman for British Governor Lord Soames said that a South African contingent—estimated to number from 200 to 300 troops—was based in southern Zimbabwe near the border with South Africa with Soames's authorization. He claimed that its purpose was to protect the rail and road bridge connecting the two countries at Bietbridge.

The decision was sharply denounced by both wings of the Patriotic Front, the Zimbabwean nationalist alliance. Joshua Nkomo of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Robert Mugabe of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) condemned the authorization as a violation of the cease-fire accords that were signed in December.

The South African troops at Bietbridge are not the only ones in Zimbabwe. Before the cease-fire agreement was reached, up to 2,000 South African troops and police

According to the Patriotic Front, these South African units have not been withdrawn, but have instead been dissolved directly into the Rhodesian armed forces.

This South African intervention is a serious threat to the more than 6 million Blacks of Zimbabwe, who are struggling to win national independence and to wrest power out of the hands of the 250,000 white Rhodesians. In recent months, the white supremacist regime in Pretoria has warned several times that it would intervene with even greater force if a Black government came to power in Salisbury that threatened South African economic and political interests.

Besides its military intervention and threats, the apartheid regime has acted to influence the outcome of the elections that have been scheduled for February 27-29. Pretoria's favored candidate is Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who openly calls for close ties with the apartheid regime and whose campaign is heavily financed from South Africa.

A lead article in the January 11 issue of the *Johannesburg Financial Mail*, one of South Africa's top business journals, spelled out South African imperialism's opposition to the Patriotic Front, particularly its ZANU wing, which is often branded "Marxist" in the South African press.

"South Africa's vital interests will be threatened should a Marxist government come to power in Rhodesia," it said. "It is, therefore, the duty of the South African government to employ whatever moral and financial resources and pressures it can to ensure that Rhodesia does not fall to Marxist influence. . . ."

"We see Bishop Muzorewa as the best hope for stability in our generation. . . ."

Lord Soames and the 1,200-man Commonwealth military force stationed in Zimbabwe claim that they are playing a "neutral" role and simply preparing for the elections and the granting of formal independence. But Soames's okay to the South African intervention reveals London's actual aims—to contain the Zimbabwean freedom struggle.

Soames has taken other steps as well. Rhodesian troops—who according to the cease-fire accords should be confined to base—have been ordered into action against the several thousand ZANU guerrillas who have not reported to the "assembly points" set up under the accords. (Nearly 22,000 ZANU and ZAPU guerrillas have reported.)

Black "auxiliaries"—paramilitary forces attached to the Rhodesian army but politically loyal to Muzorewa—have been allowed to move into villages vacated by the Patriotic Front to help intimidate voters on behalf of Muzorewa.

On January 18, the state of emergency, which has been in effect for more than fourteen years, was extended by Soames for another six months. It allows censorship, martial law, and detention without trial.

Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization, charged that 6,000 political prisoners were still being held.

The British have likewise sought to deepen the frictions between the two wings



JOSHUA NKOMO



ROBERT MUGABE

were directly assisting the Rhodesian military in its war against the Patriotic Front forces. They served as pilots, gunners, drivers, technicians, and artillery officers.

of the Patriotic Front, taking a harder line against the ZANU forces.

These measures, however, have not been particularly successful so far in dampening the militancy of the Zimbabwean masses. Since mid-December, there have been repeated mass demonstrations in the major cities in support of both ZANU and ZAPU.

When Nkomo returned from exile in January 13, up to 180,000 Blacks turned out to hear him in Salisbury's Highfields township. A week later, another 200,000 rallied for him in Bulawayo, the second largest city.

On January 27, Mugabe returned from exile as well. According to a dispatch from Salisbury in the *New York Times* the following day, he was greeted by "a near-riotous reception by 150,000 or more supporters."

The extent of mass support for the liberation struggle reflected in these actions will be an important obstacle to the efforts of London, Pretoria, and Washington to decide the future of Zimbabwe. □

Labor-Sponsored March for Women's Rights a Big Success

By Suzanne Haig

[The following article appeared in the February 1 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

RICHMOND—With confidence and militancy more than 5,000 trade unionists and members of women's and civil rights organizations marched and rallied here Sunday, January 13, to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment by this session of the Virginia legislature—due to adjourn March 8.

Virginia is one of fifteen states that have not ratified the proposed Constitutional amendment which bars discrimination on account of sex. Thirty-five states have ratified and three more are needed by June 30, 1982.

The demonstration, one of the biggest ever held demanding ERA ratification by a state legislature, was the largest and broadest labor-called mobilization for ERA to date. The labor contingents were joined by those from women's rights organizations, such as the National Organization for Women (NOW), as well as by the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

Leaders of major civil rights organizations were on the platform, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). More than a third of the marchers were Black. The day's events were a powerful show of unity by these key forces demanding ERA.

The spirited march was led by a contingent of shipyard workers from Local 8888 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) in Newport News, Virginia, who chanted, "Virginia labor leads the way, ratify the ERA!"

Their victorious struggle for union recognition last year has become an inspiration for the entire southern labor movement in all its battles—including that for ERA passage.

The march and rally were organized by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), a coalition of Virginia trade unions. Its coordinators, Suzanne Kelly, president of the Virginia Education Association and Jerry Gordon, assistant director of District 2, United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW), each chaired sections of the rally.

Steelworkers, auto workers, teachers, and members of the UFCW made up the largest contingents in the march.

In addition there were contingents and



Lou Howorff/Militant

March was led by Virginia shipyard workers whose victorious struggle for union recognition has inspired entire southern labor movement.

union banners from: the United Electrical Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; American Federation of Government Employees; United Transportation Union; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; United Mine Workers; American Postal Workers Union; International Association of Machinists; Boilermakers; Communications Workers of America; New York Public Library Guild; and others.

Banners identified NOW contingents from the states of Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Connecticut.

CLUW members came from New York and New Jersey and marched under their own banners.

One especially spirited contingent was from Open High School in Richmond. The Sun Alliance, an anti-nuclear organization, was present with a large banner.

Most people who marched on this bitter cold day came from the Virginia labor movement, although at least twenty other states were represented. Both young and old participated in the march. About a third were men.

Political organizations that marched included the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and Workers World Party.

Copies of the *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party, were handed out.

The scope of labor union participation was particularly impressive, a result of the

five-month education and action campaign undertaken by union activists across the country following the August 12 LERN conference of 600 in Richmond which called the action.

Behind Local 8888 marched members of USWA Locals 2609 and 2610 from Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point mill in Baltimore. They were easily identified by their hardhats, each with USWA January 13 ERA stickers. In addition there were steelworkers from Pittsburgh, Chicago, Gary, and California. Local 1938 sent two women from U.S. Steel Minntac Iron Ore Mine in Mountain Iron, Minnesota.

Auto workers from Region 9 in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York wore green signs which read, "UAW Region 9 Women's Committee supports ERA." Auto workers also came from Illinois, Virginia, and Ohio.

Three women from UAW Local 148 at the McDonnell Douglas plant in Lakewood, California were sent by their union and brought greetings.

In the United Mine Workers contingent marched miners from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Virginia and members of the Tennessee Coal Employment Project, an organization that fights to get women into the mines. Miners wore their hard hats and chanted, "UMWA for the ERA."

Along with the printed signs were others made by individual marchers such as: "Neither rain nor sleet nor cold of day can stop ERA," from a member of American Postal Workers in Philadelphia; "Defend and Expand Affirmative Action;" "Chocolate workers say pass the ERA," from Hershey, Pennsylvania, Local 464 of the

Bakery, Confectionary, and Tobacco Workers; "ERA Yes, Nukes, No;" and from District 65 of the UAW, "We'll keep marching, 'til we win!"

Some demonstrators had been at other ERA actions, civil rights, and union marches, but this was the first one for most. This was the case with Geneva Moss, a mail clerk and member of the American Postal Workers and the Coalition of Labor Union Women in Philadelphia, who came with her nineteen-year-old daughter, Jaretta.

"Women have the same rights as men do," she said, explaining why she was here. "We are ready to take our place. Women can do any job just as well as a man can, given the chance."

Her daughter added, "And we should get paid the same amount of money for the same work."

Many had had personal experiences which reinforced their support for ERA. Dotty Anderson, a crane operator in the pipe mill at Sparrows Point, for example, was elected as the first female shop steward in the local.

"When I first went to Bethlehem," she explained, "they tried to force me to quit. They wanted me to do the work of two men. Some of the jobs they gave me, no men ever did. They were done by machine. But I stuck it out."

"Women get menial jobs, low pay. We want to feel like humans. We're not second class."

Women commented on the support ERA was receiving from male trade unionists. Alma Darby, an eleven-year Baltimore Federation of Teachers member, said, "Anything that affects working people should be an issue of all labor. It's good for men to stand side by side with women on this."

Virginia trade unionists stressed the connection between ERA and the fight against the state's anti-labor, open-shop laws.

For USWA member Curtis Daniels ERA "means a fight for rights on the jobs, the same as the fight against the 'right-to-work,' and we from Local 8888 know about that very well!"

Norm King, a white shop steward from Boilermakers Local 684 at the Norshipco shipyards in Norfolk, Virginia, came with a bus of trade unionists from his 1,000-member local.

"The women are as hard-working as the men," he said. "They have to support their families. After we explained the ERA in the local, nobody was opposed to it. We explained how it would help everyone."

Some marchers commented on the connection between the fight for ERA and the fight against racism, which was a theme of many rally speakers.

The head of the civil rights committee of a USWA local said to steelworkers on a Pittsburgh bus, "The march today showed the power of people getting it together. But



Michael Baumann/IP-1

Autoworkers from six states made up one of largest contingents in march.

now everyone has to go to Greensboro," referring to a broadly-sponsored march against the racist, ultraright Ku Klux Klan scheduled for February 2.

The unity and power of this march—the recognition that it represented a giant step forward—was repeatedly stressed by the rally speakers.

Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of SCLC, told a cheering crowd, "I believe that if Martin Luther King, Jr. were alive he would be here today supporting ERA. Dr. King died because forces in this country are opposed to equal rights for women, for labor, and for Blacks and we have learned painfully that we cannot isolate discrimination based on race, color, or class. We don't think any of us can do without the rest of us."

Applause punctuated the presentation of NOW President Eleanor Smeal, who symbolized to the demonstrators the strength of the women's movement. "We here in Virginia are kicking off the 1980 ratification drive everywhere, and they are going on everywhere: Missouri, Illinois, South

Carolina, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Florida. We will be everywhere but not only in the unratified states but because this is one unratified nation!"

"This [ERA] is an economic issue, and thank god that labor and the women's movement and the Black civil rights movement are united and have just begun to wake up again for human rights. The eighties will again bring back the marches for human rights because we're not going to let the right wing march us back to the 1800s."

Many of the trade union speakers connected equal rights for women with union struggles. Frank Mont, director of the Civil Rights Department of the USWA, brought greetings from his union's international officers and executive board. "The steelworkers were created out of struggle to bring some dignity to the work place . . . and equality and justice. But to have equality and justice it must be available for everyone."

"There is still inequality in this land and we will not tolerate it, because this is our country. It doesn't belong to them, it belongs to us and we must make it work. We must do it as one group of people because we are the have-nots, the workers of this world. We are the ones who have made this country what it is."

