

Intercontinental Press

combined with **INPRECOR**

Vol. 18, No. 9

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March 10, 1980

USA 85¢

UK 30p



Rural Workers Association demonstration in Managua during "Sandino Lives" week. At left, quote from Sandino: "Because only the workers and peasants will go all the way". Above, banner calls on Agrarian Reform Institute not to return a single inch of seized land. Below, banner links victory in insurrection to coming victory in literacy campaign. Photos by Fred Murphy.



During 'Sandino Lives' Week Nicaraguans Celebrate Launching of People's Militias

**March of Tehran
Workers Demands:
'Send Back Shah!'**

**Yugoslavia's Tito:
Why Imperialists Are
Sorry to See Him Go**

Behind the Merchants' Strike in Kabul

By Ernest Harsch

The businessmen's strike and armed rightist revolt that began on February 21 in the Afghan capital of Kabul were not aimed at "liberating" Afghanistan—as the imperialist press has so persistently claimed—but at undermining the social gains of the Afghan workers and peasants. These attacks were part of a counterrevolutionary offensive that has been instigated and backed by Washington and the Pakistani military dictatorship.

The precise character and extent of the antigovernment actions in Kabul are still difficult to ascertain. From most accounts they began with a merchants' and shopkeepers' strike on February 21, which reportedly shut down most stores and the main market in the capital. It was called to protest the dispatch of Soviet troops to Afghanistan to help the government forces defend the country from the imperialist-backed guerrillas.

By February 22, the merchants' strike was accompanied by armed rightist demonstrations and attacks on government and party offices. The same day, the government of Babrak Karmal declared martial law in the city, barring any unauthorized public gatherings of more than four persons. The army and units of the civilian militia took up positions throughout the city. Within a few days the demonstrations had been put down and the strike collapsed.

As part of Washington's propaganda campaign against Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the capitalist news media in the United States seized on the unrest in Kabul as "proof" of massive opposition to the Soviet presence in the country.

To bolster the imperialists' contention that the businessmen's action was representative of popular sentiments, all manner of rumors, unconfirmed claims, and outright fabrications about what happened in Kabul were presented as facts in the bourgeois press.

Many of the "news" reports were, in reality, based on dispatches originating from Pakistan and India. The Western reporters based in Kabul were restricted to the Inter-Continental Hotel throughout the unrest, and only two of them actually claimed to have travelled through parts of the city. Although they described some of the damage caused during the fighting, they did not themselves see any demonstrations or battles.

The claims that thousands participated in the antigovernment actions and that hundreds were killed are thus based al-

most entirely on unsubstantiated accounts originating from unnamed sources or "diplomatic officials."

For example, the February 29 issue of the Newark, New Jersey, *Star Ledger* reported—under a front page banner headline reading "1,000 Afghans machine-gunned in reprisal"—that "Russian-backed Afghan troops rounded up about 5,000 persons after bloody street fighting in which hundreds of people died.

"More than 1,000 prisoners were herded to a central point in the capital and machine-gunned, one Afghan who reached Peshawar [in Pakistan] said."

But the same day's issue of the *New York Times* was forced to admit that this wild accusation was based on pure fabrication. "Some Western diplomats and independent Afghan sources," a dispatch from Kabul reported, "expressed skepticism about reports from Islamabad, Pakistan, that the Afghan Government of Babrak Karmal had begun putting Moslem Shiite leaders and rebels to death. They said they had heard nothing to suggest that summary executions had taken place."

The same dispatch added, "Rumors have circulated here that some Soviet soldiers died in last Friday's fighting. But there has been no evidence to back the reports."

Although Washington claims that the conflict in Afghanistan is basically one between the Soviet Army on one side and the entire Afghan population on the other, the press has also been forced to acknowledge that it was *Afghan* troops and militia

members who put down the insurgency in Kabul.

Actually, the conflict in Afghanistan is fundamentally a civil war. On one side are the Afghan government and the workers and peasants, who are seeking to defend the land reform and other progressive social measures that have been initiated since the beginning of the Afghan revolution in April 1978, when the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) toppled the regime of Mohammad Daud.

On the other side are right-wing guerrilla forces led by dispossessed landlords, opium smugglers, monarchists, former military officers, and sectors of the Islamic clergy. Their aim is to turn back the land reform, reimpose discriminatory restrictions on women, and crush the struggles of the Afghan toiling masses.

Although the PDPA has sought to win the collaboration of "patriotic merchants" and "national capitalists," its success has been very limited. From the very beginning of the revolution, traders and capitalists have supported the counterrevolution. The merchants of Kabul in particular had previously put up stiff resistance to the regime's restrictions on profit levels and efforts to impose price controls on basic necessities.

The businessmen's strike is an indication that opposition to the government from the merchant class has sharpened even further since the Soviet troops first intervened in December.

The strike and the armed actions in Kabul were encouraged—if not actually instigated—by American imperialism, which has become increasingly open about its backing to the counterrevolution.

According to a report in the February 26 *Washington Post*, "Reliable sources have said the CIA has begun supplying weapons—mostly Soviet-made small arms and simple antitank guns—to Afghan rebel forces. . . ." The White House itself has unofficially admitted as much. □

Sandinistas Tell U.S. Congress: 'Hands Off!'

[By a narrow five-vote margin, the U.S. House of Representatives, after months of stalling, approved \$70 million in loans and a \$5 million grant to Nicaragua February 27. Two days earlier, the House had held a secret session on the Nicaragua bill—only the third such session in the past 150 years.

[Although the bulk of the loan was already earmarked for allocation to private business in Nicaragua, that wasn't enough for the House, which added amendments to halt payments if the Sandinista government gives aid to liberation struggles elsewhere in Central America, or if Washington decides that there is an expansion

of Soviet or Cuban influence in Nicaragua.

[One amendment adopted would instruct the president to terminate the aid if Nicaragua "violated labor union rights." The opponents of aid didn't mention that only since the Sandinista-led government took power have Nicaraguans had any labor union rights at all! Another amendment stipulated that none of the funds could be used for schools employing any of the 1,200 Cuban teachers in Nicaragua! In any case, the bill allocates no money at all for Nicaragua's literacy campaign.

[The following editorial on the secret session held by the House appeared in the February 27 issue of *Barricada*, the Sandi-

nista daily, under the headline, "Hands Off Nicaragua!"

"Any foreign meddling in our internal affairs brings only the loss of peace and the rage of our people."—Augusto César Sandino.

When the Nicaraguan people conquered their political sovereignty by overthrowing the Somoza dictatorship our leaders indicated that we were ready to establish a new kind of relation with the government of the United States. That is, relations on the basis of mutual respect, without interventions or impositions, in a friendship sealed by the sacred respect for the self-determination of our people, which was gained at the cost of great bloodshed. The U.S. government—which imposed the criminal dictatorship and kept it in power for forty-five years—declared itself to be in agreement with our position and asked for a "clean slate" in our relations. Some of its representatives, upon visiting our country, even expressed a commitment that no forms of intervention whatsoever would be repeated.

But today, in plenary session, the House of Representatives is making use of new forms of intervention in Nicaragua, discussing "in secret" a report that espionage agents of the CIA have put together about the supposed "communist infiltration" of Nicaragua. That, gentlemen, is purely and simply a form of intervention in our internal affairs. Because the CIA is not solely an information agency, but rather a center for cooking up plots and destabilization plans—such as the overthrow of Mossadegh in Iran (1952), Arbenz in Guatemala (1954), the Dominican government (1965), and the Chilean People's Unity (1973). It also intervened against Lumumba and Cabral in Africa, Sukarno in Indonesia, and many other Third World leaders, as well as against the glorious Cuban Revolution. And the gentlemen in the U.S. Congress now claim the right to uphold the CIA's intervention in our country.

We call on the U.S. government to make public the CIA's report: to give the names of their agents in Nicaragua and the content of their plans—which, based on the CIA's history, must be plans of destabilization. Future charges against our State Security bodies for aggression in capturing these agents and putting them under the weight of the law could thus be avoided.

There is something more: the reactionary sectors of the Congress are discussing a series of amendments to the loan (not a gift) of \$75 million that are damaging to our national sovereignty. "The only condition is that there be no conditions," our leaders have said. And the entire people of Nicaragua back this up. We do not accept veiled forms of intervention.

Commanders of the Revolution Wheelock and Tirado spoke clearly during their visit to the United States. We have eco-

nomics needs, but we would be prepared not to receive a single dollar if in exchange the right to self-determination—not only of Nicaragua, but of all Latin America—were respected.

We are not a colony of the United States. We reject any further meddling with our revolution. As Commander Tomás Borge has said, "We can be excellent friends, but also excellent enemies." □

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

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

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

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

To Subscribe: For one year send \$30.00 to

Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New
York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first
class and airmail.

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

For air-speeded subscriptions to Austr-
alia: 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, Eng-
land. Britain and Ireland, send £11.00 for
one year. Continental Europe and Scandina-
via, send £15.00 for one year. For airmail
from London send £22.00. Address sub-
scription correspondence to Intercontinen-
tal 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.
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Press.

Nicaragua Commemorates Anti-imperialist Hero

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—"Sandino Lives!"

That was the theme of a week of activities across Nicaragua February 17-24 to commemorate the forty-sixth anniversary of the assassination of the anti-imperialist fighter, Gen. Augusto César Sandino.

The activities began February 17 with a march in Managua of more than 30,000 peasants and agricultural laborers organ-

denounced the right-wing U.S. congressmen who are seeking to block or place political conditions on the \$75 million loan to Nicaragua being considered in Washington.

Washington vs. Cuba

"Those who seek to prevent aid to Nicaragua today," Ortega declared, "are the



"To reactivate [the economy], expropriate." Banner at ATC rally. Fred Murphy/IP-I

ized by the Rural Workers Association (ATC). At a rally after the march, ATC leaders presented a Plan of Struggle aimed at defending and extending the revolution in the countryside. (See last week's *IP/I*.)

Relaunching Militias

The high point of the last day of activities February 24 was a parade in Roberto Clemente Stadium in the city of Masaya by 1,200 newly recruited members of the Sandinista People's Militias (MPS). The militias are being relaunched in a massive way and are to be based in the factories, workplaces, schools, neighborhoods, farms, and villages.

"In times of peace the militias will stand guard over the wealth our workers and peasants produce daily," army Commander-in-Chief Humberto Ortega said at the Masaya ceremonies. "In wartime the militias will defend that wealth, for they themselves are the workers and peasants who produce it."

Throughout the week the history and significance of Sandino's struggle against imperialist domination was discussed in school classrooms and in meetings organized by the Sandinista Defense Committees, trade unions, and other mass organizations.

Leaders of the FSLN and the Government of National Reconstruction, along with thousands of other Nicaraguans, traveled to the village of Niquinohomo on February 21 for ceremonies establishing the house where Sandino was born as a national museum. In a speech to a rally there, FSLN Commander Daniel Ortega

same ones who yesterday supported the criminal, Anastasio Somoza García, and his cowardly assassination of Sandino."

Ortega emphasized the "marked difference" between the rapidity with which U.S. loans used to be approved for Somoza, and the snail's pace of the current congressional proceedings. "They never used to vacillate before, when each day Nicaragua was plunged deeper into debt," Ortega said. "And now they're speeding \$400 million in military aid to Pakistan and

doing something similar with El Salvador."

Washington's stalling on the much-needed but far-from-adequate aid package for Nicaragua also contrasts sharply with the internationalist generosity and unconditional solidarity being offered by the revolutionary Cuban government. The most recent example of this was the \$50 million economic aid agreement signed in Niquinohomo on February 21 by Nicaraguan Planning Minister Henry Ruiz and Héctor Rodríguez, Cuba's Minister of Economic Collaboration. This direct aid—not a loan—includes a fleet of ten fishing boats, a large cargo vessel, heavy construction equipment, and various kinds of technical assistance.

Visit by Grenada's Maurice Bishop

One of the largest events of "Sandino Lives!" week came February 23, when tens of thousands of Nicaraguans marched into the Plaza of the Revolution here in Managua to greet Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada. Bishop and the delegation of Grenadian leaders had been especially invited to attend the week's ceremonies.

Like Nicaragua, Grenada has been facing increasing pressures and threats from U.S. imperialism, which has objected to the revolutionary government's acceptance of aid and friendly relations with Cuba. "Grenada is not alone," Nicaraguan junta member Sergio Ramírez told the February 23 rally. "It has free and Sandinista Nicaragua at its side, with all the dignity and sovereignty that has been conquered by our people in arms."

Along with Bishop, other special guests at the February 23 rally included Haydée

How Somoza and Washington Murdered Sandino

MANAGUA—Gen. Augusto César Sandino and most of his general staff were murdered on the night of February 21, 1934, on the orders of National Guard chief and soon-to-be dictator Anastasio Somoza García. Somoza, father of the recently deposed tyrant, had the blessing of U.S. Ambassador Arthur Lane, whose superiors in Washington wanted to put an end to the ongoing threat Sandino posed to their domination of Nicaragua.

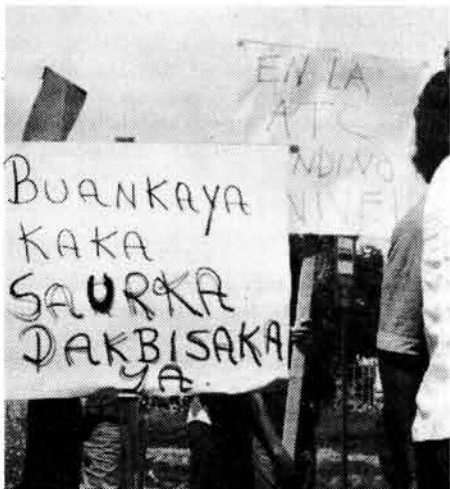
The previous year Sandino's worker and peasant army had driven the U.S. Marines out of Nicaragua. His troops were then disarmed under an agreement with the government installed before the Marines left. Sandino returned to his stronghold in the northern Segovia Mountains to organize peasant

cooperatives. He was in Managua for talks with President Sacasa (later overthrown by Somoza) when he was killed.

The betrayal and murder of Sandino and his top aides was followed the next day by the massacre of more than 300 peasants in Sandino's main cooperative in Wiwilí. Further repression soon put an end to what remained of Sandino's organized followers. But the example of anti-imperialist struggle he set remained alive in Nicaragua.

In the early 1960s the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) took up Sandino's banner, and on July 19, 1979, came to power at the head of a mass insurrection.

The Sandinista triumph meant that for the first time Sandino's death would be commemorated in a massive public way by the Nicaraguan people.



Fred Murphy/IP-1
Miskito Indian peasants at ATC rally.

Santamaría, a longtime leader of the Cuban revolution and director of Cuba's Casa le las Americas publishing house; Cuban poet Roberto Fernández Retamar, recently awarded the first annual Rubén Darío Poetry Prize by Nicaragua's Ministry of Culture (he donated the \$1,000 prize to Nicaragua's literacy campaign); Gustavo Machado of Venezuela and Andrés García of Mexico, both internationalist veterans of Sandino's army; and delegations from solidarity committees in Panama, the Dominican Republic, and other countries.

