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Assassins Target Grenadian Leader

***Bomb Kills Two,
Injures Dozens***



Maurice Bishop: He and other Grenadian leaders escaped injury when bomb exploded under speakers' platform at mass rally.

**South African Police
Massacre Demonstrators
As Protests Spread**

EL SALVADOR

**How Washington,
Tel Aviv Bolster
Sagging Junta**

Growing South African Protests Meet Repression

By David Frankel

South African police have responded to the biggest mass upsurge since the Soweto rebellion of June 1976 by killing or wounding hundreds of Black protesters. But the size of the protests, the extensive involvement of workers raising their own demands, and the massive role of the Coloured (those of mixed ancestry) population along with Africans, have shown once again that the Black liberation struggle is continuing to advance.

Student protests and labor strikes have been sweeping South Africa since April, but the struggle took a new turn June 16. Three days earlier, the government had issued a proclamation banning all political meetings of more than ten people in twenty-four Black townships. The ban was intended to prevent meetings commemorating the anniversary of the Soweto uprising and the death of Black activist Steve Biko, murdered by police in September 1977.

Murderous Repression

Police trying to enforce the ban opened fire with shotguns in Soweto itself and in Bloemfontein, wounding at least thirty-five protesters.

The government had apparently decided to try to stop the two-month-long upsurge by terrorizing the Black population. Instead, it provoked an even bigger rebellion.

Cape Town's Coloured townships were in the lead. Dozens were gunned down June 17 as young people took to the streets in Elsies River, Bonteheuwel, Ravensmead, and Retreat. The highway leading from the center of Cape Town to the city's main airport was closed down, as hundreds of police reinforcements were rushed in. Using shotguns, automatic rifles, helicopters, and trucks, they sealed off the townships.

Six teachers colleges in the Cape area were shut down June 17 by Minister of Coloured Relations Marais Steyn, and demonstrators also took to the streets in the city of Paarl, forty-five miles to the east of Cape Town.

On the same day, young people in the Coloured township of Noordgesig, outside Johannesburg, barricaded all roads leading into the area.

Despite savage repression by the regime, the protests continued to spread. On June 18 police were called onto the campus of the University of Durban-Westville, in the Indian Ocean port of Durban, to put down protests by Indian students.

In Paarl, police opened fire on a crowd

they claimed was attacking the police station with gasoline bombs and bricks. In the Indian community of Lenasia, near Johannesburg, 360 high school students boycotting classes were arrested when they refused to give their names and addresses to police.

Foreign reporters, and all but a handful of selected South African reporters, were banned from entering the rebellious townships. Police Minister Louis Le Grange vowed to "act relentlessly" against the protests, at one point openly ordering police to shoot to kill.

By June 20, the official toll in the uprising was thirty-two dead and 175 wounded. But figures cited by newspapers and hospitals indicated that casualties were at least twice those reported by the government.

If there was doubt about police casualty reports, there was no question about the cold-blooded brutality used against the Black population. Children as young as seven years old were among the victims.

"I sat the whole night watching by my window. I could see everything," one resident of Elsies River told *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Gary Thatcher.

Describing how police rounded up five children, he said: "At the back of this block of flats they had a van, and they took the children to the van. But the children tried to get away. There were about 10 or 12 policemen. One of them sat down on his knee, and he started shooting. Then all of them started shooting."

"At the children?" he was asked. "Yah," he replied, "in the back."

Another resident told Thatcher, "My sister's husband was just standing watching. And the police shot him in the back."

A basic strategy of the apartheid regime has been to try to divide the African, Coloured, and Indian masses. Apartheid authorities often try to convince the 2.7 million Coloureds that they are better off than Africans. But as far as the South African cops are concerned, any Black is fair game.

Such racist treatment has helped convince many Coloureds that they will always be viewed as inferior to whites and denied their rights by the apartheid regime. More and more Coloureds identify themselves as part of the Black population, and see themselves as part of a common Black liberation struggle along with Africans and Indians.

Nor has this militancy and identification with the African population been limited to Coloured students. More than

200,000 of Cape Town's African and Coloured workers took part in a two-day general strike June 16 and 17, with estimates of the absentee rate as high as 75 percent.

Humphrey Tyler reported in the June 19 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Although a trickle of Colored and black [African] workers risked retribution by going to work, the strike call was markedly effective, cutting production in all major factories and greatly reducing the traffic on Cape Town's usually bustling streets and sidewalks."

The size of this strike was similar to the one that rocked Cape Town in September 1976, at the height of the Black upsurge that year.

In addition to supporting the demands raised by the students, Black workers joined the struggle to put forward their own demands for wage increases and an end to job discrimination. In Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, about 375 miles north of Cape Town, an estimated 7,000 Black auto workers struck at Ford, General Motors, and Volkswagen assembly and parts plants.

Police attacked the strikers on June 20, opening fire on crowds of striking workers demonstrating outside the Goodyear Tire plant. A June 20 UPI dispatch reported, "For the first time in the current unrest, troops and armor were rushed to the Uitenhage area to protect the plants."

Meanwhile, on June 17, the South African Medical and Dental Council met in Pretoria and, adding insult to injury, voted not to take any action against three doctors who were accessories to the murder of Steve Biko. The three ignored signs of brain damage suffered by Biko when he was beaten by cops, failed to give him medical treatment, and issued false medical reports.

Deepening Radicalization

Reflecting the growing anger and radicalization of the Black masses, Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Black general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, predicted while in London June 9 that Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned head of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), would become South Africa's prime minister in the next five years.

Tutu warned June 16, "If we go on as we are going on, we are going to have a bloodbath."

"It won't be very long before I'm repu-

diated by these youngsters. . . . We'll be shoved aside for our moderation, for being sellouts," he said.

The apartheid regime is also visibly agitated by the growing strength of the freedom struggle.

South African Prime Minister Pieter Botha declared June 13, to justify the regime's ban on political meetings, "Hostile radicals are using grievances to bring about the downfall of the state." Although Botha did not say it, there can be no doubt that in the back of his mind was the awareness that 22 million Blacks are a lot of "hostile radicals."

From the other side of the barricades, exiled ANC leader Reginald September pointed out to *New York Times* reporter Gregory Jaynes June 19, "History has a way of turning corners very sharply. I think the lifespan of the regime is much shorter than any of us thought a few years ago."

U.S. Imperialist Backing

Expressing their fear of the African liberation struggle, the editors of the *New York Times* said June 20, "The racial conflict in South Africa can wrench the world, especially the West and particularly the United States."

South Africa's apartheid regime is the most important and reliable bulwark of the imperialist system on the African continent. Its importance to Washington has been increased by the collapse of the Portuguese empire in Africa, by the blow dealt white minority rule in Zimbabwe, and by the worldwide crisis of imperialist domination.

On the other hand, the apartheid regime has never been so isolated, and events in Zimbabwe have served to further inspire the Black masses.

The U.S. ruling class will back the South African imperialists to the hilt against a revolution by the Black majority—a revolution that will also be a proletarian revolution carried out by the strongest working class in Africa.

Such a prospect is wrenching indeed for the capitalists. And as the struggle deepens, they will find it more and more difficult to maintain their hypocritical stance of verbal opposition to apartheid.

For example, Washington backed one more of the many UN Security Council resolutions condemning apartheid June 13. But, as the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* pointed out June 16, the resolution "stopped short of adding an oil embargo to the military embargo on South Africa, which would have invited a United States veto."

Washington is perfectly willing to urge trade embargoes against Iran and the Soviet Union, and to blockade Cuba. But in the case of apartheid South Africa, the State Department limits itself to statements calling on all South Africans to

exercise restraint—the Black masses demonstrating for their basic human rights and the trigger-happy cops shooting children in the back. Meanwhile, U.S. corporations and banks continue to provide investment funds, loans, and oil to the apartheid regime.

But the advance of the South African revolution, like the advance of the revolution in Central America, is stripping away the imperialist mask. And, as one young demonstrator in Soweto remarked to a UPI reporter, "This is only the beginning my friend, only the beginning." □

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Terrorists Bomb Grenada Rally

By Ernest Harsch

Washington's campaign against the Grenada revolution took a sharp turn on June 19 with the attempted assassination of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop during a terrorist bombing of a mass rally in the Grenadian capital of St. George's.

Bishop and other Grenadian leaders who were present escaped uninjured, but two young women were killed and dozens of persons were wounded. Hospital officials termed it the worst tragedy since Hurricane Janice swept the Caribbean island in 1955.

Later that day, Prime Minister Bishop went on the air over Radio Free Grenada to condemn this terrorist action, which he termed the work of "imperialism and its local agents."

Shortly after the bombing, information provided by witnesses led the security forces to a home in St. Paul's, where two suspects were believed to be hiding. When the occupants of the house were asked to come out, they responded with a hail of automatic rifle fire. Reinforcements were brought in and a gun battle ensued.

One of the suspects, Strachan Phillip, was killed. Another, Keith St. Bernard, escaped and was being sought. When the security forces searched the house, they found ammunition, explosives, detonators, fuses, and guns.

Both Phillip and St. Bernard were linked to a grouping of counterrevolutionaries led by the Budhlall brothers, which has been resisting the government's campaign to stamp out large-scale marijuana cultivation and which was involved in a previous plot to overthrow the revolutionary government.

The bombing was obviously intended to kill as many leaders of the revolution as possible and to terrorize the Grenadian population.

Despite heavy rain throughout the day, several thousand persons had gathered in Queen's Park in St. George's to commemorate two Grenadian heroes: Uriah Butler, a Grenadian who led the trade-union movement in Trinidad in the 1930s, and Alistair Strachan, a political activist who had been killed by the former dictatorship of Eric Gairy during a demonstration in June 1977.

Virtually the entire top leadership of the People's Revolutionary Government and the revolutionary New Jewel Movement (NJM) was present to address the rally. On the speakers' platform were Bishop, Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, Minister of Labor, Works, and Communications Selwyn Strachan, Minister of Agriculture Unison Whiteman, Minister of

Education George Louison, Minister of Health and Housing Norris Bain, and Commander of the People's Revolutionary Army Hudson Austin. Governor-General Paul Schoon was also present.

The bomb was placed directly under the speakers' platform. Equipped with a timing device, it was detonated precisely at 3:00 p.m.

Killed by the blast were thirteen-year-old Laurie Charles and twenty-three-year-old Laurie Humphrey.

Thirty-eight persons were hospitalized for their injuries. Two sisters, ten-year-old Jackie Bailey and fifteen-year-old Bernadette Bailey, were in critical condition, Jackie having lost one of her legs. Sixty other persons were treated for less serious injuries and sent home.

This murderous attack was not the first provocation against the Grenada revolution, although it is certainly the most violent so far.

Ever since the New Jewel Movement overthrew the Gairy dictatorship on March 13, 1979, and seized power with broad popular support, American imperialism and its local allies have sought to contain or turn back the revolutionary process.

In the first days of the revolution, the National Security Council considered imposing a naval blockade on Grenada, but then thought better of it. Washington did provide sanctuary to the dictator Gairy, and has since spurned the Grenadian government's efforts to have Gairy extradited to face trial on murder charges.

In April 1979, the U.S. ambassador to Grenada, Frank Ortiz, warned the new government not to establish closer ties with Cuba. The NJM leaders stood firm against these threats, established diplomatic ties with Cuba, and accepted Cuban material assistance.

Washington then initiated a slander campaign against Grenada, accusing it of "human rights violations." It also acted to disrupt the tourist trade, on which Grenada relies for a considerable portion of its foreign exchange.

These actions of the U.S. government have been an open encouragement to supporters of the ousted dictatorship and other counterrevolutionary elements in Grenada and the rest of the Caribbean.

American-based efforts to stir up opposition to the revolutionary government have been going on at least since October 1979, when a number of Gairy's former supporters, as well as other bourgeois figures, were arrested on charges of plotting to overthrow the government.

Recently, the most serious example of such counterrevolutionary resistance was the staging of two antigovernment demonstrations in eastern Grenada in early May. Organized by large-scale growers of marijuana, they were aimed at impeding the government's campaign to eliminate cultivation of the drug. It was with this grouping that the two terrorists, Phillip and St. Bernard, were linked.

These attacks against the Grenada revolution are part of Washington's broader campaign throughout the Caribbean and Central America to turn back the struggles of the oppressed against social injustice and imperialist domination.

Grenada's minister of legal affairs, Kendrick Radix, told *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* that the bombing in St. George's was "an extension of the terror of those antidemocratic forces in the world" who were responsible for "the brutal and cowardly murder of Walter Rodney" in Guyana, the sabotage actions in Cuba, and the efforts to destabilize the Jamaican government.

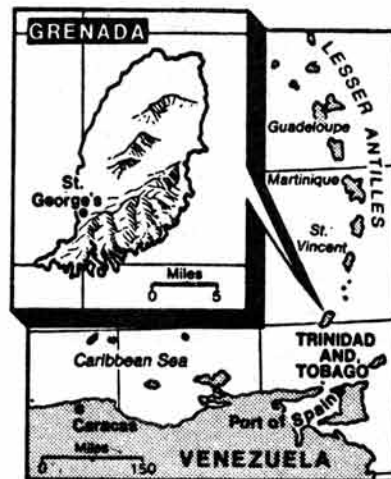
From the very beginning, the leaders of the Grenada revolution have responded to the imperialist-backed provocations by organizing and mobilizing the Grenadian population. A popularly based army and People's Militia were built. Thousands were mobilized in the streets to counter the activities of the "marijuana capitalists."

In reply to the June 19 bombing, the NJM has pledged to take even greater steps to defend the revolution.

"The whole country will be mobilized," Radix said. "In the next few days, we're likely to see the manifestation of the unity and solidarity of the whole people of our country."

Prime Minister Bishop, in a radio broadcast, pledged that the militia would be greatly expanded, with the goal of recruiting 20,000 persons—nearly one out of every five Grenadians—to defend the country against imperialism.

The Grenadian leaders are also appealing for international solidarity. "We feel," Radix said, "that all democratic and progressive forces, particularly the working people in the United States, are our allies in the cause of freedom." □



Walter Rodney Murdered in Guyana

By Ernest Harsch

"Few individuals want to willingly invite their own death. Yet many will be found who are prepared to fight fearlessly for their rights even if their lives are threatened. The human spirit has a remarkable capacity to rise above oppression."

—Walter Rodney, October 1979.

The assassination of Walter Rodney on the night of June 13 deprived Guyana—and the entire Caribbean—of one of its most prominent and outspoken fighters for social justice.

Rodney, who was thirty-eight years old, was killed when a bomb ripped through a car in which he was traveling in the Guyanese capital of Georgetown. Rodney's brother Donald was injured.

The Working People's Alliance (WPA), of which Rodney was a leader, accused the ruling People's National Congress (PNC) of being behind the murder. The assassination, it said, "is part of a systematic campaign of terror and murder set in motion by Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, and stepped up since July last year, to silence the Guyanese people and the leadership of the WPA."

The People's Progressive Party (PPP), another major opposition party, termed the killing of Rodney "a political act of the ruling party to get rid of a very strong voice of the Opposition."

Condemnations of the murder were also issued by the ruling parties of Grenada, Jamaica, and Zimbabwe, among others. In Trinidad, the Council of Progressive Trade Unions, the Communication Workers' Union, and other groups likewise denounced the assassination and sent protest messages to Burnham.

The Burnham regime followed its standard practice of accusing the victims of being the criminals. It claimed that Rodney was killed when a bomb that he was knowingly carrying accidentally exploded. The WPA responded that the charge is "a dastardly lie and is patently absurd."

Within minutes of the blast, a vehicle arrived on the scene carrying members of the police "death squad," a special unit that engages in attacks on opponents of the PNC regime. The police charged into a crowd of people who had gathered around the wrecked car, beating observers with batons and arresting several.

A few hours later, police raided Rodney's home and that of his mother. Edward Rodney, another brother, was detained.

The June 13 murder of Rodney brought to an end a political career that had lasted more than a decade.



WALTER RODNEY

Rodney first came to prominence in the late 1960s, as one of the foremost proponents of the "Black Power" movement in the Caribbean. He spoke out against the continued imperialist domination of the region and championed the struggles of the oppressed workers and peasants. In particular, he sought to foster greater awareness among Blacks of the importance of supporting the African liberation struggle.

Rodney's political views won him the enmity of the Hugh Shearer government of Jamaica, where Rodney was teaching at the University of the West Indies. In October 1968 the government banned him from reentering the country after a trip abroad. This attempt to silence him prompted major student demonstrations at all three campuses of the university, in Jamaica, Barbados, and Rodney's native Guyana.

Rodney then moved to Tanzania, where he spent several years studying the African revolution. There he published his best-known book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.

In 1974, Rodney returned to Guyana to take up a teaching post at the University of Guyana. The Burnham government blocked him from taking the position.

Shortly after his return, Rodney joined with other socialists opposed to the PNC regime to form the Working People's Alliance.

The WPA openly based itself on the "principles of Marxism-Leninism" and called for a revolution to establish a "worker/peasant state." It pressed for land reform, the nationalization of major industries, and other measures aimed at improving the lives of Guyana's workers and peasants.

The formation of the WPA was a reflection of the growing popular disenchantment with the Burnham regime, which claimed to be socialist (even though it came to power in 1964 with the backing of U.S. and British imperialism).

Under this pressure, Burnham was impelled to take some radical steps, such as the nationalization of almost 80 percent of the economy.

But the WPA continued to gain in support and influence. According to an article in the March 28 London-based *Latin America Regional Reports, Caribbean*, "... even PNC members conceded that the growing Working People's Alliance (WPA) would carry Georgetown" if free elections were held.

Labor opposition to Burnham also increased. In July and August 1979, sugar, bauxite, and other workers went on strike for higher wages and against the regime's austerity policies. The WPA held mass rallies calling for Burnham's resignation.

Burnham responded to this challenge with increasing repression. WPA leaders and members were subjected to frequent arrests and physical attacks by police and PNC thugs.

In an obvious attempt at political frame-up, WPA leaders Rodney, Rupert Roopnaraine, and Omawale were charged in July 1979 with arson in connection with the burning of several government buildings.

On November 18, 1979, Ohene Koama, a WPA founding member, was shot to death by police in an ambush. On February 25, 1980, another WPA activist, Edward Dublin, was shot by police in the mining town of Linden; he died four days later.

The trial of Rodney and the other two WPA leaders was scheduled to begin on June 3. The presence in the country of numerous foreign observers to the trial allowed the WPA to hold two public rallies, drawing 5,000 participants.

On the day the trial opened, WPA pickets outside were picked up and packed into a police van, where they were sprayed with liquid tear gas and beaten. The same day, sixteen persons were arrested in West Coast Demarara, six of whom were later accused of treason. When they appeared in court on June 6, they all testified that they had been tortured by the police.

The murder of Rodney came on the crest of this mounting campaign of government repression and terror. It was a serious blow to the WPA.

But as the group pledged in a statement the next day: "The WPA, his comrades in arms, will carry on his work." □

El Salvador Junta Increasingly Isolated

By Will Reissner

A decisive showdown is nearing in El Salvador between that country's ruling military-civilian junta and the guerrilla and political organizations that oppose it. The junta's rapidly declining popular support has been accompanied by escalating repression.

On June 8, Arturo Rivera y Damas, the acting archbishop of San Salvador, blasted the armed forces and government for their "indiscriminate violence against the people."

Rivera y Damas, who replaced Archbishop Oscar Romero following Romero's assassination by rightists in March, reported that between January and the first week of June, 2,056 people died as a result of official and paramilitary violence. He added that 212 people had been murdered in the first week of June alone.

Northern El Salvador has become a virtual war zone. According to a communiqué by the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), one of the guerrilla organizations, fighting has reached "levels of frontal battles between two armies" in departments throughout El Salvador. Big battles have taken place in the departments of Morazán, Chalatenango, San Vicente, Sonsonate, Santa Ana, Cuscatlán, San Salvador, and La Paz.

In late May, the Salvadoran high command declared Chalatenango and Morazán "military emergency zones." According to Juan Chacón, leader of the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), the Guatemalan and Honduran armies are concentrating troops along their borders with El

Salvador, especially in the area where the three countries converge. Chacón charges that the three armies plan joint operations to crush the revolutionary movement in Chalatenango, Morazán, and La Unión.

The current ruling junta is made up of military officers who seized power in October and members of the Christian Democratic Party. On October 15, 1979, in the face of swelling opposition to the military regime of Gen. Humberto Romero, a group of younger officers overthrew Romero. They had the encouragement and backing of the U.S. embassy in San Salvador. These officers promised a program of reforms. Washington hoped these promises would prevent a repetition of the Sandinista victory over Nicaraguan dictator Somoza in July 1979.

Initially the coup was supported by the Christian Democratic Party, the Revolutionary National Movement (MNR), and the Communist Party's legal arm, the Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN). A CP member was brought into the cabinet as minister of labor.

