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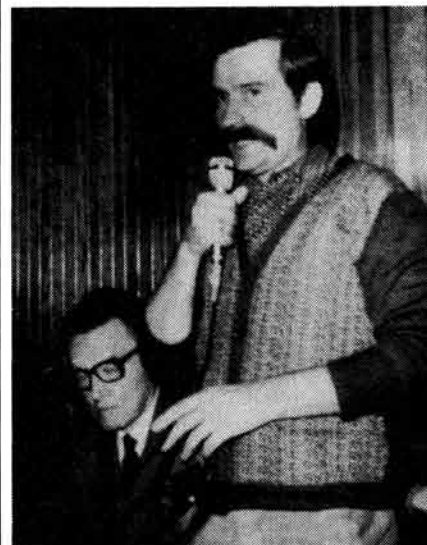
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## U.S. Steps Up Military Presence

# Iraqi Dictatorship in Hot Water as Invasion of Iran Stalls

## *Poland: Free Trade Unions on the Offensive*



Workers' leader Lech Walesa.

## *Kampuchea: 'Washington's Second Indochina War'*



Victims of U.S.-backed Pol Pot forces.

## *Turkey: Military Regime Steps Up Repression*



## Another Attack on Iranian Revolution Backfires

By David Frankel

It is becoming clearer every day that Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein has made a gigantic miscalculation, and so have the U.S. imperialists who hoped that Hussein's army would make short work of the Iranian revolution.

Instead of the quick knock-out that Hussein was banking on, his forces have been thrown onto the defensive and the Iraqi economy has been subjected to devastating damage.

Instead of the demoralizing blow to the Iranian revolution, perhaps even the overthrow of the Iranian government that U.S. policymakers had their hearts set on, there has been a new upsurge of the masses of workers and peasants in Iran.

Instead of Hussein's regime asserting itself as a regional power that could be relied on to help combat the spread of revolution in the Persian Gulf, it is now doubtful that Hussein can manage to hang on in Iraq itself.

With the failure of Hussein's plan, Washington is finding it increasingly difficult to maintain its stance of phony neutrality. On the diplomatic front, U.S. officials are backing Iraqi calls for a cease-fire that would leave the Iraqi army on Iranian soil. On the military front, U.S. command planes and a U.S. fleet are already on the scene and menacing Iran.

### A Green Light From Washington?

It is hard to believe that Washington was surprised by Hussein's invasion of Iran. "A few days before launching his attack on Iran, Hussein secretly informed most of his Arab neighbors that he planned to teach Khomeini a lesson," *Newsweek* reported in its October 6 issue. What the Saudi Arabian government knows does not take long to reach Washington.

On September 20, only two days before the Iraqi invasion, Don Oberdorfer reported in the *Washington Post*: "A high-powered U.S. government delegation, including top experts on several aspects of Iranian affairs, made unusually secretive visits this week to Western European leaders. . . ."

A team led by Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher met with West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, among others.

Whether or not Washington explicitly gave the Iraqi regime the green light prior to its invasion, Hussein's move was

greeted with friendly confidence by the imperialists. Quoting "British and North Atlantic Treaty Organization specialists" in London, Drew Middleton reported in the September 23 *New York Times* that "the assessment here was that the Iranian forces were not capable of mounting a major offensive or even providing a coherent defense."

Reporting from the United Nations in the same issue of the *Times*, Bernard Nossiter said, "Western and Moslem diplomats here privately agreed that Iraq's seizure of the Shatt al Arab waterway at the head of the Persian Gulf was an accomplished fact and lessened the prospect of interference with the world's oil supply. The diplomats reasoned that Iraq, despite its radicalism, was far more stable than Iran and has demonstrated its independence of the Soviet Union."

Over the next few days Iraqi forces rolled to victory in the pages of the capitalist press.

"Intelligence sources said that the Iraqi Air Force seemed to have clear superiority over the Iranian Air Force, which is severely hampered by morale and supply problems." (*New York Times*, September 24.)

"... the war has reached a point where Iraq could break out of the head of the Persian Gulf toward the Strait of Hormuz." (*New York Times*, September 25.)

On September 26, and again on September 28, the capitalist media featured the Iraqi claims to have taken the port of Khorramshahr.