In his keynote address to the huge gathering, Bishop outlined a little of the history of Grenada's revolution and its own literacy and reconstruction efforts, similar to those now under way in Nicaragua.

The Grenadian leader went on to call for stepped-up international support to the peoples of Zimbabwe, who he said face "a sinister plan to turn back their liberation through intimidation, continual assassinations of freedom fighters, the shameless

Arms Violation Charges Filed Against MAP/FO

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—Further charges have been formally brought in the criminal courts here against leaders of the ultra-left Stalinist People's Action Movement (MAP) and its trade-union arm, the Workers Front (FO).

On February 22 auxiliary penal prosecutor Alberto Gámez filed charges against seven MAP/FO leaders for violation of Article 1 Section D of the Public Order and Security Law, which calls for three to ten years imprisonment for anyone "who attempts to depose . . . local authorities or to prevent those duly named or elected from taking office." The law further sanctions those who "try to prevent the authorities from freely carrying out their functions or enforcing compliance with their administrative or judicial measures."

The charges also cite violations of Article 4 Section A of the same law, which provides penalties of three months to two years at public works for those convicted of "illegal possession of

firearms, explosives, or other military paraphernalia. . . ."

As evidence, the prosecutor's brief cites a large cache of arms discovered by Sandinista security personnel in late January at a farm on the outskirts of Managua, which Vice-minister of Interior Hugo Torres said February 2 belonged to the MAP's armed wing, the Anti-Somoza People's Militias (MILPAS). Two other arms caches linked to the MAP were subsequently discovered.

The brief also states that meetings of the MAP and FO were held at the farm on several occasions and that proposals for armed actions against the revolutionary government were debated at those gatherings.

Two of those affected by the new charges, Isidro Téllez Toruño and Juan Alberto Enríquez, have already been convicted on earlier charges related to their role in the MAP/FO's now banned daily *El Pueblo* and sentenced to two years at public works [see *IP/I*, February 25, page 176].

utilization of racist South African troops, and attacks on the lives of comrade Mugabe and other leaders of the Patriotic Front."

Bishop pointed to Grenada's "firm determination to confront imperialism wherever it rears its ugly head." He said this was "recently demonstrated in the case of the struggle of the people of Afghanistan in the face of imperialist maneuvers to turn back the revolution of the Afghan people." Bishop noted that Grenada was "one of

the two countries of this hemisphere that voted against the recent Western-inspired resolution in the United Nations."

Bishop explained that internationalism is a life-or-death question for Grenada and Nicaragua:

"The triumph of our revolution cannot be an isolated event," he said. "The very character of world imperialism justifies the necessity of revolutionary solidarity among oppressed peoples everywhere." □

'Militias Are the Highest Expression of the People in Arms'

[The following is an editorial from the February 24 issue of the Sandinista daily *Barricada*. The editorial was headlined, "Long Live the Heroic Sandinista People's Militias."]

* * *

When the militias were demobilized several weeks after the [July 19] victory, the ultraleftists jumped up to claim that "the people were being disarmed." Just as did the Somozaist infiltrators, they wanted to keep their weapons so as to preserve their narrow and sectarian interests, but they did not fully achieve that aim. Our people did not let themselves be fooled by such siren songs. Many *milicianos* were incorporated in the EPS [Sandinista People's Army] and others into productive tasks.

Infiltrators were dealt with.

It was necessary to consolidate the armed power in a people's army under a revolutionary political leadership, and Sandinism provided the proper answer, assuring the defense of the revolutionary conquests of the people through the institutionalization of the Sandinista People's Army.

Today, February 24, in carrying out the "Sandino Lives!" activities and marking the [second anniversary of the] Monimbó insurrection—two days before the second anniversary of the death in combat of the apostle of Sandinista unity, Commander Camilo Ortega*—a new period is opening

*On February 24, 1978, the residents of the Indian community of Monimbó in the city of

in the life of the Sandinista People's Militias.

While the EPS is an armed body of workers and peasants under a revolutionary leadership, the people's militias are the highest expression of the people in arms. In workplaces and schools, in villages and neighborhoods, in ministries and offices, the popular masses can join the militias to defend the revolution. The militias have a voluntary character, but it is a duty of all

Masaya rose up in arms against Somoza's National Guard. In this first urban insurrection of the Nicaraguan revolution, Sandinista leader Camilo Ortega Saavedra—brother of FSLN Commanders Humberto and Daniel Ortega—was killed.—*IP/I*

Nicaraguans to join them—to defend national sovereignty, to participate in civil defense and mobilize in the event of emergency or public calamity, and to defend the revolutionary conquests of all the people.

Thus, the militias make up a new instru-

ment of struggle with which the masses are to defend fundamentally the interests of the workers and peasants. The revolution has taken a very important step in institutionalizing the militias under the direction of the Ministry of Defense.

The arms have always been and will always be at the service of the masses: with arms we defeated Somozaism and imperialism, and we'll keep on advancing for the consolidation of the revolution.

The people armed will never be smashed!

Fourth International Voices Solidarity With Salvadoran Revolution

[The following statement was issued in San Salvador January 24 by Alain Robs, a representative of the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. A report on the statement was featured prominently in the January 28 issue of the San Salvador bourgeois daily *La Crónica*.

[Subsequent issues of *La Crónica* published statements by two sectarian groups that falsely claim to speak in the name of the Fourth International in El Salvador—the OSI¹ and the PST.²

[The OSI denounced Robs's statement of support to the Salvadoran revolution as a further example of the Fourth International's "revisionism" and "liquidationism." The PST condemned it as additional proof that the Fourth International has "totally abandoned" the "Trotskyist and Bolshevik practice of building revolutionary parties."

[The translation of the statement is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

We energetically support the revolution in El Salvador.

1. Internationalist Socialist Organization, affiliated with the "Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International."

2. Socialist Workers Party, affiliated with the Bolshevik Faction, an international grouping headed by Nahuel Moreno that split from the Fourth International in November 1979.

First of all, I would like to convey revolutionary internationalist greetings in the name of my organization, the Revolutionary Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International, to the 300,000 workers who mobilized in that glorious day of protest January 22, despite murderous repression.

Your magnificent unity in struggle shows clearly that we are nearing the overthrow of the exploiting classes, which are tightly linked to capitalism, and of their ferocious repressive apparatus. The hour of final liberation is approaching.

Only six months ago the Nicaraguan masses, under the leadership of their vanguard the FSLN, overthrew the Somozaist tyranny and opened the road to a revolution that neither imperialism nor the bourgeoisie can hold back.

Today the Salvadoran revolution is under way, with the irresistible strength of a working class and peasantry that has a much stronger tradition of struggle and organization than in Nicaragua.

In the decisive battles that are approaching, international solidarity can play an important role in staying the murderous hand of imperialism and providing the Salvadoran masses and their vanguard with all the support they require.

In its World Congress held last November, the Fourth International voted to commit its forces to an international campaign in support of the Nicaraguan revolu-

tion. We are going to broaden this campaign to include the Salvadoran revolution.

We are convinced that what is at stake is not only the future of the Salvadoran revolution but also the socialist future of all Central America and the Caribbean. For the working people of Martinique and Guadeloupe, your struggle represents an immense aid to their efforts to free themselves from the yoke of French imperialism.

The Fourth International has no section or sympathizing organization in El Salvador. Two small, sectarian groups—the Socialist Workers Party (PST) and the Internationalist Socialist Organization (OSI)—falsely claim to speak in the name of the Fourth International. They have no right to do so. They were never recognized by the Fourth International.

These groups, which are affiliated with sectarian currents that split from the Fourth International four months ago, condemn the FSLN, accusing it of betraying the interests of the Nicaraguan masses, aiding the bourgeoisie in its efforts to rebuild its political power, and repressing the mass movement. This blind sectarianism has no place in the ranks of the Fourth International.

We give our support to the revolutionary organizations that have demonstrated in practice that they are the real vanguard of the masses in struggle. The BPR as well as the FAPU and the LP-28³ have all clearly rejected reformist and pacifist illusions and have demonstrated their ability to organize the working and peasant masses against the bloodsoaked dictatorship and the exploiting classes.

The unity they reached January 11 gave them even greater strength and authority to carry out the revolutionary struggle to its final victory, for it brought together all the forces genuinely committed to defending the interests of the working class and the peasantry and installing a workers and peasants government.

In this struggle, we give our firmest support, as is the duty of every genuinely internationalist revolutionary. □

Protest Arrest of BPR and LP-28 Leaders

Juan Chacón, general secretary of the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR), one of the main revolutionary organizations in El Salvador, was seized by government security forces on February 25. Chacón was riding in San Salvador with his wife, María Elena Vanegas de Chacón, and their three-month-old daughter when their taxi was stopped by the National Police.

Authorities at first refused to acknowledge that they had taken Chacón prisoner, but protests in El Salvador forced the regime to admit holding him. His wife and daughter have been released.

Chacón was not the only revolutionary leader arrested February 25. According to reports from El Salvador, the

general secretary of the February 28 People's Leagues (LP-28) was also captured by security forces. Charges have not been announced against either Chacón or the LP-28 leader.

These arrests are the latest in the military regime's escalating repression against the Salvadoran people. Letters and telegrams demanding the immediate release of the two freedom fighters should be sent to:

Ministerio de Defensa, Palacio Nacional, San Salvador, El Salvador; and to the Junta Cívico Militar, Palacio Presidencial, San Salvador, El Salvador.

Send copies of all messages to the Solidarity Committee with the Salvadoran People, P.O. Box 12056, Washington, D.C. 20005.

3. BPR—Revolutionary People's Bloc. FAPU—United People's Action Front. LP-28—February 28 People's Leagues. Three of the main organizations fighting the dictatorship in El Salvador.

Iranian Masses Take to Streets, Demand Return of Shah

By Janice Lynn

The big-business press keeps proclaiming that support in Iran for the militants occupying the U.S. embassy is dwindling. But tens of thousands of Iranians took to the streets in late February and proved just the opposite.

On February 25, tens of thousands turned out in the rain and snow to march past the embassy. Chanting "the shah must be returned," they cheered the militant students who addressed the rally.

Also addressing the throngs from atop the embassy wall was Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr. He praised the students and declared, "In order to have an independent nation, all our people must be ready to defend their country."

Tehran Workers Support Militant Students

Two days later, on February 27, tens of thousands of workers marched to the U.S. embassy in a display of solidarity with the militant students. It was organized by the Islamic Workers Shora, which represents many factory *shoras* (committees) in the Tehran area.

More than fifty factories were represented by signs and banners, including the large Benz-Khaver auto assembly plant, where 7,000 workers are employed.

Some of the slogans were:

"United States—This is our last message, the army of 20 million is ready to rise."

"Conciliators—No. The Workers are Awake."

"Deals with the United States by any position or by any power is a betrayal of the people."

"The shah must be returned and executed."

"The capital of the plunderers must be nationalized in the interests of the toilers."

"The shoras are the trenches of the

toilers and the shoras are the trenches of the oppressed."

"Conciliators should be expelled from the shoras."

At the end of the march, a twelve-point resolution was adopted. It included many of the planks adopted at a similar demonstration last December 23—direct control of the factories; land reform in the interests of the peasants; nationalizations to free Iran from the imperialist yoke.*

"There should be nationalizations of all interests of the capitalists connected to imperialism, the plunderers, and those who have escaped," the resolution declared. "A plan must be instituted in order to abolish capitalism in the interests of the oppressed and create a new Islamic economic order."

The resolution called for complete political, cultural, economic, and military freedom from the United States.

*The entire text of the December 23 resolution was translated for the January 14 issue of *IP/I*.

Another plank requested that radio and television stations set aside special times to cover workers' struggles.

The workers also declared their support for Islamic liberation movements throughout the world, especially the Palestinian movement. (It is interesting to note that no mention was made of the rightist guerrillas in Afghanistan, who are often falsely referred to as "Islamic revolutionaries.")

And, in defense of the militant students, the workers called for continuing the exposures of documents found in the U.S. embassy.

The students have released a new series of documents that deal with the role of the CIA in Iran. Just before the occupation, U.S. embassy officials had been trying to destroy the documents by putting them through a machine that turns paper into powder. When the powdering machine broke down, they had to resort to the paper shredder.

Now, the students are putting together

Two Women HKE Prisoners Transferred to Tehran

Mahsa Hashemi and Fatima Fallahi, the two Iranian women prisoners, were moved from Ahwaz to Tehran on Febru-



HASHEMI

FALLAHI

ary 27. This has been a request of their supporters, and it is an encouraging sign that this may pave the way for their rapid release.

Hashemi and Fallahi, members of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), are longtime activists in the fight against U.S. imperialism and well-known antishah activists. Of the fourteen HKE members jailed last summer, only Hashemi and Fallahi are still being held.

The following appeal, being circulated among supporters of the Iranian

revolution, can help speed their release. It should be sent to President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Tehran, Iran, and to Ahmad Janati, Islamic Revolutionary Court, Ahwaz, Iran.

* * *

I am a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of the U.S. government's threats against it. I appeal to you for the release of two women prisoners being held in Tehran—Mahsa Hashemi and Fatima Fallahi.

These two women, members of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), are staunch antishah and anti-imperialist fighters. They are innocent of any crime as shown by your government's decision to free the other twelve HKE prisoners jailed with them.

I urge you to speed the release of Hashemi and Fallahi, which would strengthen the Iranian revolution in the eyes of the world.

* * *

Copies of the signed appeal should be telegraphed to the newspapers, *Enqelab Eslami*, Tehran, Iran; *Ettela'at*, Khayam Avenue, Tehran, Iran; and *Kargar*, P.O. Box 41-3566 Tehran, Iran.

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the partly shredded pieces and have discovered CIA documents.

They report these documents instruct CIA contacts to walk down various streets and carry something like a newspaper in a certain hand so they can be recognized.

The documents also indicate the CIA's interest in getting information about the Iranian oil industry and locations of military installations.

Another document shows how the CIA smuggled a SAVAK agent, whose code name was "Eagle Number One," out of Iran. The CIA provided him with French

and Kuwaiti papers.

Other documents released by the students resulted in the arrest of Iran's top navy commander, Admiral Mahmoud Alavi. It was shown that Alavi was a consultant for the FIC company, which contracted telephone service.

After the revolution, the workers' shora took over this company and found documents indicating that CIA agents were employed by the company, along with Iranians who were receiving money from the CIA.

Thus, Alavi has been accused of cooperating with U.S. citizens who were CIA

agents in his capacity as one of the heads of the FIC company (for which he received \$40,000 per month).

The outpouring of support for the militant students shows that the Iranian masses remain united in their demand that the shah must be extradited to Iran. They have also demonstrated support for the students' exposures of U.S. spy documents.

Any delay in the release of the U.S. embassy hostages lies squarely on Carter's shoulders. From day one, Carter could simply have agreed to return the shah to Iran to stand trial for his crimes. □

U.N. Commission in Iran

Dramatic Testimony Given by Shah's Torture Victims

By Janice Lynn

Members of the United Nations commission visiting Tehran have been presented with graphic testimony of the chilling horror that existed during the reign of the shah.