But the new regime quickly showed that it was more interested in repression than reforms; in December 1979 all the non-Christian Democratic civilians resigned. A new cabinet was installed, composed solely of officers and Christian Democrats. Since then, the base of the junta has shrunk even further, with several factions of the Christian Democrats withdrawing their support, and a whole series of civilian resignations from the cabinet in March and April.

Perhaps the most spectacular defection was that of Salvador Samayoa. At a nationally televised news conference on January 8, Samayoa announced he was resigning from the cabinet to join the People's Liberation Forces (FPL), a guerrilla organization linked to the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR). Samayoa was captured by security forces on May 27 and is now awaiting trial by a military tribunal.

Two sons of Christian Democratic junta member José Antonio Morales Ehrlich also announced they were joining the FPL guerrillas. On April 19, José Antonio Morales Carbonell, the junta member's twenty-one-year-old son, made public his decision to join the FPL. José Antonio was captured on June 16 and is now awaiting trial.

In mid-June, his younger brother Carlos issued an open letter to their father announcing that he, too, was joining the FPL guerrillas.

Carlos Morales's letter stated that "today you seem to be more firm than ever in justifying the most horrendous crimes." He added that "José Antonio and I and our entire people have faith that soon we will win our freedom, weapons in hand."

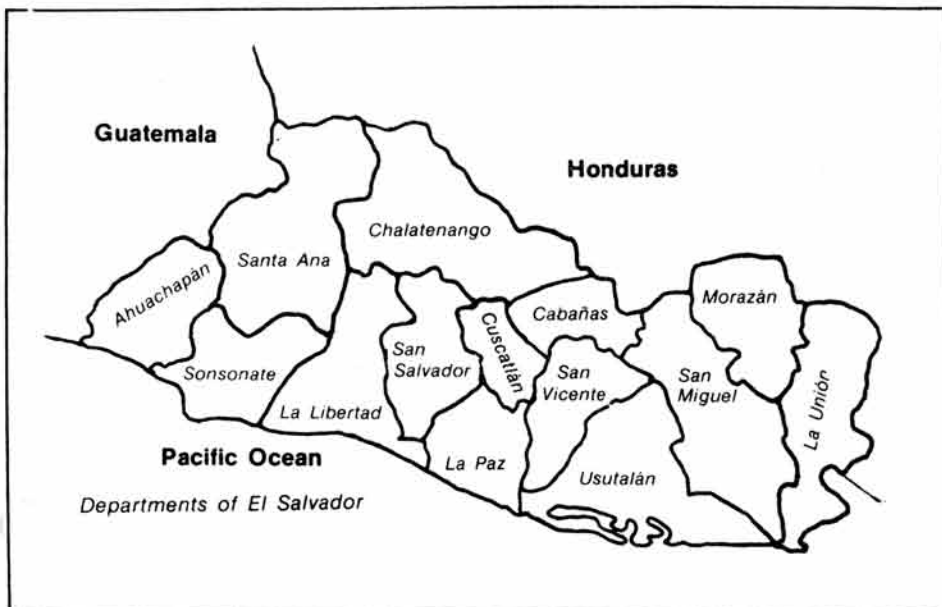
While the military-civilian junta's base has continually eroded, the opposition forces have increased their coordination. Last January 11 a big step in that direction came with the formation of the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM). The CRM was composed of the BPR; the United People's Action Front (FAPU); the February 28 People's Leagues (LP-28); and the CP's legal arm, the UDN.

On April 2, forty-nine unions, professional organizations, and political groups that had initially supported the junta—including the MNR and the "People's Tendency" of the Christian Democrats—joined together to form the Salvadoran Democratic Front (FDS). The FDS pledged support for the CRM's program.

A further step toward united action against the regime came in mid-April with the formation of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), a coalition of the forces in the CRM and the FDS. This move was hailed at a rally attended by 100,000 people.

Then on June 10 the four main guerrilla groups (which have political links to the BPR, FAPU, LP-28, and CP) announced that they were joining forces to overthrow the junta and would begin joint military actions.

The new Revolutionary Military Coordinating Committee is made up of the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN); the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL); the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP); and the military forces of the Salvadoran Communist Party, which recently decided to join the armed struggle. *IP/I* will publish the joint statement of the four organizations next week. □



How Washington Sends 'Nonlethal' Aid to Salvadoran Junta

By Will Reissner

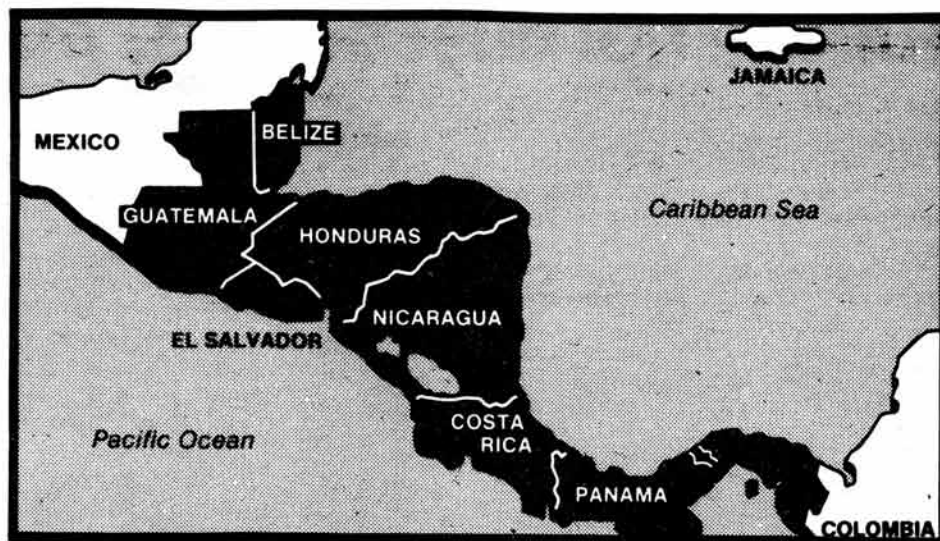
The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Salvador, El Salvador's capital city, announced on May 15 that since January it had already documented 1,468 deaths at the hands of that country's security and right-wing paramilitary forces. That death toll speaks volumes about the character of the "reformist" military junta that Washington is supporting in El Salvador.

Despite clear evidence of the reign of terror being waged against El Salvador's workers and peasants, a Pentagon military aid package for that country's armed forces breezed through the U.S. Congress April 1.

While the U.S. government claims that the aid is "nonlethal," documents obtained by the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker social justice group, show the equipment is designed for use in counterinsurgency warfare.

In all, the aid package includes \$3.7 million for trucks and transport vehicles, \$316,000 for riot-control equipment, \$1.2 million for communications equipment, and \$400,000 for other equipment.

Among the "nonlethal" items being shipped to the Salvadoran military are 50 portable PVS-2B night-vision devices used



for nighttime weapons targeting and observation; 12 "Image Intensifiers" for the same purpose; 7,500 CS tear-gas grenades; and 250 "Manpack" field combat radios. Many of these devices were first developed for use against Vietnamese freedom fighters.

Carter administration officials maintain that this equipment "will help strengthen

the [Salvadoran] Army's key role in reforms." Among these vaunted reforms is the land reform announced by the junta.

But Amnesty International reported in March that: "Troop movements by Army and National Guard units . . . for the implementation of the land reform, have in fact involved the disappearance and killing of hundreds of *campesinos* in villages supporting opposition labor organizations."

U.S. military aid to El Salvador is also providing three 12-man U.S. "training teams" being organized out of the U.S. Southern Command Headquarters in Panama to teach counterinsurgency methods to their Salvadoran counterparts.

One U.S. officer explained the kind of training these U.S. troops will provide. "The idea is that if a guy is standing with a protest sign, you don't have to cut him down with a machine gun. You use tear gas."

While the U.S. government supplies the Salvadoran military with "nonlethal" logistical support, Israel has become the biggest supplier of weapons to El Salvador. In recent years, 81 percent of the armaments purchased by the Salvadoran military have come from Israel. This included 43 planes and large quantities of Uzi submachine guns and Galil assault weapons.

This follows the pattern seen previously in Nicaragua. In 1978 Washington felt it had to cut off direct arms sales to Somoza to prevent itself from being too closely identified with the savage repression unleashed to stem the revolutionary tide. But Israeli suppliers stepped in to fill the breach. Some 98 percent of the arms bought by Somoza following 1978 were provided by Israeli exporters. □

Salvadoran Coalition to Carter: 'No Intervention'

The Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), a coalition made up of virtually all the groups opposing the ruling military junta, sent a letter on June 5 to U.S. President Carter. The letter asked him to withdraw U.S. support from the junta and to forego any "military invasion of El Salvador," which the FDR warned could lead to "another Vietnam" in Central America.

The letter notes that "under the pretext of fighting Communism, you are denying the Salvadoran people the right to be free." The FDR is also sending four delegations to visit eighteen countries in Europe and the Americas appealing for an end to foreign intervention in El Salvador.

The FDR is made up of groups spanning the political spectrum from revolutionaries to Social Democrats to Christian Democrats.

Favio Castillo, former rector of the University of San Salvador and a member of one of the FDR delegations

traveling in Europe, told a Paris press conference that his country is the victim of political, economic, and military intervention from the United States, Guatemala, Honduras, and Venezuela.

He noted that since November 1979, the Guatemalan military regime has been financing and organizing the ultrarightist paramilitary group ORDEN in El Salvador. According to Castillo, ORDEN today has 100,000 men under arms.

The Venezuelan regime has also been providing technical military assistance to the ruling junta, Castillo charged.

Castillo noted that statements by certain U.S. leaders show that Washington is prepared "to intervene militarily in El Salvador." In particular, the Salvadoran representative pointed to Zbigniew Brzezinski's comment that "the United States will never permit a new Nicaragua, even if it must take the most reprehensible measures to prevent it."

Plans Set for Anniversary of Sandinista Revolution

By Lorraine Thiebaud

MANAGUA—Throughout the length and breadth of Nicaragua, preparations are under way to celebrate the first anniversary of the defeat of the U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza.

The Sandinista-led mass organizations have designed programs and activities to intensify their commitment to consolidating the revolution. They see this as the best way to render homage to the more than 40,000 Nicaraguans who died to make their dream possible.

With the slogan "In every house a room for a foreign guest," the mass organizations are also preparing to receive the thousands of visitors who are expected to share in the festivities.

Commenting on the international preparations for the anniversary, Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) Commander Bayardo Arce said, "We have always maintained that the triumph of the Sandinista People's Revolution is not only for Nicaraguans. The revolution has been a triumph for all people who are fighting for their liberation—a triumph for Latin America; a triumph for the people of the Third World; a triumph for all men and women who love progress and peace. . . ."

On June 7, representatives of the mass organizations met in Managua with members of various government ministries and the National Commission for the First Anniversary. Their aim was to draw up plans to keep celebrations within the framework of the 1980 Plan for Economic Reactivation, emphasizing maximum participation at minimum cost.

Every city, town, and village in Nicaragua has its heroes and martyrs and history of struggle to tell. Local Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs) have been organizing commemorative ceremonies and reenactments of various battles. FSLN flags decorate the neighborhoods, and children's drawings of the war and photos of the dead are visible everywhere. Some participants, overeager for authenticity, have had to be discouraged from digging up the streets and rebuilding the barricades.

The Intersindical—consisting of the CST, ATC, and CGT-i*—held its first big meeting and called on urban and rural workers to prepare to defend and consolidate the revolution economically, politically, and militarily. The CST is holding "assemblies of commitment" in every workplace. In state-owned factories it is

*Sandinista Workers Federation (CST); Rural Workers Association (ATC); and Independent General Workers Federation (CGT-i).



Poder Sandinista
ARCE: 'Sandinista triumph is not only for Nicaraguans.'

urging higher production goals; in privately owned factories it is encouraging workers to donate forty-eight hours of voluntary labor over the coming six weeks for public works designated by the CST.

The ATC has announced similar plans for state and cooperative farms.

The women's association (AMNLAE) plans voluntary work brigades to improve hospital and health center conditions and to promote greater integration of women in the militias, defense of the literacy campaign, and in political activity.

The most obvious sign of mass participation in preparations for July 19 are the hundreds of men and women in parks and plazas training in their militia units. The militias, along with the Sandinista People's Army and the police, are preparing a military parade to demonstrate to friends and enemies alike the ability of the Nicaraguan people to defend their revolution.

The July 19 Sandinista Youth were confronted with the hardest decision concerning preparations for the anniversary. Most of them left for the mountains on March 24 to participate in the literacy brigades; they had hoped to return to Managua for the big celebration.

After much discussion, however, it was decided that the best way to celebrate would be to remain in the rural areas liberating Nicaragua from illiteracy. Mobilizing some 65,000 youth was considered too costly and too disruptive to the literacy effort. In addition, parents of brigadistas were concerned that heavy rains and bad roads would almost guarantee accidents.

Brigadistas will instead play a central role in organizing and ensuring that remote areas have political and cultural events to mark the anniversary.

The July 19 celebrations will culminate in a massive demonstration in Managua that is expected to attract about 25 percent of Nicaragua's population. A provisional plaza designed to hold 500-700 thousand is being built, since funds for a plaza "worthy of the revolution" are not available given the present difficult economic situation.

An influx of 10,000 foreign visitors is expected. Since Managua has a hotel capacity of only 600, the mass organizations have promised to turn Nicaragua into "a people's hotel." This will give tourists, as well as members of various solidarity committees and diverse political organizations, a better chance to discover the real Nicaragua.

Hundreds of political leaders have been invited as special guests by the Nicaraguan government. These include Cuban President Fidel Castro; U.S. President James Carter; Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yassir Arafat; Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev; Mexican President José López Portillo; former Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez; and Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo Odio.

The Managua daily *El Nuevo Diario* noted that if Carter, Castro, and Arafat did show up on the same grandstand, "July 19 will be an historic day once again." Rodrigo Carazo has already made clear his refusal to appear with Fidel Castro.

The Democratic Conservative Party (PCD), issued a statement on June 20 protesting Castro's invitation, calling him an "autocrat in the service of Soviet imperialism and anti-Christian communism."

Criticisms by the bourgeoisie of the plans for the celebration on July 19 have not been limited to the guest list. They have also criticized the time and money expended on preparations, as well as on the training of the militias. Representatives from bourgeois groups have been noticeably absent from all preparations, and private businesses have made no commitment to new goals to help reactivate the economy.

As FSLN leader Mónica Baltodano put it, "Those who have never had to concern themselves with the price of a quart of whiskey at their private parties are never going to be pleased with a massive working-class celebration of a year lived in liberty." □

Our Unique Coverage From Iran—It's Not Cheap

By Janice Lynn

Since the beginning of the revolution in Iran more than a year ago, *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* has tried to bring our readers first-hand accounts of the rapid events taking place in that country.

IP/I correspondents Cindy Jaquith and Barry Sheppard were on the scene during the mass struggles in February 1979 that succeeded in toppling the shah.

Jaquith returned to Iran in December 1979 following the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran. She covered the large anti-imperialist mobilizations outside the embassy, interviewed several of the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line, and reported first-hand on the development and spread of workers shoras (committees) there. Jaquith's coverage provided important

confirmation of the deepening of the Iranian revolution.

Earlier, in the spring of 1979, *IP/I* staff writer Gerry Foley traveled to Iran, where he interviewed revolutionary socialists about the political situation and brought back eyewitness information on the struggles of the oppressed nationalities.

Michel Rovere, who writes for our French-language sister publication, *Inprecor/Intercontinental Press*, has also filed reports from Iran analyzing developments in the Iranian revolution. And we have made this material available to our English-language readers, as well.

But trips to Iran cost money—thousands of dollars. Moreover, coverage of these fast-breaking events has also meant a big boost in our telephone bills.

These expenses are necessary to bring our readers the truth about the Iranian revolution that the international capitalist press does its best to distort.

Our regular coverage includes reports on worker's struggles, documents and resolutions passed by the developing factory shoras, and accounts of mass demonstrations. Little or none of this gets reported anywhere except in these pages.

We also receive Persian-language newspapers from Iran, and our staff writer Gerry Foley has been able to translate many important articles and documents, written by socialists and others.

In order to continue this type of coverage, we need your help—your financial support.

Please send your contribution to: *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, 410 West Street, New York, New York, 10014.

Defends Right to Travel

Ramsey Clark: 'End U.S. Intervention Against Iran'

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—In a news conference here following his return from Iran, former attorney general Ramsey Clark called upon Washington to end its past and present intervention into the affairs of the Iranian people.

Clark had gone to Iran in defiance of a travel ban imposed by the Carter administration. Along with nine other Americans he participated in an international conference on U.S. actions in that country.

Carter has threatened Clark and others of the delegation with prosecution for defying the travel ban.

At a June 16 press conference here Clark declared that the right to travel is "one of the human rights . . . a right found in the United States Constitution."

He branded present U.S. intervention in Iran, particularly the aborted helicopter raid, "a deadly business."

In an article written for the June 21 *Nation* magazine, he characterized the raid "as 'humanitarian' as attempted murder."

Clark called upon the government to support the right of Iran to seek extradition of the shah and to recover property stolen by him.

He called for an end to the present

economic sanctions against Iran.

He urged Congress to investigate the crimes committed by the CIA and other government agencies against Iran.

Clark also condemned the victimization of Iranian students in this country, likening it to racist hostility against Blacks.

Asked if government action along the lines he indicated should be conditional on Iranian release of the hostages, Clark said no.

Such a condition, he said, could only prolong the crisis. And, he added, it's not right to say, "I'll tell the truth if you do something first."

Discussing the Iranian insistence on U.S. admission of wrongdoing, Clark said, "The main thing they want is to be let alone. . . . To be let alone, they think it important that it be known that they have not been let alone. Because until the world sees that there has been wrongdoing . . . the possibility of its continuance is very real."

Clark also offered a good lesson on why reporting on key political events by such publications as the *New York Times* should not be taken at face value.

The *Times* had prominently reported that the closing session of the Tehran



Ramsey Clark at Tehran conference.

conference adopted a resolution castigating Clark, likening him to the German Nazi, Rudolf Hess. Other papers picked up the story.

Clark flatly declared, "Nothing like that happened."

He said he had remained until the close of the conference and there simply was no such resolution. He said he did not know what the source of the *Times* story was, particularly since its reporter had left before the close of the proceedings. □

Kurds Resist Iranian Government Attacks

By Janice Lynn

At the end of April, fierce fighting broke out in Kurdistan between Iranian government forces and Kurdish rebels fighting for their national rights. (See *IP/I*, May 12, 1980).

As revolutionists in the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) point out, refusing to recognize the national rights of the Kurdish people is an obstacle to a united mass mobilization against imperialism. It only serves to strengthen the hands of the procapitalist forces in Iran.

The Kurdish people have participated in the anti-imperialist mobilizations of the last six months. But, as many Kurdish leaders correctly explain, fighting imperialism does not mean they must abandon their struggle for their national rights.

The May 16 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* contained a report from Kurdistan by correspondent J. M. Durand-Souffland, who visited the area. Durand-Souffland, told of a hospital in the Kurdish city of Bukan where women, children, and the aged lay wounded in room after room. Many were from the nearby city of Saqqez. They told how helicopters and mortars rained fire on their city, day and night, leaving Saqqez "in a pile of rubble."

The *Le Monde* reporter described "one old man who had died the night before, his body riddled with shrapnel;" another whose "two legs were completely burned from the hips down." Bukan has been flooded with some 40,000 refugees.

Durand-Souffland also visited one of four refugee camps in Mahabad, where some 30,000 refugees who fled their cities

and towns are now crowded together under tents.

The *Le Monde* reporter visited the headquarters of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), one of the major Kurdish organizations. It has been turned into a coordinating center for aid and assistance to the Kurdish refugees. Here they distribute food and other supplies donated by the people of Mahabad. One family gets a daily ration of about four pounds of bread, two pounds of noodles, a little sugar, cheese, and yogurt.

There are severe shortages—food, gas, and medical supplies—because of the army roadblock outside the town that prevents most goods from coming in.

The lack of medicine, tents, and blankets is most severe. The Iranian equivalent of the Red Cross claims it has been unable to obtain authorization to deliver any aid to Kurdistan.

For the moment, the city of Mahabad

has been spared, although the population lives in constant fear of attack. It is here where the KDP has its base.

The town of Urmia, in what is officially the province of West Azerbaijan, is completely under the control of the Kurds. Many towns have set up their own Kurdish police force and some governmental offices are operated by Kurdish nationals.

The government's military forces have occupied Sanandaj, the Kurdish capital. The Kurdish guerrillas acknowledge that on May 12 and 13 they withdrew from the city so the remaining population would no longer have to endure the government's military attacks.

Iranian newspapers have reported that between April 18 and May 14, in Sanandaj alone, there were 636 deaths, 1,225 wounded, and 107 reported missing.

It was in Sanandaj that the recent fighting began. Various reports indicate that Komaleh, a guerrilla group, was involved in some of the first clashes with the government's troops.

KDP General Secretary Abdul Rahman Qassemlou told *Le Monde* that the Kurds have always been ready to negotiate with Tehran.