"What military choice remains for Iran?" asked Middleton in the September 28 *Times*. "Its army has degenerated into a force of eager but untrained revolutionaries. Its air force operates only 12 percent of the 445 combat planes it deployed under the Shah. Most of the navy's warships, lacking officers and men, are anchored in bases. 'An Iranian naval sortie,' said a NATO aide, 'would be a death ride.'"

Once again, Middleton confidently repeated the assessment that there was "no military obstacle" to Iraqi forces taking control of the Strait of Hormuz.

But the Iranian revolution did not respond to this exercise in journalistic exorcism. A frantic note began to creep into some of the reports. "By all logic, the robed mullahs, disheveled revolutionary guardsmen, and Western-educated Islamotechnocrats in Tehran should be all but begging for peace," Ned Temko com-

plained in the September 29 *Christian Science Monitor*.

### The Real Situation

By this time, the mélange of lies and wishful thinking in the big-business media had begun to fall apart. Middleton grudgingly admitted September 30 that "the [Iranian] navy has shown signs of taking the offensive."

After a week of naval battles, he stated, Iran "contends that its navy is in complete control of the northern shore of the Persian Gulf, the Iranian continental shelf and the Strait of Hormuz. NATO naval sources accept these statements and emphasize that Iranian naval superiority could add a new dimension to the war."

So much for the naval "death ride" predicted by Middleton's NATO friends!

Despite repeated assurances that the Iranian air force would soon begin to fall out of the sky for lack of spare parts, the *Washington Post* summed up the real situation in an October 2 headline: "Iranian Jets Unchallenged In Air War."

Meanwhile, in the fighting on the ground, the Iraqi army has not managed to capture a single major Iranian city. Wherever it has tried to push into population centers, it has met fierce resistance. On October 2 Iranian President Bani-Sadr urged a "general mobilization" of the entire population of Khuzestan Province, calling on the people to "rise up and take part in a heroic battle."

David Ignatius reported in the October 3 *Wall Street Journal*: "The initial phase of early Iraqi successes, in which the Iranians conceded large areas of undefendable desert, has clearly ended."

### Another 'Intelligence' Failure?

U.S. officials, having noticed that the war has not gone according to expectations, are now blaming "serious deficiencies in United States intelligence-gathering abilities"—the same explanation they gave for Washington's inability to foresee the Iranian revolution in the first place. CBS News went so far as to explain the problem by reporting that one of the Pentagon's spy satellites had gone on the blink!

But Washington's problem is a much more down-to-earth one. It is simply that the U.S. ruling class holds the workers and peasants of the world in contempt. The imperialists believe their own propaganda about the superiority of "Western civilization." They are convinced that the masses of workers and peasants around the world—and the workers and farmers in their own countries as well—are inferior beings.

Thus, officials in Washington at first dismissed the performance of the Iranian air force as "mindless zooming." Later they described their assessment as an intelligence failure.

And when the Iranian masses, inspired



by their vision of a better world and determined to hold on to the gains they have already won, fight with such determination and heroism, the imperialists can think of no other explanation but to label them as fanatics. Picking up on this assertion, the Iraqi commander outside Khorramshahr explained his lack of success October 3 by saying, "It is a total war with a fanatic and irrational enemy."

It could have been an American commander talking about the liberation fighters in Vietnam.

#### A Disaster for Iraqi People

U.S. intelligence reports on the state of the Iranian armed forces—perhaps channelled discreetly through the Saudi regime—were doubtless one of the factors that convinced Saddam Hussein to make his move. But the result of Hussein's criminal adventure has been an unmitigated disaster for the Iraqi people.

Precious human and economic resources needed for the development of the country have been recklessly and needlessly squandered. Describing some of the damage to the Iraqi economy, John Kifner reported in the October 3 *New York Times*:

Iran appears to have struck particularly hard at the main Iraqi oil refinery at Kirkuk in the northern oilfields, and at a smaller refinery near Basra, in the south. One estimate in Diplomatic circles is that it would take more than three months to repair the installations at Kirkuk.

The tank farm at Fao, the pumping station for Iraq's offshore oil terminal, has also been damaged by Iranian attacks. . . .