On February 26, two busloads of victims of the shah's torture lined up in the snow to present their cases to the commission. They had come from all over Iran.

In all, 140 people gave testimony before the panel. Many of them were without arms or legs. Others were totally disfigured. They each told of the cruelty and torture to which they had been subjected.

There were two blind men whose eyes had been gouged out when they were tortured by SAVAK, the shah's secret police. Others showed scars that will al-

ways remain to remind them of the horror.

"Some were making religious pronouncements, some were expressing their own grievance in an emotional or in a very quiet, graceful way," said U.N. spokesman Samir Sambar.

People continued to arrive from villages and towns throughout Iran—many more torture victims than the commission set time to hear from.

The five-member commission's itinerary also included visits to the infamous Evin Prison and SAVAK torture chambers, the lavish palaces of the former royal family, the graves of those gunned down by the shah during the revolution, and centers for the mutilated who were injured in anti-shah demonstrations.

On February 28 the commission members addressed a gathering of 1,500 mutilated and crippled Iranians. The commission's co-chairman, Mohammed Bedjaoui of Algeria, told them:

You have realized an extraordinary miracle, thanks to the powerful force of your spirituality and your national solidarity to dethrone this power. I wish to express to you most sincerely our pain and our sadness at all we have seen here, and I wish to give you a formal assurance that we will fulfill our mandate and that the international community will know to what unimaginable lengths the violations of human rights were carried in this land.

The invalids chanted, "Give us the Shah back!"

Bedjaoui added, "... we are conscious as well that this suffering is only a drop in the ocean of what the Iranian people have suffered. Your sacrifice will not have been in vain."

The panel also heard evidence from Alireza Nobari, governor of Bank Markazi, Iran's central bank, on embezzlement by the shah and his family.

Nobari said, "We have documents showing that the total amount of money plundered by the former imperial family was 500 billion rials." That is equivalent to \$7.14 billion.

For months, Iranians have gathered at Bank Markazi to pore over old records and bank documents to prove that the ex-shah was a thief and embezzler. There seems to be no doubt that the royal family was also receiving substantial payments from foreign companies that had dealings with Iran.

"Corruption ran wild at the heart of the royal family," says the ex-shah's ambassador to the U.N.

The U.N. Commission will also receive a report on United States support for the shah. Abdulkarim Pahidji, an Iranian

Four Turkoman Leaders Murdered

On February 23 four leaders of the oppressed Turkoman nationality were found murdered in northeastern Iran.

This followed a week of clashes between local Turkomans in the northeastern city of Gonbad-e Kavus and the Pasdaran, a militia loyal to the central government.

The four Turkomans also belonged to the Fedayeen, a left-wing organization that participated in the fight against the shah. They had been arrested and sent to Tehran. But their bodies were discovered near Gonbad-e Kavus.

After three days of silence, the Pasdaran issued a statement saying that after they brought the Turkoman leaders to Tehran, they had received orders to bring them back. On their way back to Gonbad, they say, bandits attacked them.

A statement also appeared in the press from a group claiming to be a

split-off from the Fedayeen taking responsibility for the murders.

The Fedayeen, however, have declared that this is a phony statement and is just being used to cover up the murders.

On February 26, the Fedayeen organized a demonstration in Tehran to protest the killings. The predominantly student demonstrators also denounced attempts to discredit their organization.

The clashes in the Turkoman town had begun February 8 over the continued presence of landlords in Gonbad-e Kavus.

A march and sit-in by Turkomans was attacked by Pasdaran who were said to be equipped with grenade launchers and automatic rifles. Fighting continued during the week. Tehran radio reported 48 persons dead and 125 injured after the week of fighting, with 50 people arrested. □

jurist who heads Iran's Human Rights Association, said his report would also detail the American military and economic presence in Iran under the shah's rule.

The U.S. liberal weekly *The Nation* reports in its March 1 issue that in a series of recent interviews it has conducted,

testimony was obtained that the CIA had knowledge of instances of SAVAK torture; that the Agency had trained SAVAK agents in "interrogation techniques" both in Tehran and the United States; and that the CIA's knowledge of SAVAK torture was kept from the American public for

more than a quarter of a century.

The testimony and information already compiled by the commission, and much more yet to be revealed, are a powerful confirmation before the entire world of the justice of the Iranian masses' demand for extradition of the murderer shah. □

'Truly Popular and Anti-U.S. In Its Origins and Aims'

'Granma' Hails Gains of Iranian Revolution's First Year

[The following article by Rodolfo Casals appeared under the headline "Iran: As the Islamic Revolution Enters Its Second Year" in the February 17 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*.]

* * *

The Iranian Islamic revolution has just completed its first year. They were 12 months characterized by important gains that responded to the people's demands, by the sharpening of the class struggle and by increased attempts on the part of U.S. imperialism to liquidate the revolutionary process.

Under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini—who heads the progressive sector of Islam in Iran—the Iranian people, practically unarmed, overthrew the powerful military apparatus of the Shah, an enormous army equipped with sophisticated U.S. weapons and trained by tens of thousands of U.S. advisers. The people thus dealt the death blow to a 2500-year-old empire.

In the stage prior to the historic popular victory, Iran witnessed successive waves of nationwide strikes, violent clashes between the people and the repressive forces and mass demonstrations against the regime's policy of terror, which resulted in hundreds of thousands of dead, wounded and mutilated.

Imperialism's desperate attempts to prevent the downfall of the bloody regime were to no avail. On January 11, 1979, the Shah "took a vacation abroad," i.e. fled the country, and two days later Khomeini created the Islamic Council of the Revolution. On February 1, the Ayatollah, after 15 years in exile, returned to Iran. Millions turned out to greet the leader of the popular movement, who immediately called for a continuation of the struggle until the complete destruction of the monarchy. The regime's days were numbered. On February 11, the government of Prime Minister Bakhtiar fell and a provisional government headed by Mehdi Bazargan took power.

Since 1953, when the CIA overthrew Prime Minister Mossadegh, the United States exercised complete political and economic control over Iran, a country which it converted into its gendarme for the Arabian Gulf, a "secure" site for plundering the immense natural wealth and an important market for selling arms and

other manufactured products. However, due to the militancy of the Iranian people and the role played by the religious movement led by Khomeini—a known critic of U.S. penetration in Iran—the Islamic revolution shook the very foundations of imperialist domination in the region and constituted a serious defeat for the United States.

The Iranian revolution, truly popular and anti-U.S. in its origins and aims, can boast of a number of successes in a short time frame:

- it eliminated the control held by Western oil companies over Iranian oil;
- it nationalized the metallurgical, shipbuilding, aeronautics, automobile, mining and food industries, the insurance companies and other important sectors of the economy;
- it purged those elements most closely identified with the Shah's regime from the armed forces and state apparatus;
- it dissolved the SAVAK, the ominous political police force created in 1956 with the aid of the CIA, responsible for the death of tens of thousands of Iranians;
- it broke all ties with the Zionist state of Israel, previously based on a common expansionist and reactionary line aimed at defending imperialist interests;
- it suspended relations with the racist South African regime, which depended on Iran for 90 percent of its oil;
- it left CENTO, thus dooming the aggressive pact;
- it withdrew its troops from Oman, sent to repress the liberation movement in that country;
- it joined the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries;
- it recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization;
- it expelled U.S. military advisers and put an end to the electronic surveillance of the Soviet Union carried out from Yankee military bases in Iran;
- it made null and void military contracts worth millions with the United States and Great Britain;
- it abolished private schools;
- it allowed the left-wing forces—including the People's Party of Iran (Communist), which had been outlawed for 26 years—to participate actively in the country's political and social life;

• it proclaimed the Republic, after the proposal was approved by a popular referendum;

• it drew up a new Constitution and held presidential elections on January 25, as part of the ongoing process of institutionalization;

• it began negotiations aimed at solving the problem of the national minorities.

Nevertheless, the Iranian revolution is far from having completed its program. The overthrown monarchy left behind enormous problems in the economy and in education, health and other social sectors, so that great efforts must still be made to satisfy the needs of the people. We must also keep in mind the fact that this process has not been able to develop under normal conditions. Internal and international, mainly U.S., reactionary forces constantly conspire against the revolution in an attempt to reconquer their lost positions.

The United States failed in its attempt to keep the Shah in power and has not been able to stop the forces that overthrew the monarchy from carrying out their progressive program. But it has not given up its counterrevolutionary plans. It is trying by all means to divide the revolutionary forces, murder its leaders, sabotage the economy, sow terror and confusion in order to thwart the revolution, divert it from its path, weaken and destroy it. But as the present U.S.-Iranian crisis has shown, neither its threats nor its pressure, neither its economic aggressions nor its destabilizing campaigns have been able to daunt the Iranian people, determined to see that justice be done.

The Iranian revolution, now entering its second year, has accumulated a wealth of experiences and successes won by hard struggle. But it also faces great tasks in the further development of the revolutionary process: it must safeguard the victories, solve the national question, reinforce unity, organize and stimulate the economy, eliminate unemployment, decrease the rate of inflation, guarantee adequate education and public health services, control production, strengthen national independence, crush the internal counterrevolution and continue the fight against U.S. imperialism which constitutes, as Khomeini has said, the principal threat against the revolution. □

Why Imperialists Are Sorry to See Tito Go

By David Frankel

During the conference of the Nonaligned movement in Havana last September, Yugoslav President Josip Broz—known to the world as Tito—emerged as a leading figure in the bloc opposing the firm anti-imperialist line advocated by Cuban President Fidel Castro. Along with Tito's diplomatic support to U.S. imperialism against the Afghan, Iranian, and Indochinese revolutions, his role at the Nonaligned conference was his final political legacy.

The contrast between Tito's course and that followed by Castro could hardly be clearer. No Yugoslav troops have been sent to aid the Black liberation struggle in southern Africa, or to help the people of Ethiopia or South Yemen defend themselves against imperialist attacks. No Yugoslav doctors and teachers are working in revolutionary Nicaragua or Grenada.

The imperialists have taken note of this. Cuba is an island under siege because of its revolutionary internationalism. But there are no complaints from Washington about Tito and Titoism, and no imperialist blockade against the Yugoslav economy. In fact, the capitalist rulers are sorry to see Tito go.

Yet at one time it appeared that Tito might play a very different role indeed. During World War II, Tito led the Yugoslav resistance to Nazi occupation. Without any outside aid whatsoever, the Yugoslav partisans built up an army of 300,000 fighters and liberated half the territory of their country by 1943. By the end of the war, the partisan forces had grown to an army of 800,000 that was able to complete the liberation of Yugoslavia with only secondary help from the allied powers.

The truly heroic struggle of the Yugoslav masses against fascism—and the collaboration of procapitalist and monarchist forces with the Nazi invaders—set the stage for the postwar social transformation of Yugoslavia and the abolition of capitalism there.

But at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, Stalin and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had agreed to share influence in Yugoslavia on a fifty-fifty basis after the war. The unfolding of the Yugoslav revolution led to a deepening rift between Stalin and Tito, which finally broke into the open in June 1948.

As a Yugoslav patriot—and as a politician who wanted to remain in power and alive—Tito refused to knuckle under to Stalin's demands. The Tito-Stalin split was the first step in the shattering of the Stalinist monolith.

Tito, however, proved incapable of chart-

ing a revolutionary course following his break with Stalin. The man who began in 1948 by fighting Stalin's attempts to hold back the progress of the Yugoslav revolution was soon to collaborate with British and American imperialism in strangling the Greek revolution, and supporting Washington's bloody intervention in Korea.

What exactly did Tito and Titoism represent? This question, which was posed with great urgency in 1948, is no less important for revolutionists today.

Under the Monarchist Heel

Born into a poor peasant family in Croatia in 1892, Tito became a metalworker and joined the pre-World War I socialist movement. Drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army in 1913, Tito was sent to the Russian front at the outbreak of World War I. There, he was wounded and taken prisoner, and was able to see the Russian revolution first hand.

Returning to his native land in 1920, Tito became an active trade unionist and Communist.

As a result of World War I, the old Austro-Hungarian Empire had disintegrated. But Yugoslavia was now ruled by another monarchy, the Serbian-based KaraGeorgevich dynasty. King Alexander I, true to the hallowed customs of royalty, was first of all a grasping huckster. He quickly became one of the chief shareholders of the National Bank. As royal property, all his business enterprises were free from taxes.

National oppression was enshrined in the monarchy's legal code. Macedonians, for example, were forbidden by law from publishing books or newspapers in their native language.

When workers sought to defend their rights by organizing trade unions, and when the Communist Party placed third in the election for delegates to write a new constitution, King Alexander simply outlawed trade unions and the Communist Party. Nor did the king neglect to confiscate their property for the royal coffers.

But even these conditions were too liberal for Alexander I. On January 6, 1929, the king scrapped the 1921 constitution, banned all political parties, dissolved the parliament, and introduced rigid censorship of the press. Also banned once more were all trade unions.

These measures were taken at a time when Yugoslavia had already entered the Great Depression. The workers were left defenseless in the face of wage cuts, rising

unemployment, and speedup. At the same time, the market for agricultural goods had collapsed and the mass of poor peasants were facing ruin.

Tito, meanwhile, had been sentenced to a five-year jail term in November 1928 because of his political activity. Shortly after his release from prison in 1934, Tito was sent to Vienna to work with the central committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, which was in exile there.

By this time the Communist International had been thoroughly Stalinized. The year before, Hitler had come to power in Germany without the massive Communist Party there offering any struggle whatsoever. Yet there was not the slightest protest or discussion in the Comintern of the disastrous policies that led to this defeat.

Tito himself—after his break with Stalin—gave a telling account of the bureaucratic functioning of the Comintern. Tito's view is paraphrased in Vladimir Dedijer's semi-official biography.

According to Dedijer, Tito complained that members of the Yugoslav CP

... were simply compelled to await instructions from abroad instead of thinking for themselves. The people at home who were directly involved in the struggle were allowed to take no political action not approved by the Central Committee. But this Committee was in Vienna. On the other hand, the Central Committee itself had no freedom of action, but had to send its every resolution to the Comintern in Moscow before it could act. . . . Whenever a line of action proved unsuitable, the Comintern would nominate someone new [to lead the party]. As a rule the Comintern made its choice among persons who lived in Moscow, and were part of its machinery; it never trusted comrades who had steeled themselves in the struggle at home. Clearly, no remarkable results could be expected in the Party's work in Yugoslavia. (Vladimir Dedijer, *Tito* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953], p. 90.)

Accurate as such observations are, Tito never suggested that there was anything wrong with the basic political line of the Comintern in the 1930s—the decade in which the Stalinist policy of class collaboration with world imperialism destroyed the Comintern as an instrument of revolutionary change.

The Road to the Top

In Vienna, Tito was appointed to a position in the leadership of the Yugoslav CP, and he was sent to Moscow in the winter of 1934-35. Three years of work in the Comintern apparatus, both in Moscow and in various European countries, followed.

These were the days when Stalin was strangling the Spanish Revolution and staging the Moscow trials. In those trials an entire generation of Bolshevik leaders from the days of Lenin were framed up and executed.