Several months ago the KDP presented the central government with a six-point autonomy proposal which Qassemlou

'Soldiers Do Not Want to Fight in Kurdistan'

There are increasing reports of protests and desertions within the Iranian army and refusals by large numbers of soldiers to fight against their brothers in Kurdistan.

The May 11 issue of *Iran News*, a Los Angeles-based Persian-language newspaper, reports that 1,500 soldiers based in Tabriz fled from Kurdistan and appealed to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to put an end to the fratricide there.

The May 31 *New York Times* reports that in Isfahan seven soldiers were jailed for protesting the war in Kurdistan and one officer from the army's elite helicopter unit executed.

The *Times* also reports that in the Kurdish town of Sardasht, the townspeople say that a dozen soldiers from the government's local barracks had refused to fight.

In Mahabad, government forces are headquartered in a former school. But, they don't go out much, and the Kurdish population there has begun referring to them as the "hostages."

According to an Iranian army captain interviewed in the June 4 issue of the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, "... 40 to 50 per cent of the soldiers do not want to fight in Kurdistan."

"It is not that they are cowards," he

told his interviewer. "They do not wish to kill their brothers. We were forced to do this during the time of the shah and we felt then as we do today. We believed that after the revolution, we would no longer have to fight our Kurdish brothers."

He said that the government tries to keep the soldiers ignorant of what is going on in Kurdistan and what the war is about. But, he went on, "I know for myself the Kurds do not wish to separate. They only wish to have more say in their own affairs. . . ."

Near the town of Paveh, two captured Iranian soldiers told their Kurdish captors that many of them did not want to come to Kurdistan and that when ordered to fire some just shoot into the air.

There was also a recent report in the London *Economist* that when ordered to fight in Kurdistan, one of the newly-formed Islamic Societies within the armed services rejected the order and refused to go.

Despite a bit of stepped-up propaganda against the Kurdish struggle, the government still seems unable to whip up any enthusiasm either among the Iranian masses or within their own armed forces for an all-out offensive in Kurdistan.



stressed was within the framework of the Islamic republic. The Kurdish people are simply demanding the right to control their own affairs and an end to all forms of repression and discrimination. They want Kurdish to be recognized as the official language. And they want local councils to run provincial affairs, the release of political prisoners, and the withdrawal of the non-Kurdish pasdaran from Kurdistan.

Figures in the Bani-Sadr government have suggested that the Kurdish struggle is a CIA plot to destabilize the revolution. But the Kurdish people were in the forefront of the struggles against the shah, and they have been firm in their resolve to struggle against imperialism and to defend the Iranian revolution against Washington's continued threats.

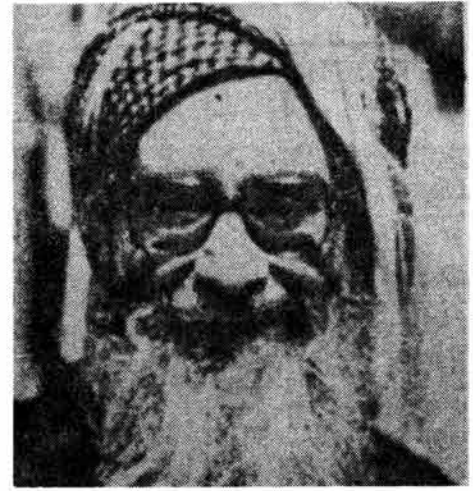
There are also accusations that the

Kurds are plotting with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. But the Iranian government's attacks on the Kurds only play into the hands of the Iraqi regime.

Kurdish leaders have openly stated their determination and the determination of the Kurdish people to defend the Iranian revolution and the borders of Iran against imperialist-incited Iraqi attacks.

In a statement published in mid-April in a number of Persian papers, Sheikh Ezzedin Hosseini said: "The Kurdish people will not permit any foreign government, the U.S. or the Baathist regime in Iraq, to attack Iran."

In fact, the April 20 issue of the Persian-language weekly *Iran News* reported Kurdish *peshmergas* (guerrillas) had already fought Iraqi forces early in April. □



SHEIKH EZZEDIN HOSSEINI

How Iranian Workers Organize to Raise Production, Defend Revolution

[The following article is from the May 28 issue of *Kargar*, newspaper of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

The Imam's Committee at the depot on the Karaj road knows the names of all the workers in the factories on the Karaj highway and the old Karaj road, as well as throughout the rest of the district. Since it began functioning, it has worked hard on a day-to-day basis to help answer the questions and solve the problems that come up in the 180 factories on the road to Karaj. Last week, a supporter of the HKE interviewed Moser Jafari, the head of the committee, and a revolutionary guard who was a member of it. The HKE supporter asked:

"Mr. Jafari, how would you describe the way in which the committee is organized and the work it does?"

Jafari replied: "Since the victory of the revolution, our tasks have been to defend the factories along the Karaj road and also to defend the achievements of the revolution. This committee was organized by the central Imam's Committee. It has been supervised from the start by Hojatollah-e-Islam* Mahmud Hossein Bukai, who has distinguished himself by his dedication.

"With the help of our brothers, the revolutionary guards, the workers in several factories have succeeded in purging the counterrevolutionary elements and preventing sabotage of production."

Mr. Jafari explained this further: "Responding to the demands of the workers,

the committee has become a factor for maintaining order in the factories and for preventing shutdowns. We have been able to get jobs for several hundred unemployed and fired workers and to see that they are paid a fair wage. We have also been working on the problems of getting raw materials for the factories."

Mr. Jafari cited the case of the Azhur factory. He explained that this factory had been shut down by the boss after the revolution. In order to get the plant running again, the workers themselves, through the factory *shora* (committee), sold all sorts of goods that had been stored up to gain the initial capital. Mr. Jafari recalled how the women workers had sold their jewelry to help get the money needed to start up the factory.

The revolutionary guard brother explained in detail how the Islamic shoras in the factories are organized and the role that the Imam's Committee at the depot has played in setting up a number of them. "When the workers raise demands, for example, for purging the counterrevolutionary elements, the workers gather round and organize themselves," he said. "They set up a shora."

He mentioned the Esquib factory, where a committee of five persons elected by the workers was set up to supervise the purging of counterrevolutionary elements and to assure the smooth running of production until a shora could be properly elected. He showed me the cards that are used in shora elections, adding that the Imam's Committee helps workers in all sorts of ways to set up these bodies.

Mr. Jafari described the role of the shoras that have been organized in 180 factories. "For example, by working with the Qarqara-e-Ziba shora and solving the

problem of raw materials, we were able to raise production in this factory ten times. A plant that had 250 workers, now employs from 680 to 700 persons. We were also able with the help of the shora concerned to increase production at the Pars Plastic and Polymil factories."

The depot Imam's Committee is also actively involved in building the army of twenty million people. Mr. Jafari cited some examples of this work and of the kinds of help the committee gives to the workers.

With the collaboration of soldier brothers, the depot committee has set up a joint committee on military training that functions out of the depot. It is made up of forty to fifty persons. This committee trains and mobilizes people for the army of twenty million, with the help of the Islamic committees.

The shoras inform the committee of their needs by means of letters and circulars, and all the available facilities are put at their disposal. Mr. Jafari cited the case of the Iran National factory, which demanded 2,000 guns and got them. He said that so far, more than 100 factories in the area have set up programs for mobilization.

As for the stage reached in the work of building the army of twenty million, Mr. Jafari said that so far close to 20,000 workers have undergone courses in the handling of weapons and marksmanship and are ready for combat.

I asked about what work was being done in the factories in connection with the literacy campaign. Mr. Jafari said that everything possible will be done to help the Reconstruction Campaign and the workers in this regard. □

*This is a religious rank just below that of Ayatollah.—IP/I

Calls For Commission of Inquiry

HKE Condemns Attacks At Avjadeh Stadium

[The following editorial appeared in the June 17 issue of *Kargar*, newspaper of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE). The translation is by an HKE member.]

* * *

The public meeting of the Mujahedeen in Avjadeh stadium and the widespread clashes that took place in connection with this meeting, have attracted the attention of the whole country.*

Almost every paper in the country put this bloody incident at the top of the news. The clashes have caused grief for all. Everyone has condemned the killing of one person and the wounding of several hundred in these clashes. Everyone wants an open atmosphere for discussion, an exchange of views, and political clarification, and everyone wants the bloody clashes to be eliminated.

Everyone has spoken out against creating clashes at open and legal gatherings of political organizations—ranging from Hojate'eslam Sayed Ahmad Khomeini [Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's son] to the editorial writers of the newspapers—all of whom say that these types of clashes must be stopped.

The bloody incident at Avjadeh was not the first bloody incident of its type. And if decisive steps against its repetition are not taken, it will not be the last.

The principal responsibility for creating this incident must be clarified. The principal responsibility lies with the Ministry of State. The Ministry of State, after issuing a permit for the meeting, refused to seriously protect and provide security for it—under conditions where everybody expected a confrontation.

Workers and toilers know, more than anyone else, that preserving a calm atmosphere, without political disruption, is necessary in order to clarify the important problems of our revolution. The incapacity of the Ministry of State to provide security for large, public, legal meetings shows its indifference to this important principle in the struggle against imperialism.

It is necessary to seriously pose the question of who and what institutions can guarantee the peaceful holding of political meetings. The law? Now it has been definitively proven that the officials in the

ministry, i.e. those responsible for carrying out the law, are more incapable of doing this than anyone else.

The solution to holding peaceful gatherings lies in organizing the masses, and struggling for this demand by the organization and intervention of mass organizations. Without this perspective, none of the ministries and none of the officials, ministers, or lawyers are capable of preventing incidents like those that took place at Avjadeh.

In his television interview, the advisor from the Ministry of State spoke a lot about the unarmed members of the police department. On this, it must be said that the only institutions able to protect order at political gatherings are the factory *shoras* [committees], units of the Jihad [crusade] for National Reconstruction, the Islamic *anjomans* [councils], and other mass organizations. Also, the starting point for protecting the right of political parties to meet is not the apparatus left over from the dictatorial regime, but rather the mass organizations and the actions of the masses.

* * *

While condemning the attacks on the Mujahedeen's legal meeting, we must add that the confrontations and clashes at this meeting were not accidental. The Mujahedeen is an organization that has the least political potential for serious and consistent struggle for democracy. It is an organization, which due to its consistent sectarian positions in the anti-imperialist struggle, puts itself in the camp of the 500 capitalist and big landowning families who are creating these types of clashes.

Finally, it is also an organization that continues to base its political tone and tactics on the gestures of politicians and government leaders, rather than identifying itself with the anti-imperialist sentiment and fervor of millions of Iranians.

* * *

Poisonous rumors that have spread about the role of the *pasdaran* [revolutionary guards] protecting the spy nest are cause for alarm. These dangerous rumors have also become food for the imperialist press and radio, institutions such as Voice of America and the *Washington Post*, which have portrayed the *pasdaran* as being the same as the despot, the deposed shah. At the same time, important ques-

tions are posed about the nature of the clashes at Avjadeh and the possibility that they were preorganized by capitalist circles.

Many workers are asking themselves whether it was accidental that police without arms were given responsibility for protecting the meeting? While the police who protect the deserted streets in the northern part of the city are armed, they put on kid gloves for an important meeting such as the one at Avjadeh. Was this not a plan to get the *pasdaran* involved and utilize this against the *pasdaran*?

In this connection, the remarks made by the spokesperson for the *pasdaran* to the press is noteworthy: "We regret the unfortunate incident at Avjadeh, and with the present atmosphere we condemn any kind of confrontation in the Islamic Republic. But what hands are at work trying to dirty the hands of the *pasdaran* in these problems and then use it for their own benefit? I must say that since the time the *pasdaran* were founded, all the forces of the enemy have tried to weaken the strong foundations of the *pasdaran* because they know if the people's faithful force, like the *pasdaran*, takes form, it will in the future stop any kind of anti-Islamic move."

After the bloody incident at Avjadeh, the imperialists are portraying "club wielding" or even "the rise of fascism" as the central problem of our society. Reflections of this kind of propaganda can also be seen in the big headlines in the [pro-Moscow] Tudeh Party press.

The truth is that the central threat to our revolution is not the falangists. This is not to say that the bloody incident at Avjadeh is not serious, but that the Avjadeh incident speaks to the basic dangers of giving responsibility for many affairs to the conciliators [referring to those in the regime who want to conciliate with the imperialists—*IP/I*].

Already everything, including the horrible rise in prices, is blamed on "club wielders." [Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr recently gave a speech condemning the "club wielders" at Avjadeh, saying that each time they raise their clubs, prices go up—*IP/I*.] No, the basic problem and danger facing the revolution is reliance on the apparatus and bureaucracy of the old government, rather than independent mass organization; following a policy of conciliation, rather than revolutionary decisiveness; and relying on votes

*For a news report on the attack, see last week's *IP/I*.

by government officials, rather than action by the huge masses of people.

The rumors against our brother pasdaran must be stopped. The Ministry of State must not be allowed to wash its hands of all responsibility and blame everything on the pasdaran.

An independent commission must be organized to investigate these events at Avjadeh stadium and expose the facts

concerning the origin of the shooting. This commission must be composed of factory shoras, the Students Following the Imam's Line, the known anti-imperialist militants in residential districts, the Moslem clergy, the pasdaran, and activists in the Jihad for Reconstruction.

An initiative by the Mujahedeen in calling for such a commission can be of special value in making such an investigation possible. □

Mujahedeen Statement on Rally Attack

[The following is a statement issued June 13 by the *anjoman* (council) of the Mujahedeen on the martyrdom of Mujahedeen member Mustafa Zakeri during the attack on the rally at Avjadeh stadium the previous day. The translation is by a member of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE).]

* * *

In the name of God and in the name of the heroic people of Iran. "They take vengeance on them for no reason but that they have come to believe in the magnificent and blessed Allah"—the *Koran*.

The Mujahedeen informs the heroic people of Iran of the martyrdom of brother Mujahed Mustafa Zakeri. His death came barely three days after the martyrdom of brother Mujahed Naser Mohammadi. On Thursday, June 12—at the end of the memorial meeting for the martyrs Naser Mohammadi, Ahmad Azizi, Sasiavosh Shams, Jalil Ravpoor, Ahmad Gangi, Shokrollah Meshkinfam, Reza Hamedi, Einollah Poorlai, and the anniversary of the martyrdom of the heroic Mujahed Reza Rezai—our brave young cofighter Mustafa Zakeri collapsed, covered with blood, and joined the glorious caravan of the Mujahedeen martyrs.

Brother Mujahed Mustafa Zakeri was in the security lines. He was protecting the participants in the meeting against the attacks of the hired hooligans and club wielders. He was hit in the side by a J-3 bullet and fell dead. Those who shot him were individuals connected with the committee that stood behind the hired club wielders.

[The Pasdaran—*IP/I*] had no responsibility or authorization to be present in that place during the ceremonies commemorating the martyrs. But they moved in, spreading tear gas and firing bullets, aiding the hired goons.

By their creative tactics of resistance, our martyr Mustafa Zakeri and his brothers prevented the meeting from being disrupted. In the struggle, dozens of them were beaten and wounded. Finally, after failing to disrupt the meeting, the club wielders and their armed cohorts opened fire on the people who were leaving the

stadium. As a result, a few people were hit and brother Mustafa Zakeri was martyred.

Thus, this youthful fighter for liberation was martyred by the plotters and conspirators who have been focusing their fire on the revolutionary forces and trying to block the ripening and the advance of the revolution. In his short but fruitful life, he never for one instant stopped fighting against injustice.

Of course, in the Mujahedeen's just struggle, we have always welcomed the ardor and readiness to sacrifice of youth. But it is a sad thing, an unforgivable thing, that in view of their sluggishness with dealing with the agents of counterrevolution, the authorities in this country have now become so frightened that in order to carry out their divisive and counterrevolutionary conspiracies, they are firing at the revolution through these same counterrevolutionary bodies.

These antirevolutionary divisive plots are now reaching a dangerous point, and the plotters are leaving no opportunity untapped. So, here by the grave of this newest martyr of the revolution, we give a warning that if those holding positions of responsibility and offices in the country, fail to solve this problem, if they do not once and for all expose and punish those responsible for these tragedies and their accomplices, history and the coming generations will never forgive them.

Indeed, who is to punish those who are responsible for these murders? The question is raised—why, despite dozens of complaints and the filing of suits, none of these murderous incidents have yet been investigated. They have not even been given the attention due an ordinary murder. Yet, the social and political dimensions of these incidents make a serious and immediate investigation extremely vital and necessary.

Of course, anybody who speaks the truth is accused of striving for power. History has many precedents for these accusations. This was true in the case of Imam Hossein (praise be to him!) [The main figure in the Shi'ite religion who was killed fighting for his ideas]. Also, *tahgoutin* [the idolators, referring to those who prospered under the shah's regime] ac-

cused Imam Khomeini of wanting glory and power. They said he didn't care how many people he got killed. This was also said by the conciliators, cynics, and the two-faced. And how much they hurt the Imam by saying this; and the Imam wept and denied their accusations.

Now it is Mujahedeen's turn. So, as the wheel of history turns, this is being repeated now in a different way.

In response we say: you, whom we cannot regard as comrades, if indeed you do not want to see a mounting death toll, then why do you kill? Why do you train club wielders? Yes, *you* are one of the main supporters of the goons, the hooliganism, and the divisiveness. The documents testify to this. [This refers to one wing of the Islamic Republican Party, without saying it by name—*HKE*.]

In this connection, to expose the sources of terrorism and club wielding, the Mujahedeen is asking for a several hour live-television program. We want it to be live so that you cannot, with the aid of your cohorts, censor and distort the tape.

As to your criticisms asking why the Mujahedeen glorifies its martyrs, this was clarified by our brother Massoud [Rajavi] in his Avjadeh speech: "Let me also make this point clear. To us, all the mothers who have given martyrs to this land are precious and worthy. All the martyrs are dear and noble. Any drop of blood that falls to the ground from the innocent offspring of this land is sacred. Therefore, if at a time that nothing comes as cheap as death, we glorify our martyrs, it is not for sectarian or factional reasons. No! Through these commemorations we emphasize that there is no better and clearer example than these martyrs, and we want to bring their message of the emerging liberation and salvation to the masses of people."

In conclusion, we address ourselves to those who are instigating the club attacks and the killing and wounding of our innocent sisters and brothers—those who hypocritically claim to be disgusted by this kind of bloodshed and call in their editorials for the punishment of those responsible—we ask them: Ask yourself who is killing us?

We hold in respect the memory of the martyred brothers and the heroic Mujahed Mustafa Zakeri, son of the working people and the revolution. We give our condolences and congratulations to their families, cofighters, and to all our dear compatriots.

"It is early yet for the oppressors to know to what place they are heading."—the *Koran*. □

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How Israeli Arms Industry Backs Rightist Dictators

By David Frankel

El Salvador is on the brink of civil war. About 2,000 people have died there due to political violence in just the first five months of 1980, and the level of confrontation is increasing.

In their struggle against the hated oligarchy ruling their country, the Salvadoran workers and peasants also face U.S. imperialism, which is channeling arms, money, and advisers to the rightist regime. And they face a third enemy as well—the Zionist state of Israel.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Israeli weapons accounted for 81 percent of the armaments bought by the Salvadoran dictatorship between 1972 and 1977.

Among the arms imports were eighteen Ouragan fighter-bombers, French-made planes that were rebuilt for the Salvadoran regime by Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI). Also sent to El Salvador were twenty-five IAI Arava transport planes, which can also be used in counterinsurgency warfare.

Ta'as, or Israel Military Industries, has provided the regime with large quantities of its Uzi submachine gun and its Galil assault rifle.

Israel is now the fifth largest arms exporter in the capitalist world, after the U.S., France, Britain, and West Germany. Israeli arms exports reached \$450 million in 1978, or 20 percent of all Israeli industrial exports. In 1979, the figure was up to \$600 million, and it is continuing to rise rapidly.

"Israel has a great advantage in selling, since all its systems are battle-tested," one Israeli executive proudly told *Business Week* last year.

Israel's four largest industrial enterprises are armaments companies—IAI, Ta'as, Soltam, and Tadiran. In all, "around 40,000 people, or 14 per cent of Israel's industrial workforce is directly engaged in the manufacture of armaments," reports Tim Coone in the May 9 issue of the British weekly *New Statesman*.

Since the imperialist countries generally have their own arms industries, almost all Israeli arms exports are sold to semicolonial countries and to South Africa. The right-wing dictatorships in Chile and Guatemala, and the Somoza regime in Nicaragua, have been some of the Israeli arms industry's best customers.

In 1978, Washington felt it necessary to cut off arms sales to Somoza, and Israeli suppliers took up the slack. SIPRI estimates that 98 percent of the arms bought

by Somoza during his savage battle against the Nicaraguan people were provided by Israeli exporters.