Yesterday, a huge fire billowing black smoke could be seen rising from a half-dozen oil storage tanks in a complex at Kut, in central Iraq.

In Mosul, the main cement factory, an important resource in a developing country eager to put up more buildings, has been badly damaged. . . .

As the extent of the destruction and casualties make themselves felt, and as the Iraqi workers and peasants begin to grasp the results of Hussein's attack on the Iranian revolution, their anger will be turned against the regime responsible for the disaster. Talk in the capitalist media about the Iraqi regime being in a position to carry out a prolonged war of attrition against the Iranian revolution is worth as much as the earlier assessments of the Iranian air force.

In the September 26 *Christian Science Monitor*, Bill Baker sneeringly reported: "Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini apparently continues to believe that he toppled the Shah by a miracle and that he can overthrow the Iraqi regime by the same means."

Now, however, the capitalist media is singing a different tune. "Iraq's Saddam Hussein may yet fall as the price of an adventure which cost his country a year or more in oil revenues," Flora Lewis commented in the October 3 *New York Times*.

It is in this context that Carter is accelerating the U.S. military build-up in the

Persian Gulf region. On September 30, four U.S. Air Force AWACS command planes took off for Saudi Arabia. In addition to providing information on the main battle front in the Iran-Iraq war, the AWACS planes could be used as flying command posts to coordinate action by U.S. naval and air units in the region.

Moreover, Iraqi planes and ships are based in Saudi Arabia. The *Wall Street Journal* reported October 3 that on September 27 "the U.S. learned that Iraqi aircraft based in several Persian Gulf countries were poised to attack Iran within 24 hours."

Washington was apparently afraid that the Saudi monarchy would have even less chance of surviving than Hussein if it

jumped into the war, and claims it convinced the Saudis to pull back. It then sent the AWACS planes.

"Despite President Carter's declaration of neutrality, some of the Iraqi planes have come indirectly under the early-warning protection of the four United States electronic surveillance planes," *Times* reporter Richard Halloran noted October 3.

If the recoil from Hussein's abortive attack on the Iranian revolution leads to new revolutions in the Gulf region, U.S. forces will be on the scene and ready to intervene. The stakes in the Persian Gulf are getting higher, and so is the urgency of the demand for U.S. forces to get out and for Washington to allow the people of the area to determine their own future. □

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### Iranian Masses Unite Against Iraqi Attacks

By Janice Lynn

While Washington continues to claim that it is neutral in the military struggle between the Iraqi regime and the Iranian revolution, it is moving ahead with its ominous military buildup in the Persian Gulf.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown disclosed October 5 that in addition to the four U.S. Air Force command planes sent to Saudi Arabia September 30, a mobile ground radar station, additional communications equipment, and more U.S. Air Force personnel were being sent to bolster Washington's operation there. Pentagon sources admit that there are now 460 U.S. military advisers serving in Saudi Arabia.

The Saudi monarchy is closely allied with Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein in his war against the Iranian revolution, and the influx of U.S. military personnel and equipment into Saudi Arabia is clearly directed against Iran.

Meanwhile, Brown boasted on U.S. television October 5, "We have in the Arabian Sea the most powerful concentration of naval force, including naval air forces, that have ever been in that area, in that ocean."

Brown threatened: "The United States has the predominant military power near the straits and it's our intention to see that they're kept open."

Washington now has a thirty-one-ship fleet stationed in the area, including the aircraft carriers *Eisenhower* and *Midway* with 170 aircraft. French, British, and Australian warships are also in the region.

The imperialist threat, however, has not stopped the mobilization of the Iranian workers and peasants. "There is a spirit of unity coming back, just like during the revolution," said one mother of four in Tehran.

On October 2 president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr called for a "public mobilization" to defend the port city of Khorramshahr—appealing to all the people in the province of Khuzestan to join in efforts to repel the invaders. Tehran radio broadcast public-service messages telling citizens how to sign up for weapons training.

Tehran radio also reported that Iranian forces had begun a counteroffensive near the province's capital city of Ahwaz. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's son, Hojate'islam Ahmad Khomeini declared that an offensive was under way along the entire front line.