Since members of so many unions were visible at the rally, John Kennedy, president of District 28 of the United Mine Workers, took the opportunity to thank "the working people over this land that contributed to the people who were out on strike for a contract." Labor solidarity was a big factor in the 110-day miners' strike in late 1977 and 1978.

Other speakers included: Julian Carper, president of the Virginia State AFL-CIO; Addie Wyatt, executive vice-president of CLUW and vice-president of UFCW; Willard McGuire, president of the National Education Association; Ed Coppedge, president of USWA Local 8888; Jim Butler, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Milton Brickhouse, president of Virginia Citizens Action Program Council, UAW; Carol Pudliner, state coordinator of Virginia NOW; and others.

In addition to the rally in Richmond, solidarity actions were held in San Diego, San Francisco, and Phoenix, Arizona. □

Marchers Meet SWP Candidates

A Socialist Workers Party hospitality suite offered marchers a chance to meet and talk with SWP candidates for president and vice-president, Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann.

Despite its location five blocks away from the rally site, the two-room hotel suite was packed for several hours. The long hallway outside was practically impassible with the overflow, as many

demonstrators dropped by for a few minutes to meet the candidates.

Campaign staff member L. Paltrineri estimated that several hundred persons passed through. "Many were members of the SWP," she said, "but nearly as many more were co-workers they brought over to talk with Pulley and Zimmermann."

World Revolution, War Spending Send Gold Soaring

By William Gottlieb

The waves of gold buying that have been sweeping world money markets since late 1979 reached a frenzy during the first month of 1980. The price of an ounce of gold rose to \$850 in the third week of January, before falling back below \$700 in the final week. As recently as mid-1979, gold was trading below \$300 an ounce.

What does it mean? Is the price rise simply the result of irrational speculation?

No. The rush to gold reflects the growing convergence of the *political* crisis of the world imperialist system with the *economic* crisis of the world capitalist system.

In the most immediate sense, gold's recent dizzying ascent has been caused by political factors.

Over the past year, U.S. imperialism has faced revolts across the globe—from Iran to Indochina, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua, from El Salvador to Saudi Arabia. The U.S., European, and Japanese imperialists fear that the revolutionary wave sweeping the Mideast and central Asia will cause them to lose control of their most important source of raw materials, the oil fields of that region.

Another important political factor has been the effect of Carter's freeze of Iranian governmental assets on deposit in U.S. banks late last year. This was a reminder to the bourgeoisie not only of Iran but of other countries as well that, unlike gold, a bank deposit is just a promise to pay—a promise that can be broken.

Right now, the anti-imperialist mobilizations in Iran and blows to U.S.-backed counterrevolution in Afghanistan are among the gravest sources of concern in capitalist political and financial circles.

The inability of Washington to stage a major military intervention with its own troops since its historic defeat in Indochina has given increased confidence to the toiling masses internationally. They sense, and correctly so, that their enemy has been gravely weakened.

What does this have to do with the recent wave of gold buying?

Where the bourgeoisie has doubts that tomorrow their political power, not to speak of their currency, may no longer exist, they tend to "take the money and run." Many capitalists in countries facing political turmoil are doing just that.

The result is more hoarding of gold and other precious metals, further erosion of paper values including the dollar and other major currencies, still more financial instability, and so on. The process tends to feed on itself in a vicious circle.

For example, the financial section of the January 22 *New York Times* attributed the previous day's jump in gold prices to rumors of a Soviet military build-up in Afghanistan and in Southern Yemen, which borders on Saudi Arabia.

Henry G. Jarecki, head of one of the world's leading corporations dealing in gold bullion, cited "fear of political turmoil, which is most pronounced in the Middle East. . . ."

"International politics has been far more of a factor in precious-metal prices than economics, particularly in the last year," says Jarecki.

But this bullion baron is begging the question. The economic and political factors cannot be so simply separated.

Permanent Inflation

Clearly a central factor underlying the repeated flights into gold over the past several years has been the weakness of the U.S. dollar and the permanent inflation that has undermined it after two decades of internationally acknowledged strength and stability.

But why can't Washington and Wall Street bring inflation under control? There are numerous reasons, but uppermost among them is the mammoth U.S. war budget.

Despite all its talk about fighting inflation, Washington has in fact continued to run considerable budget deficits. Despite all the talk about "tight money," the Federal Reserve Board has continued to allow a rapid increase in bank reserves, in effect cranking out more paper money.

With a massive new U.S.-fueled arms race looming, even bigger budget deficits and greater currency inflation are indicated.

But here the political and economic needs of U.S. capitalism are in polar contradiction.

The capitalists need to put world trade back on a stable and predictable basis, reestablish profits on a firm foundation, and end inflation. Doing this requires a return to currencies with a fixed rather than fluctuating exchange rate with gold and with each other, liquidation of "unviable" enterprises such as Chrysler, and deflationary cuts in government spending, including arms spending.

Of course, this would mean a major decline in production, vastly increased unemployment, and sharp cuts in wages and social benefits—in a word, a depression.

And a depression is the only way to put world capitalism back on a footing for a profitable long-term expansion such as it enjoyed during the quarter century following World War II. One of capitalism's most glaring irrationalities is that its "health" requires periodic recessions, depression, and all the human misery and social dislocation that this entails.

But the relationship of class forces, both at home and abroad, rules out such a scenario for the U.S. capitalists today.

The bosses are intent on austerity, but they aren't yet ready for a full-scale confrontation with the American labor movement and a generation of rebellious young workers. The rulers are out to weaken the industrial unions and take back as much as they can. But their profit needs outstrip what is politically realistic.

On an international level, the deepening of the class struggle in Iran, Indochina, Central America, and Afghanistan has spurred Washington to up its war expenditures even more than it had previously planned—and to pressure its Japanese and West European allies to follow suit. And that means even bigger deficits and more inflation.

War Spending

Carter is projecting a 1980 war budget of \$142 billion, a real increase of 3.4 percent over 1979, that is, after accounting for inflation. And Pentagon spending over the next five years is projected to increase by 4.85 percent each year—that's an increase of \$38 billion by 1985 *without* taking inflation into account!

And Carter's 1980 "defense" projection doesn't include: \$400 million in aid to the military dictatorship in Pakistan, which is funneling money and equipment to Afghan rightists; a planned \$1.1 billion over two years in military credits to Egypt as part of the Camp David package; and \$57 billion in interest on the national debt, two-thirds of which was incurred through past war spending.

What this means for the U.S. and world economies has been a growing topic in the big business press over the past several months. Irving Kristol, a member of the *Wall Street Journal's* Board of Contributors, wrote in the November 26 issue of that daily:

Today it is military rearmament that is the first priority, economic as well as political. And if there are going to have to be massive increases in military spending, then we shall have to put up with more inflation, for a longer time than

any of us would like. Should the rate of inflation in the 1980s stabilize at, say 8%, that would represent a not inconsiderable achievement.

In this article, headlined "The Worst Is Yet to Come," Kristol continues:

The truly important problems of the American economy in the years to come will result from what economists so chastely call "exogenous shocks"—i.e., things that happen elsewhere in the world, things that will profoundly affect us and to which we shall have to respond. . . .

The Middle East is the most obvious source of trouble. Even if the Arab-Israeli conflict were not a constant irritant, the chances for stability in that area seem slight. . . .

Egypt under Sadat is indeed a remarkable exception, but one can properly doubt whether Egypt after Sadat will remain so. Iran will surely be hostile to American interests, whatever kind of regime is eventually established there. The days—at best, the years—of Saudi Arabia's anachronistic feudal oligarchy are numbered, to be succeeded by Lord only knows what.

And that was before the events in Afghanistan!

Since Afghanistan, *Business Week* has featured two consecutive cover stories on "The New Cold War Economy" and "The Shrinking Standard of Living." In the latter issue, dated January 28, the big business weekly explained:

. . . the burden of increased defense spending—a consequence of Afghanistan—[will] put the federal budget deeper in the red, push inflation even higher, and doom any chance that Americans will get a tax break. In the wake of these blows, the American credo that each generation can look forward to a more comfortable life than its predecessor has been shattered.

Shattered, too, is the optimism about the future that uniquely characterized the U.S. economy.

The *Business Week* article documents the decline in buying power among U.S. workers over the past decade and predicts even harder times down the road.

So the real wages of U.S. workers will continue to be eroded by rising prices even as they are hit by unemployment, speedup, plant closings, and cutbacks in government spending for schools, hospitals, and other social programs.

And no working person anywhere in the world benefits from a further expansion of the Pentagon's deadly nuclear arsenal or military network abroad.

Underlying Stagnation

The gold panic, then, reflects this coming together of the political and economic crises of world capitalism and the contradictory alternatives this poses for the rulers.

The economic problems of the imperialists stem from a worldwide crisis of profits. Capitalists are thirsty for productive investment outlets, but cannot find them in saturated world markets. Of course, the markets are saturated from the standpoint of profits only; from the standpoint of human needs, massive new investment and production are required.

During the two decades of economic expansion following the end of World War II, Europe and Japan created technologically advanced new industries that have challenged the virtual monopoly that American industry enjoyed coming out of the war. (On a much more modest scale and only in particular industries, this has occurred in some semicolonial countries as well—South Korea and Taiwan, for example.)

The resulting international cutthroat competition has increasingly saturated markets for capital and commodities, undercutting prices and profit rates. The severe worldwide recession of 1974-75 failed to overcome all the contradictions that have been piling up since 1945. Competition has heated up all the more, even spurring protectionist reactions.

For the reasons already cited, the U.S. rulers today are not following a tight deflationary course that would trigger a major depression. In 1979, the U.S. suffered stagnation but not an overall decline, although there were sharp declines in industries such as auto, steel, and housing.

But the crisis temporarily buffered in the sphere of trade and industry has, for both political and economic reasons, resulted in spiralling instability in the sphere of currency. If governments simply keep on increasing military spending and issue more and more paper money to cover the deficits, the devaluation of paper currency will accelerate. The bottom line is hyperinflation, the destruction of savings, and economic collapse.

Writing in the January 18 *New York Times*, veteran financial columnist Leonard Silk pointed, in his own way, to an economic fact that Karl Marx explained more than a century ago in *Capital*.

"Hence gold at least holds its own against other commodities," says Silk, "and climbs in value against a rising flood of paper money and credit in times of inflation. In what might be called 'normally inflationary' circumstances—in which there is no gold panic—commodities hold their value against each other and against gold.

"But today something abnormal is going on in the gold market," Silk adds. "As Alan Greenspan, who served as chief economic adviser to former President Ford, has noted, gold has been climbing a lot faster than other commodities. In effect, there has been a flight from commodities as well as from currencies."

Paper and Gold

To understand the significance of what Silk seems to sense, it is necessary to recognize that the expression the "price of gold" simply means the rate at which paper monies, at any given time, exchange against gold. Paper money—whether U.S. dollars, West German marks, or Swiss francs—has no value in and of itself. Only commodities—actual products of human

labor—have value.

When times are good, this statement can seem of little or no practical importance. Ultimately, however, paper currencies can function as money only insofar as they are exchangeable for money commodities. In times of crisis, capitalists flee out of paper monies, as they are doing today, first into gold¹ and silver, and then increasingly into other commodities as well.