At one point, after an Israeli cargo vessel was seen unloading a consignment of heavy mortars, machine guns, helicopters, and a small patrol boat, Prime Minister Menachem Begin pledged to halt further sales to Somoza. But the arms shipments were later resumed, and did not stop until July 2, 1979—only two weeks before Somoza was finally overthrown.

Israeli arms shipments to Somoza included fourteen Arava airplanes, which were used to drop 500-pound bombs on Managua, León, Matagalpa, and other Nicaraguan cities. The anger of the Nicaraguan people was explained inside Israel as an expression of "anti-Semitism."

Thus, following the defeat of the first Sandinista offensive against Somoza, the December 25, 1978, issue of the Israeli daily *Davar*—a publication associated with the supposedly liberal Zionists of the Israeli Labor Party—published an article by A. Ben-David titled "Growing Anti-Semitism in Nicaragua."

"The main opposition paper in Nicaragua, *La Prensa*, publishes daily articles full of hate toward Israel and the Jews," Ben-David complained. "The Sandinista propaganda success has managed to turn the Chamorro family" and "the entire Nicaraguan opposition, into anti-Semites," he declared.

A reply to Ben-David by Yoram Peri appeared in the January 21, 1979 issue of *Davar*. Peri noted that in Zimbabwe as well, where many of the weapons used by the racist white-majority regime were of Israeli origin, there was widespread hatred of Israel.

The problem, Peri explained, is that "Israel has become the supplier of dirty weapons for the whole world." What is needed, he said, "is a change of policy."

However, no such change of policy is about to take place. The example of the continuing close collaboration between the Zionist regime and the apartheid state of South Africa gives an indication of the Israeli course.

Military links between Israel and South Africa are not limited to arms sales, although these have been substantial—well over \$500 million so far.

South Africa manufactures the Uzi submachine gun under license from Israel, it has bought long-range gunboats armed with Gabriel sea-to-sea missiles from IAI, and Tadiran has supplied South Africa with sophisticated electronic communica-

tions and detection components for use against guerrillas. There have also been repeated reports of aircraft sales.

Former chief of Israeli intelligence, Gen. Meir Amit, the current head of Koor Industries (which owns Soltam and half of Tadiran), admitted in July 1975, while on a visit to Cape Town, that senior Israeli military officers regularly lecture South African officers on Israeli military and counterinsurgency techniques. Some South African forces have been given specialized training in Israel.

But the most ominous aspect of the military link between Israel and South Africa is their cooperation in the development of nuclear weapons.

In September 1979, one of the Pentagon's Vela detection satellites recorded an intense double pulse of light—the distinctive signature of a nuclear blast—in the vast region south of Africa where the Indian and Atlantic oceans meet.

One can imagine Washington's reaction if a semicolonial government had been responsible for such a nuclear test—especially if it was a Black African or Arab government. But the U.S. government, which began its nuclear cooperation with Pretoria in 1953, and which renewed its nuclear pact with South Africa in 1974, knew very well who was responsible.

(In 1976 the head of the South African Atomic Energy Board expressed his appreciation to a group of visiting Americans, saying: "We ascribe our degree of advancement today, in large measure, to the training and assistance so willingly provided by the USA during the early years of our nuclear programme. . . .")

For more than a month after the nuclear blast, Washington kept the news secret. But the story eventually leaked out, with the first reports suggesting that only South Africa was involved in the nuclear test.

U.S. officials reacted by trying to cast doubt on the existence of any nuclear blast. A panel of nine top U.S. scientists was appointed to look into the incident, but officials claim that the panel's findings are "technically indeterminate," and that the investigation is "ongoing, but inconclusive."

Dr. Luis Alvarez of the University of California at Berkeley, one of the nine scientists on the panel, was interviewed as part of an investigation into the affair by Robert Manning and Stephen Talbot. They published their findings in the June issue of *The Middle East*, a business and news magazine published in London.

Alvarez told Manning and Talbot that the panel had met three times, and had issued reports each time, but that none had been released by the White House. "We may sanitize the latest report by the scientists and release it to the public," said one White House aide, but so far not even a "sanitized" version has appeared.

Washington's difficulties are understandable. Initially, the Carter administration suggested that the Vela satellite might have malfunctioned. But this explanation was soon discarded, since the Vela has correctly spotted nuclear blasts forty-one out of forty-one times. Moreover, the satellite sensors, both of which registered the double flash, had been tested just two weeks before the event.

The White House then fell back on the argument that the detectors may have been triggered by some natural phenomenon, such as solar flares, cosmic rays, or superlightning bolts. But all of these explanations have been ruled out by the panel. The only nonnuclear explanation remaining is that a small meteorite or piece of space debris caused a double glint of sunlight—a possibility that even administration officials admit is "very low."

Meanwhile, on February 21, CBS News reported that the blast "was an Israeli nuclear test conducted with the help and cooperation of the South African Government."

Israeli journalist Dan Raviv, who had filed the report from Rome in order to avoid Israeli censorship, had his press credentials lifted by the Israeli government on February 24—an act that went a long way toward establishing the accuracy of Raviv's report.

Manning and Talbot report that "although the Begin Government will not discuss the subject, South African officials acknowledge privately that they have received help in their nuclear research from Israeli scientists. But even the South Africans are reticent about reports that South Africa provides uranium to Israel in return for Israel's technical aid."

Israeli nuclear researcher Col. Amos Horev, arriving in Johannesburg last November, confirmed that he was still involved in the Israeli nuclear program. The colonel was apparently not visiting South Africa as part of a vacation.

Apologists for Zionism argue that the Israeli state's close relationship with South Africa; its support to the brutal right-wing dictatorships in Nicaragua, Chile, and El Salvador; and its opposition to anti-imperialist movements all over the world are simply a matter of government policy that could be changed without altering the basic character of the Zionist state.

But more and more, the oppressed and exploited of the world are seeing Israel as an integral part of the imperialist order that they are struggling to overthrow. □

Oppose British, French Colonial Schemes

No to New Hebrides Rightist Coup!

By Renfrey Clarke

[The following is based on articles from the June 4 and June 11 issues of the Australian socialist weekly *Direct Action*.]

* * *

Despite demands from Chief Minister Walter Lini, the British and French colonial authorities in the New Hebrides still have not taken any serious action to put down the right-wing coup on the island of Espiritu Santo.

On June 8 Lini issued an official request for military assistance. Earlier, on June 3, he had walked out of a meeting with the British and French administrators in protest at their lack of support.

Lini's nationalist Vanuaaku Party, which won a big majority in last October's Representative Assembly elections, is due to assume full governmental powers when independence is granted on July 30. Before then, Lini will not have effective military or police forces at his disposal.

So far, the only response the British government has made to the chief minister's request has been to send five military advisers. On June 9 it was reported that France's resident commissioner in the New Hebrides was planning to fly to Santo for discussions with the rebels.

More than 2,000 people, including all the government's civil servants, have fled

cent of the land in the New Hebrides is controlled by settlers, most of them French. The Vanuaaku Party has promised that, after independence, it will carry out a large-scale land redistribution.

The settlers have been joined by the extreme right-wing U.S.-based Phoenix Foundation. This group, believed to centre on the American millionaires Michael Oliver* and Harold Peacock, wants independence for Espiritu Santo in order to use the island as a tax haven.

The Nagriamel leader, an eccentric local planter named Jimmy Stevens, has declared the island independent under the name of the "Vemarana Federation."

The kind of "independence" Stevens and his backers have in mind for the people of Santo is shown by a document made available on June 3, detailing the establishment of a "Vemarana Development Corporation."

The prospectus, said to have been presented recently at a tax-avoidance conference in the Bahamas, describes the "country" of Vemarana as "a genuine tax haven offering more and far better free enterprise opportunities than any other place known to us."

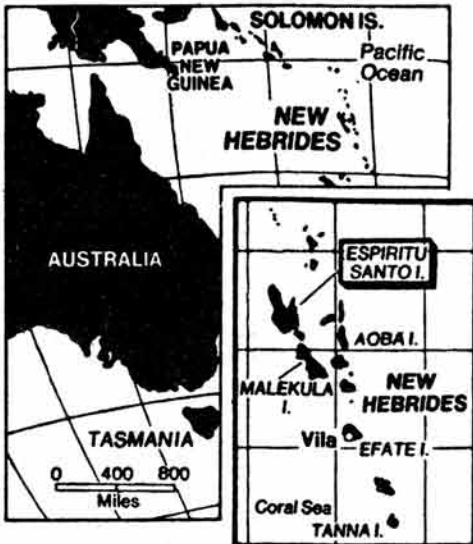
The British and French governments have delayed moving against these capitalist buccaneers, even though Stevens and his supporters do not appear to have majority support among Santo's 15,000 people. In last October's elections, most of the Santo electors voted for the Vanuaaku Party.

By failing to defend the right of the people of Santo to be citizens of the New Hebrides, the colonialists are aiming a deliberate blow at Lini and the Vanuaaku movement he heads.

With its program of reforms designed to aid the local people at the expense of the imperialists, the Vanuaaku Party has drawn a hostile response from the British and French throughout its nine-year history.

On the other hand, the extraordinarily friendly response to Stevens's Nagriamel movement—particularly from the French government, which has viciously repressed the independence struggles of the Kanak population of nearby New Caledonia—confirms that the ultimate interests the separatists serve are those of imperialism.

The imperialists look forward to the incoming New Hebrides government being



from Santo since the coup on May 29. For almost two weeks now, the island has been under the control of the Nagriamel movement, a separatist faction heavily backed by French planters and wealthy U.S. businessmen.

A June 1 report stated that about 50 per

*According to the June 7 issue of the British *Economist*, Oliver is a member of the right-wing Libertarian Party in the United States.—IP/I

plagued by a situation in which many of its citizens are stood over by gangs of white landowners, mercenaries, and adventurers.

In such a situation, the country's elected leaders would find it difficult to carry out measures which harmed the interests of foreign capital and aided the mass of the population.

To bring the Vanuaaku Party to heel, the British and French governments are

clearly prepared to pay a heavy price.

Their response to the New Hebrides crisis has already alienated and alarmed many Third World nations—as shown by a sharply critical statement issued on June 6 by the United Nations sub-committee on small territories.

But the imperialists stand to lose a great deal in the Pacific—particularly the French, whose big profits from nickel mines on New Caledonia are threatened by

the demand of the indigenous Kanak people for independence.

The labor movement in Australia should demand that the colonial authorities immediately assemble an appropriate military force, and hand it over to Lini's government to deal with the robbers and schemers on Santo.

Then the British and French imperialists should get out of the Pacific—for good. □

Carter Arms Rightist Guerrillas

Behind the Imperialist Lies on Afghan War

By Ernest Harsch

Half a year after thousands of Soviet combat troops entered Afghanistan, the government in Kabul is still facing stiff resistance from counterrevolutionary guerrilla forces.

Operating in numerous small bands, the insurgents stage hit-and-run actions from Afghanistan's rugged mountain regions or seek to create disturbances in the cities and towns. They attack Afghan and Soviet military units, burn schools, destroy hospitals, mine roads and bridges, and murder supporters of the revolution.

The rebels claim to be fighting for Islam, but they are actually fighting to preserve the class interests of privileged layers of Afghan society. They are deeply opposed to the unfolding Afghan revolution, which began in April 1978 with the overthrow of the Mohammad Daud dictatorship and the seizure of power by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). Their armed actions are aimed not at "liberating" Afghanistan, but at obstructing the land reform program, literacy drive, expansion of women's rights, and other progressive social measures enacted by the PDPA regime.

Carter Aids Rebels 'In Every Way'

As it has from the very beginning, this counterrevolutionary drive has received open encouragement and covert material backing from the imperialist powers, particularly Washington.

Most of the Afghan guerrilla bases are located in neighboring Pakistan, which is ruled by the proimperialist military dictatorship of Gen. Zia ul-Haq. The Pakistani junta provides direct assistance to these guerrillas and also helps to funnel aid from other sources.

In a dispatch from Pakistan in the May 13 *Christian Science Monitor*, correspondent Edward Girardet reported, "There are signs . . . that factory-new Pakistani and Chinese weapons are beginning to drift into rebel hands. One European observer came across Pakistani Army-issue Enfield

.303s, identifiable by markings on the butts and black-painted barrels."

According to a report in the May 28 *Christian Science Monitor*, the pro-American regimes in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other Middle Eastern countries are also providing arms to the insurgents.

Washington is behind this operation, both in arranging the arms shipments from other countries and in providing its own weapons.

In mid-February, a White House official admitted that the Central Intelligence Agency had begun to send arms, many of them of Soviet make, to the Afghan rightists through Pakistan. *New York Times* correspondent David Binder called it the CIA's first operation "of this nature and magnitude since the Angolan civil war ended in 1976."

Some reporters traveling with the guerrillas have confirmed that they are receiving U.S.-supplied weapons.

In a dispatch from Derinur, Afghanistan, in the April 6 *Washington Post*, correspondent Tyler Marshall reported, "As rebels filled their bandoliers, empty bright blue ammunition boxes lettered 'Interarms, Alexandria, Va.' soon littered the ground, mixed with less distinctive packaging of a Czech manufacturer, Selli and Bellot.

"Nearly 50 American-made antitank mines, medical supplies from China and 980 pairs of boots were taken into the nearby village. . . ."

Interarms, which is registered as a private company, is one of the largest firms in the United States trading in foreign-manufactured weaponry. It is headed by Samuel Cummings, who worked for the CIA in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Since then, the CIA has used Interarms as a source for untraceable, "clean" arms for its clandestine operations abroad.

Some recent reports suggest that this outside aid to the guerrillas has been stepped up. A June 4 United Press International dispatch from New Delhi reported,

"American weapons powerful enough for Afghan rebels to use to down Soviet helicopter gunships are pouring into Afghanistan, sources close to officials of the Soviet-backed Afghan government said. . . ."

The dispatch went on: "Indications of a U.S. supply line to the Afghan rebels have grown in the past week. Last Friday [May 30], a senior State Department official in Washington said the U.S. government was helping the guerrillas 'in every way' it could, and the Afghan fighters were 'finding the resources and the will to resist.'"

Rumors as 'Fact'

Bolstered by this imperialist backing, the insurgents have continued to defy the Afghan government.

It is difficult, however, to judge the extent of the fighting from the "news" reports that appear in the capitalist press.

Although numerous Western journalists have traveled into Afghanistan with the guerrillas, few of them have reported any substantial fighting. The bulk of the actions they claimed to have seen were minor skirmishes or hit-and-run operations.

The guerrilla groups try to make up for this by issuing numerous stories of major battles, often claiming high Soviet casualties. These unsubstantiated boasts are then picked up by the major American and European newspapers and passed on to their readers as fact.

For several days in a row in early June, major U.S. newspapers cited reports that Kabul had been surrounded by an army of 20,000 insurgents. But the June 12 *New York Times* was forced to admit that according to U.S. officials there was no evidence at all of the existence of such an army.

In May, one rebel group claimed to have captured Herat, the third largest city. Nothing more was heard of this "capture."

Besides the wildly exaggerated claims of the guerrillas themselves, many of the reports cite as their sources unnamed "eyewitnesses" and "travelers" arriving in

India and Pakistan. By their very nature, the claims of these "travelers" cannot be immediately confirmed or discounted.

Even the wildest rumors and assertions, it appears, are good enough for the imperialist propaganda campaign against Moscow and Kabul. One report claimed that Moscow had stationed medium-range nuclear missiles in Afghanistan, another that student protesters were being shipped to Siberia "to teach them a lesson," yet another that twelve-to-seventeen-year-old school girls were being massacred by Soviet troops in the streets of Kabul.

Even such tales were too bland for the Newark, New Jersey, *Star-Ledger*. It published in its June 19 issue a UPI dispatch from New Delhi claiming that Afghan President Babrak Karmal—who was described as a "nervous man"—had attempted to commit suicide, but was stopped by Soviet troops. To add an extra dash of color, one of Karmal's guards was said to have been killed in an "accidental" gun battle with Soviet troops, and Karmal was being confined to his official residence, requiring Soviet permission to leave. All this had been "confirmed," UPI maintained—that is, confirmed by Radio Pakistan and Indian "official" sources.

The obvious aim of such stories is to bolster Washington's charges that the Afghan regime—besides being inept and on the brink of collapse—is bloodthirsty and completely unpopular. The Soviet troops are portrayed as facing opposition from virtually the entire Afghan population.

Conveniently for Washington, such media reports have tended to crop up more prominently just before votes by Olympic committees in various countries on the U.S. call for a boycott of the Moscow Olympics.

Despite the exaggerated claims of guerilla successes, some Western reporters have acknowledged Soviet and Afghan government gains in certain regions of the country. A report in the March 30 *New York Times*, for instance, stated that military offensives in Kunar and Badakhshan provinces had virtually wiped out rebel activities there.

Nevertheless, there has been serious fighting. *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist Party daily, admitted as much in its May 10 issue, stating, "The struggle against the bandits in the mountains is no easy matter."

Kabul radio reported on June 8 that during the previous two months, 140 persons had been killed during clashes in Kabul. Thirty schools were reported to have been destroyed, as well as one hospital. The radio report accused "criminals" backed by Washington and the Chinese regime of being behind the disturbances.

The Soviet press agency Novosti reported on June 13 that there was fighting in the suburbs of Kabul and that "bandits are shooting people's power representa-

tives, poisoning the water, terrorizing the population, and even trying to infiltrate into the capital in small groups."

Diplomatic Overtures

In an effort to undermine the outside backing for the rightist insurgents, the Afghan regime on May 14 issued a proposal for a negotiated "political settlement" to the conflict.

The settlement, the Afghan regime maintained, would have to "ensure complete and guaranteed end to aggressive actions against Afghanistan, to subversive actions and any other forms of interference from the outside in its internal affairs. . . ."

Specifically, Kabul demanded a "clearly expressed commitment" by Washington "not to carry out any subversive activities against Afghanistan, including activities from the territories of third world countries." A similar commitment was asked of the Pakistani regime.

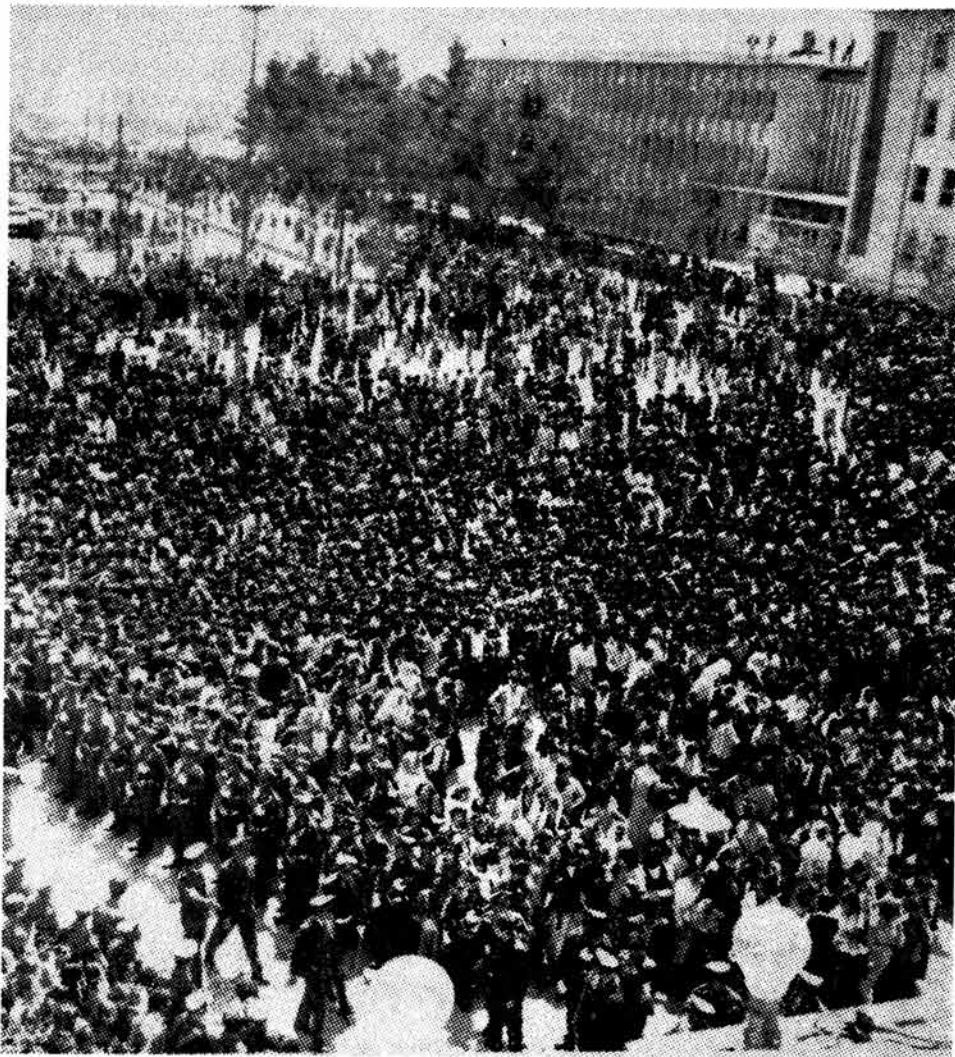
With an end to outside interference, the statement continued, a withdrawal of Soviet troops could then be considered.