The military command in Tehran said that the civilians who had taken up arms in the October 2 call for a general mobilization had joined Iranian troops and *pasda-*

*ran* (Revolutionary Guards). They were "fighting with matchless courage" alongside the troops, the command said.

Reports have also indicated that Iranian clergy have come to the air bases and army barracks, and are playing a role in directing the fighting. Many of the mosques are organizing recruiting drives for volunteers to fight the Iraqi aggression.

Even Iraqi commanders have been forced to pay unwilling tribute to the revolutionary determination of the Iranian fighters. *Washington Post* correspondent Loren Jenkins reported October 4:

"The Iraqi military officials, appearing tired and, with their confidence of a quick victory of only a week ago clearly shaken, spoke of the effectiveness of the Iranian fire power and the seemingly suicidal determination of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards to fight on to the death rather than surrender. . . .

"Those revolutionary Guards simply do not know when to stop," complained one senior Iraqi Army officer today."

Moreover, the appeals of the Iraqi regime to the predominantly Arab population of Khuzestan have fallen flat. Iraqi radio broadcasts, calling Khuzestan "Arabistan," have called on the inhabitants to raise "the Arab banner of liberation over all of Arabistan."

But even the *New York Times* had to finally admit October 6 that the Iraqi invasion did not result in any Arab uprising. In fact, Hussein's army, while claiming to be liberators, subjected those parts of Khorramshahr that it did manage to occupy to "massive looting" according to UPI reporter Joseph Reaves.

According to a report in the October 1 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* by Eric Rouleau, Ayatollah Sobeir Khagani, a supporter of the Arab struggle for autonomy, called over radio and television for the Arabs of Khuzestan to defend the Islamic revolution and their country from the Iraqi invaders.

Rouleau also reported that the authorities in Khuzestan are working together with a number of leftist groups in the province to whom arms have been distributed in organizing guerrilla resistance to the Iraqi attacks.

Neighborhood committees have spontaneously formed in the Khuzestan region and have taken on the tasks of distributing medical supplies and food, as well as organizing the armed militias.

In Kurdistan, where the present Iranian government has also refused to recognize the legitimate demands of the oppressed

Kurdish population, the *Le Monde* correspondent reports that the Kurdish guerrillas and central government have ceased their hostilities. Tehran radio broadcast an appeal, paying homage to the patriotism of the Kurds and the Kurdish guerrillas.

Iraqi Kurds have been fighting for their national rights for more than thirty years, only to have their struggle brutally repressed by successive Iraqi regimes.

In fact, taking advantage of Baghdad's offensive against Iran, Kurdish guerrillas in northern Iraq have launched an offensive of their own. A representative of the Kurdish Democratic Party said October 1 that a guerrilla initiative was under way in the countryside around the city of Mosul and a number of other communities near Iraq's northern border with Turkey.

It is clear that Iran's oppressed nationalities, while continuing their struggle for their national rights, are determined to also defend the Iranian revolution. They fought too hard against the shah to allow a return of another imperialist-dominated regime.

As one observer in Jordan remarked at Iraqi-produced newsreels shown nightly on Jordanian television, "it doesn't take long to realize that there aren't any films of ethnic Arabs in Khuzestan greeting the Iraqi soldiers with flowers." (*Washington Post*, October 6)

Faced with the determined resistance of the Iranian masses, the Iraqi regime is now hoping to save itself from the anger of its own people by winning through negotiations what it has been unable to win on the battlefield. It was in this context that it announced a four-day cease-fire, which was quickly supported by U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie.

"How can we possibly agree to negotiate with a country whose forces are occupying our country threatening us with their guns," Iranian officials declared.

"A cease-fire agreement, similar to the one that has been proposed to us, was concluded at the close of the Israeli-Arab war in June 1967 and now thirteen years later, Israeli troops are still encamped on Arab land . . ." one official pointed out to *Le Monde's* Rouleau.

Iranian leaders vowed to continue fighting until all Iraqi soldiers were withdrawn from their territory. □

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### Workers Protest Imprisonment of Nemat Jazayeri

[Nemat Jazayeri is a leader of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), and a factory worker in Tehran. While in exile in the United States before the overthrow of the shah, Jazayeri served as the national secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). His work in CAIFI helped to win the release of political prisoners held by the shah's torturers and to focus international attention on the crimes of the Pahlavi dictatorship.]