Writing about the relationship between hard currency and paper money in *Capital*, Marx explained:

This contradiction bursts forth in that aspect of an industrial and commercial crises which is known as a monetary crisis. Such a crisis occurs only where the ongoing chain of payments has been fully developed, along with an artificial system for settling them. Whenever there is a general disturbance of the mechanism, no matter what its cause, money suddenly and immediately changes over from its merely nominal shape, money of account, into hard cash. Profane commodities can no longer replace it. The use-value of commodities becomes valueless, and their value vanishes in the face of their own form of value. The bourgeois, drunk with prosperity and arrogantly certain of himself, has just declared that money is a purely imaginary creation. 'Commodities alone are money,' he said. But now the opposite cry resounds over the markets of the world: only [hard] money is a commodity. As the hart [deer] pants after fresh water, so pants his soul after money, the only wealth. [*Capital* Vol. 1 (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), p. 236.]

Prospects

The panicky lack of confidence reflected in the rush on gold shows that the capitalist political and economic system is increasingly characterized by conditions similar to those described by Marx—"a general and extensive disturbance in this mechanism, no matter what its cause."

The tempo at which these built-in contra-

1. Gold, like other commodities, has value because it takes human labor to find it, mine it, and refine it. Because a great quantity of labor is required to produce even small quantities of gold, small amounts of it contain a great amount of value. It is a storehouse of value. This is one of the reasons that gold has long served as the socially acknowledged money commodity, the universal yardstick of value.

The rise of the dollar price of gold, then, reflects not a rise in the value of gold—which could come about only through a decline of gold mining productivity—but instead the decline of the dollar vis-à-vis gold.

If the price of gold is \$300 an ounce (as it was in mid-1979), this means that one dollar exchanges for 1/300 of an ounce of gold. If the price of gold rises to \$800 (as it did in mid-January), then a dollar exchanges for 1/800 of an ounce of gold.

In other words, the value represented by the dollar, measured in gold, was more than cut in half in only six months.

Of course, this does not mean that the purchasing power of the dollar was cut in half during this brief period. However, such a sharp decline of the dollar with respect to gold is symptomatic of economic and political factors that do point to the danger of drastic increases of dollar prices.

dictions of the profit system will unfold cannot be predicted. The U.S. and other imperialist governments and financial institutions still have room to maneuver. They can increase gold sales on the market to help moderate the price. They can tighten credit, increasing the chances of a serious recession. The temporary sharp decline in gold prices in late January was almost inevitable.

And no one can foresee the outbreak of new world events that will shake the imperialists.

But two things can be said with certainty:

The class struggle is heating up both in the imperialist centers and around the world.

And the world capitalist crisis will inevitably provide more tinder.

In a speech in 1921, Leon Trotsky summed up the meaning of periods such as these for workers and for the revolutionary socialist movement:

"Prices are steeply rising, wages keep changing in and out of consonance with

currency fluctuations. Currency leaps, prices leap, wages leap and then come the ups and downs of feverish fictitious conjunctures and of profound crises.

"This lack of stability, the uncertainty of what tomorrow will bring in the personal life of every worker, is the most revolutionary factor of the epoch in which we live. . . ."²

2. Trotsky, *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, Vol. 1 (New York: Monad Press, 1972), p. 234.

'Granma' Interviews Mujahedeen Leader Massood Rajani

[The following interview, conducted by Prensa Latina correspondent Jorge Timossi in Tehran January 6, appeared in the January 8 issue of the Cuban daily *Granma*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

Massood Rajani, the leader of the Mujahedeen-e Khalq, defines his organization as one that follows an "Islamic, anti-imperialist, anti-exploiters" line.

Rajani gave an interview to Prensa Latina at one of his organization's headquarters in Tehran. He began by stressing that "for a genuine revolution, nothing is more important than independence."

"We adhere to the ideology of Islam and we are opposed to reactionaries, imperialism, and exploiters," said the leader of this organization, which is one of the major groups in the Islamic left, with an especially strong base at the University of Tehran.

"The revolution in Iran has two main characteristics," he added, "a search for freedom and anti-imperialism."

Rajani said that in the present period, the main contradiction in the Islamic revolution is "between the people, on the one hand, and imperialism on the other. This is the basis for the tactics and strategy of our revolution, and we must continue along this line."

He added: "Eleven months ago we defeated the shah's regime, but that was only the first step. Now we must conduct a major battle against U.S. imperialism and its allies in Iran—the reactionaries and the liberals."

Rajani said that "for thirty-five years we have been a colony of the United States but now we must deepen the struggle against the imperialist groups within our society, including on the economic, cultural, political, and military plane."

Prensa Latina. How do you size up the various forces on the Iranian political scene?

Rajani. There are various camps in the

struggle, but I am going to take up primarily the reformists. The reformism of the liberals can turn out to be a path back to the old system. Consequently our political fire today is focused on the reactionaries and the liberals. The other camp is the camp of the revolution.

Prensa Latina. What are your relations like with the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line?

Rajani. We totally support the line of these students, which is anti-imperialist and anti-American. At the same time, however, we have our own specific views. We say that to block the path to imperialism we must pass judgment on all the crimes of the United States and not solely those of a group of persons—the hostages. For revolutionaries, the question is how to crystallize the situation so as to cut through colonial relations and not merely confront a group of men.

Prensa Latina. Is there a possibility of your organization uniting with the Followers of the Imam's Line in a common front?

Rajani. At present, anything that leads

in the direction of unity against imperialism is possible and can count on our support. We are in favor of such unity but we do not think that everyone is prepared to form such a front. We believe that conditions are not yet ripe in Iran for the formation of a broad front.

Prensa Latina. What is your organization's position on the nationalities problem?

Rajani. Our main difference with the other Islamic organizations is that we recognize the problem as a question of nationalities.

We say that the military road is no solution to the minorities problem. We are of the opinion that these nationalities can be given all their rights within the framework of territorial unity of the entire country; we do not support any form of separatism.

We recall the way in which Lenin solved the problem in the Soviet Union.

About a month ago Ayatollah Khomeini declared that he accepted self-determination. We were very happy to hear that and we hope that it is carried out. □

What Cuban Press Is Saying About Iran

Coverage of Iran's battle with U.S. imperialism has been prominently and sympathetically featured in the Cuban daily press. In recent weeks particular attention has been paid to the escalating U.S. economic blockade, the continuing protests in Panama against the shah's presence, and clashes between government forces and Iran's oppressed nationalities.

In regard to these clashes, the January 9 issue of the Cuban daily *Granma* contains a dispatch from Tehran by Jorge Timossi, special correspondent of the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina. In an article headlined "Situation in Iran Characterized by Sharpening of Class Struggle," Timossi writes:

"The confrontations have a distinct origin, in view of the traditional and deepgoing problems of the regional minorities, especially in Kurdistan, Baluchistan, and Arabistan. But they are all converging to obstruct the progressive steps taken in recent months by the Iranian Revolution. . . ."

A dispatch by Timossi the previous day featured an interview with Massood Rajani, leader of the Islamic guerrilla organization Mujahedeen-e Khalq, which is reprinted on this page. In his response to the final question, Rajani stresses that there is no military solution to the nationalities question in Iran.

WORLDWIDE CAMPAIGN FOR AID TO NICARAGUA



How Nicaragua Is Going to Teach 900,000 to Read and Write

[The following article is based on an interview obtained with Octavio Rivas, assistant minister of education, in Managua January 3.]

* * *

The literacy campaign is something our people greatly need. We are going to organize some 170,000 literacy brigade members, but we actually need more. We estimate that between 850,000 and 900,000 persons above the age of ten do not know how to read. We need on average one brigade member for every four illiterates. In reality, however, there are rural areas that are very hard to reach, and we'll have to send many teachers to these areas.

The human needs are very great, and we are hoping for the help of *compañeros* from around the world. Our problem is that we are undergoing an unprecedented economic crisis. According to the report prepared by the Latin American Economic Commission (CEPAL), a unit of the United Nations, this crisis is without equal in the history of any country in Latin America.

This is a terrible crisis. We are a small country, with a debt approaching \$1.8 billion. This is equivalent to the debt held by some countries with four times our population. That gives you an idea of the scope of the problem. In addition, 40 percent of our industry lies in ruins, as well as 40 percent of our commercial establishments. In agriculture, in a crop as important as cotton, only 30 percent was planted last year, which means a loss of millions of dollars at the very least.

We have the advantage of not being dependent on a single crop, as some other countries are with coffee or bananas. Here we have four or five export crops, including sugar, cotton, coffee, and beef.

We are not totally ruined. We can reestablish agriculture in a year or two. Rebuilding our industry will take several years. But in agriculture, we think the 1981 crops will be comparable to those of 1978.

In short, we don't have the means to finance those who come to help. Every day I receive letters from all over the world, from Europe to Australia. We say the same thing in reply to all of them: "Great. Come help. We'll greet you with open arms. But we can't provide you with a single *córdoba* while you're here."

The only possible solution is the one that has been worked out with the teacher *compañeros* from Cuba. Their government,

in a genuine gesture of human solidarity, has undertaken to pay them during their stay here. We have provided the only things our country can offer—a roof over their heads, food, and our great affection.

That's all we can provide. We can't pay anything in wages. For those who have the means to come and stay without being paid, we can secure housing and food in the communities where they will work, but that's all.

We are very interested in having teaching *compañeros* come from a number of countries. You are well aware that reactionaries around the world have violently criticized the presence of the Cubans. Here, of course, it is a totally different story. The peasants and the others who are benefiting from Cuban solidarity have greeted these *compañeros* with open arms.

But internationally, the reactionaries have used their monopoly over the media to proclaim that the Cubans have come to spread their ideology. This is a maneuver designed to harm Nicaragua, to isolate us internationally in the economic sphere and to refuse us the aid that other countries could easily provide. We want to initiate a counterattack, and are seeking teachers from all over the world.

This is the real spirit of our revolution, which is a broad and democratic revolution that is going to lead us toward a different society, a structurally different society. We don't hide this; we aren't trying to fool anyone. This is a revolution that is marching toward socialism.

But we also say, and repeat over and over, that the Nicaraguan people themselves are making this revolution. Here reforms and changes are introduced step by step, in accordance with the degree to which the people attain the necessary level of consciousness to carry through these changes themselves.

The literacy campaign that we are going to carry out in the first year of the revolution is a clear sign of the democratic character of this revolution, for the weapon of knowledge is going to enable each individual to obtain an education, to be really free.

In addition to the literacy campaign, we are planning to provide an education to more than 600,000 persons—that is, twice the present school population. Imagine what that represents financially. The budget for education, the second largest

after the budget for health care, will reach one billion *córdobas* [US\$100 million] this year—three times what Somoza spent on education.

The literacy campaign will wind up July 31. The following day regular classes will begin again. We don't know where they will be held—under the trees, in the factories, who knows where—but this education will be provided. This is a demonstration of the democratic, human, and genuinely popular character of our revolution. This is why our people support the revolution. They see clearly what is being done, what is being accomplished. Day after day their consciousness rises and their support for the revolution increases.

The literacy campaign will also enable us to take a census. We are going to find out exactly what we have to work with. An undertaking of this sort is normally very expensive, but we are going to carry it out at no extra expense. We have already made all the preparations; the literacy teams will gather the information. We are also going to establish a botanical garden, a collection of the country's plants, records on our insects, and so forth.

Everyone is astonished that all this has already been planned for and prepared. The Cubans launched their literacy campaign two years after the revolution. We are moving faster. We began in August 1979, two weeks after the victory over Somoza. All the plans for education were ready. All that was necessary was getting rid of the dictator.