Both Washington and the Pakistani regime spurned this offer, refusing to give the kind of public commitments that were asked for.

Several weeks earlier, the Cuban government, acting as the chair of the Non-aligned movement, had offered to arrange negotiations between the Afghan and Pakistani regimes. General Zia rejected Havana's offer.

The hard stance by many of Washington's allies against the Soviet presence in Afghanistan has nevertheless been weakened in recent months. This has paralleled the setbacks to Carter's attempts to impose an international economic embargo on Iran and to boycott the Moscow Olympics.

At a conference of Islamic foreign ministers held in Pakistan May 17-22, a resolution was passed reaffirming an earlier call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. But unlike the previous Islamic conference in January, when the call for Soviet withdrawal was issued, this one at the same time left open the door to negotiations with all the parties involved,



Thousands rally in Kabul April 21 for hoisting of new flag.

Kabul New Times

including Moscow and the Kabul regime.

Pleas by the Afghan guerrilla groups for stepped-up material backing were turned down—at least publicly. Given the extreme factionalism among the groups (there are about sixty of them), some participants at the conference were concerned that greater assistance would do little to actually bolster the guerrilla struggle.

The denunciations of Washington were also sharper. The conference “strongly” condemned the U.S. government for its “military aggression” against Iran. Even General Zia, who faces considerable anti-American sentiment within Pakistan, felt compelled to condemn “the presence of the U.S. naval forces which have been deployed in a threatening posture in the vicinity of Iran.”

Defense Committees Formed

The Afghan regime’s diplomatic initiatives have been coupled with some limited measures inside the country to step up defense against the counterrevolution.

In early March, the age for military conscription was lowered from twenty-two years to twenty-one years, with draftees liable for service in the armed forces, police, or labor corps.

In addition, according to a March 19 Reuters dispatch from Kabul, “Efforts are being made to involve the local populations in security tasks and persuade them that the insurgents are not genuine Moslems.”

The Karmal government has established armed militia units in Kabul and other cities and towns. A report in the March 30 *Washington Post* described them as “an adaptation of the Defense of the Revolution Committees set up in Cuba and Ethiopia.

“According to travelers from Kabul, armed committee members are seen hanging around street corners and party headquarters in the city, and at night they run patrols looking for violations of the 10 p.m. curfew.”

At least some of these committees have been established on a factory level. The March 17 *Kabul New Times* reported, for instance, that the workers at the Afghan Textile Mills in Gulbahar had set up a “resistance group” there to help defend the area against counterrevolutionary attack.

Since Babrak Karmal came to power on December 27 (after the ouster and execution of his PDPA predecessor, Hafizullah Amin), he has promised to safeguard and extend the social gains that workers and peasants have won over the past two years.

A commission has been set up to study proposals for a “second phase” of the land reform program. According to statements by Karmal and reports in the Afghan press, the new land reform measures will include greater provision of agricultural machinery and chemical fertilizer to peasants, assistance in the establishment of

cooperatives, government credit to farmers on easy terms, the “finalization” of land distribution, and the guarantee of full land ownership rights to peasants who have received new plots of land.

New peasant formations, called Democratic Peasants’ Unions, have been established in various parts of the country.

Trade unions have also been extended. Although the working class in Afghanistan is quite small—only about 330,000 industrial, transport, and communications workers out of a total labor force of 5.6 million—unions have been set up in Kabul, Helmand, Kandahar, and other areas since the PDPA came to power.

The April 14 *Kabul New Times* reported the official inauguration of the first Workers Union in Nangarhar Province. Addressing a rally of workers, the union head declared, “We will continue our struggle to the last breath against the enemies of the Saur Revolution,* that is, internal and regional reaction led by U.S. imperialism.”

Like his PDPA predecessors, Karmal has also followed a policy of trying to win support from merchants and “patriotic” capitalists.

In a speech in Kabul on April 27, during the celebrations of the second anniversary of the revolution, Karmal declared, “National traders and men of capital will enjoy government support and help, including protection against imperialist monopolies.” Despite such overtures, many merchants and businessmen have gone over to the counterrevolution.

*The beginning of the revolution on April 27, 1978, came during the Afghan month of Saur.

Although the bourgeois press tries to portray the Karmal regime as being extremely unpopular and entirely dependent on the Soviet troops, it does have a significant base of support.

Mass rallies are still being held in most of the major towns, at least several of them each week. In March and April, for instance, the Afghan press was filled with reports and photographs of major rallies involving tens of thousands in the provinces of Kabul, Paktia, Parwan, Farah, Balkh, Nangarhar, Takhar, Ghour, Kandahar, Baghlan, Bamian, and Fariab.

These included actions to mark International Women’s Day on March 8; celebrations of the second anniversary of the revolution; commemorations of the April 17, 1978, assassination of PDPA leader Mir Akbar Khyber; rallies by high-school students, workers, and farmers; and demonstrations to condemn American imperialism’s aid to the counterrevolution.

Even according to the government’s own reports, however, these mobilizations have been limited in scope.

If the counterrevolutionary bands are to be decisively defeated, it will be necessary to organize and mobilize the workers and peasants to a much greater extent, to *politically* counter the demagogic claims of the rebel forces.

Military action to suppress the guerrillas is important, but only by politically inspiring Afghanistan’s working population and harnessing their full social strength can the revolution be adequately defended—and advanced. □

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U.S. Air Force Has Trouble Selling MX Missile Plan

By Ed Berger

[The following article appeared in the June 13 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly the *Militant*.]

* * *

SALT LAKE CITY—The Pentagon's plan to spend up to \$100 billion to deploy the new MX nuclear missile system has run into strong opposition from residents of Utah and Nevada, where the missiles are to be located.

Town meetings held all over Utah have turned into denunciations of the military. Congressional hearings in the two states have often drawn 700-1,000 people, most of them opposed to the MX.

Protest actions have been sizable, including a rally of 500 people in Salt Lake City on April 24, held just prior to a nationally televised debate on the issue.

At the debate, Cecil Garland, a Utah rancher, drew a standing ovation from many of the 1,000 people in the television audience when he said:

"All we hear about at these meetings is experts justifying being experts. . . . The discussion is on what mode [of MX deployment] is best; the land mode, the sea mode, or the air mode. I'd like to suggest a fourth mode, the commode . . . where the idea of using wars to solve our problems can be flushed down the drain."

Garland, who hails from Callao, Utah, population "about nineteen," was one of four "typical citizens" invited to share the stage at the debate.

By comparison, statements by pro-MX advocates such as Undersecretary of the Air Force Antonia Cheyes were met with boos and hisses.

The public hostility to the MX missile system represents a turnabout for the residents of southern Utah and Nevada.

For years most people here had believed that their government could do no wrong. But the experience of death and illness resulting from the nuclear tests of the 1950s—despite assurances of their safety by the Atomic Energy Commission—has caused people here to develop a deep distrust of the government.

Reasons for opposition to the MX range widely: concern over the environment, over grazing land being taken out of circulation, over disruption of rural lifestyles. Most of all, people do not want to become potential targets in a nuclear war.

According to MX proponents, the missile system is defensive. Advocates call it a "second strike" weapon, capable of weathering a Soviet attack and emerging with sufficient strength left to strike Soviet

targets.

But the very nature of MX indicates that its purpose is offense, not defense. The MX is designed for extreme accuracy, able to drop its nuclear warheads with pinpoint precision on targets halfway around the globe.

Such accuracy is not needed if the aim is *retaliation* against Soviet cities and industry after a supposed Soviet attack. The only possible reason is to be able to destroy Soviet missiles on the ground—that is, to enable the Pentagon to launch a preemptive "first strike" nuclear war.

Thus deployment of the MX would represent a major escalation of the arms race and heighten the danger of the nuclear annihilation of humanity.

Each MX missile would carry ten hydrogen bombs, each bomb at least twenty-five times more powerful than the atomic bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima. By contrast, the Minuteman, the most advanced U.S. missile to date, carries three hydrogen bombs.

The dimensions of the MX are staggering: seventy-one feet tall, eight feet in diameter, weighing 192,000 pounds.

The Pentagon's original proposal for MX deployment was that each missile would travel around its own closed "racetrack" loop consisting of twenty-three shelters 7,000 feet apart.

The missiles would be continually moved to a different shelter in the loop. In this way the exact location of the missiles would be unknown.

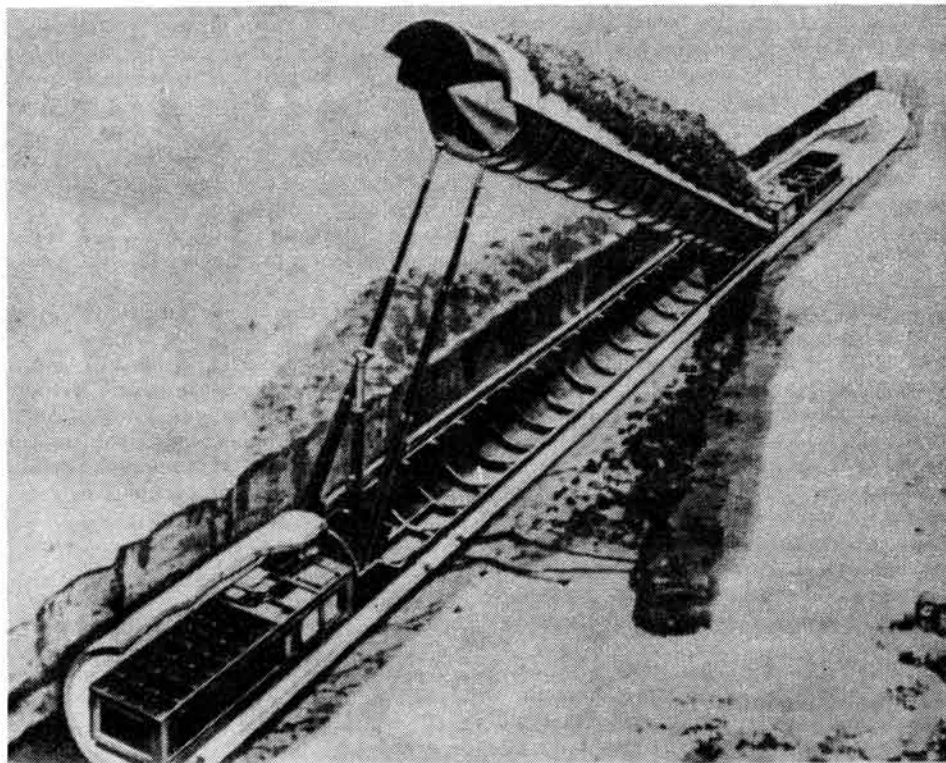
To target 200 missiles in 4,600 potential locations would be too difficult, military spokespeople say.

Gen. Lew Allen, air force chief of staff, said that the MX system, deployed over 24,000 square miles, an area the size of Pennsylvania, would function as a "giant sponge" for Soviet missiles, so that the Minuteman system elsewhere would be safe.

But residents of Utah and Nevada don't feel like being nuclear sponges.

On May 7, the Defense Department announced that it was scrapping the idea of a "racetrack" MX system in favor of a "straight-line grid."

In reality, nothing essential was changed. The amount of land to be used was reduced by about 20 percent, and the



Artist's depiction of MX missile breaking out of underground tunnel.

projected cost was lowered a little, but there was no reduction in the number or use of the shelters.

MX backers call the venture the largest public works program in U.S. history, claiming that 20,000 to 120,000 jobs would be created.

But people around here don't believe that the MX will improve their lives one bit. The outrageous expense of the system would make inflation a lot worse than it already is.

The estimated cost is now \$56 billion, up from the initial projection of \$33 billion. Before the system is operational it could end up costing more than \$100 billion.

The government claims that there will be little environmental damage. But people don't believe this either.

According to the Nevada Sierra Club, the MX system would mean "the death knell of wide open spaces, untouched valleys and mountains." Millions of acres of potential wilderness would be lost, and priceless archeological sites would be destroyed.

SANE, a peace group, has pointed out that the habitats of dozens of protected or endangered species would be severely disrupted.

The deserts of Utah and Nevada are extremely fragile and could not easily be reclaimed. In addition, great volumes of water—in short supply in these desert regions—would be necessary for the MX project.

Failing to woo the people of Utah and Nevada into accepting the MX, the Pentagon has been trying to ram the project down the throats of the residents. Congressional hearings on the issue have been used by local Democratic and Republican party warhawks to denounce the Soviet Union. Even those capitalist politicians who have expressed reservations about the MX system are really only looking for a form tailored to try to overcome popular objections. Still, many people in the two states are far from convinced.

People recall how, during the 1950s, the government justified nuclear tests in the area as necessary to counter the alleged Soviet threat. But the only deaths came from fallout resulting from the U.S. nuclear weapons testing.

The government assured residents of the safety of the tests, and kept secret the reports that showed the opposite.

There was, for example, an Atomic Energy Commission report made in 1965, which showed that between 1950 and 1964 the death rate from leukemia in southern Utah was 50 percent higher than normal. This report was not made public until 1979.

Over 1,000 people from Utah, Nevada, and Arizona have filed suit against the government because of cancer related to nuclear fallout.

Residents of Utah and Nevada—with this direct experience of government-

caused death, and government lies, deception, and cover-ups—are in no mood to accept the new nuclear weapons system in their own backyards.

It is this mood that the Socialist Workers

Fight Over Nuclear Weapons and NATO Heating Up

British Government to Deploy Cruise Missiles

On June 17, British Defense Secretary Francis Pym told the House of Commons that the Conservative government would station 160 Tomahawk Cruise missiles, armed with nuclear warheads, at bases within sixty miles of London.

Pym declared that this decision "is a clear expression of the determination of NATO as a whole to preserve its security."

The Tory move was announced only five days before the June 22 demonstration in London called by the Labour Party to protest the deployment of the U.S. Cruise missiles in Britain. The announcement was a blow against the British working class, as well as against the Soviet workers and peasants.

As the first land-based U.S. missiles to be stationed in Britain, and as a newly developed weapon, the Cruise missiles represent a substantial escalation of the arms race. An editorial in the June 5 issue of the British weekly *Socialist Challenge* pointed out:

"A huge number of nuclear weapons in Britain, probably the majority, are controlled by the United States. They are not for the 'defence' of Britain, but to attack the Soviet Union if America's interests are threatened. The United States controls tens of the [Royal Air Force's] largest airfields and the Cruise missiles to be sited in Britain will be under direct U.S. control. Britain is becoming one of the chief outposts of American militarism; the US's 'aircraft carrier' from which to attack the Soviet Union.

"Working people have no interest in a nuclear war with the Soviet Union."

The debate on nuclear arms in Britain has become a major issue in the Labour Party. The overwhelming majority of delegates at a recent Labour Party conference opposed the position of the party's parliamentary leaders who support nuclear weapons

Party in Utah is speaking to. The SWP candidates have been the only ones to campaign against the MX in any form. The party is also recognized as the only campaign against all nuclear weapons. □

Deployment in Britain. David Owen, the former Labour foreign secretary, devoted his speech to an all-out attack on those who want Britain to get rid of its nuclear arsenal. Former Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan also went out of his way to attack the call for nuclear disarmament by Britain, while claiming to be against nuclear weapons.

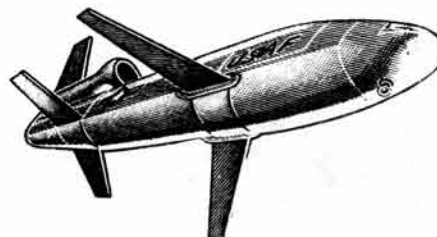
As *Socialist Challenge* explained, it is not enough to be against nuclear weapons in general. "To disarm means getting rid



Anti-cruise missile campaign button.

of US bases, the Cruise missiles, American bombers, Polaris bases—the lot. And that means getting out of the US war alliance—NATO."

Members of the International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International, and of Revolutionary Youth, the new youth organization working with the IMG, are helping to build a contingent on the June 22 demonstration that will place the blame for the threat of nuclear disaster on the U.S. war drive. It will express solidarity with the revolutions in Central America and Iran, and demand that Britain get out of NATO. □



Cruise missile

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AROUND THE WORLD



Czechoslovak Regime Tries to Break Petr Uhl

Petr Uhl, a leader of Charter 77, the Czechoslovak civil rights movement, was sentenced to five years in prison last October despite protests by Communists, socialists, and trade unionists from around the world. His only crime was to defend



PETR UHL

the democratic rights supposedly guaranteed in the Czechoslovak constitution.

Although Czechoslovakia's Law on Imprisonment states that prison conditions should be "humane," Uhl is being held under circumstances that amount to a calculated attempt to destroy him.

Confined at the notorious strict regime labor camp at Mirov, Uhl is not allowed to keep any written material—not letters from his family, not even a copy of prison regulations. He is also banned from keeping pictures of his wife and children.

Uhl is allowed only one one-hour visit from a close relative every six to eight months, and that meeting must be supervised by guards, and nothing but family matters discussed.

Because of the extremely heavy work to which he is subjected, his chronic bronchitis has become acute. Uhl is forced to carry loads weighing as much as eighty-six pounds up sixty-seven steps.

Defenders of Uhl and the other Charter 77 political prisoners are asking that protests against these conditions be sent to Czechoslovak embassies.

Polish Reformers Warn of Crisis

A group of 141 Polish journalists, scholars, and intellectuals—including 51 members of the country's Communist Party—have compiled a report on the state of Polish society. The report warns that unless dramatic steps are taken to reverse the current situation, "the negative changes will progressively grow and may reach the avalanche stage. . . ."

The report was drafted by a group calling itself Experience and the Future that was organized in November 1978 to engage in "free discussion of the most vital matters of our nation and state." The authors, who were characterized by *New York Times* correspondent John Darnton June 13 as "a liberal wing of the establishment," said the report would be submitted to leaders of the Polish government.

Economic problems, the report says, are not the sole root of the "deepening apathy and dissatisfaction of the society." It argues that "the crisis which we have in our country is, in the first place, of social and political character."

Among the problems cited by the report, which is entitled "How to Get Out of It," are privilege and inequality in social life; incompetence and bureaucracy in the government and economy; resentment of the Soviet Union, which is exacerbated by "servile, insulting" propaganda; and scarcity of meat.

Distrust of the press is described as so widespread that "even the bad news is not believed," and the government's credibility is said to be equally low.

Unless the regime acts "to regain the trust of society and release its creative instincts," the report warns of "open social conflict."

Junta Murders Chilean Trotskyist

Oscar Salazar, known as "Rubén," a member of the central committee of the Communist League of Chile, was murdered by the junta's police April 28. Salazar's murder came in the midst of a crackdown aimed at preventing workers protests on May 1. A letter from the Communist League's Secretariat in Exile, in the May 28-June 3 issue of the Spanish Trotskyist weekly *Combate*, reported that the junta's press tried to justify the murder with the lying implication that Salazar had been engaged in terrorist activities.

Strikes Reported in USSR

According to unconfirmed reports in the capitalist press, big strikes took place at the USSR's huge Togliatti auto plant May 6, and at a major truck and auto complex in Gorki.

The Togliatti plant, on the Volga River is about 650 miles from Moscow. It produces nearly 700,000 cars a year. The May 6 incident, according to the reports, was in solidarity with a strike of bus drivers who refused to do additional work without a pay increase, and also expressed dissatisfaction over food shortages. Some 70,000 assembly line workers were said to have stayed off the job for one day.

In a June 13 dispatch from Moscow, *Washington Post* correspondent Kevin Klose said that the reports of the strikes came from "scattered but credible" sources, while David K. Willis of the *Christian Science Monitor* said June 16 that they came from "unofficial Soviet sources in touch with one of the ministries supervising industrial production, as well as from other sources."

These sources claimed that in Gorky, about 300 miles north of Togliatti, tens of thousands of workers had struck for two days against food shortages, and that there had been four arrests. Klose reported that the Gorky strike took place May 7 and 8, while *New York Times* reporter Anthony Austin said it was May 8 and 9. They said that the strikes in both Togliatti and Gorky were ended when authorities met the workers' demands.

"However," Austin cautioned June 14, "some Russians who visited Gorky recently or who have been in contact with friends there voiced doubt that a major labor disruption could have taken place in that important industrial center without their hearing about it."

Klose also pointed out that "some dissident sources consider these reports highly exaggerated and say they could normally expect to hear of such troubles. . . ."

Tass, the Soviet news agency, insisted June 18 that "there were no strikes whatsoever either in Togliatti or in Gorky."

Pol Pot Forces Show Their Colors

Although no longer able to carry out mass murders on the scale they became accustomed to while in power, followers of former Kampuchean Prime Minister Pol Pot are still doing the best they can. On June 12 a small force loyal to Pol Pot

ambushed a train carrying some 8,000 civilians to Pnompenh. According to NBC television reporter Neil Davis and a UPI dispatch, the bandits killed at least 150 people and wounded at least 300. Before fleeing approaching government troops, they forced the travelers to hand over their valuables.