Then, at the end of 1937, Tito was recalled to Moscow. Milan Gorkic, the general secretary of the Yugoslav CP, had fallen victim to Stalin's purge.

Although Tito admits elsewhere that during this period "All those who refused to bow their heads to Stalin were murdered under the names of spies, Fascists and Hitlerite agents," he has nothing bad to say about the fate of Gorkic. On the contrary, he gives full credence to the frame-up, saying:

Gorkic, who had been living fourteen years in Moscow, who had earned the full confidence of the Comintern . . . had actually always and systematically been working against the Party. As a factionalist he hampered the development of new cadres, especially among the workers. (Dedijer, *Tito*, p. 114.)

It was over Gorkic's dead body that Tito climbed to the top of the Yugoslav CP. Like his predecessor, he had earned the trust of the Comintern leadership and become "part of its machinery."

Unlike Gorkic, however, Tito had the good sense to get out of Moscow, and the ability and drive to return to Yugoslavia and begin the organization of an underground leadership.

The central question facing the world working class in this period was the rising threat of fascism and the approaching world war. In Yugoslavia, the Karageorgevich regent, Prince Paul, was openly pro-Nazi.

Hitler, of course, had to be fought. This was a question of life and death for the Yugoslav workers and peasants. But what forces could be relied on to do the fighting? How could the interests of the oppressed and exploited best be defended against the Nazi threat?

Stalin and the Comintern answered these questions by telling the toiling masses to rely on and support the capitalist governments of France, Great Britain, the United States, and their less powerful partners. Instead of placing the struggle against the Nazi menace on a class basis, pointing toward socialist revolution as the way to rid the world of fascism, the Stalinists counterposed "good" countries to "bad."

The struggles of the colonial masses in Indochina, India, and the Middle East against their British and French masters were either ignored or attacked as playing into the hands of Hitler. The workers in these imperialist centers were told to subordinate the struggle to advance their own interests to an alliance with their exploiters.

By opposing the independent mobilization and organization of the workers, Stalin dealt a heavy blow to the antifascist

struggle. When the test actually came, one capitalist regime after the other collapsed rapidly in the face of the Nazi assault. The reason was mainly political, not military.

Just compare the tenacious and heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism to the collapse of France at the beginning of World War II. The French soldiers certainly did not lack bravery. And they had a far more powerful



Yugoslav partisans in 1942.

military machine than the Vietnamese, one backed by a modern industrial economy. But the French workers and peasants were not mobilized to fight for their class interests. They were told to put their faith in an imperialist ruling class that feared its own workers far more than it feared Hitler, or any other capitalist ruler. The French bourgeoisie knew that no matter how the war turned out, it would still have its economic position—as long as there was no workers revolution.

Tito and the Yugoslav Stalinists were later to face this same attitude on the part of their own ruling class. But in the period leading up to the war, they followed the Comintern line faithfully. For example, Dedijer complains:

"Instead of delaying the danger to Yugoslavia by consolidating allied relationships from the past war, Prince Paul's regime betrayed all Yugoslavia's allies, and by leaning toward the Rome-Berlin Axis altered the whole foreign policy of Yugoslavia." (Dedijer, *Tito*, p. 120.)

And had the Karageorgevich dynasty followed its World War I course, the Yugoslav Stalinists would have given it their support.

The Partisan Movement

Within Yugoslavia, there was massive opposition to Prince Paul's accommodation with Hitler. The prospect of German domination was especially resented be-

cause Yugoslavia, a semicolonial country, had previously been ruled by Austria.

On March 25, 1941, Prince Paul's regime joined in a pact with Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, which were allied to the Axis. Widespread protests were followed two days later by a coup carried out by young air force officers.

Prince Paul was exiled, but his policy had not been merely an expression of his

individual leanings. The capitalist regime that replaced him refused to mobilize the country for war, and ten days later the German army rolled into Yugoslavia. All organized resistance was ended by April 17—eleven days after the Nazi invasion. Hitler bragged that 335,000 Yugoslav troops had been captured.

In the following months, two resistance organizations grew up. The partisan movement was led by the Yugoslav CP. A second movement, the Chetniks, was led by Draza Mihailovich, formerly a colonel in the Yugoslav army. Mihailovich's movement was recognized by the Royal Yugoslav government in London, which was now led by the young King Peter.

Mihailovich was a Serbian chauvinist, and his movement was based in Serbia. He refused to carry out operations against the Axis occupiers, arguing that such actions would leave Serbian civilians open to reprisals and that the resistance forces should wait for the approach of the allied armies before going into action. When the partisan forces refused to go along with this stance and refused to put themselves under his command, Mihailovich sought to destroy them.

Like other sectors of the European bourgeoisie, Mihailovich came to look upon the fascists as an ally against the threat of social revolution. By the end of 1943, even the British government was forced to admit that the Chetniks were actively

collaborating with the Nazis.

Tito's political perspective was for an alliance with the antifascist sectors of the capitalist class, including the monarchist regime in London. He did his best to reach an agreement with Mihailovich and when the Comintern complained that he wasn't doing enough to reach agreement with the capitalist forces, Tito radioed back in March 1942:

"The British mission agrees with the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party that a new Yugoslav government of democratic elements inside and outside the country [that is, the Royal Government in London] should be formed."

Tito's only demand was that Mihailovich be dropped. He told Moscow: "After Atherton [the chief of the British military mission] had studied material proof of Cetnik treachery, he stated that the [Royal Yugoslav] London government were in error, and he could not understand their support of Draža Mihailović." (F.W.D. Deakin, *The Embattled Mountain* [New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1971], p. 165.)

But Tito was never able to find any capitalist forces willing to work with the partisans in the anti-Nazi struggle. And in the meantime, the need to mobilize the masses in the fight against the Axis forces had a logic of its own. As Dedijer was to later say:

How could anyone have appealed to the peoples of Yugoslavia to rise up against the German, Italian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian occupiers without telling them clearly that they were also fighting for a new kind of government; for a republic and not a monarchy; for equality among all the nationalities of Yugoslavia; for complete independence of the country from foreign capital; for the industrialization of the economically backward areas; for ending the exploitation of man by man; for equal protection of women in society; for the right of young people to have a say on key problems? (Vladimir Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost* [New York: Viking Press, 1971], p. 48.)

F.W.D. Deakin, the head of a British military mission who parachuted into Yugoslavia in May 1943, said of the partisan fighters:

They were fighting to return to their homes, which would be reconstructed in a new and better world than they had known. In the mass, they represented the underprivileged and the neglected of a former society, the age groups and social categories untouched by the local organizations of the traditional political parties of the past. This was the basic strength of the movement: the mobilization of the youth, the women, and the aged, and the creation of a new kinship and a special indefinable morale. (Deakin, *The Embattled Mountain*, p. 107.)

In other words, a revolution was beginning to unfold.

Comintern directives constantly complained that the Yugoslav CP was going too far in responding to the pressure of the

masses. A typical directive, from November 1942, said:

At this stage, do not pose the question of abolishing the monarchy. Do not raise the slogan of the republic. The question of the regime in Yugoslavia, as you conceive of it, will be solved after the disruption of the Italo-German coalition and the country's liberation from the occupiers. (Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost*, p. 50.)

But it was simply impossible for Tito or any other politician to carry out an effective struggle against the Axis forces—which with Nazi troops inside the Soviet borders also remained Moscow's main concern—without taking into account the aspirations of the workers and peasants for social progress.

Tito was to later say of Stalin's directives:

What would have happened had we accepted these instructions? It would virtually have meant suicide. We should have been unable even to launch the uprising, we should have been unable to mobilize the majority of the people unless we offered them a clear prospect of a new, happier, and more equitable Yugoslavia rising out of that terrible war. (Dedijer, *Tito*, p. 257.)

The Revolution Moves Forward

Winston Churchill estimated in June 1943 that the Yugoslav resistance was tying down some thirty-three Axis divisions—an army of more than 500,000 men. In the areas they liberated the partisans set up their own schools, hospitals, newspapers, and postal service.

As Tito pointed out to the Comintern in November 1942:

Although we do not consider the Executive Committee of the Anti-Fascist Council as any kind of government, it will nevertheless have to look after affairs of state and the front, in which it will be assisted by the people's liberation committees set up in virtually all areas, liberated and unliberated. There is no other government here except those committees and the military government which looks after the fighting. (Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost*, p. 50.)

While continuing to subscribe to the Comintern's Stalinist ideology, Tito had his own apparatus, which more and more took on the character of an independent government. (A similar process was going on in China during this period, where the CP was leading the struggle against Japanese imperialist occupation.)

Tito pursued Stalinist policies and followed Moscow's lead within the framework of trying to preserve the partisan apparatus. In October 1943 he assured Deakin:

The Partisan leadership has no plan or intention of immediate social revolution. The prime object is the reconstruction of the country after the war, and it is realized that a revolutionary programme would cause an internal struggle which would fatally weaken the country. (Deakin, *The Embattled Mountain*, p. 246.)

With the liberation of Yugoslavia in May 1945, Tito was left in sole control of the country. He had an army of 800,000 and

enormous political authority because of his wartime role.

According to Dedijer, when Tito had visited Moscow in September 1944, Stalin urged him to bring back King Peter. Dedijer says Tito told Stalin "it was impossible, people would rebel, that in Yugoslavia the king personifies treason, that he had fled and left his people in the midst of their struggle, that the Karageorgevich dynasty was hated among the people for corruption and terror." (Dedijer, *Tito*, p. 233.)

There is no reason not to take Tito's claim at face value. Even if it had wanted to give up power, the Yugoslav CP would have faced a rebellion among the masses if it had tried to reimpose the monarchy. As it was, Tito agreed in February 1945 to incorporate monarchist representatives in the Yugoslav government, and to allow the establishment of a regency council.

With a foothold in the government, the capitalists hoped to slow down the revolution, find bases of support within the country, and maneuver for a situation in which they could call on imperialist forces for aid.

But the revolution was moving too fast. In November 1944 the Partisan government had already confiscated all property belonging "to Germans, Yugoslav war criminals and their accomplices." This amounted to 82 percent of the country's industry.

An agrarian reform law promulgated in August 1945 confiscated the property of the great landowners without compensation and put 95 percent of the cultivated land into the hands of the working peasants.

Foreign capital was also nationalized, and in the autumn of 1945 the monarchy was formally abolished. The imperialists—faced with revolutions in Greece, China, Vietnam, and elsewhere—were unable to take advantage of the opportunity offered by Tito's acceptance of a coalition regime. By October 1945 the last two capitalist ministers had withdrawn from the Yugoslav government.

The Break With Stalin

U.S. and British imperialism reacted to the Yugoslav revolution with economic pressure, hostile propaganda, and overt military threats. During 1946, for example, Yugoslav airspace was constantly violated by U.S. and British bombers and fighters. Between July 16 and August 8, 1946, for example, 172 planes violated Yugoslavia's airspace.

Since Stalin's entire political perspective was based on the extension of the wartime alliance with the imperialist powers, he viewed the Yugoslav revolution as a threat. While Stalin hoped to throttle the extension of the socialist revolution after the war in order to placate the imperialists, Tito was being forced—at least temporarily—in the opposite direction.

Thus, Stalin complained to the Yugoslav

leaders in February 1948 about their aid to the revolution in Greece. He said,

... we do not agree with Yugoslav comrades that they should help further the Greek Partisans. In this matter, we think that we are right and not the Yugoslavs. It is true, we have also made mistakes. For instance, after the war we invited the Chinese comrades to come to Moscow and we discussed the situation in China. We told them bluntly that we considered the development of the uprising in China had no prospect, and that the Chinese comrades should seek a *modus vivendi* with Chiang Kai-shek, that they should join the Chiang Kai-shek government and dissolve their army. The Chinese comrades agreed here with the views of the Soviet comrades, but went back to China and acted quite otherwise. They mustered their forces, organized their armies and now, as we see, they are beating the Chiang Kai-shek army. Now, in the case of China, we admit we were wrong. . . . But that is not the case with you in the Balkans. It is not the case with the Greek Partisans, and Yugoslav comrades should stop helping them. That struggle has no prospect whatsoever." (Dedijer, *Tito*, pp. 321-322. A similar account is given by Milovan Djilas in *Conversations With Stalin*.)

It was at Stalin's urging that the Greek Communists, who controlled the whole country, allowed British forces to land in Athens at the end of 1944. Stalin had agreed that Greece should be a British sphere of influence after the war and he did his best to keep the bargain, for which Churchill stated his appreciation in the House of Commons. Hence Stalin's insistence that the Greek revolution had "no prospect whatsoever."

Friction between the Yugoslav leadership and Moscow was not limited to foreign policy issues. The Yugoslavs bitterly resented the unequal economic relations demanded by the Soviet bureaucracy, and unlike those regimes installed by Stalin, the Yugoslav government was in a position to protest. Stalin responded in March 1948 by withdrawing all Soviet economic advisers and experts from Yugoslavia.

Stalin feared that the example of Yugoslav independence from Kremlin dictates would give others in Eastern Europe similar ideas. The deterioration in relations finally broke into the open in June 1948 with the publication of a resolution by the Cominform (the Comintern's short-lived successor) denouncing the Yugoslav leadership for its "nationalism" and urging Yugoslav CP members "to replace them and to form a new internationalist leadership."

Caught between the Kremlin bureaucracy on one side and the pressure of imperialism on the other, Tito had no choice but to seek support—at least temporarily—from the Yugoslav masses. For example, the entire text of the Cominform attack, along with the reply of the Yugoslav CP leadership, was published. Some of the bureaucratic abuses and privileges that had been instituted over the previous few years were curtailed.

Tito and his followers also began to tell

some of the truth about the history of their relations with Stalin and to condemn Stalin's terrorist methods. This was especially true after Stalin began a new round of show trials in 1949. In these frame-ups Communist leaders in Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other East European countries were accused of being "spies and agents of imperialism" linked to Tito. In the infamous Slansky trial, for instance, the defendants were accused of being "Trotskyite-Titoist-Zionist bourgeois nationalist traitors and enemies of the Czechoslovak people."

Tito and other leaders of the Yugoslav resistance movement were even accused of being agents of Hitler's Gestapo!

Response of the Trotskyists

Revolutionists in the Fourth International lost no time in responding to the break between Tito and Stalin. As the Political Committee of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party explained in an August 1948 statement:

The open break between the Cominform and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is the clearest expression to date of the deep crisis convulsing Stalinism. . . .

Revolutionists can only hail this development—this first rift in the ranks of world Stalinism which must unfold in open view of the world working class. . . .

It brings out of the shadows and into the light of day the terrible internal contradictions of the Kremlin regime which are bound to lead to its downfall.

What is more, it confronts the rank and file of the Yugoslav CP and of Stalinist parties elsewhere with the need of reexamining the ideas and the methods of Stalinism. . . .

The course of events will work in favor of revolutionists. The incumbent Yugoslav regime is caught in a vise. To be sure, Tito and his friends possess a certain amount of room to maneuver not only against the masses at home but also with respect to both the Kremlin and Washington. But the moment of decision for Yugoslavia cannot be postponed indefinitely.