The minister of education came here three days after the overthrow of Somoza so that we could begin to put into practice the plans that had already been made. The literacy campaign will play an extremely important role in the consolidation of our revolution.

On the Atlantic coast, people speak three languages—Spanish, English, and Miskito. So, there we will be carrying out the literacy campaign in three languages. This is all part of our culture, and we are going to preserve and protect every element of our culture. That means all the songs, dances, and fables—the entire oral culture—will be saved and preserved.

In closing, I would like to appeal to the teachers unions, to the trade unions in general, to ask that they donate an hour's pay in support of the literacy campaign. That would be a concrete way of assuring its success. □

Peruvian Left Forms United Slate for May Elections

By Jean-Pierre Beauvais

LIMA—On January 18, as night was falling, an enthusiastic crowd of several thousand people from the factories, the university, and the "pueblos jóvenes," the immense belt of impoverished shantytowns surrounding the Peruvian capital, gathered in front of the National Election Court in downtown Lima. They had come to show their support for a new electoral bloc, made up of nearly all of Peru's revolutionary and class-struggle forces, that was registering for the coming May 18 national elections.

With chants of "a government without generals or bosses," the crowd greeted the representatives of virtually the entire Peruvian left who had come to file the papers to register the ARI (Revolutionary Left Alliance) only moments before the legal deadline.

ARI, which means "yes" in the Quechua Indian language of Peru's highlands, is running Hugo Blanco for president. Blanco is a leader of the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party), the Peruvian section of the Fourth International, and is the best-known and most respected figure on the Peruvian left.

Blanco's candidacy has the support of the forces in the workers movement and in the peasant organizations that have carried out the mass struggles of recent years that forced the military rulers to begin to prepare for their return to their barracks. He is the candidate of those who are actively fighting for the political and organizational independence of the workers movement.

The fact that Blanco's campaign has received nearly unanimous support from the left and from much of the organized labor movement is of tremendous significance for all the workers and exploited of Peru. It is also a major breakthrough for the Peruvian left, which has been characterized by a long tradition of being extremely divided—even atomized—and sectarian.

Because of the breadth of the forces united behind his election campaign, Blanco's candidacy will undoubtedly be a decisive factor in accelerating and deepening mass struggles in the period now opening up. This is a point that all the Peruvian bourgeois commentators immediately, and nervously, stressed.

* * *

Just a few short weeks ago, when all the workers organizations were still debating what tactic to adopt for the May 18 elections, even the most determined supporters

of broad unity behind Blanco's candidacy would not have dared predict this degree of success. It even seemed, in fact, that the gains that had already been made in the elections for the Constituent Assembly in 1978, with the establishment of FOCEP and the UDP¹—two left fronts—might be in jeopardy.

Those elections took place on June 18, 1978, in the wake of a huge May 22-23 general strike and other major struggles by the Peruvian masses. In those struggles there was a high degree of unity on the left. A large segment of the working-class and revolutionary organizations in Peru were able to partially overcome their extreme atomization and their traditions of sectarianism in order to set up these two electoral fronts. The FOCEP and the UDP were, in a sense, an extension onto the political arena of the unity that had been achieved in the mass struggles.

The focus of the FOCEP's program was to struggle for the unity and political and organizational independence of the working class and other exploited layers, by deepening and extending the mass struggles that were already taking place.

Blanco, who ran at the head of the FOCEP slate and received the highest vote of any left candidate, was the spokesman for this orientation, as well as its symbol in the eyes of the masses, despite the fact that he had spent most of the previous fifteen years in prison or exile. In fact, Blanco had been again deported from Peru just prior to the elections.

In the country as a whole, despite the undemocratic character of the election, the FOCEP won nearly 12 percent of the vote. It outpolled all other slates in three of Peru's fourteen departments (provinces), running especially well in the mining districts. In Lima the FOCEP ran first in four districts and second in two districts. It would undoubtedly have done even better if illiterates and Indians who spoke no Spanish had been allowed to vote, if the

1. FOCEP—The Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front. FOCEP included most of the Trotskyist forces as well as the Communist Party (*Bandera Roja*), a Maoist group; some important unions and peasant organizations; the National Federation of Pueblos Jóvenes, an organization of shantytown dwellers; and three socialist youth organizations.

UDP—Democratic People's Union. The UDP was composed of a number of centrist and Maoist groups, some with considerable influence in the unions and other mass movements.

left had had equal coverage in the mass media, and if leading leftist candidates had not been deported prior to the election.

The UDP received a little over 4 percent of the vote, while the Communist Party (*Unidad*)² received nearly 6 percent. The three working-class slates, therefore, received 22 percent of the total vote.

The FOCEP experience, as the expression of the Peruvian masses' desire for unity and for a class-struggle orientation, continued beyond the 1978 election campaign in numerous mobilizations and struggles, and in the activity of those elected to the Constituent Assembly.

FOCEP made a deep impression on the most advanced sectors of the workers movement and the organized peasant movement, which continued to support it and identify with it after the elections. This was clearly demonstrated in the massive size of meetings called in the name of the FOCEP.

But the FOCEP was an electoral front that never developed much of a structure. There were numerous local committees, but almost no coordination among them. As a result, the FOCEP never became what the exploited of Peru had hoped and expected it would become—the embryo of an independent mass workers political party.

On the contrary, the preparations for the upcoming presidential election led to a de facto split in the FOCEP. Several months ago one of the FOCEP's best known figures, Genaro Ledesma, together with a small group that called itself FOCEP-Independiente, began negotiations to form an electoral slate with the CP (*Unidad*) and the bourgeois-nationalist PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party), which is the party of the so-called "progressive" generals who base themselves on the populist reformist tradition of Gen. Velasco Alvarado, who ruled Peru from 1968 to 1975.

These negotiations led Ledesma and his supporters to break with FOCEP's line of working-class independence from bourgeois political forces and to consummate an electoral alliance with the CP (*Unidad*), the PSR, and several smaller groups that have no real political weight.

2. In January 1978 the Peruvian Communist Party split into two public factions which take their names from their newspapers. The old-line Stalinist faction publishes *Unidad* (Unity). The oppositionists, who have taken a verbally more militant stance against the government and who belonged to the UDP, publish *Mayoría* (Majority).



Amauta

A small portion of the Cuzco crowd that came to hear Alfonso Barrantes (third from left) and Hugo Blanco (fourth from left) during their swing through southern Peru.

This alliance, in which the CP (*Unidad*) was politically and organizationally dominant, although Ledesma was its candidate for president, proposed only a few timid reforms within the framework of maintaining the system of capitalist domination. It was a classic example of class collaboration in the service of the bourgeoisie.

Within the FOCEP only a small minority supported Ledesma in this splitting action, which betrayed the entire political basis on which the FOCEP had been formed, and the whole struggle it had waged. But Ledesma was able to make use of a judicial trump card. In the eyes of the Election Court Ledesma had the sole "legal right" to the FOCEP designation, which was registered under his name. Because of this Ledesma was able to sign his alliance with the CP (*Unidad*) and the PSR in the FOCEP's name.

Through this maneuver Ledesma was hoping to use the confusion this generated to draw some of FOCEP's prestige and political capital among the Peruvian masses into this alliance.

In return for this "service" and not on account of the small forces he represented,

the CP (*Unidad*) made Ledesma the gift of the slate's presidential candidacy.

Despite its limited impact within FOCEP itself and within the sectors that support FOCEP's struggle, Ledesma's splitting operation could have had very serious consequences. By throwing into question some of the gains toward unity that were made in the 1978 election campaign for the Constituent Assembly, it could have been the beginning of a return to the complete division of much of the Peruvian left.

Already several Maoist groups, both outside and inside the UDP, had come out in favor of a "Marxist-Leninist" candidate who would narrowly represent their current alone. In addition, a segment of Peruvian Trotskyism, the PST (Socialist Workers Party), was actively campaigning for a Trotskyist candidate.

Faced with this situation, the PRT and Hugo Blanco came out for setting up the broadest possible electoral front, within which each organization would have the right to present all its positions. But this front would have to be explicitly, and *in practice*, a vehicle for expressing the need

for political independence of the working class. And it would have to be an instrument that would make it possible to move toward concrete realization of that objective in the present period.

Such an electoral front, the PRT felt, should not try to use muddled compromises to revolve the deep programmatic differences that separate the various Maoist, Trotskyist, and centrist organizations and currents making up the front. Instead, they argued, the front should recognize that these differences exist and should allow each of the organizations in the bloc to put forward its whole range of positions.

The front itself, however, would be based on an action program that responds to the immediate needs of the masses and to their desire for united struggle.

Being the electoral expression of the independent class mobilization of the masses, the front would have to exclude any bourgeois organizations from participating in it, no matter how small they might be. And it would have to reject any accord with bourgeois sectors or forces, however marginal they might be.

This conception of the electoral front, which was ratified at a January 13 na-

tional conference of the PRT in Lima, is based on an analysis of one of the basic features of the present situation in Peru. Although recently several important strikes, such as the 118-day national teachers strike, have ended in partial defeats, the level of struggle and militancy of the exploited masses, and their desire for unity, has remained high, and if anything has even deepened, in the period since the June 1978 Constituent Assembly elections.

In this context, and in face of the reformist and class-collaborationist alternative that Ledesma, the CP (*Unidad*), and the PSR generals are putting forward, revolutionaries have a responsibility to create a situation where these mass struggles can find consistent and unified political expression on the electoral level.

The PRT's proposal was, in fact, a response to concrete demands by the masses for unity. These demands have been expressed with growing force in recent months. In late November and December a successful speaking tour through southern Peru was organized by the PRT and several groups in the UDP. Meetings in Huancayo, Cuzco, and Arequipa each attracted tens of thousands of participants.

In Cuzco and Arequipa the central plazas were totally jammed with supporters of a united left ticket. As the Peruvian weekly *Marka* noted, these were "the most spectacular meetings that have taken place in recent times in these cities."

At each stop along the tour the crowds broke into chants in favor of "left unity for a workers government, without generals or bosses," and for Hugo Blanco to be the presidential candidate.

Because the proposal of the PRT was rooted in the present reality of the class struggle, it made rapid headway. Very soon there was an initial discussion between the PRT and the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), one of the main groups in the UDP, to lay the basis for a draft platform for an electoral alliance. This was then followed by discussions with all the component groups in the UDP, again at the PRT's initiative.

In the meantime a national general assembly of the UDP was held. At that meeting there was a last-ditch attempt to block unity, with an attempt to get all the Maoist currents to line up behind the candidacy of Alfonso Barrantes Lingán, the UDP's president. But the acclamation with which the assembly greeted Hugo Blanco, who was literally carried around the hall on the shoulders of the crowd when he arrived to bring greetings from the PRT and express his party's position on the elections, showed how isolated these sectarian tendencies were. The rank-and-file UDP delegates had dramatically expressed the desire of all the Peruvian masses for unity.

Finally, on January 17, the day before

the final deadline for legally registering slates for the election, an agreement was concluded between the PRT and all the components of the UDP, establishing the ARI.

This agreement, which is based on the draft platform previously worked out by the PRT and the MIR, follows the PRT's conception of what an electoral front should be, which was outlined above.

The agreement specifically stipulates that "no bourgeois formation can participate in the alliance." The ARS, a small group that the PRT characterizes as bourgeois, and that was part of one of the Maoist fronts, has been excluded from ARI. The agreement does not, however, include a governmental slogan or formula.