"Observers say the style of the attack appeared designed to frighten would-be traders from helping to bring more stability to the country," reported *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Frederic A. Moritz June 16.

Moritz noted that "in public, United States officials deny they support the Khmer Rouge. But in private, some high-ranking US officials hope the Khmer Rouge pressure will eventually help push Vietnamese troops out of Cambodia."

According to Moritz, additional actions of this type can be expected. He notes that "Bangkok-based military analysts" have "predicted military actions that would bring dramatic Western press coverage" to the discredited Pol Pot forces.

Chilean Labor Movement Begins to Stir

"Leftist gains in union elections and the growing vociferousness of labor seriously threaten the Chilean government's efforts to maintain the labor peace that has prevailed since 1973," *Wall Street Journal* correspondent John Enders reported June 18.

Enders noted that there have been strikes at the Chilean subdivisions of Firestone Tire & Rubber, Goodyear Tire & Rubber, and Fiat over the past ten months.

"Late last month, the 4,700 steelworkers-union members at the Huachipato steel complex near Concepcion elected new union bosses, four of whom ran on a leftist slate opposed to the ruling junta. . . .

"Six of the seven leaders elected in voting earlier this year at the Lota-Schwager coalfields in the south are believed to be Communist. And a leftist trend is widely expected in elections set for tomorrow at the huge Chuquicamata copper mine, considered critical to national security," Enders said.

Turkish Regime Gets Massive Loans—Promises to Make Workers Pay

On June 18, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) approved a three-year loan of \$1.6 billion for the Turkish government. The loan—the largest credit in the IMF's history—brings the overall amount of foreign credits the Turkish regime will receive this year to more than \$3 billion. Similar aid efforts will be required for several more years if the Turkish government is to stave off financial collapse.

Turkey owes about \$2.2 billion to foreign governments, and roughly \$3.5 billion to foreign banks. It is currently negotiating its third rescheduling of its foreign debt in three years.



SULEYMAN DEMIREL

The country is now dependent on foreign aid to pay for essential imports of fuel, fertilizer, and capital goods. Although it has a jobless rate of at least 20 percent, and suffered an inflation rate of 80 percent last year, the IMF insisted that the regime agree to even higher unemployment and inflation as a condition for approving the loan.

In a letter of intent demanded by the IMF, Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel's minority regime has promised to slash subsidies for state enterprises, which account for almost half the national output; to curtail public spending and bank lending to the private sector, which will provoke a deep economic downturn; and to

devalue the lira by an additional 22 percent this year.

However, Demirel's regime will face massive opposition to such moves. Turkish governments have signed two similar letters of intent in the past twenty-two months, but have not yet been able to clamp down enough to satisfy the IMF.

Meanwhile, according to a report by Ann Crittenden in the June 19 *New York Times*, "the single greatest concern of the NATO command in the Mediterranean is the precarious state of the Turkish economy."

Further Information

In our April 21 issue, we ran an interview with Karl Marx from the January 5, 1879, issue of the *Chicago Tribune*. In our introduction we said, "Except for a typewritten academic paper, the entire interview has, to the best of our knowledge, never been republished in English." The typewritten version that we had possession of did not identify the researcher who had rediscovered the interview and prepared the accompanying notes.

Recently, Nathan Karp, national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) wrote us, informing us that the interview appeared in two installments in the December 23 and December 30, 1967, issues of the SLP's *Weekly People*. The introduction in the *Weekly People* identified the researcher as Louis Lazarus. According to the introduction, the interview had also been run in 1879 in two German-language workers newspapers published in the United States: *Vorbote*, published in Chicago; and *Volkszeitung*, published in New York.

Cuban Emigres Want Out of Peru



When some 10,000 Cubans entered the Peruvian embassy in Havana in early April, the British business weekly *The Economist* crowed that they were willing to endure "hunger, thirst, heat and possible reprisal in the hope of getting away from Latin America's only Marxist-Leninist state in order to go to backward and impoverished Peru."

Several hundred of those in the embassy actually were transported to Peru—to their chagrin—before the Cuban emigrant community in the United States organized the Mariel to Florida sea route. Now eighty-six of the Cubans in Lima are on a hunger strike protesting delays in processing their visa applications for the United States.

Andrei Sakharov Offers Advice on World Politics

By David Frankel

"I should like to offer some thoughts on problems that have been troubling me," writes Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov in a "Letter From Exile" published in the June 8 *New York Times Magazine*.

Sakharov then outlines positions on the major issues in world politics that give backing to American imperialism against the struggles of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

To begin with, Sakharov insists that the basic framework of world events is a contest between democratic forces led by Washington on one side and totalitarianism represented by the Soviet regime on the other. As he puts it, "I consider the United States the historically determined leader of the movement toward a pluralist and free society, vital to mankind."

Echoing the familiar claims of capitalist politicians and propagandists, Sakharov warns of "covert and overt Soviet expansion in key strategic and economic regions of the world. Southeast Asia (where Vietnam was used as a proxy) and Angola (with Cuba as the proxy), Ethiopia and Yemen are only some of the examples. The invasion of Afghanistan may be a new and more dangerous stage in this expansion.

Think about it. After 500 years of Portuguese colonialism, after proven CIA interventions, and after a U.S.-backed South African invasion, the Angolan people are told that their main problem is "Soviet expansion."

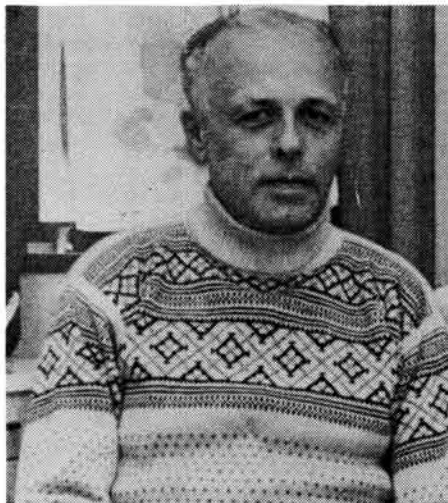
Ruling circles in the United States and Europe will applaud Sakharov's drivel about the Cubans in Angola being proxies for Moscow, but the Angolan masses know that those Cubans are helping to heal the ill, educate the young, rebuild Angola's shattered economy, and repulse the continuing attacks by South African forces.

And what about Indochina? Was it the Soviet Union that sent more than half a million troops to Vietnam? Was it the Soviet air force that dropped napalm on Vietnamese villages and spread cancer-causing herbicides across the Vietnamese countryside?

Sakharov sees the role of the Vietnamese army in helping to overthrow the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea as proof of "Soviet expansion." But does he bother to ask how the Kampuchean people view it? Even bitter opponents of the Vietnamese revolution, such as *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm, have been forced to admit that the Vietnamese enjoy considerable popularity in Kampuchea precisely because they helped get rid of Pol

Pot's butcher regime—a regime, incidentally, that is still supported by the U.S. government.

For Sakharov, the millions of workers, peasants, students, and others who took part in the Vietnamese revolution, in the



Sakharov: Hails U.S. Iran raid, nuclear power, and modernization of NATO missiles.

overthrow of the Ethiopian monarchy, in the liberation of Angola from Portuguese colonialism and in the defeat of South African intervention there—all these people, their struggles and aspirations, are, if not unimportant, at least secondary. The main thing, you see, is the threat of "Soviet expansion."

An Important Omission

Although Sakharov declares his devotion to human rights around the world, he fails to even mention—let alone offer his support to—those millions struggling against U.S.-backed dictatorships. Events in El Salvador, South Korea, and South Africa come to mind immediately.

This is no small omission in an article addressed largely to Americans. Furthermore, it is not a likely oversight. In the past, Sakharov has made a point of at least mentioning human rights violations by proimperialist regimes.

Moreover, Sakharov has no trouble in taking a clear stand on the issues he thinks are important.

• He wholeheartedly endorses the recent U.S. commando raid on Iran, calling it "a brave and noble effort," whose success "would have been in the interest of the

Iranian people themselves." Now that Carter's military move has failed, Sakharov urges "unity of action" in imposing economic sanctions against Iran.

• Opposition to the "urgently needed modernization of [NATO] missile forces in Europe," according to Sakharov, is "demagogic" and "instigated" by Moscow.

• "Economic and political sanctions" against the Soviet Union "are extremely important," Sakharov says. "In particular, the broadest possible boycott of the Moscow Olympics is necessary."

• Endorsing the Camp David accords and their denial of Palestinian rights, Sakharov calls on the Palestinian people to "recognize the existence of Israel."

• Sakharov's advice even extends to the issue of nuclear power, which he justifies on grounds of the supposed Soviet threat to oil supplies. "Concern about safety and environmental hazards should have no bearing on the principal issue—to build or not to build nuclear stations—but only on how to build them," he says.

Rightward Trend

Revolutionary socialists defend the right of the Soviet people to express their political views. This right is denied by the Stalinist regime, which seeks to exclude the masses of workers and peasants from the political arena.

Following Sakharov's forced exile to Gorky last January, David Russell pointed out in the February 4 issue of *IP/I* that the Soviet government's move was "an attack against the interests of all workers and other citizens of the Soviet Union."

Sakharov should still be defended against victimization solely for expressing his ideas. But his reactionary views must also be answered.

It is undoubtedly true that the capitalist media has built up Sakharov and given his activities extensive coverage at least in part because of his proimperialist views. The capitalists are only too happy to have testimonials from Sakharov on their commitment to human rights.

But more is involved than simply a matter of manipulation by the bourgeois press. Sakharov is the most prominent figure in the Soviet dissident movement. Moreover, his political views appear to be in tune with those held by a broad current of dissidents—probably a majority of the best-known figures.

Among Soviet émigrés, the rightward trend is also apparent. Leonid Plyushch, for example, a Ukrainian dissident who emigrated to France in 1976, and who at

that time expressed a number of progressive positions on major political questions, is now spouting openly prowar propaganda. *The Call*, a pro-Peking newspaper published in the United States, recently gloated over Plyushch's reactionary position on Indochina and Afghanistan. According to *The Call*, he declared in an interview with a pro-Peking French newspaper:

"When Vietnam entered Cambodia, only China fought for the independence of Cambodia—not America, not England, not France, not Germany. And the USSR understood from this that it could go still further."

Sakharov's reactionary article poses important questions for revolutionists. Above all, it raises the issue of the connection between the progressive struggle to throw off the regime of bureaucratic despotism in the USSR and restore the workers and peasants to control of the government, and dissidents such as Sakharov, who stand politically on proimperialist positions and against the historic gains of the Russian revolution.

This issue is posed more sharply now because of the deepening class polarization on a world scale—the same polarization that has pushed Sakharov himself to spell out his reactionary views for the *New York Times*.

Let us begin by taking up Sakharov's view of the struggle within the Soviet Union. He characterizes the dissident movement as "a pure moral movement to plant in people's minds a basis for democratic and pluralist transformation."

But Sakharov is skeptical, to say the least, about the moral and political capacities of the Soviet workers and peasants. He says that "the consciousness of broad masses of the population has been deformed. . . ."

Specifically, "The people of our country submit uncomplainingly to all the shortages. . . . They put up with the gross social inequality between the elite and the ordinary citizens. They endure the arbitrary behavior and cruelty of local authorities. . . . They do not speak out—sometimes they even gloat—about the unjust treatment of dissidents. They are silent about any and all foreign policy actions."

According to Sakharov, "The slogan, 'The People and Party Are One,' which hangs from every fifth building, consists not entirely of empty words."

Stony ground indeed for "a pure moral movement."

As on the international plane, Sakharov's stance leads in practice to writing off the working class as an effective force. What is left is the Stalinist bureaucracy on one side, and imperialism on the other.

Sakharov's hope is that forward-looking elements in the bureaucracy will carry out a reformist policy. He believes that economic and political pressure from imperialism will speed this process up. Thus, he

says: "Economic and political sanctions are extremely important; they can help strengthen the hand of the more responsible, nondogmatic members of the Soviet leadership."

Role of Soviet Workers

Sakharov is incapable of seeing the real class forces at work in Soviet society, and therefore the real alternatives.

To begin with, the Stalinist bureaucracy is not about to do away with itself. Whatever reformist currents may arise, the bulk of the bureaucracy will remain firmly dedicated to preserving its material privileges. And maintaining those privileges requires the exclusion of the masses of workers and peasants from political life, the continuation of bureaucratic forms of rule.

Imperialism is certainly a real force, one that has the potential military power to do away with the current regime in the USSR, along with the entire world. But the triumph of imperialism over the Soviet Union would not lead to the "democratic and pluralist transformation" Sakharov speaks of.

The aim of imperialism is to restore the exploitative capitalist economic system in the areas where it has been abolished. The obstacle to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is not the Stalinist bureaucracy, but the Soviet working class.

(Sakharov himself recognizes the support of the workers for the Soviet state. Since he fails to distinguish between the privileged bureaucracy that controls the Soviet government and the social basis of the workers state, he sees support of the state by the workers as evidence that "The People and Party Are One.")

Elimination of the economic foundations

of the workers state would set the Soviet economy back decades and reduce it to a colony run in the interests of imperialist bankers and corporate chiefs. The social gains associated with the abolition of capitalism would also be eliminated. This would require the brutal crushing of the Soviet workers.

Far from introducing the parliamentary democracy envisioned by Sakharov, a capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union would result in a regime that would make Hitler's Germany look tame.

Aside from imperialism, the other basic class force that offers an alternative to the existing bureaucratic regime is the Soviet workers and peasants. This is a force that is dismissed by Sakharov. Yet the Soviet working class is the second-largest and second-most-powerful in the world. Its circumstances are very different today than during the 1920s, when Stalinism arose.

The workers no longer represent an exhausted and war-weary minority. They are now the majority of Soviet society, highly skilled and literate. It is only a matter of time until they demand to exercise the rights that are formally guaranteed them in the Soviet constitution.

Kremlin's Real Target

Looked at in this context, the importance of the movement for democratic rights in the USSR becomes clear. Demands for freedom of speech and assembly, for the publication of differing viewpoints, for political debate, are progressive even when raised by a Sakharov. Such demands help to open things up and make it easier for the masses of workers to enter the political arena.

Repression of dissidents such as Sakharov is carried out by the Kremlin in the

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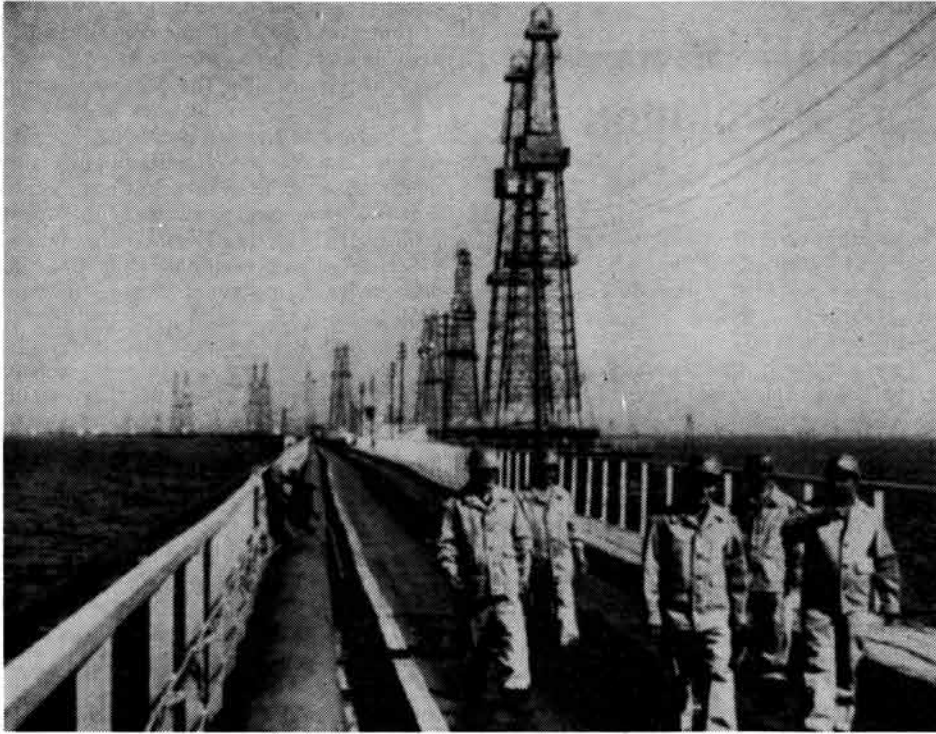
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Baku oil workers. Sakharov has no confidence in Soviet working class.

name of combatting imperialist ideology. But that is a fake.

The real target of the Stalinist bureaucracy is not the procapitalist views of a Sakharov. Their target is the Soviet workers and peasants, who might get the idea that if Sakharov can speak freely, perhaps they should have the right to speak out too.

Furthermore, it is the Stalinist regime itself that is the main agent for disseminating reactionary ideology within the Soviet Union.

It is the Stalinist regime that defends and extends social inequality in the USSR. It is the Stalinist regime that presents the struggle for world peace as a matter of securing diplomatic agreements with imperialist regimes. It is the Stalinist regime that undermines solidarity with revolutionary struggles. And it is the Stalinist regime that practices a policy of national discrimination and of playing upon national antagonisms inside the Soviet Union.

Even if the Kremlin really were interested in combatting capitalist ideology, repression of dissidents for their ideas would merely help the imperialists to discredit the Soviet Union.

The imperialists have the means to spread their reactionary ideology all over the globe, and they will continue to do it with or without Sakharov. Such ideas can only be fought effectively by defeating them in open debate.

An International Struggle

Just as the relationship of class forces inside the Soviet Union is very different

today than during the 1920s, the international picture has also changed for the better. Until the end of World War II, the Soviet Union had to stand alone. One revolution after another was defeated during the 1920s and 1930s. Military threats from imperialism and the imperialist economic blockade intensified the problems arising from the USSR's inherited economic backwardness. Isolation and economic backwardness were the objective conditions that led to the rise of Stalinism.

Today, one-third of the world's population lives in countries where capitalism has been abolished. Instead of a string of defeats, we are living through an upsurge in the world revolution that has been spurred by the historic victory of the Vietnamese revolution and the increasing role of the revolutionary Cuban government in aiding anti-imperialist struggles.

Revolutionary advances in Iran, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, and Grenada have further weakened imperialism and given added confidence to workers all over the world—including in the Soviet Union.

As workers in El Salvador, South Korea, South Africa, and other countries—especially in the imperialist centers—enter into struggle and stand up for their rights, it will be harder and harder for the Stalinist bureaucracy to keep the Soviet workers out of the political arena.

Sakharov, of course, sees none of this.

But his article against the anti-imperialist struggle internationally was also a stab in the back of the struggle for workers democracy within the Soviet Union.

In the first place, Sakharov's proimperialist stance will help to isolate antibureau-

cratic fighters in the USSR from their brothers and sisters elsewhere in the world.

Is there anyplace on earth where U.S. imperialism is not hated? Washington is seen as an enemy by the Black masses in southern Africa, by the Arab peoples and Iranians in the Middle East, by the workers and peasants of Central America, by the victims of U.S.-backed dictatorships in South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, and Chile, and more and more by workers in the imperialist countries, including in the United States itself. And this is the force that Sakharov tries to tie the dissident movement to.

Within the Soviet Union, Sakharov's endorsement of imperialist policies will make it easier for the bureaucracy to smear anybody who speaks out as an imperialist agent. And it will isolate the dissidents from the Soviet workers.

For example, while Sakharov condemns the Soviet government for moving troops into Afghanistan, *New York Times* correspondent Craig R. Whitney took note of the different attitude among the Uzbek, Tadjik, and Turkmen peoples of Soviet Central Asia. In an April 11 article, Whitney pointed out that unlike the situation in Afghanistan, "Women on the Soviet side of the border do not wear the veil and they are not chattel of their husbands. There is little unemployment. And if there is no great wealth, there is also no abject poverty or hunger."

One university professor told Whitney that "any Tadjik would be able to sympathize instinctively with the supporters of the revolution in Afghanistan."

An irrigation engineer born in Khiva recalled that there was a slave market in his home town until it was eliminated by Soviet rule. "The Afghans are our neighbors," he told Whitney. "Where there is poverty and backwardness it is our duty to help."

That anti-imperialist and internationalist sentiment is also profoundly antibureaucratic. The basis of the Kremlin's foreign policy is to protect the privileges of the bureaucracy by seeking an accommodation with imperialism, mutual recognition of the status quo, stability. A rebirth of revolutionary internationalism among the Soviet working class would be the death knell for the Stalinist regime.

But Sakharov, unlike the engineer from Khiva, is turning away from the struggle for the interests of the poorest and most oppressed. To carry out such a struggle ultimately requires a complete break with the imperialist governments he so admires.