The alternatives facing Yugoslavia, let alone the Tito regime, are to capitulate either to Washington or to the Kremlin—or to strike out on an independent road. . . . [This] can be achieved only by Yugoslavia's rallying to the banner of the European Socialist Revolution, and calling upon the international working class to aid her in the struggle against both the Kremlin oligarchy and American imperialism. . . .

The logic of the Stalin-Tito struggle is such that it is bound to impel the militants in Yugoslavia and elsewhere—not to the right but to the left. This will happen independently of whether Tito himself moves to the right, or whether he seeks to straddle the fence somewhere between the Kremlin and imperialism.

A campaign to defend the Yugoslav revolution against Stalin was carried out by the Fourth International. (The attack from Moscow was not merely by means of propaganda. Between July 1, 1948, and September 1, 1949, there were 219 armed incidents on Yugoslavia's eastern borders.)

As it turned out, Tito and the Yugoslav CP leadership hesitated for only a brief

period before seeking the support of imperialism. Beginning in the middle of 1950 they initiated an openly proimperialist foreign policy.

Titoism and Stalinism

Although Tito had broken definitively with *Stalin*, he had not broken with *Stalinism* at all. Tito and the rest of the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership had thoroughly assimilated the Stalinist outlook of class conciliation, and they acted on that basis.

Since 1924 Stalin had insisted that socialism could be successfully built within the national boundaries of the Soviet Union if only the USSR would be left alone by the imperialists. This was a complete reversal of the revolutionary policy of the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky, which saw the *extension* of the socialist revolution as the way forward for the workers and peasants both in the USSR and throughout the world.

Stalin sought for decades to defend the Soviet Union by making deals with imperialism at the expense of revolutions abroad. This was the policy of "collective security," of "peaceful coexistence," of "détente." It was a counterrevolutionary policy based on preserving the material privileges of the bureaucratic caste that usurped political power from the Soviet workers.

Having come to power in Yugoslavia, Tito tried to follow the Soviet model. But Stalin refused to cooperate. The Yugoslav revolution stood in the way of good relations with imperialism. Stalin wanted to build up the Soviet economy at the expense of Yugoslavia.

Tito therefore broke with Stalin and at the same time followed Stalin's policy of building socialism in one country, seeking his *own* deal with imperialism. Lacking the clout of the Soviet Union, the Yugoslav Stalinists had to be even more servile than Moscow in their attempts to win favor with imperialism.

Thus, during the Korean war Tito branded the North Koreans as "aggressors." He demanded that Chinese forces withdraw from Korea, while supporting the presence of the U.S. fleet off the coast of China.

Tito also joined Stalin in stabbing the Greek revolution in the back, closing Yugoslavia's borders and halting all aid to the Greek fighters because the Greek Communist Party supported Stalin.

Taking a stance that is today followed by the Chinese Stalinists, the Titoists began to characterize the Soviet Union as a capitalist and imperialist country, and as the main enemy of the peoples of the world. (Tito was to reestablish better relations with Moscow after Stalin's death and drop some of the more extreme anti-Soviet positions of the early 1950s.)

At the root of the class collaborationist course of the Yugoslav CP leaders was the

establishment in Yugoslavia of the same kind of privileged bureaucracy as the one existing in the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav regime seeks to advance the interests of this bureaucracy, not those of working people, either in Yugoslavia or anywhere else.

No one is more aware of this than the young people of Yugoslavia itself. In 1968 some 40,000 students at Belgrade University conducted an eight-day sit-in under the slogan of "socialism, freedom, democracy." Among their demands—which won the support of more than 200,000 additional students throughout the country—was the suppression of economic inequalities and a program to cut down privileges.

Economic policies associated with Tito, such as decentralization and the limited use of market mechanisms, have often

served to perpetuate or increase inequality. They have been an attempt to find a substitute for genuine workers democracy, and have been conceived within the framework of the utopian goal of trying to build a socialist economy within the borders of Yugoslavia as opposed to extending the socialist revolution to the rest of the world.

In short, Titoism is Stalinism—its Yugoslav variant.

What future does it have?

Since his capitulation to imperialism during the Korean War, Tito has consistently followed a conciliatory policy toward Washington and other capitalist powers. His model of "independent communism" has won him no prestige or moral standing among the oppressed and exploited of the world.

This fact was registered by the victory of the anti-imperialist positions of the Cuban

leadership over those backed by Tito at the 1979 conference of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries, in which the Yugoslav regime had previously exercised significant influence.

Hope for the future of the workers and peasants of the world—including those of Yugoslavia—can only be found in the defeat of imperialism and the extension of the world socialist revolution. Tito's setback in the Nonaligned movement reflected this fact, and the impact of revolutionary victories in Indochina, Iran, Africa, and Latin America.

Washington, Moscow, and Tito's heirs in Belgrade all fear that with his death the revolutionary spirit of the Yugoslav peoples will assert itself once again. And they know that the opportunities for success have never been greater. □

Demonstration Shows Growth of Mass Movement Against British Repression

10,000 March in Northern Ireland for H-Block Prisoners

By Gerry Foley

COALISLAND, Northern Ireland—Ten thousand people marched to the center of this small town in County Tyrone on February 16 to show support for republican prisoners denied political status by the British occupiers.

These prisoners are kept isolated in the H-Block of Long Kesh concentration camp and are allowed almost no contact with the outside world. Since they refuse to wear the convict uniform, they are kept naked and continually locked up in sunless and unheated cells. They have nothing to sleep on but foam mattresses placed directly on the floor, where they become soaked with filthy water.

Some of these prisoners are going into their fourth year of detention in such unbearable conditions, since political status has been denied to all republicans arrested on charges of engaging in "terrorist" activities after March 1976. At that time, British colonial authorities declared that the situation in Northern Ireland had been "normalized."

The determination of the British authorities to break the H-Block prisoners at all cost has convinced growing sections of the Irish masses that the London government has not altered its old objective of holding the Irish people in subjection by brutality and terror. More and more information about H-Block is getting into even the timid neocolonial Irish press.

Those of us who came to the Coalisland march from Dublin and other cities got a taste of British intimidation. The bus that I was on was stopped three times by

imperialist forces. In all, it was held up about two hours, on what should have been no more than a four-hour journey.

Once we were stopped by the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR), the Northern Ireland militia. This force is hardly more than proimperialist Protestant vigilantes. The heavily armed UDR men who stopped our bus could barely control their hatred and made threatening and insulting remarks.

Further on, the bus was stopped by British soldiers. An officer from the squad entered the bus and stood at the front, holding an automatic rifle. Meanwhile, a member of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)—a smirk constantly on his lips—took the name, address, birthdate, and job of every person.

The young British soldiers seemed disgusted at being forced to play a part in this sort of thing. As the interrogation dragged



Members of National H-block Committee lead march. An Phoblacht/Republican News

on, we left the bus to go to the toilet. As I was going into the building a young Scottish soldier came running up to me, apologetically saying he had to search me. The officer had shouted at him, "Get that cunt and get him now!"

We were kept outside in the cold and damp until the hour-long interrogation process ended.

One English soldier tried to establish some human contact with the shivering group. "Are you all Catholics?" he asked.

One young Dubliner responded, "I'm not anything."

"I'm not either," the soldier said. "I just joined the army because I couldn't find a job."

"Stop that!" the officer shouted from the steps of the bus.

We finally got to the march about forty-five minutes before it was over. Thousands of people had already massed in the center of Coalisland, as British army helicopters flew overhead. Thousands more were still marching in. Whole families had turned out.

I noticed the Coalisland town band marching by, and there were a number of other bands. You could hear all the Irish rebel tunes that day. The outlawed flag of the Irish republic was waving everywhere.

Many of the republican contingents carried brightly painted banners showing IRA men trampling on the British flag. Other banners were painted with pictures of heroes of the national struggle, such as Patrick Pearce and James Connolly, martyred leaders of the 1916 Easter rising.

Supporters of the Irish Republican Army had obviously made a major effort to mobilize for the demonstration, giving force to their turn toward broader mass action in defense of the H-Block prisoners decided on at their recent convention (see *IP/I*, February 25, page 169).

The demonstration was broadly backed. There were prisoners' committees from a myriad of small towns and villages. There were thousands of denim-clad young marchers between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two. Their faces bore a look of grim determination. They look like the youths I saw fighting the British troops in the streets of Derry and Belfast ten years ago. But these fellows would have only been children then.

Most of the 10,000 demonstrators were from the County Tyrone area—an astounding turnout from a thinly populated region of small towns, villages, and widely scattered cottages.

The platform also reflected that this was a united effort. It included a leader of the moderate nationalist Irish Independence Party, as well as many local elected officials.

Tom Hartley, a prominent republican leader, stressed the importance of the size and breadth of the march.

"... what is important is the wide spectrum of people who are here today. . . . This march is about smashing

the H-Blocks. It is about bringing the republican prisoners out of these terrible conditions, and is a warning to the Brits we are going to do it. And the vast crowd here today is only the beginning."

The rally was chaired by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey. She described the harassment that many had been subjected to on the way to the march.

"The only way to defeat this repression is to bring so many people and so many buses that they can't stop them all," McAl-

iskey said. "When they try to provoke you, just sit there quietly and smile. Because you know, and they know, that you are on the winning side."

The Coalisland march showed a new unity and redoubled determination on the part of the oppressed Irish people under direct British rule. That unity and determination will be an example and inspiration to the Irish people throughout Ireland and to people who support their cause throughout the world. □

Miners in Wales Urge General Strike

British Steelworkers Hold Line Against Tories

By Gus Horowitz

The British steel strike, now almost two months old, is shaping up into a major test of strength between the British workers and the Conservative Party (Tory) government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The strike by 100,000 workers at the government-owned British Steel Corporation (BSC), which produces more than 85 percent of the country's output, is the first national strike by steelworkers since the 1926 general strike by all workers in Britain.

Key issues in the strike are jobs and wages.

The workers, organized mainly by the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, are demanding a wage raise of 20 percent to keep up with the 17.5 percent rate of inflation. The maximum that the BSC has offered is 8 percent (originally only 2 percent!), with an additional 4 percent linked to productivity increases.

The issue of jobs, however, is even more crucial for the steelworkers. The BSC is pressing to eliminate 52,000 jobs, a third of the total work force. With only 152,000 jobs now existing in steel, a decline from the 1965 total of 317,000, this looms as a stunning blow.

Reaction to the proposed job cuts has been sharpest in Wales, where the Wales Trades Union Congress estimates that 15-16,000 jobs would be lost in the coal industry in addition to the 20-21,000 in steel. As many as 81,000 Welsh workers, in all, could be affected.

This frightening prospect led to a solidarity strike by 200,000 Welsh workers on January 28. So militant was the mood that even moderate union leaders were carried away and began talking in terms of a general strike. But it remains to be seen what support there will be for the call, issued by the South Wales National Union of Miners, for an indefinite job action beginning March 10.

The capitalist class had backed away from a confrontation with the miners last year, conceding them a 21 percent wage increase (breaking the proposed government ceiling of 15 percent). The bosses were counting on the union leaders in steel to be a soft touch.

But steelworker militancy, reflected in the popular slogans, "Not less than 20 percent!" and "No strings!" (no linking of wage increases to productivity), has dealt the Tory plans a blow.

On February 14, workers in eleven small steel unions rejected, by a two-to-one margin, an agreement that the union tops had negotiated.

The same day steelworkers went out on strike at Hadfield's, a private company, ringing the plant with 1,000 pickets.

This was a blow to the Tories, who had been counting on an earlier court injunction by Lord Denning to prevent the extension of the strike to the private companies. Such an extension, Denning had ruled, would turn the strike into a political conflict between the steel unions and the government.

It has been clear from the beginning, however, that the strike was eminently political, a defensive battle caused by the Tory antilabor offensive on wages and jobs.

Moreover, the outcome of the strike will affect millions of other British workers. This explains the hard-line stance by the Tory government, which has encouraged police, court, and legislative crackdowns on the steelworkers.

The strike has also had international repercussions. Elsewhere in West Europe, recent cutbacks have affected 200,000 steel jobs. Big strikes and protest marches by steelworkers have occurred in Germany and France over the past two years. Feelings of solidarity with the British steelworkers run high. □

AROUND THE WORLD

Guatemalan Rightists Kill Survivor of Massacre



In our February 11 issue, we reported the murder of thirty Guatemalan Indian peasants, seven Spanish embassy personnel, and two Guatemalan politicians when security forces stormed the Spanish embassy in Guatemala City. The Indian peasants had occupied the embassy to press their demand that representatives of the ruling military meet with them to discuss army repression against peasants in El Quiché province.

Initial accounts reported that the peasants had burned to death after one of them threw a gasoline bomb at the attacking police. Since then, however, the Guatemalan government's version of the events has been shown to be a complete tissue of lies.

The Spanish ambassador, Máximo Cajal y López, who survived the embassy attack by the police, has stated that peaceful talks with the peasants were taking place when the attack began. He said he had repeatedly asked the 400 police surrounding the building not to enter.

When the police ignored his plea and stormed the building, a fire broke out that swept the building in minutes. But the local coroner's report on the bodies of the peasants indicates that the burns on their bodies were *not* caused by gasoline. It is believed that the peasants may have been sprayed with a combination of paralyzing gas and phosphorus.

The one peasant who survived the attack and could presumably have shed light on what actually took place was kidnapped from his hospital bed and murdered. The peasant's body, with bandages still covering his initial wounds, showed obvious signs of torture when it was found dumped on the campus of San Carlos University along with the body of a second unidentified young man, thought to be a student.

The Spanish ambassador called the police attack "bestial and indescribable." Spain broke diplomatic relations with Guatemala following the attack. In response, the local news media began calling the Spanish ambassador a "communist" who was in league with the peasants. One television station went so far as to state that Spain represents "an international socialist current."

The funeral for the murdered peasants took place on February 2. When the procession of several thousand people began moving toward the cemetery, police opened fire with guns and tear gas. Three persons, including the president of the

Association of Medical Students at San Carlos University, were killed. The marchers had to seek refuge on the university campus. Several hours passed before they were allowed to take the remains to the cemetery. Following the burial, right-wing paramilitary forces again attacked the mourners, injuring several people.

Carter Hails 'American Heroes'— Olympic Winners Say No Boycott

President Carter greeted the athletes of the U.S. Winter Olympics team at the White House February 25. With bands playing and flags waving, Carter embraced the medal-winners and praised them as "modern-day American heroes."

Shortly thereafter, Eric Heiden—the champion speed-skater who won five gold medals at the Olympics—told reporters that he had presented a petition urging Carter not to push his boycott of the Summer Olympics in Moscow.

"I hope we don't boycott," Heiden said. "The winter athletes in general just don't feel a boycott is the right thing."

Israeli Regime Penalizes Writer For Report on Nuclear Blast

CBS, the U.S. television network, reported on its evening news program February 21 that "CBS News has learned that Israel exploded a nuclear bomb last September in the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of South Africa. Informed sources confirm that this was an Israeli nuclear test conducted with the help and cooperation of the South African Government."