Candidacies for parliament were divided 50 percent for Maoist and centrist currents and 50 percent for the "Socialist Bloc," which basically means the forces who describe themselves as Trotskyist. The accord also ratified the selection of Hugo Blanco as the presidential candidate of ARI.

Almost immediately, those Maoist and centrist forces organized in UNIR and FRAS, two fronts that had not been part of either the FOCEP or the UDP, joined in the agreement, without asking for any changes in the platform or the candidates.

The POMR (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party), a Trotskyist organization affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, also ratified the agreement between the PRT and UDP, and is thus now part of ARI.

The only revolutionary organization that refused to become part of ARI is the PST, the Trotskyist organization in Peru that supports the Bolshevik Faction, an international grouping that recently split from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The leaders of the PST are trying to justify their sectarianism by raising arguments that the agreement is "unprincipled."

According to them, a principled electoral alliance can only be concluded on the basis of a full program, which in practice means on the full program of Trotskyism. If the agreement is not based on a full program, according to the PST, it ends up on the road of class collaborationism and popular frontism. And that is the way they now characterize the ARI, the position of the PRT and Hugo Blanco, and the position of the POMR.

This concept of an electoral alliance, which is completely new for the PST and the Bolshevik Faction, can only be understood in the light of the PST leaders' recent tactic of doing anything to obtain legal status for their party. In collecting the signatures required to achieve this, they have been falsely representing themselves as Hugo Blanco's party.

Since the PRT itself has not gained legal status, even though it collected 60,000

signatures while only 40,000 are legally required (for obvious political reasons the dictatorship is not anxious to give the PRT, "Hugo Blanco's party," legal status), and since unity would have been impossible to achieve on the sectarian basis put forward by the PST, that would have meant that the PST would have been the only possible legal framework for Blanco's candidacy.

This point was expressed in a none too subtle manner on the masthead of the December 1979 issue of the PST's newspaper, *Bandera Socialista*, where it said "we will put our legal status at the service of Hugo Blanco's candidacy," meaning that Hugo Blanco would become the candidate of the PST!

These sectarian maneuvers came to naught. They were too much in contradiction to the mass pressure for unity behind Blanco's candidacy. These maneuvers have now condemned the PST to remain in total isolation . . . or to carry out a sharp new political turn. In either case the PST will not be part of ARI since the legal deadline for joining an electoral alliance has already passed.

This secondary problem with the PST obviously does not change anything basic. And the basic fact is that for the first time there is unity of the revolutionary and class-struggle forces in Peru. And that unity has been achieved behind the candidacy of Hugo Blanco.

In several weeks the election campaign will start in earnest. It will be waged in a context where the crisis of the present dictatorship is forcing the military officers to relinquish their hold on the government at a time when the bourgeois alternatives are weak and divided.

The People's Revolutionary American Alliance (APRA), the main bourgeois party, which has historically had a big following among sections of the masses, still seemed strong and solid at the time of the Constituent Assembly elections. But it has suffered deepgoing erosion of its prestige and has gone through severe internal conflicts since the death of its historic leader Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre last August.

This is the context in which the ARI and Hugo Blanco will put forward the alternative of the working and exploited masses of Peru.

This alternative, developed through the election campaign and in close connection with the ongoing mass struggles that Peru has seen in recent years, represents a great step forward toward consolidating the political and organizational independence of the masses, and should provide an example of class-struggle politics for the Latin American masses as a whole.

Latin American revolutionaries and internationalists throughout the world should support this campaign and give it the active solidarity that will enable it to develop to the broadest extent possible. □

Opening of Trotsky Files Interests Activists, Publishers, Press

By Naomi Allen

BOSTON—The Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party sponsored a reception here January 12 for researchers from Monad Press in New York and the Institut Léon Trotsky in Paris. The researchers had come to Boston for the long-awaited opening of the closed section of the Trotsky Archives at the Harvard University Library.

Duncan Williams, coordinator of the Monad Press team, spoke briefly to the eighty-five participants about the archives, how they were collected, and what they contain.

The 17,500 letters and other items unveiled on January 2, 1980, represent most of the correspondence Trotsky conducted between 1929, when Stalin deported the leader of the Left Opposition to Turkey hoping that exile would silence him, and 1940, when a Stalinist assassin corrected his master's mistake. Because these letters deal with the problems of the Left Opposition groups in various countries and of the Fourth International, Trotsky insisted on keeping them sealed for forty years to protect his associates from Stalinist and fascist persecution.

So when Harvard University Library opened the papers of the Bolshevik leader and founder of the Red Army for inspection, the event was the focus of considerable attention by political activists, scholars, publishers, and news media alike. One observer was heard to mutter that the small reading room held twenty-five people working on Trotsky and four on the rest of Western civilization.

The remainder of the archive at Harvard, which is perhaps twice as big, contains the articles Trotsky wrote for publication, many letters of a non-confidential nature, and his archives up through 1928. That part of the collection, which has been open to scholars for years, provides a full picture of Trotsky's political views as they developed over time. Much of it has already been published and is available in English.*

The newly opened section of the archive contains no political surprises. Trotsky was not the sort of leader to hold two positions on political questions: one public

position and another private, which was different and which he kept secret.

Many of the letters that have been resurrected here deal with technical problems—for example, Trotsky's long and frustrating efforts to get a French publisher to issue a satisfactory translation of his *History of the Russian Revolution*. (He complained that the translator seemed to feel that his job was to "ameliorate" the book, not to translate it).

But most of the letters examined by one reader in the course of a week took up problems of party-building in a detailed way and dwelled on important political and theoretical questions that confronted the youthful and inexperienced cadres of the revolutionary movement.

In one letter, for example, Trotsky asked why his French co-thinkers did not speak out strongly against xenophobia, or hatred of foreigners. French national pride, he wrote, was a product of the Great Revolution of 1789, and the workers had adopted it along with the more progressive legacies of the revolution. The left organizations, including the Communist Party, reflected this shortcoming. As a result, foreign workers, the most exploited and oppressed layer of French society, felt the disdain of even the most advanced, class-conscious workers. If they hoped to become a serious revolutionary force, the French Trotskyists had to purge themselves of all remnants of national pride, including chasing from their ranks any elements that couldn't make such an adjustment.

In another letter, Trotsky urged flexibility on organizational questions and intransigence on political principles—not the opposite, as had been the practice in the Left Opposition in France.

The newly available letters, minutes, and other pieces will be useful because they will help piece together the history of the Fourth International and its sections. They provide information about events and individuals in the world Trotskyist movement that have been obscure until now, shedding light on why certain things happened or didn't happen and in some cases clarifying references that have mystified historians for decades.

In addition to most of the Boston-area press, the *New York Times*, *Time* magazine, the Associated Press, and Reuters have covered the opening of the archives. Boston television channels 2, 4, and 5 presented interviews with library officials.

On the afternoon of January 7, Harvard held a reception at Houghton Library that

drew 130 people to celebrate the opening. It was addressed by Jean van Heijenoort, a former secretary to Trotsky who became one of the library's cataloguers of the Trotsky papers. Van Heijenoort accompanied the papers throughout their long odyssey, joining Trotsky in Turkey and later in France, Norway, and Mexico. Van Heijenoort also escorted the papers to Harvard and helped with the initial arrangements. He described the travels of the archives from one country to another and explained why they had gaps: a fire in 1931; some sensitive papers hidden in 1933 and never recovered; a theft in 1936.

Trotsky never used his archives, van Heijenoort said. His work was in the present and in the future.

The one exception was Trotsky's collaboration with the Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials in 1937: he made heavy use of his files to refute the charges of sabotage, espionage, and other anti-Soviet activity that Stalin brought against him during the 1936-37 trials. After hearing testimony, examining Trotsky's papers, and deliberating, the Commission, headed by American philosopher John Dewey, found him not guilty. □

Turkish Police Attack Workers

Turkish police got more than they bargained for January 22, when they tried to search an olive oil factory in the port city of Izmir. Workers at the factory resisted the police, who operate in collusion with rightist gangs.

According to a UPI dispatch from Istanbul, a gun battle at the olive oil plant "sparked a riot in a nearby cotton thread factory. Workers built barricades inside and around the factory and fired revolvers and pelted charging riot police with stones, bottles and guns."

Meanwhile, left-wing militants closed the highway to the city's airport in support of the workers, and a pitched battle with police and military forces ensued. Police said that in all fifty-four people were wounded and 525 arrested.

Such clashes have become increasingly frequent as right-wing gangs and the rightist government of Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, installed last November, have sought to curb the workers movement. Top military leaders recently threatened to step in and take over the government if Demirel was unable to stop the ferment among the Turkish masses.

*Twelve volumes of *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929-40)* plus a two-part supplement (\$6.95 each), as well as numerous collections organized by topic, are available from Pathfinder Press. For a catalog, write 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Nicaragua—Balance Sheet of the Sandinista Revolution

[The following assessment of the present stage of the Nicaraguan revolution appeared in the December 27 issue of *Poder Sandinista*, the weekly publication of the FSLN National Secretariat of Propaganda and Political Education. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

1. The Struggle Against Somozaism

The achievement of national sovereignty and economic development for our own benefit are historic tasks that the Latin American bourgeoisies have been unable to accomplish. Our societies are underdeveloped and dependent capitalist societies in which exploitation and repression have been used to benefit foreign interests.

Within this broad picture, the history of Nicaragua could be used to summarize the situation of any Latin American country. During this century Nicaragua's liberal and conservative groups frustrated our hopes of attaining a national perspective. In the end the oligarchical-commercial interests allied with or coexisted with imperialism, setting up a government that always expressed those interests. That government was the Somozaist regime, a regime that has meant exploitation of the working classes and utilization of the state apparatus for the minority classes.

The struggle against Somozaism, therefore, has been the struggle of the most progressive and revolutionary classes who, in the course of a half century of struggle for liberty, have fought to build a new society in Nicaragua. In this struggle there was often a tendency to point to Somoza as the cause of all the evils in Nicaragua, without mentioning the domestic exploitation and without mentioning the foreign domination.

Somoza was simply the product of a structure that we must be conscious of and that we must replace. In the sphere of the economy, this structure was characterized by the following: concentration of the means of production in a few hands; an unemployment rate of 22 percent and an underemployment rate of 32 percent; a high proportion of nonproductive activity; waste of energy resources; centralization of economic leadership within the Central Bank, which was in turn dependent upon the International Monetary Fund; excessive importation of luxury goods; and superexploitation of the labor force.

Somozaism also generated ways of living that corresponded to the characteristics of this economic structure. The corruption, bribery, domination, and repression

had their origin in a dependent capitalist system that was subordinated to foreign interests.

Our economy functioned within the framework of the international capitalist market, which determined what we should produce, what we should export, what we had to import, what technology and machines we had to use, what banks we had to borrow from, and what interest rates we had to pay. It also imposed upon us the forms of production and, therefore, the forms of distribution of what we produced.

In short, what we had was a system of economic growth and development in which the international capitalists decided everything and we decided nothing.

Ownership of the land was reserved for the few. The peasants were thrown off their small plots and the agricultural workers did not have year-round work. Industries produced what the market was interested in and prices of industrial products were set artificially high at the whim of the merchants and at the cost of poverty for consumers.