The course outlined in Sakharov's "Letter From Exile" represents a dead end for the dissidents who follow it. Revolutionists will continue to defend the democratic rights of all those victimized by the Stalinist regime. But our road leads in the opposite direction from the one Sakharov is taking. □

New Stage in Nicaraguan Revolution

By Livio Maitan

The first four months of 1980 marked a major evolution of the situation in Nicaragua. The departure of Robelo from the Government of National Reconstruction, which followed Violeta Chamorro's resignation, along with the changes that flow from that in the political relationship of forces and in the governmental leadership, open a new stage.

The purpose of our article is to examine and analyze the factors behind the April 22, 1980 crisis since those factors will inevitably cause new confrontations and new crises, even in the relative short run.

Economic Perspectives and Tensions

We will not deal with the general thrust of the economic plan, since we have already dealt with that elsewhere.¹ Suffice it to say that this plan—which for good reason is called a “reactivation plan”—establishes some generally limited objectives. The production goals it sets forth are considerably lower than the average levels of production in the “normal” period before the insurrection.

The plan does not contemplate any spectacular progress in 1981 either. New capital accumulation through enlarging and rationalizing the productive apparatus is not projected to begin until 1982 (see *Programa de reactivación económica*, p. 113).

It is hard to tell the extent to which the objectives of the plan have been achieved during the first three or four months. In the May 26 issue of *IP/I*, Charles-André Udry quoted statements by Federico Cerda, the vice-minister of planning, concerning the serious difficulties encountered in getting the industrial facilities operating again, as well as Henry Ruiz's comments on the delays in agricultural production.

At an April 21 conference Ruiz reported on the generally favorable results achieved, while at the same time noting that the goals might not be reached in regard to construction. On that occasion, a representative of the planning body stated that employment had risen by 25,000 in the space of four months, which would make it possible to achieve or even surpass the goals if that pace is maintained to the end of the year.

Difficulties could develop in the service, transport, and construction sectors. In any case, the sole specific fact was that 7,000 additional jobs were created in industry

under state control. A small-scale investigation of a limited number of nationalized enterprises revealed serious delays. But all these estimates should be taken with a grain of salt.

The increase in tax payments and bank deposits are a positive factor that give the central government greater room for maneuvering. On the other hand, the thirteenth-month operation has so far been a failure.² According to the reports covering the period prior to April 20 (the deadline had been projected for December 31, 1979), the fund for jobs under state control only received 66 million córdobas instead of the 180 million initially projected. The deductions from wages were made, but the employers did not send in the amounts that were collected.

The text of the 1980 program points to the following “critical points” in its conclusion:

1. Maintenance of the people's consumption at the planned level through the planning of food supplies, wage controls, and vigilance against speculation, without which defense of the “people's wage” would prove impossible;
2. Control over imports, without which it would be impossible to limit foreign indebtedness and nonessential consumption;
3. Increased tax revenues, without which there cannot be monetary stability;
4. Rationalization of economic relations between the public sector and private sector;
5. Timely correction of disequilibrium through an information network whose efficiency is dependent on reorganization of the statistics system, tied in turn to “people's participation.”

The state undoubtedly has at its disposal tools that can facilitate overcoming or at least mitigating these critical points. These tools include control of the banks, of basic exports through the monopoly of foreign trade, and the ability to influence the prices of consumer goods.³

But, according to statements by those responsible for planning, the activity of these instruments is limited due to the lack of a statistical system of even limited

2. In November it was decided to withhold the thirteenth-month bonus for workers who earn more than 1,500 córdobas.

3. Through the intermediary of ENABAS, whose range, however, remains limited. According to official reports, ENABAS's share in the distribution of various items is 8 percent for sugar, 14 percent for cooking oil, 17 percent for eggs, 15 percent for salt, 15 percent for beans (plus 22 percent of imports). See *La Prensa*, April 13.

effectiveness and due to insufficient means of financial and economic control. In this area as well, the new regime is paying a very heavy price for the backward conditions inherited from the past.

In regard to the second “critical point,” we should add that an additional difficulty might arise from the fact that basic cereal imports have tended to be higher than projected (there has been official talk of \$45 million; some estimate that these imports will take up about 20 percent of the total loans from abroad).

Moreover, it is possible that difficulties in actually carrying out the investments specifically projected in the agreements could hamper the utilization of lines of credit obtained internationally. According to sources in the Ministry of Planning, in recent months there have been delays at that level in the infrastructural sectors.

Internationally the situation appears considerably more favorable than in the first period after July 19. We stressed this point in the previously cited *Rouge* article.⁴

We do not mean to minimize the political as well as economic significance of the suspension of the \$75-million loan by the United States. This would result in a reduction of about \$30 million for investments in the infrastructure, since some 40 percent of the loan was targeted for that area. As far as the other 60 percent that was destined for the private sector is concerned, the government seems to have committed itself to finding other sources for the loans. At any rate, the suspension of the U.S. loan has largely been made up for by the unquestionable success of other international operations.

These successes were seen particularly in March, when one important delegation was sent to Eastern Europe while another delegation made the rounds of capitalist Europe, and later, through expanded agreements with Latin American countries such as Mexico, Venezuela, and even Brazil.

The agreements that were reached should make it possible to confront the urgent needs regarding investment and consumption, to finance specific campaigns such as the literacy crusade, to assure more diversified markets for Nicaraguan products, and to finance long-term industrial projects.⁵

4. See also the previously cited article by Udry.

5. Here are the most important loans or donations (in chronological order): \$10 million from Mexico for a sanitary program, urban transport, fertilizers, etc.; \$75,000 through the FAO for the dairy industry; \$30 million from Italy for preinvestment studies of cotton processing, for foodstuffs, and medicines; \$11 million from the Netherlands for balance-of-payments equilibrium, food and medical aid, and for the literacy campaign; \$10 million from AID; \$14 million from West Germany for balance-of-payments equilibrium and various projects; \$8 million from Sweden for the construction of a hospital and for forestry projects; an unspecified sum from Austria for an alcohol plant and for a wood-

1. See our article in *Rouge*, January 18-24, 1980 and “Class Polarization Deepens in Nicaragua,” by Charles-André Udry, in *IP/I*, May 26, 1980.

According to the minister of FIR, Alfredo Cesar, there are in all about \$400 million in long-term loans at favorable rates (including loans that were negotiated before July 19 and then "redirected").

In conclusion, if we take another look at some of the indicated critical points of the 1980 program, it is possible to note the following tensions on the economic plane:

- Between the objectives that were established by the plan and the choices that will be made by the capitalist economic forces that predominate in industry as well as in agriculture (in particular, the decision of the cotton producers regarding the question of planting will weigh very heavily);

- Between the objectives set and the extent of "social" toleration of the effort demanded of the working class, the peasants, and the middle layers;

- Between the plans and the ability to effectively exploit the unutilized or underutilized productive potential; as well as between the available financial resources and the practical utilization of those resources (including the foreign loans);

- Between provisional calculations and actual world market prices in the months to come.

Overcoming or ameliorating these tensions will, in the final analysis, depend less on the economic dynamic in itself than on a number of political factors.

The Workers and Peasants Mobilize

In the first quarter of this year, the working class and peasants have mobilized in major actions and struggles. The result has called into question the equilibrium previously established. They wanted to use the new relationship of forces created by the July 19 victory and the installation of the Sandinista regime to begin to change the miserable conditions they had been condemned to under the Somoza dictatorship and under the hold of imperialism.

We should not forget that, first of all, the qualitatively and quantitatively limited agrarian reform could not satisfy the land hunger of the majority of peasants. Nor could it in any way improve, over the short run, the living conditions of even the peasants and agricultural workers involved in the reform.

As a result, there has been a tendency for sectors of the peasants to mobilize to take the land from the former landlords without paying too much attention to the distinction between Somozaist landlords and anti-Somoza landlords.

New land occupations in fact took place

processing plant to make cellulose; \$11 million from the European Economic Community. Venezuela will supply Nicaragua with oil for \$23.50 per barrel instead of \$26, and the amount to be paid will remain at Nicaragua's disposal as a loan. We do not have specific figures for the aid from Eastern Europe, except for Czechoslovakia, which provided a \$20-million line of credit.

in February and March and, at the same time, peasants refused to return previously occupied lands, even when the legal system determined that those lands should not have been expropriated.

On February 24, for example, the San Luis estate (168 manzanas) was occupied.⁶ On February 18, peasants reoccupied the El Cañón hacienda, which had been confiscated by INRA on October 23 but later returned to its owner. In early March peasant delegations from the communities of Posoltega demanded that INRA distribute the lands they had been occupying for some time.

Other occupations took place a little later in the San Ramon area, despite intervention by the army. It is difficult to determine the real scope of such movements. At any rate, even if they have not become a general phenomenon, they provide a clear indication of the temper of the peasants.

The agricultural proletariat—which is closely tied to the working class, especially in the sugar mills—was in turn driven to mobilizations by the low wage levels and wage inequalities (major differences sometimes exist within the same sector) and by subhuman living conditions.

The problems of wages and of certain glaring inequalities were also behind struggles of important sectors of the industrial working class. Wages remained very low and were, moreover, reduced by inflation in the absence of any mechanism for automatic readjustments in wages.

According to estimates in a document published by CAUS, which was presented to the ministry of labor and was not refuted, since 1972 the cost of living has risen 300 percent while wages have only risen 50 percent. The minimum wage in the Managua region was 29.50 córdobas (in February 1980) and 75 percent of the workers received the minimum wage, which was not always respected.

According to someone in the Ministry of Planning, the minimum wage vacillated between 20 córdobas for a skilled worker and 31 córdobas for a miner. On the national level, 30 percent of the workers got the minimum wage or even less. A survey done in Managua indicated that 29 percent of the workers in the city got less than the minimum. We should add that although the inflation rate has been substantially reduced, it is still expected to run 20 to 22 percent this year.⁷

6. It is interesting to note that while members of the ATC participated in the occupation, the local CDS lined up with the owner.

7. Some examples of prices of basic foodstuffs (official prices, which are often not followed): beans, 2.85 córdobas per pound; corn, 1 córdoba; rice, 2.45 córdobas; cheese, 9 or 10 córdobas; salt, .60 córdoba; sugar, 1.45 córdobas; butter, about 5.50 córdobas; cooking oil, 184.65 córdobas for five gallons; milk, 2.85 córdobas per liter; eggs, 9 córdobas per dozen (the official exchange rate is 10 córdobas to the dollar, but the unofficial rate

Another reason for discontent and conflicts is that many employers are still using authoritarian methods in their plants, or laying off workers under various pretexts.

Thirdly, the workers mobilized to occupy factories when they felt that the employers were in the process of liquidating their companies (practicing what has been called "decapitalization") or were not producing as much as their existing potential. Quite often the occupations continued even after the competent bodies had ruled that "decapitalization" was not taking place.

Finally, there were a series of conflicts over "representation rights" for one or another union, or over an organization's right to participate in negotiations as a representative of the workers involved or as an adviser.

To relate the most significant examples, an initial major conflict erupted between construction and public workers and the Managua municipal junta. The great bulk of these workers were organized by the SCAAS, under the hegemony of the CGT(i), while the CST had organized a competing union, which was quickly recognized by the labor ministry (the secretary of the SCAAS, who is a member of the PSN and had rejected the ministry's decision, was held in custody for several days last October).

On January 9, several thousand workers gathered at the Ministry of Labor to demand that the SCAAS be recognized. Tomas Borge and Dora Teller met with the demonstrators and proposed negotiations and promised an assembly would be held at the end of the month.

On January 14, about 4,000 workers from this sector, especially Velasquez Park workers, again mobilized to demand wages equal to those of other workers in the sector. Their demand for equal pay was rejected on the basis of the argument that lower wages would make it possible to employ a certain number of unemployed people.

On January 17, there was a new demonstration of about 1,500 workers, during which SCAAS leader Solorzano and FO leader Isidro Tellez spoke. The most frequently heard slogan was "Workers and Peasants to Power! Down With the Bourgeoisie!"

After several days of strike, the municipal junta agreed to increase wages on the basis of the contract and to open a canteen and a store selling basic goods. At the same time, the CST union in the sector renounced the judicial status it had been given, leaving the way open for recognition of the reunified SCAAS under Solorzano's leadership.

At about the same time a strike broke out among 400 agricultural workers at the Amalia Sugar Mill over "wage readjust-

is 15-17 per dollar). It should be noted that tenants have benefited from rent reductions of up to 50 percent.

ments." Those workers received 8 córdobas per ton, while others were getting 10.⁸ The CTN had preponderant influence there. Wheelock intervened, acknowledging that the demands were reasonable, but condemning the strike. An agreement was worked out.

At another mill—Monterrosa—where there had been a daylong strike in December for wage equality, a conflict developed over the question of whether FO should participate in the negotiations. One hundred workers wanted to go to Managua but they were stopped. Finally an agreement was reached: there would be an assembly to settle matters. Some workers wanted to continue the strike until the FO militants who had been arrested were freed.

Struggle around wage questions, with quite heated assemblies, also took place at the privately owned San Antonio Sugar Mill, which is the largest in the country. According to Daniel Ortega, before the revolution wages at San Antonio were the highest in Central America (the situation had changed after July 19), and the FO as well as the CUS had some influence.

Despite Ortega's intervention, a three-day strike took place over application of the contract and demands for improvements in the weighing system. There were some incidents during the strike. These were attributed to people from FO who denounced the arrest of some of their comrades and questioned the validity of an assembly at which a new leadership committee was elected, given the arrests that had taken place.⁹

Finally, there was a strike in early March at the Zeledon mill, where the CTN had some influence. The workers demanded raises of up to 100 percent (50 percent for the cane cutters), improvements in work conditions, and the replacement of the administrator. The CTN, which was excluded from the negotiations, mobilized the workers at the Amalia mill, who challenged the CST secretary. An agreement was worked out on the basis of wage readjustments, raises at a later date, and the formation of an administrative council including a representative of the INRA and representatives of the various sections of the mill.

In early February it was the turn of the health workers. Their main demands were for leveling out wage differences, for a drastic change in the attitude of the leaders, and improvements in social allocations. A few days later the struggle moved to a series of Managua factories. On February 7, according to the organizers, 4,500-5,000 workers marched in front of the

8. According to statements made during an assembly, the average worker cut two tons of cane per day.

9. When tensions were at their height, Borge had threatened to send in 300 soldiers (*Barricada*, February 1).

Ministry of Labor in support of the demands put forward by the CAUS in the name of more than a dozen factories. These demands included calling for 100-percent raises.

Toward the end of the month, a strike took place at Fabritex, a mixed-capital textile factory. Fabritex employed almost 1,000 workers. Already in August there had been a mobilization demanding the immediate discharge of an administrator who had been a Somoza collaborator. Following the mobilization a government "intervener" was sent in. The strikers were demanding wage hikes and a revaluing of jobs with a wage readjustment.

An intervention by Carlos Núñez and by delegations from the CNI, including members of the PCN, seemed to open the way to an agreement: the strike was temporarily suspended. But the Minister of Labor, the liberal Godoy, rejected any agreement and the strike began again. Some twenty other factories organized solidarity strikes. Work did not begin again until March 3, following partial accords. Fabritex received 10-percent raises (without any raises for the highest-paid workers, who in some cases even saw their wages reduced), a commitment to improve working conditions, and the granting of loans to the workers.

An especially interesting case is that of Caracol, a food processor employing 130 workers, owned by the Campos family. Most of the Campos family had gone abroad after July 19. The bosses apparently wanted to provoke bankruptcy, after they had received a loan from the government. On January 14 the workers began an unlimited strike. Their demands were dismissal of "so-called comrades who are negative for the process," compliance with the contract, rehiring 28 workers who had been laid off, and revision of commissions for salesmen and drivers.

Later they made a self-criticism of their having gone on strike. On February 19, by a vote of 121 to 10, they decided to occupy the factory to force its takeover, which occurred several days later. Production continued without interruption, and in fact even rose. The workers were rehired.

The workers in the gold mines, where the working conditions are absolutely horrible, mobilized in turn. Immediately after the mines were nationalized, they demanded wage increases and regular supplies. Later the Bonanza mine went on strike and similar movements were seen in two other mines, Rosita and Suna. The administration agreed to move toward wage readjustments, with the workers collaborating in determining scales.

In conclusion, we can lay out the following picture:

- The workers struggles that have taken place have been quite widespread; some struggles play a key role as a result of the importance of the enterprise and the coordination that is established between various enterprises; often the struggles are led

by the union in the enterprise without any political initiative; sometimes there are spontaneous or partially spontaneous movements that go beyond the intentions or plans of the trade-union federations (not just the CST).

The attitude of the FSLN and the organizations under its hegemony, including the CST, is not always the same, nor is it excessively rigid. In principle they hail those struggles and occupations that do not involve suspending work, and that call for "interventions" or expropriations. Moreover, they often acknowledge that the workers' demands are justified.

However, they systematically and usually strongly oppose strikes, especially the most important strikes. This does not prevent them from seeking a dialogue and negotiations with the workers involved, nor does it prevent them from generally accepting some of the demands of the workers in struggle, including wage demands.

In other words, the Sandinista leadership wants to avoid confrontations and breaks with sectors of the masses, even at the price of granting major organizational concessions (as in the case of the public-works union in Managua).¹⁰

We should not, however, remain silent about the fact that on several occasions rather violent attacks and repression have been launched against union and political organizations that were rightly or wrongly considered responsible for certain strikes and demonstrations. At the end of January the attacks were concentrated on Frente Obrero, along with the shutdown of *El Pueblo*.¹¹ Demonstrations were organized twice in Managua, León, Jinotepe. FO activists were arrested.

A month later, following the strikes at Fabritex and other factories in the capital, attention shifted to the CAUS and the PCN, a number of whose leaders and cadres were imprisoned (around 60). Managua, León, Chinandega, etc. were the sites of even more violent demonstrations than those against FO, ending in occupation of headquarters, the expulsion of militants found inside, and the burning of furniture,

10. Concerning land occupations, the ATC's attitude has varied depending on the specific case. In general, the ATC favors them when they involve uncultivated land. The April 21 *Barricada* published an interview with the organizational secretary of the ATC in which it is said that "the ATC does not demagogically encourage the occupation of lands. . . . If land occupations take place in an indiscriminate form, there would come a time when we could not control them and that is precisely what groups like the CTN, the CUS, and the MORE are trying to do. They orient towards occupations of lands in places that are in the process of producing, in such a way as to make things worse."

11. The current represented by *El Pueblo* and FO requires a more specific analysis than has been sketched out here. We will try to do that on another occasion.

newspapers, books, etc. The CAUS was eliminated from the CNI and the PCN was eliminated from the Bloque Popular Patriótico. Both were attacked in the press as CIA agents, without the slightest factual evidence being presented.

On March 22, about 300 people demonstrated in Managua for freedom for the prisoners, and later family members of the prisoners demonstrated.

At the same time, the fact that the CAUS was finally admitted to membership in the Council of State indicates that the accusations leveled against it were not taken seriously and that the Sandinista leadership's attitude toward organizations trying to place themselves to the left of the FSLN is subject to a number of changes.¹²

The Lists of Grievances and the Bourgeoisie and Middle Classes

For the period we are dealing with, it would be wrong to think that the former ruling classes have adopted a homogeneous and clearly defined attitude. It is clear that the layers that have so far been hardest hit (aside from the expropriated former Somozaists who have fled abroad)—that is, the landowners and the urban real-estate interests who have had their rents drastically reduced—do not accept the framework of the new regime.

A segment of the industrial bourgeoisie and the agricultural bourgeoisie is also not ready to commit itself to the country's reconstruction and has taken the path of obstruction, if not sabotage, that has been described, and is practicing "decapitalization" by seeking in every possible way to send capital out of the country. Moreover, there is a rather steady exodus that is revealed through the economic advertisements in *La Prensa* and elsewhere.

It is hard to tell to what extent such attitudes involve a final decision and to what extent they represent a means of applying pressure. At any rate, it is clear that particularly since March, even those bourgeois layers that have been most

ready to collaborate have begun to put forward their demands more and more sharply, and increasingly have been taking public positions. In fact, a veritable movement has been established, with the various employers' organizations playing the leading role.

These employers' organizations (the association of cotton producers, the association of coffee producers, the federation of cattle raisers, chamber of commerce) have organized conferences and assemblies and placed paid ads in the press. The COSEP itself organized a reception for Venezuelan President Herrera Campins, during which Herrera laid out his concept of the guarantees for maintaining "pluralism" (without, however, entirely succeeding in reassuring those in attendance, some of whom, undoubtedly also under the influence of libations, did not hide their discontent).

The theme of all the positions put forward by the employers' organizations was: we accept the socioeconomic framework established by the plan, but we demand that the "rules of the game" be unambiguously spelled out and respected, without being changed in the middle of the game. This would mean respect for private property within the limits established by the plan, an end to "interventions," expropriations, and land occupations, the adoption of a *ley de amparo*, meaning a kind of habeas corpus. The decrees in early March against "decapitalization" and regarding the expropriation of lands that had earlier been provisionally confiscated were seen by the employers' organizations as a violation of the "rules of the game."