[According to a report in the September 9 issue of *Kargar*, the HKE newspaper, "On the morning of Monday, September 8, Brother Jazayeri was called away from his machine by Mr. Quanlu, a manager of the Ray-O-Vac factory. Mr. Quanlu gave Nematollah Jazayeri a sealed letter addressed to Mr. Sefavi, one of the inspectors of the nationalized company. He asked him to take it to the office of the nationalized company and give it to Mr. Sefavi. . . .

"The following morning, on Tuesday, September 9, Nematollah's mother was informed of his arrest by officials of the Central Revolutionary Committee who came to her home to carry out a search."

[As of last reports, Jazayeri's family and comrades have not been allowed to see him or communicate with him, and have not been able to find out about any charges against him. The following article on his case was featured in the September 16 issue of *Kargar*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Nematollah Jazayeri, a lathe operator in the repair shop of the Ray-O-Vac factory, has been held now for more than a week by official government authorities.

The circumstances of his arrest and his record of struggle in exile against the Pahlavi regime were described in the last issue of *Kargar*. Also leaflets have been

distributed widely in the various factories and working-class neighborhoods.

The following is a brief account of Nematollah Jazayeri's political activity and views that has been prepared with the help of discussions with his fellow workers and friends.

From the time he started working at Ray-O-Vac, Jazayeri was one of the best workers in his section. Thus, the expertise that he gained from several years experience as an airplane mechanic and in working in various factories was put to good use in rebuilding the country.

Jazayeri's work not only won the consideration of the workers *shora* [committee] and the management in the factory. His fellow workers found his experience helpful. As a result, Jazayeri got a letter of commendation from the management on June 17.

His political activity and the conversations that he had with his fellow workers are also deserving of note. One of his fellow workers had the following to say about his political views and opinions:

"To put it very simply, he was an advocate of shoras. He saw organizing and strengthening the shoras as the key to overcoming all the basic problems.

"A few months ago, when the Islamic shora at this factory was dissolved because of the inactivity of its members,

Jazayeri began to exhort his fellow workers constantly to organize a new solid shora that would have the support of all the workers."

Another one of Jazayeri's fellow workers said, "Nemat always fought for workers shoras; he always thought that they were the best way to defend Iran's Islamic revolution."

#### Jazayeri's Activity in the Anti-Imperialist Demonstrations

One of Jazayeri's fellow workers told us what he remembered about Nemat's activity during the impressive demonstration by the Tehran workers in front of the Den of Spies last February. This brother said:

"Nemat worked hard in building the demonstration, and in the march itself he carried one of the big banners. Throughout the demonstration he talked about the importance of supporting the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line and about the role they were playing in advancing the anti-imperialist struggle."

Nematollah also worked in close collaboration with the brothers and sisters of the Islamic *anjoman* [council] in the factory. By participating in the *anjoman* meetings and supporting constructive proposals for education, he helped to raise the workers' level of political awareness.

Nemat's fellow workers explained that he made proposals to the *anjoman* such as inviting Revolutionary Guard brothers, Students Following the Imam's Line, members of parliament, and representatives of workers centers and shoras. These proposals were unanimously accepted. He also discussed the political questions facing the country with the workers.

One of the brothers referred to a discussion he had with Nemat the day after the coup d'etat plot was discovered:

"He thought that there was always a possibility of such plots and attacks like the one at Tabas [the U.S. commando raid in April] as long as the U.S. was not deprived of the means of intervening against the Iranian revolution.

"He argued that the only way to block such plots was by mobilizing the industrial workers and other working people and especially getting these masses to participate in the twenty-million-strong army."

A brother mentioned Jazayeri's contributions at factory meetings. One such assembly was held to look into a dispute between a supervisor and members of the shora.

Jazayeri spoke for the workers in the repair shop. Condemning disrespect for the workers and their representatives, he made proposals that were both accepted by the workers and helped to resolve many con-

#### Support Telegrams Urged

Supporters of the Iranian revolution working for the release of Nemat Jazayeri are urging that the following telegram be sent to Iranian Prosecutor General Ali Ghodosi, Office of the Revolutionary Courts, Tehran, Iran:

I am a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of the U.S. government's threats and the Iraqi regime's criminal military aggression aimed against your revolution.