The working class was a minority class, and the right to trade-union activity was denied our workers. Health, education, housing, culture, entertainment, and even life itself existed only for those who could pay for it.

This was our situation during the Somozaist regime, and any attempt to change that life was very brutally repressed. The function of the laws, the police, the state administration, the cultural-ideological apparatuses, the army, the economy, and politics in this country was to maintain a situation in which freedom was a crime punishable by the state.

Somoza used every means of repression against our people. In turn, the people used every form of struggle for their liberation. Only a revolution could free us from this situation, and that revolution has begun in Nicaragua.

2. The Sandinista Insurrection

The struggle against Somozaism began even before Somoza, because in Nicaragua real anti-Somozaism was always synonymous with Sandinism. Sandino and the first Sandinista movement (1934-1937) fought against this structure of exploitation and domination, whose end product was Somozaism and imperialism.

Fifty years of Somozaist repression were accompanied by fifty years of struggle for national and social liberation. Nationalism was rescued by the common people, these same people who developed their struggle inside and outside the factories, breaking with economist positions that

said that the class struggle takes place only in the work place. The great majority of the urban and rural population did not wait for the working class to attain maturity before they took the offensive in the mountains, the countryside, and the cities. In this way they accelerated the history of their liberation, the struggle for the growth and development of the working class, because here we were struggling to win the right to become proletarians. The struggle for jobs was combined with the struggle against repression.

The Sandinista victory was possible because there was a vanguard that had a conception and practice that fit the circumstances, and because the common people were determined to struggle to the bitter end against the most reactionary classes, both domestic and foreign, of our contemporary history.

The original Sandinistas forged a tactic that in recent times has been exemplified by the unity of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), by the policy of revolutionary unity followed by the United People's Movement (MPU), and by the policy of alliance followed by the National Patriotic Front (FPN).

This is where the Sandinista people's bloc, guided and led by the FSLN, began to take shape. This entire policy made it possible to use the regime's crisis to defeat it, and to deepen the system's crisis in order to build a more just and humane system.

The struggle against Somozaism showed us that Somozaism did not stop at the Nicaraguan border, and that its exploitation and repression were backed up by imperialism. This struggle itself provoked a new breach in imperialism that, by stimulating the struggles of the peoples for their liberation, provided evidence not just of the need for revolution, but also that revolution was on the agenda. Proof of this is the support for it in all layers, the solidarity received from the people, and the expectation and interest shown by all progressive sectors.

In this way Sandinism became internationalism, and our struggle became part of humanity's struggle to live in a different world.

Workers, peasants, radicalized sectors of the middle class, democratic and progressive sectors, and especially our youth made the victory of the Sandinista insurrection possible. Their objective was to carry out the historic tasks that had not been accomplished by other classes. These were the tasks of the European revolutions of the last century, carried out this time by different historic forces—that is, by the

common people of our society.

In order to accomplish these tasks it was first necessary to destroy the state apparatus installed by Somozaism and substitute a different apparatus serving different interests. Destruction of the Somozaist state apparatus became the primary task that would make it possible to fulfill the other tasks.

All forms of struggle were used—military and civil, legal and clandestine, rural and urban, mobilization and participation, harassment and destabilization. In this struggle there were only the two alternatives contained in the slogan "A Free Country or Death."

The Sandinista insurrection and the triumph of the people has enabled us to gain a better position for the coming struggles to build the society dreamed of by Augusto César Sandino, the General of Free Men, and by Carlos Fonseca Amador.

3. A People's Democratic and Anti-imperialist Revolution

In a revolution we must make a distinction between taking power and exercising that power. When we speak of power we must also distinguish between class instruments (the army and the administration) and class power (what interests those instruments defend).

Our revolution is a people's democratic and anti-imperialist revolution. Its most significant features are the participation of the workers in the country's political and economic life, and the revolutionary measures that show that power is being exercised to benefit the Nicaraguan people.

In five years of revolution [since the first armed action by the FSLN] there has been more progress in transforming the economic structure and transforming the state than in fifty years of dictatorship. The following is a list of the most significant gains of the Sandinista revolution.

1. *Destruction of the Somozaist military dictatorship.* This weakened the Latin American military regimes and strengthened the national liberation movements. It has done away with the repressive laws, the [Somozaist] Liberal Party, the Somozaist National Guard, the opportunism of the Conservative opposition, the administrative squander, the plunder of the public treasury, the criminal repression, the shame of the Americas.

2. *Consolidation and development of the Sandinista people's bloc.* This includes:

Establishment of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) and the Sandinista National Police (PNS), to assure the defense of national sovereignty and of the revolution.

Establishment of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), to assure the strengthening of the working class, both organizationally and ideologically.

Strengthening of the Rural Workers Association (ATC), to assure that the

interests of the peasants are defended by the revolution.

Development of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), the seed of real people's power and the instrument for decentralizing the state administrative apparatus.

Consolidation of the Luisa Amanda Espinoza Women's Association (AMN-LAE). This organization brings together that sector of the population without whose liberation there can be no revolution. It is one of the guarantees that national liberation will also be a social revolution.

Establishment of the Luis Alfonso Velázquez Association of Sandinista Children (ANS-LAV), children who matured in battle and who now are organizing and preparing to inherit a Sandinista homeland.

This whole Sandinista people's bloc is summed up in a collective vanguard made up of our National Directorate, which ensures the predominant role of the FSLN.

3. *Assertion of national sovereignty.* This is shown in the field of international relations by our decision to participate in the movement of Nonaligned countries. It is also shown by our establishment of diplomatic ties with all the countries in the socialist camp, by the zealous defense of our national borders, and by the establishment of a 200-mile limit for territorial waters.

4. *Confiscation of the wealth of Somoza and the Somozaists.* This includes their land, cattle ranches, coffee plantations, industries, commercial establishments, transport companies, houses, and urban dwellings. These are means of production with which the new Sandinista state will be able to carry forward the commitments that the revolution has made to our people. These riches are being administered by the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) and by the National Trust institute.

5. *Nationalization of banking and trade.* This will make it possible to gradually eliminate national as well as foreign wholesalers, speculators, and usurers.

6. *Nationalization of natural resources.* This includes the mines, the fishing industry, and other resources, thereby putting an end to direct exploitation by the imperialist companies.

7. *Elaboration of an emergency 1980-1981 plan to revive the economy for the benefit of the people.* This will make it possible to rationalize the use of resources and confront the main economic problems inherited from the dictatorship and the old regime. In addition, it will make it possible to regulate the participation of private companies in the economic revival.

8. *Decision to establish effective participation in the people's organs.* By this we mean particularly the workers, in the administration of companies in the People's Property Sector (APP) and in the

state's economic bodies. The aim is to institute control over the distribution of basic necessities through the National Provisions Company (ENABAS) and the establishment of the People's Stores, with the Sandinista Defense Committees helping to decide where they will be set up.

9. *Measures intended to put an end to the exploitation of small producers and consumers.* Limits have been placed on what landowners and landlords can charge as rent for land and housing. Measures have been enacted to defend the minimum wage and real wages. And measures have also been taken to defend and increase the social benefits by expanding and improving health, education, housing, and transport services.

10. *Measures that seek to improve the quality of life and cultural development, in accord with the deepest meaning of the revolution.* This includes People's Culture Centers that provide new cultural opportunities; nursery schools and centers for child development, where children can play and learn. It also includes development of the material conditions that make it possible for women to free themselves from household obligations and become incorporated into production.

11. *Measures intended to limit the freedom of one person to exploit or repress another.* This includes freedom of expression, thought, religion, and mobilization, not only for those who can pay for these freedoms, as was the case in the past, but also for those sectors who won the right to be free through their struggle.

12. *Establishment of Emergency Tribunals in which Somozaism will be politically judged.* This closes an entire period of history. The aim is to develop the right to indict and hold trials for the crimes that were committed against all the freedoms that have been won. The tribunals and people's justice are established on the basis of the principle of "with the revolution, everything; against the revolution, nothing."

4. The Struggle Continues

All these measures are designed to defend and consolidate the revolution, fulfill the commitment made to our people, maintain the predominant role of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, and promote the participation of the sectors involved in this revolution: the working classes, common people, and patriotic businessmen.

Yesterday it was a question of struggling against the government. Today it is a question of defending the government. That is because yesterday the government defended the oppressing and exploiting classes, while now it defends the interests of the oppressed and exploited classes of Nicaragua. And defense of this government means increasing the workers' participation in all economic, social, political,

and ideological decisions of the revolution, both national and international.

The struggle continues on different battlefields, with different weapons and different enemies. The Sandinista revolution needs to develop the nation's material and human productive forces, and it must also change the social relations of exploitation. In a nutshell, it needs the freedom to grow. We cannot accomplish all these things overnight, nor can we do them alone.

We need financing, but we are in debt up to our ears. We need to free ourselves economically from imperialism, but we are to a great degree dependent on imperialist technology and markets. We need to increase production, but a big portion of production is now in the hands of businessmen who are not very interested in this. We need to redistribute and reinvest the surpluses, but a big part of those surpluses is in private hands and is, therefore, private.

We need to increase the People's Property Sector (APP), but we have difficulty managing what we already have. We need capable, revolutionary technicians and professionals, but we have a shortage of technicians and professionals. We need to reactivate industry, agriculture, and commerce in order to produce what the people and the economy need, but the last years of Somozaism bequeathed us a country that was devastated, plundered, and disorganized.

We need workers' participation in the factories, the economic organs, and the state, but this participation requires education, experience, and training.

We are doing all these things, but they cannot be accomplished in one year. The development of the economy requires that surpluses be invested in productive activities, but on the other hand there are tremendous social needs that also lay claim to these surpluses: education, health, culture, housing, food—that is, necessary but nonproductive expenditures.

For all this we need to support the guidance of the revolutionary process by our vanguard and by the National Directorate of the FSLN, just as we did during the struggle against the dictatorship, just as we did during the war for liberation.

We must increase the level of organization and consciousness of the workers and peasants, as well as establish an alliance between the workers and peasants. We must educate and train ourselves to administer and control the people's wealth; remain zealously on guard to assure that the immediate goals of the Sandinista revolution are achieved; and prepare ourselves for increasingly sharp, mature, and difficult battles.

We need to strengthen and develop the Sandinista organization, together with the liberation army and all the mass organs. We need to develop links with all those

revolutionary organizations and points of support that allow us to build national unity. We need to seek avenues of unity with private business—a necessity for the economic development of this revolution.

We should learn from private business, taking advantage of all the experience the capitalist system has accumulated during its 500-year history. By this we mean in the technical, professional, administrative, management, agricultural, cattle raising, and commercial spheres, as well as in control of the economy, in production, and in productivity. In short, in everything that will make it possible for us to build a more just and egalitarian society for the Nicaraguan people, a society in which the people and the FSLN take responsibility for the development of the revolution as a whole.

Comrades, our Sandinista revolution is maturing by solving its difficulties and providing a firm and considered response to the economic, social, political, and ideological contradictions among our people.