The report had been filed by Dan Raviv, who flew to Rome in order to avoid Israeli military censorship. Raviv's report also cited a book currently under review by Israeli censors. According to Raviv, the book documents an Israeli "nuclear arsenal including several dozen atomic bombs and several hydrogen bombs."

There is nothing new about reports of Israeli nuclear weapons. A CIA memorandum from September 1974 said, "We believe that Israel already has produced nuclear weapons."

However, the Israeli government reacted sharply to the new report. On February 24 it lifted Raviv's press credentials, greatly restricting his ability to act as a reporter in Israel.

"Israel is a free country where freedom of the press is practiced," a government statement claimed. It insisted that military censorship is "intended to protect the

country's security and the lives of its residents."

But it failed to explain how Raviv had harmed Israeli security or endangered any lives with his report. Perhaps the Israeli regime was just unhappy about this aspect of its collaboration with the apartheid regime in South Africa being brought to public attention.

U.S. Economists Fear 'Explosion' in Rate of Inflation

Consumer prices in the United States climbed 1.4 percent in January—the steepest monthly increase in more than six years. If unchecked, the January increase would amount to an annual inflation rate of 18.2 percent. Price increases over the past three months would produce an annual inflation rate of 15.6 percent.

Speaking of the January figure, Robert Russell, director of the U.S. government's Council on Wage and Price Stability, told a Congressional committee: "I fear it is consistent with the ominous trend that has taken place over the past year. The underlying rate of inflation has started to explode."

Arthur Okun, a former chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisers, told another congressional committee: "The nation is suffering from intense and accelerating inflation and yet has been bogged down in a no-man's land between expansion and recession for nearly a year. Many of the possible policy actions that would ameliorate one of these problems would worsen the other. . . ."

Wages of American workers have not been keeping up with inflation. The purchasing power of workers fell by nearly 7 percent in 1979. Nevertheless, capitalist economic experts are urging further attacks on wages and spending for social programs.

Sudanese Students Condemn Camp David Accords

Chanting "Traitor Sadat! Down with Sadat!" about 6,000 university and secondary school students marched in Khartoum February 26 to denounce the Egyptian and Israeli "peace" treaty and the exchange of ambassadors between the two countries.

Carrying banners, they attempted to march on the Egyptian and American embassies in the Sudanese capital, and shouted "Down with America! No to capit-

ulation! Yes to liberation war!"

Sudanese troops with riot clubs and tear gas attacked the protesting students. Scores of injuries were reported.

Students Strike in Morocco

In an attempt to break a national student strike that has been under way in Morocco for several weeks, the government of King Hassan announced in Rabat February 19 that it would cut off all financial support to students who continue to stay away from their classes. The strike, called by the National Union of Moroccan Students, has raised a number of political demands against the regime. The government claimed that only a "handful of subversives" was behind the unrest.

Around the same time, several students accused of belonging to an underground Marxist movement were sentenced in Rabat and Casablanca to five years in prison. The imprisoned students had supported the right to self-determination of the Saharan people, who are fighting for the independence of Western Sahara from Moroccan rule.

Protests Hit Knifing of West German Spartacist

On January 25, Fred Zierenberg, a leader of the Trotskyist League of Germany (TLD), the West German section of the international Spartacist tendency, was critically stabbed during a public forum in Frankfurt.

The attack came during a forum on the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan sponsored by the Student Union at the University of Frankfurt. During the program, the TLD was granted five minutes speaking time. But as Zierenberg went up to take the microphone, he and other TLD members in the audience were physically attacked by supporters of the rightist guerrillas in Afghanistan. Zierenberg was stabbed in the back, suffering a severe lung injury for which he had to be hospitalized for two-and-a-half weeks. Other TLD members were also hurt.

A number of political groups and trade unionists publicly condemned the attack, including public employees union officials; Otto Schily, a prominent civil rights lawyer; the International Marxist Group (GIM), West German section of the Fourth International; Peter Brandt, son of former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt; and Bekir Saydan, general secretary of the Federation of Kurdish Workers Circles in West Germany.

'Libertal' Say 20,000 Corsicans in Island's Largest Demonstration

The February 1-6 issue of *Rouge*, newspaper of the French Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), reports on a march of 20,000 people January 26 in Corsica's capital city of Ajaccio. The demonstrators



January 26 march in Ajaccio.

chanted, in their native language, the popular slogan "Liberta."

Corsica, an island fifty-one miles off the coast of Italy, has been a French colony since 1768. Over the past several years there has been an awakening of a militant nationalist movement seeking independence from France.

Residents of this Mediterranean island of 230,000 told the *Rouge* correspondent that the January 26 demonstration was the largest ever on the island.

A speaker from an organization called "A riscossa," which provides assistance to families of prisoners, summed up the sentiment of the crowd when he said in the Corsican language:

You are here nationalists, communists, socialists, unionists—all admittedly different—and this difference makes our richness. But we are united for the love of our country, and for our people who are struggling so they will not die.

The January 26 march followed protests earlier in the month triggered by the French government's use of undercover spies in the nationalist movement. When the Corsican nationalists occupied a small hotel on the island, the French government sent in hundreds of riot police.

The police shot and killed two Corsicans. Twenty-nine Corsican political groups, trade unionists, and professional organizations called a one-day strike on January 11 to protest the deaths and the police brutality. The strike successfully shut down the island.

Truth Begins to Come Out About Rebellion in Mecca

Both the Saudi Arabian government and the capitalist media internationally described the takeover of the Grand Mosque

in Mecca last November as the work of bizarre religious fanatics. It took the *New York Times* three months before it reported February 25 that "the takeover had political overtones as well," although even then the *Times* never reported the specific political demands of the rebels.

A Lebanese citizen who was in Mecca at the time of the takeover reported to an *IP/I* correspondent that speeches made by the rebels included demands for a republic and an end to the squandering of the country's oil resources.

Further information is provided in the February 1980 issue of *MERIP Reports*. According to *MERIP*, the Arab Socialist Labor Party in the Arabian Peninsula issued a statement in Beirut on November 25 saying in part:

"The religious group of Juhaiman al-Oteiby, composed of five to six thousand well armed and well trained men, raised some popular demands and asked for the abolition of loyalty to the Saudi family for the following reasons:

"1. The Saudi family has strayed far from the teachings of Islam.

"2. The Saudi family is feeding the United States and Israel with our oil and more money.

"3. The group demands the expulsion of the agents of the imperialist America and demands their public trial.

"4. The group rejects the state's domination of thought and demands the right to self-expression.

"5. The group demands putting an end to corruption and bribery and the wasting of the nation's money.

"6. The group demands that the hypocrites who speak in the name of religion, especially Shaikhs Harakan, Louhaidan, Tantawi, Sawaf, and Sharawi, who are considered puppets of the regime, be fired and tried."

Japanese Protest Naval Exercise

Japanese police estimated that some 6,000 people turned out January 24 to protest the participation of Japanese ships and planes in military maneuvers involving U.S., Australian, Canadian, and New Zealand forces. The "Rimpac 80" exercise in the central Pacific marks the first time since World War II that Japanese military units have been involved in such a multinational military operation.

Although the Japanese constitution specifically states that "land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained," the government insists its participation in military maneuvers is only for "educational training purposes."

Attempts by the ruling class to move Japan toward active participation in counterrevolutionary military actions undertaken by Washington have been strongly opposed by the Japanese workers and farmers. The January 24 protest was led by the Socialist Party and involved various trade union organizations.

Eritrean Guerrillas Block Renewed Ethiopian Offensive

By Ernest Harsch

Despite repeated claims by the Ethiopian government that its forces are "winning" the war in the northern territory of Eritrea, the Eritrean liberation struggle is still very much alive.

In several weeks of heavy fighting in December and January, units of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the main Eritrean nationalist organization, routed an Ethiopian military offensive against the EPLF's base areas in the northern mountains.

In the December fighting, in which the Eritreans overran an Ethiopian base near Nakfa, the EPLF claimed that more than 4,000 Ethiopian troops had been killed. In January, the Eritreans seized an Ethiopian base and air-strip at Mahmimet and forced the Ethiopian troops to retreat to the coast, where they were evacuated.

Two British university lecturers who visited the area of the fighting reported in the February 3 *Manchester Guardian Weekly* that they saw "bodies of Ethiopian soldiers in dugouts and on the hill-side; abandoned food and equipment; and dozens of EPLF fighters, male and female, roaming at will across the plain that stretched towards Mahmimet."

The ability of the Eritrean guerrillas to fight the much more powerful Ethiopian army to a standstill and inflict serious losses on it is an indication of the strength and popular support that the independence struggle still enjoys, nearly one and a half years after the Eritreans were forced to carry out a major retreat.

In 1978, the EPLF and the rival Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) controlled the vast bulk of the countryside and all but five major cities and towns. However, in face of a massive Ethiopian build-up toward the end of that year, both groups lost considerable ground. The ELF was badly hit in the fighting, losing many of its combatants. The EPLF organized a defensive withdrawal from most of the towns it held, thus avoiding the brunt of the Ethiopian offensive.

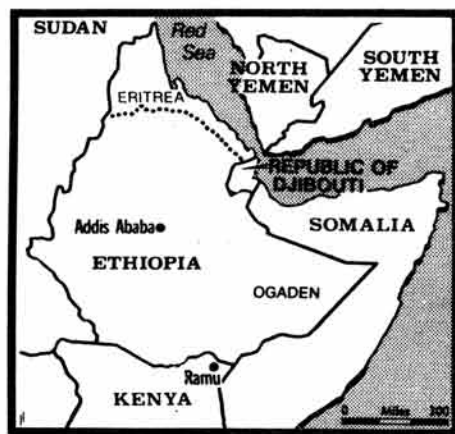
Today, the ELF, with about 7,000 fighters left in its ranks, is confined largely to areas of western Eritrea. The EPLF has an estimated 40,000 troops in the northern regions and still holds the two towns of Nakfa and Karora; it also has several thousand guerrillas in central and southern Eritrea.

Reporters who have visited the EPLF-held areas in the north confirm that the group is still a powerful force, enjoying considerable popular support.

The EPLF administers the Sahel district

as a virtual government, implementing numerous social programs. It runs four hospitals and employs a number of mobile health clinics, which treat wounded combatants and see to the health needs of the local population. Literacy classes are conducted and the EPLF publishes eight weekly or monthly periodicals. The EPLF's radio station transmits six hours a day, in the Tigrinya, Arabic, Afar, Amharic, and Tigre languages.

During several years of warfare, the EPLF has captured from the Ethiopian army scores of tanks, trucks, jeeps, and



armored cars. Clandestine workshops keep them in repair. Nearly 1,000 miles of road have been built by EPLF supporters.

In a report from Eritrea in the May 27-28, 1979, *Le Monde*, Olivier Le Brun described some of the social changes carried out by the EPLF in the areas under its control: "... an agrarian reform that has given land to poor peasants; production cooperatives; associations of peasants, women, workers, youth, and students, as well as people's assemblies and village and neighborhood committees; the participation of women in political life. . . ."

Similar social reforms have been carried out in Ethiopia itself since the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 and the beginning of the Ethiopian revolution. But the Ethiopian regime's chauvinist policy of denying the oppressed Eritreans the right to self-determination weakens the Ethiopian revolution. It leaves it more vulnerable to imperialist pressure and attack.

Unlike the 1977-78 war in the eastern Ogaden desert region, in which the Ethiopian army—with the help of thousands of Cuban troops—was successful in driving

off an American-backed invasion by the government of Somalia, the Ethiopian forces have been able to make only limited headway in Eritrea. The reason is clear: The Eritrean struggle is not an imperialist-inspired attempt to subvert the Ethiopian revolution, but a popular movement by the Eritrean workers and peasants to win their national rights and to achieve social progress. The Cuban government, moreover, has not backed the Ethiopian military drive in Eritrea.*

Since late 1978, when the regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam began its concerted campaign to reconquer the territory, there have been no less than six major military offensives, involving tens of thousands of Ethiopian troops and militiamen. Only the first two marked any significant Ethiopian advance. Following the fifth offensive in July 1979, the regime admitted that it had lost several thousand troops. Journalists visiting Eritrea have reported that the guerrilla forces hold many hundreds of Ethiopian prisoners.

In an effort to try to "improve" the Ethiopian army's political image in Eritrea and to win away some of the EPLF's and ELF's base of support, some limited reform measures have been initiated in the Ethiopian-occupied areas. According to the regime, about 250 Eritrean peasant associations, claiming 60,000 members, have been set up in regions under its control. Most factories are said to be back in production, although not at full capacity.

Of the several hundred thousand Eritrean refugees who fled across the border into Sudan, 25,000 have returned. About 2,000 Eritrean guerrillas have surrendered. But from most accounts, the bulk of the Eritrean population remains opposed to Ethiopian rule and supports the liberation struggle.

Speaking in Khartoum at the time of the most recent fighting, Ramadan Mohammed Nur, the EPLF general secretary, stated, "We still have the support of the masses in the enemy-occupied areas, and, where possible, we are continuing with our policy of social transformation." □

* For more on the position of the Cuban government on Eritrea see the article on page 226 of the March 12, 1979, *IP/I*.

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Interview with EPLF Leader

[The following is an interview with Issayas Afeworki, the deputy secretary of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. Conducted by Pietro Petrucci, it appeared in the November 26, 1979, issue of the Paris fortnightly *Afrique-Asie*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

Question. Is it accurate to say that the tide has turned in your favor?

Answer. When a war machine put into action by Ethiopia with the aid of its powerful allies begins to strike out wildly, it is as if they have already half lost. And the Ethiopians have been halted since January [1979], since the third offensive. During the fourth offensive they did not gain one inch. In the fifth, which was to be the "definitive" offensive, they suffered their heaviest defeats. Yes, the tide has turned.

Q. The Ethiopians are thirty million and you are only three million. Won't you end up by being wiped out?

A. If there is anyone who has problems of effectiveness, it is them. After a year and a half of mobilization to strengthen the front with the militia, the [Ethiopian] peasants are exhausted. Revolts against forced recruitment have increased in the villages. You can understand why. They gave arms to the peasants and promised them that the war would be over in a year. Now their pay has been suspended, as well as the financial aid to their families. The economic crisis and the course of the war have overtaken all the promises.

Q. Are you talking about advance indications or a process that is already underway?

A. We are always evaluating the strength of the enemy forces, to try to get a clear understanding of their position. Well, for several months now the number of effective cadres of the Ethiopian army has continually declined. The "human waves" that they have thrown against us have become smaller. It has reached the stage where they are now sending their village security patrols to the front.

Q. That goes for the militia. But what about the army itself?

A. The army cannot function on its own. The militia provides the cannon-fodder, but it is also the natural reservoir for the army. The militiamen are now asking why they receive twenty Ethiopian dollars a month while an ordinary soldier gets at least a hundred. The peasants in uniform are rebellious and no longer hesitate to revolt against the army, which often

drives them in front of our bullets. The malaise is general.