In April a wave of polemics on the same theme was launched following the expropriation of a portion of the shares in the Victoria Brewery in Managua, which were held by José Ignacio Gonzales, and the confiscation of the Toro Blanco farm in the León region.¹³

In regard to the petty-bourgeois layers the situation clearly seems more differentiated and uncertain. In the countryside, the small proprietors or the producers in the basic sectors are generally still under the hegemony of the big growers. They do not hide their discontent, which is especially fanned by their feeling that they are being discriminated against since the Sandinista cooperatives get a lower interest rate on loans than their cooperatives (which are actually simply consortiums for loans, purchases, and sales). The difference is minimal (7 percent interest versus 8 percent), particularly when you take the inflation rate into account, but they attach a symbolic importance to it.

The attitude of the poor peasants—among whom the ATC has unquestionable influence—and especially the attitude of farmers who have benefited from the re-

duction of farm rents,¹⁴ is quite different. They are fundamentally favorable to the revolution. The evolution of these layers and subsequent differentiations among them depends by and large on the new regime's ability to concretely aid the peasants in overcoming their situation of backwardness and distress.

The problem of their getting access to land remains on the table, and it cannot be resolved without a much larger and more deepgoing agrarian reform than has taken place thus far, in the context of a reorganization of agriculture, which in turn is linked to overall economic development. As long as this problem remains, broad layers of the peasants and rural petty bourgeoisie will be susceptible to shifts, even sharp shifts, and not necessarily in the direction of the revolutionary process.¹⁵

In the urban economy, the most important petty-bourgeois layer is the small- and medium-sized merchants, of whom there are around 150,000. They are affected by the price maneuvers that the big bourgeoisie and wholesalers carry out, but they run the risk of being seen by the masses as the ones responsible for high prices. Moreover, they feel threatened by ENABAS, despite the fact that in principle it should benefit them through its activity in blocking wholesale prices.

In fact, the spread of ENABAS sales outlets and of factory stores need not involve a restriction of the small and medium merchant's sphere of activity. The discontent of these layers has already been expressed on several occasions, especially at a demonstration criticizing ENABAS, which on March 9 drew several thousand people in Managua.

All the same, in March the "anti-Somoza" bourgeoisie began to beat the drums on the political level. It felt it needed an organized political force that could intervene and make its weight felt, especially when important decisions were to be made.

This was expressed in a number of ways: in an effort to revitalize bourgeois parties, which until then had had only a shadowy existence; through the demand that the Council of State begin functioning and have a composition that would allow the

12. The review of the demonstrations against FO and the CAUS was initially provided by the Sandinista press, which does not dispute any of the facts. We should note that the March 5 demonstration in Managua had been called as a demonstration against the CIA and was to have marched to the U.S. embassy. En route, the target was changed and a portion of the march went to the CAUS headquarters. The CST's paper, *El Trabajador*, devoted its issue number 4 to the theme "CAUS, agent of the CIA."

CAUS's version, presented in statements to *La Prensa* and in a statement by the Central Committee of the PCN, is that at Fabritex an agreement involving raises of up to 40 percent had been reached and that the breakdown was provoked by the attitude of the minister of labor. Even afterwards, CAUS and the PCN sought to convince the Fabritex workers to suspend the strike, but they refused to stop the solidarity strikes. In early April, six members of the PCN were sentenced in León to a year doing public works for breaking the public-order law and illegal possession of weapons.

13. It is possible that the polemic focused on "Toro Blanco" because a segment of the peasants, fearing negative results for them from INRA management, sided with the owner.

14. The maximum rent is now set at 100 córdobas per manzana for grain lands, and 300 córdobas per manzana for cotton lands. For further details about the bourgeoisie's economic and political campaign see our articles in the April 11 and April 18 issues of *Rouge*.

15. According to Wheelock, there are about 100,000 small agricultural producers, amounting to a little less than one-third of the active population in agriculture. (Small producers are defined as peasants having an annual income of up to 18,000 córdobas). They make up only a small portion of those involved in cotton- and coffee-growing, while they are a majority in the cultivation of basic grains (*La Prensa*, March 6). The president of the BND, probably using different criteria, spoke of about 55,000 small peasants a month earlier.

non-Sandinista forces to make themselves felt; as well as through strengthening its instruments of political and ideological agitation and propaganda (*La Prensa*, the private radio stations, etc.).

Significant demonstrations followed. The most important was on March 16, organized by Alfonso Robelo's MDN to announce its transformation into a party and to make public its program, which included the strategic objective of "the conquest of power through the people's road." Even more eloquent is the lesson of the March 29 demonstration during Herrera Campin's visit.

For the first time since July 19, the bourgeois parties appeared in the Plaza of the Revolution with their own banners and their own slogans. The MDN, which had by far the largest contingent, set up in the area in front of the speakers' platform an hour in advance. The CTN—which is linked to Social-Christian political currents—mobilized as many forces as the CST did on that occasion. After some jostling, the FSLN was able to "reconquer" the front ranks from the MDN. The whole demonstration was marked by counterposed slogans, usually having little to do with what the speakers were saying.¹⁶

As the date of the convocation of the Council of State approached, and as the decision regarding its composition was outlined, the bourgeois parties, employers' organizations, private press and radio waged an increasingly determined campaign for "respect of the Puntarenas accords," and more specifically for maintaining the number of members at 33 and for a composition that was not too different from what had been projected initially (they agreed, for example, that FO should be excluded and that a representative of the CST should be included).

The FSLN's Attitude

We have already analyzed the attitude of the Sandinista leadership regarding workers struggles and trade-union conflicts. In regard to the economy, the decrees on "decapitalization" were adopted in early March. These projected not only financial and criminal penalties, but also state confiscation. The threat of expropriation was broached, including for agricultural producers who do not plant their cotton. At the same time, another decree ratified the final confiscation of the personal property and estates that had already been seized or were under INRA's control.

On the political level, the FSLN, which had increased its control as a result of the changes in the government made in late December, reaffirmed its desire to remain

within the general confines of national unity. Toward mid-February the Bloque Popular Patriótico emerged. Carlos Núñez characterized it as a "democratic and anti-imperialist front." In addition to the FSLN, which had hegemony within it, the BPP also included the MDN, the PLI, the PPSC, the PSN (Luis Sánchez tendency) and the PCN (Altamirano). The Bloque went through an initial crisis at the time of the split with the PCN, which was virtually outlawed. Several weeks later, the new attitude of the MDN and Robelo further weakened it.

The March 16 demonstration and speech were an important test. The FSLN unleashed a very sharp campaign against Robelo in its press and especially on radio and television. The basic element of the campaign was a reassertion of the FSLN's hegemony in the revolutionary process. It was not prepared to make any concession in this area. Once that was made clear, it then adopted a relatively moderate attitude, including trying to appeal to Robelo's sense of responsibility.

Robelo himself was not yet ready to cross the Rubicon, and did not try to hide his hesitations. He even expressed concern over the reactionary character of the forces likely to rally to his party (statement to foreign journalists). Thus the split was, for the time being, avoided.

Violeta Chamorro's resignation did not seem to precipitate the split either. Violeta explained her decision on the basis of poor health, which had a basis in fact, and confirmed her attachment to the policy of national unity. The leaders of the FSLN all gathered at her house to loudly confirm the version she had presented.

The International Context

The aim of this article is not to analyze the international context in which the situation in Nicaragua has been developing in recent months. However we should note several events that had repercussions on this situation, contributing to radicalizing it and leading to confrontations.

We do not know whether the trip to the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries by an important delegation had been projected before the United States suspended its \$75-million loan: it is probable that this was the case. At any rate, clearly that decision, more for its political significance than its intrinsic importance, gave the trip by Borge and his comrades much greater importance.

Moreover, there is evidence that the USSR explicitly dropped its detached attitude regarding events in Nicaragua and made a commitment whose implications are as yet impossible to determine. But the commitment indicates a desire to have an active presence in this key country in Central America. It goes without saying that such developments cannot help but weigh on the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie's attitude, since that class was already involved in a more or less open anti-Cuban

campaign (in April the situation at the Peruvian embassy in Havana was one of the central axes of propaganda in *La Prensa*, as well as on the private radio stations).

The deepening crisis in El Salvador played an equally important role. For months the Sandinista leadership and the government had adopted a moderate position, including a partial overture, toward the October 15 Junta. But as the real thrust of the Junta's policies became absolutely clear, sympathy for the revolutionary and workers organizations in El Salvador was expressed more and more explicitly. The assassination of Oscar Romero resulted in a definitive turn; the Junta was vigorously attacked and the struggle of the organizations in the Coordinadora was supported without any ambiguity whatsoever. Going even further, in the face of the imperialist maneuvers and threats in Central America and the Caribbean, Tomas Borge stated on several occasions that any U.S. intervention in El Salvador would be considered an intervention against Nicaragua.

This change in the attitude toward El Salvador, moreover, caused a crisis during Herrera Campin's visit. Herrera continued to support the Junta (in the document signed March 31 by Venezuela and Nicaragua there was not one word about El Salvador!). When we take into account the fact that the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie views the Venezuelan regime as one of its main points of international support, and that in a meeting held right in Managua in mid-April the Christian Democratic parties of Latin America reaffirmed their confidence in Duarte's line, we can easily see the extent to which the situation in El Salvador was a further cause of tension and conflicts, even if the bourgeois representatives did not express open criticisms or explicitly different opinions.

The April 22 Split

On April 22 Robelo resigned from the Junta and also invited his supporters to withdraw from any leadership responsibilities they might have. He explained that "essential parts of the basis of unity" had been broken and that "basic changes had been imposed on the government plan and steps taken that changed the direction of the revolution's objectives without the indispensable consensus existing" (letter published by *Barricada* on April 23). More concretely, as we have seen, the bourgeois organizations saw the composition of the Council of State as a crucial test, and that is what provoked the withdrawal of the MDN leader. According to him, the FSLN wanted to impose such a degree of hegemony that collaboration with other forces had become impossible.

The conflict at *La Prensa* contributed to increasing the tension still further, and also led Violeta Chamorro to take an openly critical position. This conflict was the combined result of the decision made

16. The MDN contingents left the plaza after Herrera's speech, without waiting for the other speeches. Later the PSC published a communiqué protesting the attacks carried out by members of the FSLN. We can testify that there were some fistfights, but the incidents were of slight importance.

public on April 20 by the newspapers' owners to replace the director, Xavier Chamorro, with another member of the Chamorro family who was more critical toward the FSLN, and the April 19 presentation of a series of demands by the workers (especially regarding wage readjustments and workers' representation in administration). The plant was occupied and the paper was unable to appear after April 21. Once Xavier Chamorro's firing was announced, the union at the plant took up his defense and management's refusal to change the decision.¹⁷

We could discuss the intrinsic importance of two questions that contributed to the outbreak of the crisis, particularly the most important, the question of the Council of State. The Council of State will not have decisive power and, after all, the representation of the bourgeois parties and employers' organizations and unions other than the CST is not all that small.¹⁸ But all evidence indicates that Robelo seized upon the pretext to establish a pole of opposition to the Sandinista leadership (how much success he has had in this endeavor is another question). In other words, he chose to make his break on the political terrain, feeling (perhaps correctly from his point of view) that a split over the composition of the Council of State at a time when the *La Prensa* affair had broken out was tactically preferable, including in terms of international propaganda, to a split following eventual expropriation measures against industrialists who sabotage the economy or cotton planters who refuse to plant.

At any rate, leaving aside plans and subjective intentions, the crisis of the Junta and, in the final analysis, of national unity with the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie was the result of a social and political dynamic that could not be contained or crystallized within the schemas drawn up on the eve of the victory and concretized in the adoption of the reactivation plan.

We have looked at the tensions that were operating and continue to operate in the economic field. We have pointed out in a general way the tensions that have developed on the social level—between the desire of the masses to make use of the new relationship of forces created after July 19 to improve their living conditions, and on the other hand the limits of the structural transformations carried out thus

far and the wage freezes that the plan projects.

We have also mentioned the problems in the government's relations with some layers of the petty bourgeoisie—urban as well as rural. On the political level there was and there remains a contradiction between maintaining a "pluralist" conception and collaborating with bourgeois formations on the one hand, and the FSLN's desire to fully exercise its hegemony and reaffirm its vanguard role won through its long victorious struggle against the Somoza regime.

All these tensions could not help but lead to splits. In the final analysis, these splits could not be avoided unless the FSLN became insensitive to the social dynamic and to the mass movements and agreed to unswervingly stick to the status quo, as the bourgeoisie demanded. The FSLN's character, its relations with the masses, as well as its ideological conceptions led it to reject such a choice.

Above all, the FSLN was not and is not prepared to make any concessions regarding the fundamental policy of its running the government or its control over the military apparatus. It is not coincidental that during this entire period, and this is also tied to the international situation, the Sandinista leadership was concerned with strengthening the army that grew out of the revolutionary war and began to build the militias. Robelo chose an arena of confrontation that he hoped would allow him to create more favorable conditions for anti-Sandinista propaganda, especially on the international level. But this choice also meant that the conflict broke out precisely on the political terrain where the FSLN had absolutely no intention of retreating.

This is not restricted to the purely tactical sphere. It is necessary to be clear on a contradiction that remains. The FSLN still has relatively weak links, especially organizational links, with the social forces it wants to represent, in the first place with the working class. But, on the other hand, it is identified with the revolutionary army and it enjoys enormous prestige for guiding the anti-Somoza struggle and as a leadership to which, in overall political terms, there is no possible alternative.

It was thus absurd to expect that the FSLN would make even small concessions on what is for it the essential terrain of the exercise of political hegemony.

In their declarations following the withdrawal of Robelo—at least the ones we are aware of—the FSLN leaders reaffirmed their willingness to maintain the framework of the mixed economy and national unity. But it is unquestionable that the departure of the two bourgeois representatives within the Junta involves a qualitative change, which opens the way, even in the near future, to new confrontations and new crises.

Even though the bourgeoisie took the initiative in the split, it is on the defensive, is losing ground, and could undergo inter-

national splits. Leaving aside the international factors here, the bourgeoisie will be pushed to carry out actions, to try some operations aimed at least at complicating the FSLN's task if not creating greater difficulties for it. Whatever choices the most farsighted groups of the old ruling classes might make, individual capitalists, groups of capitalists, or agricultural operators might take the road of obstruction, sabotage, and "decapitalization" on a large scale.¹⁹

Future confrontations will therefore take place on the socioeconomic level as well. Moreover, the ability to effectively develop even a partially planned economy requires restrictions on the sphere of private decision-making.

The context, problems, and ideological themes of this phase of the Nicaraguan revolution bring to mind three other experiences: Cuba, Algeria, and Chile. We include the experience of Chile because there are obvious analogies between the concepts of the mixed economy and the gradual evolution that the Sandinista leaders and their advisers put forward and the ideas expressed by supporters of Allende and the Unidad Popular, as well as the fact that the petty-bourgeois layers in Nicaragua could evolve in a similar way to the evolution of similar layers in Chile starting in 1972.

But the analogy with Chile would be very incomplete, and therefore misleading, for the simple reason that in Nicaragua there was a victorious insurrection that profoundly shook the state apparatus and the army is of a qualitatively different nature than the one in Chile.

There are undoubtedly analogies with the problems and debates of the Ben Bella era of the Algerian revolution. If we accepted the purely theoretical hypothesis that the social and political dynamic would make it possible to freeze the situation at the present stage—and if we left international factors out of account—Nicaragua could, in fact, follow the Algerian road.

But the most apt analogy, in our mind, is with the Cuban revolution, including in terms of the attitude of the ruling group. Compared to a few months ago, the perspective that the "Cuban road," leading to the overthrow of capitalism, is undoubtedly taking shape.

May 4, 1980

17. After our article was finished, we learned that the *La Prensa* affair was resolved in the following manner: Xavier Chamorro, with a large number of workers and editors, is going to set up a new newspaper as a cooperative. *La Prensa* remains in the hands of the owners, who will compensate Xavier to the tune of the value of the stock he held. [For the outcome of the strike see "La Prensa Workers Strike Over Firing of Editor," in the May 5, 1980 *IP/I*.]

18. In fact, only the FO was excluded.

19. At the time of writing, we do not yet know if the cotton growers will plant their land. From a strictly economic point of view, they should be pushed toward planting, both because of the impossibility of carrying out "decapitalization" of the land and because of the advantages they will be able to gain from the considerable reduction in agricultural rents (most of the cotton land is rented), the tax measures that they themselves say are acceptable, and the high world-market prices. But political reasons could hold sway, especially in the new context.

STOP NUCLEAR POWER!

Three Mile Island Will Vent Radioactive Krypton

By Nancy Cole

[The following is taken from the June 27 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly the *Militant*.]

* * *

The U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission voted unanimously June 12 to okay the venting of radioactive krypton gas from the damaged nuclear reactor at Three Mile Island.

The krypton release, the first step in "cleaning up" the accident that began in March 1979, is scheduled to begin June 28 and to last for two to four weeks.

The decision was made despite the fact that public comments solicited by the NRC from residents of the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, area were more than two to one opposed to the venting.

Since the plan was announced earlier this year, Harrisburg residents have pro-

tested, showing a well justified distrust of reassurances from an industry and government that swore such an accident could never happen to begin with.

When the NRC report on the venting was released to the public this March, the distrust escalated. The immediate venting scheme is estimated to cost about \$75,000 while other—possibly safer—alternatives could range from \$4 million to \$160 million.

At a public hearing in Middletown, Pennsylvania, on March 19, 500 angry neighbors of the Three Mile Island plant confronted officials, chanting "No release!" and "Keep your krypton!"

It's no surprise that only public officials will be invited to special briefings on the venting procedures this month. The general public will be given one hour, four days before the venting, to phone in questions on a call-in TV program.

In May the antinuclear Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) released a report that was headlined in newspapers across the country as a go-ahead for the venting. Suddenly the UCS became "a competent and responsible antinuclear group" in the

editorials of papers such as the *New York Times*.

What its reports in fact proposed, UCS head Henry Kendall explained in a June 10 letter to the *Times*, was that the venting not be done immediately and that instead the NRC examine other methods, two of which would require no venting at all.

The UCS believes, Kendall wrote, "that, while the direct biological consequences of the radiation exposure from the proposed venting would be undetectable, considerable public health consequences were nonetheless likely to result because venting would aggravate the documented widespread stress-induced illnesses affecting people living near the plant."

Pennsylvania Gov. Richard Thornburgh, reported the *Harrisburg Patriot*, will issue a pre-release statement urging area residents to "go about their business normally" during the venting.

Many people reportedly will evacuate from the area during the two- to four-week period. The NRC and Metropolitan Edison, owner of TMI, have spent the past year building up a public record of lies and coverups. There is no reason to believe this is any different. □

French Antinuclear Pamphlet

The Finistère branch of the Revolutionary Communist League in Brittany has just published an attractive thirty-two-page pamphlet entitled "Antinuclear struggles like Plogoff everywhere."

The pamphlet contains articles on the energy policies of the capitalists; the dangers of nuclear power; the positions of the unions and workers parties on nuclear power; alternatives to nuclear power; and the history of the struggle against nuclear power in Plogoff and the role the Breton population has played in leading the anti-nuclear mobilizations.

The last section contains the revolutionary Marxist position on nuclear power and points out how the struggle against nuclear power is also a struggle against the profit drive of the capitalist system. "Who is it who seeks to establish the nuclear plant in Plogoff. . . ?" the LCR asks. "Who is it who will reap the profits?"

The pamphlet is available from the LCR, 2, rue Richard-Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil, France, and costs eight francs (US\$1.85).

100,000 Turn Out in Breton Fishing Village

France: Nuclear Project at Plogoff Draws Protest

Some 100,000 persons gathered at the site of a proposed nuclear power plant in Plogoff, France, the weekend of May 24 and 25.

They came to make known their opposition to nuclear power and to the construction of a giant nuclear plant near this Breton fishing village. Plogoff has been the site of numerous antinuclear protests and demonstrations over the past months.

The antinuclear protesters attended forums, workshops, and discussions that were held throughout the weekend. Musical groups also performed at the protest.

The May 30-June 5 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly, *Rouge*, reports that members of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International, came from throughout Brittany and from Paris. They distrib-

uted copies of *Rouge* and the LCR's new pamphlet on the antinuclear struggle (see box).

Rouge correspondent Vincent Larquin reported that "The Communist Party did not dare show up to try to sell the latest issue of its magazine, *Révolution*, with its headline 'Nuclear Power—Yes!'"

The giant mobilization at Plogoff was the largest yet against the proposed nuclear power plant. Another antinuclear demonstration is called for June 28 and 29 at the big nuclear waste recycling plant at La Hague, on the Normandy coast of France.

La Hague has been the scene of struggles by workers at the plant demanding job safety and protesting nuclear pollution of the community. The La Hague demonstration is supported by antinuclear groups throughout Europe. □