We won the war of liberation, in which a people armed primarily with courage fought against an army professionally equipped by imperialism. We will also win the economic war against a system that has been enriched by the poverty of the workers and of a people who despite their poverty do not sell out and do not surrender. □

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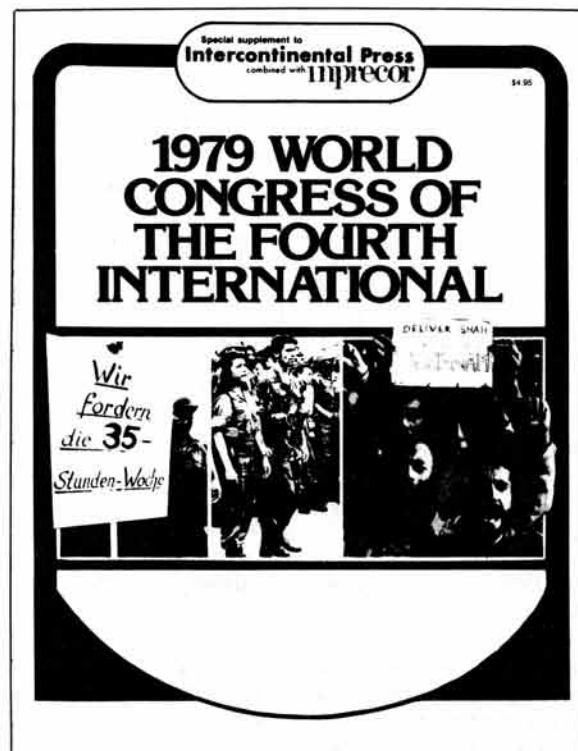
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AROUND THE WORLD



U.S. Socialist Condemns anti-Cuba Terrorism

MIAMI—The interests of American working people are “in learning the truth about the Cuban revolution, in lifting the blockade, and in normalizing relations between our two countries,” said Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley at a press conference here January 24. Pulley was in Miami for a flight to Cuba, where he will conduct a week-long fact-finding tour to better equip him to get out the truth about Cuba during his campaign.

“I am here today to demand that President Carter direct federal authorities to put a stop to the wave of assassinations carried out by right-wing, anti-Cuba terrorists against all those who favor normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba,” Pulley said.

“The criminals responsible for these acts must be arrested immediately, and prosecuted to the full extent of the law.”

Pulley pointed to the murder two months ago of Eulalio José Negrín in broad daylight on a street in Union City, New Jersey. Negrín was active in the Committee of 75, a group of Cubans working for normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba.

“Two months, and yet not a single arrest has been made!” said Pulley.

Pulley explained that prior to Negrín's death, he had repeatedly told authorities about death threats and requested protection, but to no avail. Omega 7, a Cuban exile terrorist organization, took credit for the murder. In the last year alone, Omega 7 has claimed responsibility for six bombings, most recently of the New York offices of the Soviet airline Aeroflot and of the Padron Cigar factory in Miami.

“The government knows the names of these organizations and their leaders,” Pulley explained, “but they have made no attempts whatsoever to stop them.” He pointed out that U.S. officials admit that Omega 7 is a front for the so-called Cuban Nationalist Movement, which has a public headquarters in Union City.

“Many of the terrorists in these groups were originally trained, armed, and financed by the CIA to be used against the Cuban revolution,” Pulley said.

“The government's inaction emboldens other right-wing scum, like the Ku Klux Klan, to carry out their anti-Black, anti-labor assassinations, such as the recent KKK murder of five protesters in North Carolina.”

Pointing out that such terrorist attacks are a threat to all working people, Pulley called for a broad national campaign to halt terrorist acts such as the murder of Negrín. “Further delay in apprehending these assassins would be nothing less than out-and-out government complicity in these heinous crimes.”

Struggle Heats Up in Algeria

The impact of the Iranian revolution is being felt in Algeria. In a report in the January 19 issue of the *Washington Post*, Ronald Koven attributed recent protests in three eastern Algerian cities to “Moslem fundamentalists.”

Koven quoted one Algerian official who complained: “There is an unholy alliance of the extreme left and the extreme right. They are combining to embarrass the government. Marxists who don't believe in religion are using Islam, and Moslem fundamentalists who are economic conservatives are accusing the government of betraying socialism.”

In Algiers itself, thousands of students in the Arabic language section of Algiers University have been on strike for more than two months.

Under French rule it was impossible to secure any administrative position and most well-paid jobs of any kind without speaking French. This policy has been continued under the neocolonial regime in Algeria.

According to Koven, “Arabic speakers have been openly discriminated against in the upper reaches of Algerian society. There are many stories circulated of professors and high officials who throw away or rip up reports or student papers submitted in Arabic.”

On January 14 Algerian President Chadli Benjedid attacked the students striking against this kind of discrimination left over from French colonialism. He said their action reflected the work of “foreign hands.”

Inflation in Israel Hits Record

Israel's inflation rate hit 111.4 percent in 1979, more than double the rate for 1978.

This rate of inflation is one of the highest in the world. It is fueled by arms spending that accounts for about 40 percent of the Israeli budget.

While refusing to cut military spending,

the Israeli government has slashed subsidies on essential foods, cut housing, health, and welfare programs, and imposed a freeze on wages in the public sector.

The Free Market at Work

Following the first big sale of U.S. grain to the Soviet Union in 1974 there was a sharp rise in food prices. Articles in the capitalist press singled out the Soviets as the culprit. They were using grain that could have been kept at home.

Now that President Carter has banned the sale of millions of tons of U.S. grain to the USSR, some naïve people might expect food prices to fall. But those who understand the free market know better.

In fact, the *New York Times* reported January 21, “a growing number of Administration officials believe the danger now is not that farm prices will fall but that they will rise to new heights.”

Everybody knows that in the free market, *somebody* has to buy what is produced. Otherwise, it just goes to waste. But if American workers were allowed to buy what the Soviets have been prevented from buying, the price of grain would fall and President Carter's reelection campaign would run into trouble with farmers. Therefore, the government has in effect banned the sale of grain not only to the USSR, but also to American workers. It will use tax money to buy up “excess” grain.

Working farmers have already pointed out that the big winner in this process will be the giant grain exporting companies. Meanwhile, one government official assured consumers, “If prices go higher, it won't be by more than a few cents.”

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France's Creeping Crisis

By Francis Sitel

Today many people are examining and studying the "French malaise," seeking to diagnose it. A journalist recently wrote about "demoralization." He made explicit reference to Pierre Vianson-Ponté's well-known article in *Le Monde*, on the eve of the May 1968 general strike, analyzing the "boredom" of the French.

The comparison is quite telling. Although the general atmosphere is sluggish, everyone clearly senses that deep forces are at work that make this seeming calm illusory.

One would have to be blind not to see the signs of the basic fragility of the present order, despite the Giscard regime's ability to remain in office and the inability of the workers organizations to put forward an alternative to it.

* * *

The present period is marked first and foremost by the existence of working-class struggles. Robbed on the eve of the March 1978 elections of what seemed a sure victory, owing to the sectarian policy of the Communist Party, French workers now face a policy of brutal attacks on the gains they had won in the preceding period. But while they feel cheated, they do not feel they have been defeated.

The initial battles following the 1978 elections provide evidence of this fact. The steelworker revolts in Longwy and Denain in early 1979 confirmed this. And the present wave of struggles, affecting the basic core of the working class, particularly the steel industry, show that the main confrontations are still to come.

While these struggles remain limited, due to the policies of the trade-union leaders, they are nonetheless instructive about the present combativeness and the morale of the mass of workers, and about the real relationship of forces between classes.

The second feature of the period is the accelerating deterioration of the present government. The team of President Giscard and Prime Minister Barre, which was miraculously returned to office in the March 1978 elections, is increasingly seen as being directly responsible for workers' declining standard of living and is viewed as the enemy that must be brought down.

The scandals that have recently wracked the government can only serve to increase this sentiment by exposing just how corrupt this disreputable government really is.

At this point the only question the

workers are concerned with is how to put an end to this government.

A Regime in Advanced State of Decay

The government has the appearance of being gnawed away at by some insidious form of leprosy. All it took was a few articles in *Le Canard Enchaîné*, the well-known satirical journal, and the suicide of a cabinet minister in a muddy pond for this government, which had displayed such contemptful arrogance, to find itself totally discredited.

First there was the fall of that bloody tyrant and imperialist puppet Emperor Bokassa and the revelations concerning

Although the workers feel cheated, they don't feel they've been defeated . . .

the diamonds that Bokassa gave to Giscard, who Bokassa called his "kinsman." Giscard's ridiculously haughty explanations of this affair were always contradicted the very next day by *Le Canard Enchaîné*.

Then there was the suicide of the minister of labor, Robert Boulin, who was implicated in a real estate speculation scandal. In a posthumous letter Boulin leveled accusations against some of the best-known figures of the state, including the minister of justice Peyrefitte.

In a different period just one of these scandals would have been enough to bring this government down!

When we add that all this piled up in just a few weeks, without anything seeming to change in the spheres of government, we can understand that there is something rotten in the kingdom as people used to say in earlier times.

Following the March 1978 elections the government had seemed extraordinarily secure. Giscard seemed to hold all the trump cards. No elections were scheduled until the presidential race in 1981. The government was assured of the loyalty of the Gaullist Assembly for the Republic (RPR), which may growl but is effectively muzzled by fear that dissolution of the National Assembly might cost it a big chunk of its seats.

In addition the leadership of the workers movement was totally divided between the Communist Party and Socialist Party and between the CGT and CFDT trade-union federations. This division covered over

more or less open collaboration with the government. So there was nothing for Giscard to fear from that direction.

The dangers to the government, in fact, have not come from its open adversaries. They appeared, as if by surprise, from within the regime itself, from the revelations of the corruption that runs through a state that has for much too long been the preserve of the same political coterie.

The spotlight that was trained on this climate of scandal has given the general public a glimpse of the noxious atmosphere that the regime is immersed in, as well as its inability to overcome the political crisis. The regime's sole virtue was also thrown into sharp relief: its ability to remain where it is, its ability to evade the problems in order to achieve a sole objective—survival.

Giscard, who is too compromised to do anything but reign, and Barre, who is too challenged to really govern, could only direct and administer. This is not the best way to get ready for the 1981 presidential elections, an event they both want to make their plans for undisturbed.

A Parliamentary Institution in Crisis

In reality, in order for them to be able to prepare for the 1981 elections, preparations that take the form of playing a waiting-game, it is essential to preserve the present shaky parliamentary equilibrium. But the political crisis is more and more clearly taking the concrete form of an institutional crisis.

Because the Union for French Democracy (UDF), Giscard's party, is a minority in the National Assembly, Giscard and Barre must rely on the votes of other parties to get a majority, which means playing the game of parliamentary democracy.

For example, in trying to secure the renewal of the abortion law, the government found itself caught in the middle. On the one hand, a widespread popular mobilization forced it to renounce its intention of replacing the liberal Veil law with more restrictive legislation. On the other, it came under attack from the reactionary RPR, which fought against the Veil law with obscurantist "right-to-life" arguments.

Only the votes of the SP and CP deputies enabled the government to extricate itself from this situation. With their support Giscard and Barre promulgated a law that, while abolishing the 1920 statute making abortion a crime, remains restrictive and

does not recognize abortion as a right. This despite the fact that on several occasions women have taken to the streets in the tens of thousands to demand this right.

Apart from this specific exception, the government has relied on the votes of the RPR for a majority in the Assembly. But given the deepening political contradictions, these deputies are increasingly restive about supporting the government and having to answer for its policies.