Q. Two years ago you termed the Soviet support of Mengistu an "error." What do you think today?

A. We try to analyze Soviet foreign policy not only from our own standpoint, as Eritreans, but within a general context. In our opinion, there is a recurrent flaw in the way in which the USSR expresses its



Young Eritrean guerrilla fighter.

opposition to American imperialism. We feel that each struggle must be examined in the light of anti-imperialist interests, as we understand them and as they are analyzed by those who are fighting for their liberation.

Q. Some people continue to predict a dramatic alignment by you with China.

A. All the rumors that we have contacts with China are false. We have never had and we do not now have formal relations with the Chinese Communist Party. Of course, we are always looking for new allies and seeking to convince the entire world of the justness of our cause, including the Chinese. But we have not succeeded.

The fact is that we consider Chinese

foreign policy to be an aberration, and we don't understand most of China's domestic policy. The view of the world put forward by Peking is the most absurd one ever proposed by a communist party.

Even in our case, instead of trying to take the opportunity to see who is right and who is wrong, the Chinese leaders were only interested in finding out if we shared their little formulas and if we were ready to parrot their slogans in return for a little aid. We don't need friends like that. We are satisfied with what other Chinese have taught us by making their revolution.

Q. Does Africa continue to ignore you?

A. No. It is true that in the past we had few contacts and diplomatic support in Africa, but that is changing. A single courageous initiative marked the turning point, when Mozambique broke the silence and came over to our side. And Mozambique knows how to recognize a popular liberation struggle. Today, many progressive countries are with us, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, and Madagascar, for example. Even Tanzania has clearly told us that they recognize the justness of our cause. We are certain that others will follow. The Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe has shown its sympathy for us. The wall of silence has thus been broken and our natural allies are drawing nearer to us.

Q. Among the progressive Arab countries, Algeria has authorized the opening of an EPLF office and maintains relations with your delegates. . . .

A. That's true. The PLO, Syria, Iraq, and others are on our side. Algeria has always recognized our rights. That's the main reason for the very cold relations between Algeria and Ethiopia. Algeria has even tried to arrange negotiations between us and Mengistu. And in that way—the Algerian comrades told us—Algeria was able to learn for itself that the regime in Addis Ababa was just playing with words and continued to employ the "military solution." That is why, above all, that Algeria broke with Ethiopia and is now ready to pass from diplomatic and political solidarity to more concrete support.

Q. Do you think that the socialist countries that support the Mengistu regime will change their position?

A. The arms furnished to Ethiopia have proved to be too sophisticated, and thus ineffective in the case of the Eritrean war. Will they then send more modern arms? That would accomplish nothing. All that would be left would be the possibility of a complete disengagement. I think that the USSR will have to revise its policy in the Horn of Africa.

Our revolution was the grave of Haile Selassie. And the present regime knows that Eritrea constitutes the most immediate threat to its stability. □

Afghanistan and the Right to National Self-Determination

By Allen Myers

[The following article appeared in the January 31 issue of *Direct Action*, an Australian revolutionary socialist weekly.]

* * *

"Russia's Vietnam" has become a very popular term in the capitalist press to refer to Afghanistan. The Soviet military intervention, our rulers would like us to believe, is a brutal act of aggression comparable to what the imperialist powers inflicted on the countries of Indochina. The Soviet armed forces are suppressing Afghanistan's right of self-determination, and therefore progressive workers should oppose the Soviet move just as they opposed American and Australian aggression against Vietnam.

The capitalist propagandists chose well in selecting this theme. Support for the right of the nations of the semi-colonial world to self-determination is widespread in the working classes of the imperialist countries in the aftermath of the Vietnam War.

This sentiment against imperialist war has so far helped to restrain Carter from overt military action against the revolutions in Nicaragua and Iran. It is a real and important limitation on the ability of imperialism to use its vast military arsenal against the colonial revolution.

The equating of Vietnam and Afghanistan is an attempt to reverse this situation: It aims to convince working people that the imperialists' military might can play a *progressive* role—for example, by supporting Afghanistan's right to self-determination against "Soviet imperialism." The propaganda wants to put a progressive sentiment—support for the right of oppressed nations to self-determination—to reactionary uses.

So far, the capitalist propagandists have had very little success in using the Afghanistan events to whip up support for imperialism's military dreams. Working people in Australia have not at all been convinced that *their* interests can be defended by armed forces under the command of Malcolm Fraser.

However, the efforts of imperialist propagandists are not the only factor that has to be considered.

Some people, including some who consider themselves Marxists, argue that the Soviet intervention is wrong: that socialists shouldn't support it simply because of imperialism's efforts to make propaganda gains from the situation.

So, what is the situation with regard to the right of self-determination for Afghani-

stan? Does the Soviet intervention violate that right? If so, is it still possible for Marxists to support the Soviet action?

Leninist Position

Direct Action has always upheld the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, whether it was a question of Australian Aborigines, the Indochinese peoples' war of liberation against imperialism, or the struggle of the Palestinians to regain their homeland.

This is in accord with the traditional Marxist position, as developed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

The bourgeois revolutions of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries had as one of their goals the creation of a unified national state.

But in nearly every case, these national states included minority nationalities within their boundaries. Thus the English state forcibly incorporated the Welsh, Scots, and Irish. The French state includes such minorities as Corsicans, Basques, and Bretons. Blacks are an oppressed nationality in the United States, the French an oppressed nationality in Canada, and so on.

Furthermore, the development of imperialism resulted in most of Asia, Africa, and Latin America being converted into colonies or semi-colonies of the major capitalist powers.

Particularly in Russia, which was known as the "prisonhouse of nations," the Bolsheviks recognised that the struggle of oppressed nationalities could be a powerful weapon against the capitalist order that oppressed them. To win these nations to the cause of socialism, the working class would have to champion their national rights—just as it came forward as the defender of other democratic rights that are denied or restricted by the capitalists.

The Case of Georgia

In the Leninist view, defence of the rights of oppressed nationalities is an integral part of the class struggle. But the Bolsheviks never considered this or any other democratic right as something separate from or superior to the class struggle.

Just as striking workers are justified in suppressing the democratic rights of would-be strike-breakers, the Soviet workers state could and did violate the right of national self-determination when this was made necessary by the more pressing needs of the international class struggle.

In 1921, for example, the republic of Georgia was ruled by a Menshevik government that apparently enjoyed the support of a majority of the population. The imperialist powers that had bankrolled the White armies through three years of civil war were rapidly converting Georgia into a new base of operations against the Soviet state.

The Bolsheviks therefore sent Soviet troops into Georgia, overthrew the Mensheviks and established a Soviet government, and expropriated the large landholders and capitalists.

Undoubtedly, it would have been "better" if the Georgian workers and peasants had been able to overthrow their own exploiters without the aid of Soviet troops. But in the actual situation, that alternative wasn't available.

The Bolsheviks had to act to protect the very survival of the Soviet Union, even if that meant violating the Georgians' right to self-determination. Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Russian Revolution with Lenin, and the main organiser of the Red Army in those early years, later wrote of this event:

The Soviet Republic in 1921 forcefully sovietized Georgia which constituted an open gateway for imperialist assault in the Caucasus. From the standpoint of the principles of national self-determination, a good deal might have been said in objection to such sovietization. From the standpoint of extending the arena of the socialist revolution, military intervention in a peasant country was more than a dubious act. From the standpoint of the self-defence of the workers' state surrounded by enemies, forceful sovietization was justified: the safeguarding of the socialist revolution comes before formal democratic principles.

It should also be noted that in this situation of international class struggle, a Soviet failure to intervene would *not* have meant that the Georgians' right to self-determination was preserved.

In that case, British and French imperialism would have converted Georgia into a semi-colony. Had the Bolsheviks elevated the right of self-determination above the demands of the class struggle, they would not have done a service for the Georgian masses.

Marxists support the right of oppressed nations to self-determination because they support any struggle to *overcome oppression*. It would have been the worst of stupidities for the Bolsheviks to leave Georgia to the mercies of the imperialists because of fear of formally violating the right to self-determination.

Another instructive example of the relationship between national self-determination and class struggle is provided by the 1929 dispute between the Soviet and Chinese governments over the Chinese Eastern Railroad.

The railroad was a portion of the Trans-Siberian Railroad that passed through Manchuria. The Soviet government had decided not to turn the line over to the reactionary warlords who controlled Manchuria, but to retain it until it could be turned over to an independent Chinese government that represented the masses. Soviet control of the railroad was recognized in a 1924 treaty with China.

In 1929, Chiang Kai-shek demanded the return of the railroad to China. He had 174 Soviet officials and employees of the railroad arrested. Soviet and Chinese troops were dispatched to the Manchurian borders, and fighting occurred between them before Chiang backed down.

Within the anti-Stalinist Marxist movement at the time, an ultraleft current took the position that respect for China's right of self-determination required revolutionaries to support China in the dispute.

Leon Trotsky, who led the fight against the degeneration of the Soviet Communist Party and the Communist International, argued vigorously against this ultraleft view, pointing out that it ignored the realities of the class struggle and elevated the right of self-determination into an absolute principle above classes.

"The theoretical wisdom of the ultralefts in Berlin and Paris," he wrote,

boils down to a few democratic abstractions, which have a geographical, not a socialist basis. The Chinese Eastern Railroad runs through Manchuria, which belongs to China. China has a right to self-determination; therefore, the claim of Soviet Russia to this railroad is imperialism. It should be turned over. To whom? To Chiang Kai-shek? Or to the son of Chang Tso-lin? . . . [Chang Tso-lin was the warlord who controlled Manchuria with the backing of Japanese imperialism until 1928.]

Had the revolution of the Chinese workers and peasants been victorious, there wouldn't be any difficulty whatsoever about the Chinese Eastern Railroad. The lines would have been turned over to the victorious Chinese people. But the fact of the matter is that the Chinese people were defeated by the ruling Chinese bourgeoisie, with the aid of foreign imperialism. To turn over the railroad to Chiang Kai-shek under such conditions would mean to give aid and comfort to the Chinese Bonapartist counter-revolution against the Chinese people. This itself is decisive. But there is another consideration of equal weight. Chiang Kai-shek never could get those lines by virtue of his own financial-political means—let alone keep them. It is hardly an accident that he tolerates the actual independence of Manchuria existing under a Japanese protectorate. The railroad lines transferred to Chiang Kai-shek would only become security for the foreign loans he received. They would pass into the hands of the real imperialists and would become their most important economic and strategic outpost in the Far East—against a potential Chinese

revolution and against the Soviet republic. We are well aware that the imperialists understand perfectly how to utilize the slogan of self-determination for their own dirty deals. But I don't believe that Marxists are under any obligation to help them put it over.

In another polemic against the ultraleftists, Trotsky explained:

National self-determination is one of the elements of democracy. The struggle for national self-determination, like the struggle for democracy in general, plays an enormous role in the lives of the peoples, particularly in the life of the proletariat. . . . But from the proletarian standpoint, neither democracy as a whole nor national self-determination as an integral part of it stands above classes; nor does either of them supply the highest criterion of revolutionary policy. This is the reason why we regard the social democratic analogies between fascism and Bolshevism as charlatanism. For the same reason the equating of the Sino-Soviet treaty of 1924 with an imperialist treaty, on the basis of a law of symmetry, we regard as the grossest blunder.

Class Divisions

The ultralefts overlooked one "little" fact: Nations are not homogeneous blocs; they are divided into classes.

The bourgeois sectors of an oppressed nation do not have the same interests as the working masses in overcoming national oppression. In the case of the semi-colonies, in fact, imperialist control is often maintained *through the medium* of precisely the "national" bourgeoisie, which lives off the crumbs of imperialist exploitation.

Under the pressure of mass struggles, capitalist governments in the semicolonies can be forced to take genuine anti-imperialist measures. But the inherent tendency and need of such governments is always to deflect anti-imperialist struggles, to ensure that they stop short of winning genuine national self-determination.

This is because *real self-determination for the oppressed nations cannot be achieved within the framework of capitalism.*

Even a glance at the economic realities reveals why this is so.

In the underdeveloped countries today, imperialist exploitation no longer takes the form of gunboats steaming in and carrying off plunder. Rather, imperialist exploitation operates through the mechanism of the capitalist world market. The superior productivity of the advanced capitalist countries, their monopoly of advanced technology, their control of vast amounts of capital, etc. result in a constant drain of value from the semi-colonies to the imperialist countries merely through "normal" trading and investment.

Imperialist domination cannot be overcome so long as a neocolony remains subject to the laws of the capitalist world market. Real national self-determination can be achieved only through overthrow-

ing capitalism and creating a workers state.

This is why the imperialists are able to make use of the slogan of national self-determination for their own dirty deals. "Self-determination" that remains within the framework of capitalism will prove in the end to be nothing but a disguise for continued imperialist domination.

Whose Self-Determination?

With the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, we have seen a great deal of concern about the right to self-determination expressed by Carter, Fraser, and other imperialist leaders. This is one more case of the imperialists using the slogan to advance their own dirty goals.

Afghanistan is no more a homogeneous bloc than any other nation-state. It is divided along both class and national lines.

The dominant nationality in Afghanistan is the Pushtun. About 40 percent of the population belongs to different minority nationalities.

Only since the April 1978 revolution have these minorities won recognition of any of *their* national rights, with the establishment for the first time of schooling, newspapers, and radio programming in their languages.

The right-wing guerrilla bands would like to return Afghanistan to the pre-1978 situation. Where would that leave the right to self-determination for the country's Turcomans, Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Baluchis?

Across the border in Pakistan, there are Pushtuns and Baluchis who constitute oppressed nationalities. Aside from doing the bidding of US imperialism, one of the chief reasons for the Pakistani dictatorship's support of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries has been its fear that the Afghan revolution will inspire the struggles for self-determination of Pakistan's Baluchis and Pushtuns.

The Soviet intervention thus constitutes direct assistance to the right of self-determination of Afghanistan's oppressed nationalities and of the Pushtuns and Baluchis in Pakistan.

Revolution and Counter-revolution

The imperialist-backed counter-revolutionary bands, if they were successful, would firmly re-establish Afghanistan's subordination to imperialism. As we have seen, such a neocolonial regime could not exercise real self-determination even for the Pushtuns, let alone for the minority nationalities.

The counter-revolutionaries hope to reverse *all* the progressive measures that have been implemented since April 1978. These include:

- Free distribution of 1.4 million acres of land to landless peasants and nomads;
- Cancellation of poor peasants' debts to the landlords;
- Improvement of the status of women;

- Legalisation of trade unions;
- A mass literacy campaign.

In other words, the basic struggle in Afghanistan is a *class* struggle. The "right to self-determination" so piously upheld by Carter and his ilk is nothing but a smoke-screen to cover an imperialist-sponsored counter-revolution that would return Afghanistan to the Dark Ages.

When the Kremlin bureaucrats sent troops into Afghanistan, they were not motivated by any love of revolution. On the contrary, their whole policy of détente is based on the hope of obtaining imperialism's toleration in exchange for the Kremlin's help in preventing revolution.

The class struggle, however, proceeds on its course without consulting the wishes of the Kremlin. And the imperialists understand very well the irreconcilable conflict between capitalism and the workers states even if the bureaucrats like to pretend that the conflict doesn't exist.