As a result of the RPR's unwillingness to go along, twice in twenty days the government decided to simply bypass parliament. To secure passage of the draft 1980 budget and the draft law on financing social security, Barre made use of a procedure outlined in clause 3 of article 49 of the constitution. Under the terms of this now-famous clause, a draft law is considered adopted unless a parliamentary motion of censure is passed. While the RPR refused to vote for these two proposals, it was not ready to bring down the government by voting for the censure motions introduced by the opposition.

Thus, through this exceptional procedure of staking its mandate, the government was able to impose its laws even though it did not have the power to get them adopted by the Assembly.

This authoritarian maneuver is not without risks. Parliament becomes somewhat more discredited. The RPR now finds itself increasingly caught in a clearly posed dilemma. Either it must lose support from its voters by letting the government get away with these maneuvers, or it must vote for the censure motions, thereby precipitating new elections it does not want.

It should be noted that these twists and turns in the guerrilla warfare in parliament have little to do with the political basis of the criticisms that are made of the government's policy. In the case of the first draft law, the RPR called for a decrease in the state's operating expenditures, and, in the case of the second draft law, it opposed a scandalous measure that tried to make retirees in the private sector pay the costs of social security. The Gaullist deputies, of course, are careful not to call into question basic governmental policy.

All the same, all this creates a climate that seems to obey its own logic, without either side really being master of a mechanism that seems to be running out of control.

Shadow of Inevitable Social Confrontations

It may strike some people as surprising that these parliamentary quarrels are causing quiet anxiety within the ruling class. After all, although governmental policy may be criticized, it is not being fundamentally challenged by any party. The RPR does not have any alternative policy to counterpose. And the CP and SP would like to avoid rushing elections.

The reason for this anxiety is that the

bourgeoisie wants to see political life focus around the 1981 presidential elections so as to prevent the real, immediate problems from taking center stage. For this scenario to work, the parliamentary game must not be suddenly disrupted by internecine quarrels within the majority.

But these quarrels simply reflect the regime's crisis, which must be confronted. For that reason, even though all the big

The scandals have given the public a glimpse of how sordid the regime is . . .

political forces are trying to contain political concerns within the framework of the 1981 elections, it is not at all clear that they can succeed in doing this.

The fact is that other concerns carry more weight in the thoughts of the masses. These concerns are linked to the economic crisis and the austerity policy that the bosses and the government are carrying out with unparalleled ferocity.

That is why, moreover, within the bourgeoisie itself there are so many questions and criticisms concerning the results of three years of the Barre government. It reached the point that rumors were circulating that Barre would soon have to step down, rumors that eventually put a lid on the scandals: Giscard, being too compromised personally, was not able to extricate himself so cheaply.

Barre has been successful in scoring points against the working class and increasing the profits of the bosses. But he failed on the basic objectives of containing inflation and increasing investment.

The official philosophy of Giscardian liberalism—which says that today's profits are tomorrow's investments and the next day's jobs—was completely debunked.

Barre's policy appears to suffer from a contradiction that afflicts the bourgeoisie as a whole. On the one hand, capitalism needs to deal even heavier blows against the working class if it is to restore its profit rate and thereby stimulate capitalist investment. On the other hand, the ruling class is afraid that the measures already carried out could provoke working-class explosions, leading to a fightback by the entire working class that could overturn the government and the system itself.

The reason that Barre remains in office, that no alternative policy is proposed within the bourgeois forces, that everyone prefers to fight on the floor of the Assembly while waiting for things to shake out, hopefully within the limits of the Assembly, is precisely because the ruling class cannot resolve this contradiction.

The Appeal for Consensus

The government, caught within these internal political and institutional contradictions and discredited by the scandals,

hardly seems able to propose any credible, convincing political plan.

Instead Giscard has made a specialty of futuristic conjecture about "the world in the year 2000," a good way of "talking about something else" while outlining a hollow philosophy that reduces itself to "if only it lasts," a platitude that is very fitting for this government.

Meanwhile the mass media has been given the job of carrying out an ideological war based on major world events. To this end, Iran is served up as an example to show that a revolution can only end up in chaos. Indochina is used to constantly hammer home the "proof" that Communism is nothing but the monstrous vision of Kampuchea under the Khmer Rouge, subjected to gulags and genocide.

Through these campaigns imperialist France is playing its part in the international counterrevolution. But more specifically this campaign is used to convince the French people that they live in a country that is an oasis of reason and calm in an explosive world, that while France may have its problems, life there is good for those who know how to be realistic.

This outpouring would undoubtedly have little impact on those who daily suffer from unemployment, a declining standard of living, and injustice, were it not for the fact that powerful confederates have come to the rescue.

Take the example of the theme of developing a "social consensus" in the face of the economic crisis. This pretentious phrase, which is meant to dress up the old concept of class collaboration, can only make headway to the extent that the leaders of the working class agree to take up the general idea, if not the specific phrase.

The big question running through the French workers movement is how to adapt political and trade-union strategies to the reality of the capitalist economic crisis. There is general agreement on trying to put across one or two basic concepts.

The first is to stress that the crisis is inescapable, and that there is absolutely no possibility for a working-class solution to it through breaking with capitalism. Instead, the argument goes, the workers should advocate measures that ameliorate the effects of the crisis, with the aim of lightening its consequences on the working class, lessening the burden of it.

The second aspect is to dampen any hope among the workers that they can change governments over the short term, to dampen any illusion that might tend to make them struggle on the basis of this goal.

To this end, the defeat of the Union of the Left in March 1978 is not presented as either the result of an electoralist strategy or as the price that was paid for divisions among the workers parties, or even as a defeat that can be surmounted.

The CP sticks to the theme of "betrayal

by the Social Democrats"; the CFDT and Rocard current in the SP stress the need for a "realistic view" of the CP's character—the net result is to settle comfortably into division and defeat. CP leader Georges Marchais explains that the "resistance to change" stemming from the crisis makes it necessary to patiently build a "union of the base," to strengthen the "party of the working class," the CP, before anything else.

CFDT leader Edmond Maire states that it is inevitable that the left will be defeated in the coming presidential elections, and that even an electoral victory would only lead to an even greater defeat.

The logical consequence of these two ideas is that it is necessary to adapt to the crisis, to reduce goals to the level of what is possible. This is designed to convince the workers to accept small-scale struggles at the base, company by company, even shop by shop.

The CP talks about "beating back" capitalist "redeployment" and Maire calls for "trade-union realism" and "limited demands." Hopes, they say, must focus on another sphere. Forget about achieving change by centralizing the struggles, by a general strike that can throw out the government of these merchants of austerity and bring the workers parties to power.

Instead they talk of serving the apprenticeship of self-management, workshop by workshop, office by office, to get more democracy and responsibility in order to prepare for the days to come. Too bad if those who are under the sharpest attack—the unemployed, the youth, the deported immigrants—are the ones left high and dry by the CP's pseudo "self-management strategy."

While the overall features of this policy scarcely differ from those put forward by the Italian CP and the Spanish workers parties, what differentiates the French situation is the cunning division of roles that the various political and trade-union forces assume in this great game of dividing and demoralizing the workers ranks.

The CFDT, joining with the old specialists in this field—the FEN [teachers union] and FO [Force Ouvrière—the third main union federation]—is openly harking back to the most solid traditions of class collaboration. This includes giving back previously won gains, paring down demands, holding negotiations at the highest level, and appealing to a sense of responsibility in these trying times.

The Communist Party claims to reject and fight against this "avowed consensus." It claims that it counterposes the class-struggle axis, made up of itself and the CGT, to this consensus and asserts it is fighting the austerity program and the government.

In fact, this is simply a mask behind which it hides its total inactivity regarding

the need to centralize struggles. In practice the CP is carrying out a policy of "shame-faced consensus" that dares not speak its name. In this way it separates itself from, while negotiating alongside, the CFDT—giving back previously won gains and watering down struggles when necessary.

During the "Boulin affair," we might add, the CP quite dramatically distinguished itself as one of the noisiest accus-

We are seeing a real maturing of working-class consciousness . . .

ers . . . of the press for its revelations! Another example of the CP's attempt to defend the government.

Regardless of the speeches they use to cover themselves, the entire policy of the workers leaders is, in fact, aimed at one and the same thing. That is to put off any centralized confrontation between the working class and the government, to prevent struggles against the government and the bosses from turning into fights that involve the whole workers movement.

While thus far the leaders have been quite successful in achieving this objective, it has been at the cost of growing compromises. When the workers fully add up the results of the government's policy—the blows that have already been struck against them and those that are still to come—they are going to question these leaderships that cannot propose any response that matches what is needed.

Workers Look for Alternative

It is clear that "realism" does not pay off for the workers. There are now 1.35 million unemployed in France. If we extrapolate from the present trends, we can project a figure on the order of 2.5 million unemployed in 1985, more than 10 percent of the active population.

Real wages have dropped 2 percent in a year, and 2.4 percent as far as the minimum wage is concerned. In addition there are the attacks on social security benefits, the provocative measures against retirees, and the massive deportations of immigrant workers. The picture is not bright.

The workers are not passively sitting back and taking all this. This is shown by the wave of strikes that has just taken place at Ducellier, Merlin-Gérin, Dassault, SNIAS, SNECMA, Alsthom, involving a big section of the metal industry. In contrast to what the national and regional leaders of the unions are advocating, these actions are pushing for stiff demands. Nearly all the lists of demands included wage hikes (between 300 and 500 francs per month for all), the thirty-five hour workweek, and a fifth week of paid vacation.

All these struggles have also been char-

acterized by a high level of militancy, which is expressed in the willingness of the workers to hold out (in Alsthom they were on strike for eight weeks) and in the many factory occupations.

In the public sectors, where in recent years the unions leaders have tried every possible combination of partial and rotating strikes, the mass of workers are increasingly questioning these tactics. This is expressed in hardfought struggles from time to time, and in the push for united struggle. This is expressed, sometimes publicly, in disagreements with the union leaders and their forms of struggle.

These manifestations of disaffection with the days of action and this challenging of the leaders is most clearly seen in the postal system and on the railroads.

In fact, today we are seeing a real maturing of working-class consciousness, which is expressed through movements in defiance of the bureaucracy and the emergence of mass critical currents within the unions. The strong movement toward deunionization that the unions are experiencing is also to a large extent an expression of the growing refusal of the workers to accept the policies of the leaders.

Many workers are rejecting the ineffectual tactics of struggle, which are little more than rituals. They reject the alibis that are used to hide the powerlessness of the union leaders. We are even beginning to see a rejection of trade-union "realism" in face of the harsh reality of the economic crisis. This phenomenon is becoming clearly perceptible on a broad scale at the trade-union congresses. Significant currents are putting forward alternatives to the policy laid out by the union leaders.

All these developments are not simply indications of the effects of the economic crisis on the working class. They are also, and especially, indications of the ability of the workers to surmount this crisis. The task of revolutionary Marxists is to take this desire to surmount the crisis, which is developing within the ranks of the workers, and transform it into an organizational and political alternative to the present leaders.

We must show that there are other choices besides the bureaucrats' policies of collaboration, resignation, and division. This is what is needed, and it is becoming increasingly possible. The central themes around which this alternative can be built are clearly visible in counterposition to the leaderships' present strategy: rejection of austerity, putting forward basic demands without paring them down and without giving back gains that were previously won, the perspective of a movement encompassing all the unions and parties, of a general strike against austerity, and of throwing out this government.

Today these ideas are spreading in the thinking of the masses. Tomorrow they will be manifested in the struggle itself. □