The imperialists recognised that the Afghan revolution threatened to go forward to the creation of a new workers state, and they therefore began organising to defeat the revolution and install an openly proimperialist regime on the borders of the Soviet Union.

It was this threat to their own welfare that forced the Kremlin bureaucrats to intervene. Because they draw their privileges from the Soviet workers state, they cannot tolerate a situation that poses a fundamental threat to that state's survival. Despite their basically counter-revolutionary outlook, the class struggle forced the bureaucrats into action that aids the cause of world revolution.

In their own way and against their will, the Soviet leaders thus demonstrated that the class struggle is no respecter of national boundaries. As Trotsky wrote in the debate over the Chinese Eastern Railroad:

Against revolutionary "intervention" Louzon (one of the ultraleftists) quite inappropriately advances the old and uncontested principle: "The emancipation of the working class can be achieved only by the workers themselves." On a national scale? Only within the framework of a single country? Is it permissible for workers in one country to aid the strikers of another? Can they send arms to insurgents? Can they send their army, if they have one? Can they send it either to help the uprising, or in order to prepare an uprising, just as strikers send squads to pull out workers in factories that have remained behind?

Imperialist Smokescreen

The imperialists are trumpeting support for an abstract "right of self-determination" in order to conceal their very concrete plans to keep the Afghan peoples in colonial slavery.

The seeming conflict between this formal democratic principle and the Soviet intervention should not lead socialists to conclude that the intervention is wrong

and thus lend unwitting support to the imperialist propaganda.

On the contrary, the Soviet intervention, by foiling the imperialist conspiracy, has aided the Afghan workers and peasants in their struggle.

Rise in Opposition to Bangladesh Regime

Dacca Paralyzed by General Strike

By Ernest Harsch

Dacca, the capital of Bangladesh, was shut down from dawn until noon on February 9 by a general strike called to protest the police killing of three prisoners at Rajshahi Jail more than a week earlier. One of the prisoners had been a peasant leader.

The general strike, or *hartal*, was called by an alliance of opposition parties, in one of the broadest actions in recent years against the proimperialist regime of President Ziaur Rahman.

According to a report in the February 10 Dacca weekly *Holiday*, nothing moved in the capital except police vans, ambulances, and cars carrying thugs from Zia's ruling Bangladesh National Party (BNP).

As police and other BNP thugs moved against the demonstrators and strikers, two persons were killed, including a ten-year-old youth.

According to *Holiday*, "A reign of terror was unleashed in different parts of the city. People were subjected to baton-charge, assault and teargas shelling. Azimpur, Bahadur Shah Park, Farmgate, Gulistan and other important areas of the city looked like battlefields as the police fought with the unarmed people with long sticks, firearms, and teargas shells."

By the end of the day, sixty-one protesters had been arrested.

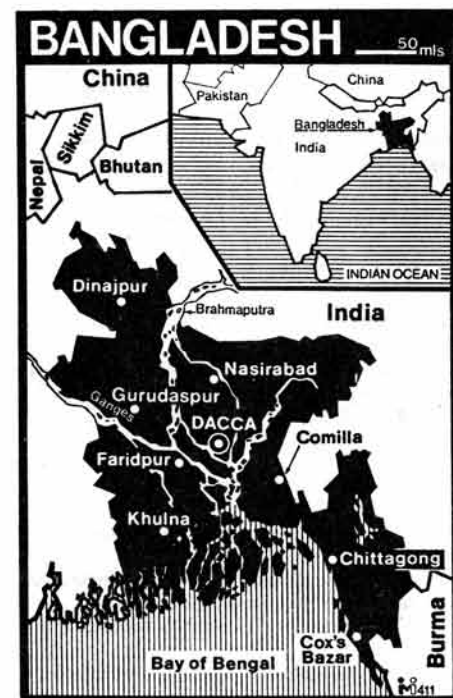
The February 9 general strike climaxed several weeks of mounting unrest. Since the beginning of the year, nurses around the country have gone out on strike and demonstrated to press for pay increases and to protest against harassment of nurses by several doctors. A national conference of peasants, held in Kaliganj, resulted in the formation of a new peasants' organization, the Krishak Sangram Samity (Peasants Action Association); the conference demanded a minimum wage for agricultural workers and a radical land reform to give land to landless and poor peasants.

Students have demonstrated on several occasions, and workers at the port of Chalna and at many mills and factories have gone on strike and staged slowdown actions. The killing of the three prisoners at Rajshahi Jail followed a demonstration by the inmates.

In the long run, the intervention will contribute to the real self-determination of the working masses in Afghanistan. The Soviet action deserves the full support of all socialists and opponents of imperialism. □

According to the February 3 *Holiday*, "Everyday there is at least one procession on the Dacca streets brought out in protest against some injustice."

Open opposition to the regime continued after the February 9 strike as well. Further demonstrations and strikes were called to protest against the killing of the two



demonstrators and to demand Zia's resignation. Antigovernment rallies were held.

The bourgeois opposition Awami League, the party of former president Mujibur Rahman (who was killed in 1975 during a pro-American coup), called for the launching of a "united movement against the present ruling class."

The Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (Socialist National Party), which has traditionally been one of the strongest and most radical opposition parties in Bangladesh, denounced the Zia regime for engaging in police terrorism and announced that it would begin organizing a mass movement against Zia's policies. □

Resources for Socialists

White South Africans Resist Military Conscription

The *Resister* is a bimonthly bulletin published by the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR), a London-based organization of white South African draft resisters and military deserters who are opposed to the South African government's white supremacist policies.

Formed in December 1978, COSAWR seeks to provide information on cases of draft resistance and other forms of anti-apartheid activity inside South Africa. It also provides assistance to South African exiles seeking political asylum abroad.

Although still relatively limited, the number of white South Africans opposed to serving in the apartheid military is rising. According to a report in the July 1979 *Resister*, an estimated 3,300 young men leave South Africa each year to avoid military induction and training. In a country where the regime claims to have virtually unanimous support from the white minority, such indications of opposition are significant.

Rather than leaving the country, some war resisters have sought to oppose the regime openly from within South Africa. The most recent issue of the *Resister*, dated January-February 1980, carries an article on the case of Peter Moll, a twenty-three-year-old who has been convicted for the third time of refusing to attend a military training camp. He is now serving a one-year sentence in Pretoria.

According to Moll, "South African society is fundamentally unjust." Therefore, he is "unable in conscience to defend it."

"Young men are being required increasingly to risk their lives under arms," he said. "Many like myself, are already asking: just what are we fighting for?"

More information about COSAWR and the *Resister* can be obtained by writing to: COSAWR, B.M. Box 2190, London WC1V 6XX, England.

Ernest Harsch

What Workers Should Know About Nuclear Power

Fred Halstead, a leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, has written a new pamphlet on *What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power*.



Halstead presents clearly and simply—with the aid of illustrations and diagrams—the central facts about the dangers to health, safety, and life caused by nuclear radiation.

The main topics covered are:

- The causes of radiation;
- The specific dangers of each kind of radiation;
- The specific dangers at each stage from the mining, manufacturing, enriching, reprocessing, and disposing of nuclear fuel;
- How nuclear power plants, including breeder reactors work; and
- What really happened in the Three Mile Island near-catastrophe.

Halstead marshals brief and compelling arguments. Against the assertion that there is always radiation in nature anyway and we shouldn't worry about manufactured radiation, for example, Halstead points out: "A single commercial nuclear reactor running for a year or so contains far more dangerous radioactive material than exists on the earth naturally."

To the argument that we are exposed to radiation in X rays and this doesn't hurt us: "The maximum exposure allowed by federal standards for nuclear plant workers is five rems . . . in a year. . . . Five rems is the equivalent in gamma ray dosage of about 170 chest X rays. The next time you get an X ray, ask the technician if he or she would submit him or herself to 170 chest X rays in a year."

The energy industry is spending millions to make it seem like the whole nuclear-power process is shrouded in complexities only the industry and government experts can comprehend.

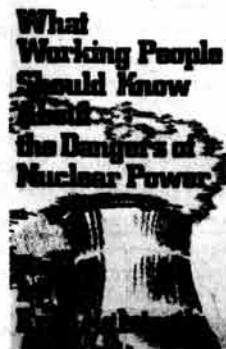
It is a nuclear smokescreen.

Halstead's pamphlet can help dispel this smokescreen. It can help win many thousands more people to the conclusion that Halstead draws:

"There is only one way to protect people from the cancer and genetic danger caused by nuclear power plants, from the possibility of catastrophic accidents at these plants, and from the continued and growing accumulation of deadly radioactive waste which cannot be stored safely.

"That is to shut down all the nuclear power plants immediately."

This forty-page pamphlet costs \$.95 and can be ordered in Europe from Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, and



in the United States from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014 (please include \$.75 for postage in the U.S.).

Dick Roberts

Reza Baraheni Exposes SAVAK Atrocities

The February 23, 1980, issue of the influential liberal U.S. weekly, *The Nation* features a special report by Iranian poet Reza Baraheni commenting on documents and photographs recently uncovered from files of the shah's secret police.

Baraheni, himself a victim of SAVAK torture, recalls his own experiences and those of others who were subjected to cruel and hideous treatment in the shah's torture chambers.

The SAVAK documents—burial permits, autopsy reports, and photographs of fifty well-known political prisoners—were turned over to *The Nation* by a member of a delegation of American clergy who recently visited Iran. (A facsimile of one of the documents is reproduced here.)

Baraheni explains how after the February revolution even the most cryptic documents were deciphered with the aid of public confessions by admitted SAVAK agents and testimony by hundreds of victims.

He explains, "Savak used language as a means of dissimulation and evasion, to conceal the truth. Only a revolution could bring that truth to light. The documents in *The Nation's* possession record with chilling clarity who fought against the Shah and made the revolution a reality."

Baraheni goes on: "The scale of torment was staggering. At least half a million people have once in their lifetimes been beaten, whipped or tortured by the Savak. In every household there is at least one person who was interrogated by the Savak."

Baraheni also explains how in 1977 President Carter refused to accept a delegation of prominent American writers who wanted to inform him of the plight of Iranian intellectuals, writers, and other prominent Iranians in prison.

"America's military equipment killed—both directly and indirectly," says Baraheni. "How then could the people of Iran forget what they see as the complicity of the U.S. Government in their thirty-six years of suffering under the Shah?"

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Janice Lynn



Statement of the Fourth International

Zimbabwean Masses Mobilize Against Neocolonial Plans

On the morning of February 27, the first day of the three-day general elections in Zimbabwe, tens of thousands of Blacks around the country already began lining up at the polling booths to cast their ballots for one of the nine Black parties contesting the elections.

The large election turn-out came despite weeks of intimidation by the Rhodesian army and progovernment security forces, carried out with the approval of British Governor Lord Soames. Even as voters were going to the polls, an estimated 25,000 paramilitary "auxiliaries"—Black troops attached to the regular army but politically loyal to Bishop Abel Muzorewa—were deployed in areas of the countryside where about half the voters lived. During the election campaign, these auxiliaries extorted money from villagers and threatened supporters of the main nationalist group, Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

Just before the elections, Soames backed down on his threats to bar ZANU candidates from running and to cancel the elections in ZANU strongholds. The obvious mass support for ZANU would have made it extremely risky for him to try to carry out such threats.

According to a *New York Times* dispatch from Salisbury on the first day of the elections, "Early trends suggested a strong vote for Robert Mugabe, the guerrilla leader, who entered the election as the favorite to take the largest bloc among the 80 black seats. In the populous eastern and central districts of the country, accounting for more than half the electorate, tribal voters appeared to be swinging heavily toward Mr. Mugabe's party, which favors a radical transformation of this settler-dominated society."

Muzorewa, whose campaign had been heavily financed by Rhodesian and South African white settler interests, appeared to be doing poorly.

The following statement was issued on the eve of the elections by the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

On the eve of the elections scheduled for February 27-29, Lord Soames, the British governor of Zimbabwe, is continuing to carry out his plan of harassing and repressing the nationalist movement. The "protected villages" (strategic hamlets) are being maintained on a wide scale. Arrests are continuing and thousands of people remain in prison.

There has been a step-up in assassinations and attempted assassinations of members and leaders of the nationalist movement, especially those in ZANU.

The state of siege remains in effect in 90 percent of the country. The repressive forces—police, army, and auxiliaries—have been redeployed, in violation of the London accords. The South African contingents have not, in fact, been withdrawn.

In addition, Soames has given himself certain powers that allow him to frustrate the election campaign and its results. These powers include the ability to exclude sections of the population from voting, without lowering the number of seats at stake, and the ability to prohibit a party or front from running candidates in certain areas.

The motives behind Soames's attitude

are clear. The Salisbury regime accepted the idea of a compromise with the nationalist movement because its maneuver with its puppet Muzorewa had fizzled. The armed guerrilla struggle had not been weakened; the economic situation was approaching catastrophe; the ranks of the white settlers were becoming demoralized.

Soames hoped to be able to exploit the rather onerous concessions that he was able to force from the nationalist movement, thanks in part to the pressure from the so-called front-line states (Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, Angola, Botswana). These concessions involved the renunciation of the original goals of the nationalist movement.

In particular, the Patriotic Front agreed that the white settlers would have parliamentary representation far above their numerical weight, that the settlers' property would not be expropriated for ten years, that the army would not be dismantled, and that the guerrilla detachments would go to assembly camps.

The settlers, Soames, and imperialism hoped to be able to set up a conservative, neocolonial regime, whose character would

be guaranteed by Muzorewa or Nkomo's ZAPU. To carry out this operation they would have to fully exploit the split in the nationalist movement, and hit at its most radical wing, reducing it as much as possible.

That is why the repression was and is aimed primarily against Mugabe's ZANU, while the policy toward ZAPU leader Nkomo is one of enticements and overtures.

But all these maneuvers may come to naught. In fact, a new situation has been created in the country in recent weeks. Far from being disconcerted and held back by the London accords, the exploited masses of Zimbabwe have seized upon all the openings that have developed. The return of the best-known nationalist leaders and the election campaign have been marked by a level of mobilization without precedent in the country's history, and the repression has not had the anticipated effect.

These mobilizations in themselves represent a threat to the London compromise and to the neocolonial plan. They contain the seeds of gigantic anti-imperialist and revolutionary explosions. Soames and the settlers are trying to react to that danger by making maximum use of all the resources at their disposal, including massive repression and stepped-up election fraud.

Along with the white settlers of southern Africa and British imperialism, imperialism as a whole and especially U.S. imperialism know just how high the stakes are in Zimbabwe. That is why they are so deeply involved in the battle.

The international workers and revolutionary movement must respond. It must mobilize in defense of the national and democratic rights of the people of Zimbabwe. It must demand that Zimbabwe receive immediate and total independence, and that civil liberties be established without any discrimination or restriction. This includes full and equal rights for all parties in the elections, and the right of the Zimbabwean people to determine, without prior limits, the economic and social structures of the country.

- For the immediate withdrawal from Zimbabwe of the imperialist troops from the Commonwealth countries and South Africa!

- For the dissolution of the repressive forces of the settler regime!

- For equal election rights for all parties!

- For the immediate freeing of all political prisoners! □