I am deeply concerned about the arrest of Ray-O-Vac worker Nemat Jazayeri, a staunch anti-imperialist fighter who is being detained without any charges.

I strongly urge you to disclose his whereabouts to his family and friends and call on you to secure his immediate release.

Copies of the telegram should be sent to President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Tehran, Iran; Ayatollah Mohammad Beheshti, Tehran, Iran; *Enqelab-e-Eslami*, Tehran, Iran; and *Kargar*, Box #43/174, Post Area 14, Tehran, Iran.



NEMAT JAZAYERI

flicts.

This brother added: "At this meeting many of the management staff and supervisors that opposed the workers shoras and tried to make decisions for the workers became hostile to Nemat. Last week, finally, they dumped a load of false charges on him and got him put in jail."

#### **Jazayeri's Arrest—A Subject of Discussion in the Factory**

Nematollah Jazayeri's arrest and imprisonment were considered a revolting and unacceptable action by all his fellow workers. From the day the workers learned of this incident, discussion about the case began to build up.

One of the workers who share Jazayeri's socialist views explained how some of the outraged workers proposed a strike, sit in, and hostage taking to force Nemat's release.

It was patiently explained that this was not the correct way to fight on this issue and that it was possible to get Nemat released by discussing with the workers and winning their support, without disrupting production.

One of the workers said: "Nemat is not guilty of any crime. He must be released right away and be put back to work. One of the machines is not working and his help is very much needed."

Jazayeri's co-workers also mentioned the sales of *Kargar* and the distribution of leaflets around the factory. They said that the workers welcomed this. The facts about Jazayeri's arrest and his record of struggle that were published in our newspaper and in the leaflets that have been distributed have clarified the question for all the workers.

One of the workers who cannot read or write said that a friend of his bought a copy of *Kargar* and "somebody read it all to me."

On Saturday afternoon [September 13], most of the workers from both shifts attended a meeting at the factory. Mr. Shahabadi, a member of parliament, was to speak, but he could not come. Various subjects were discussed, including the arrest of Nematollah Jazayeri.

At the meeting, one of the workers said: "We think it is a bad situation when workers are given sealed letters and then sent to prison. We demand that Mr. Sefavi not send workers who are asked to go to his office to prison."

"The workers themselves should be the first to make any investigation. This shouldn't be based on just what someone in management or some supervisor says."

This brother also demanded the immediate release and reinstatement of Nematollah Jazayeri. The workers at the meeting showed their agreement with this by

shouting, "Allah Akbar," and "Right!"

Jazayeri's fellow workers are circulating a petition demanding his immediate release and reinstatement. Amid the denunciations of Nemat's arrest, a worker said:

"It would be much better if instead of arresting an innocent worker, they found a devoted manager for the factory and helped us to organize a shora to replace the one that has been dissolved."

This worker went on to say that actions such as Nemat's arrest could easily disrupt the factory and so someone opposed to the workers interests and to reconstruction of the country could be behind this.

The majority of the Ray-O-Vac workers want Jazayeri released and reinstated. One of his fellow workers said: "What happened to Nemat could happen to any of us. We have to find out the reasons for this. We intend to put up a serious and determined fight to get Nemat released and reinstated."

#### **The Bosses Oppose the Example Set by Jazayeri**

By the real contribution he made to production and to reconstructing the country and by his participation in the political life of the factory and of the society, Nematollah showed that he is one of those revolutionists who are devoting all their strength and knowledge to achieving the victory of this revolution and breaking the ties that bind Iran to U.S. imperialism.

Nematollah Jazayeri's sudden arrest, the charges made against him, and the injustice inflicted upon him have upset all his fellow workers. In fact, this experience has raised new questions about the revolution for the Ray-O-Vac workers and all the

workers who have followed this case. They find it hard to understand why the supervisory personnel object to the exemplary activity Jazayeri carried out in the factory.

Only a handful of individuals in this country are worried by people like Nemat Jazayeri in the factories, in the Jihad for Reconstruction, the Revolutionary Guards, the Imam's Committees, the shoras, and the schools.

This handful fears the mobilization of the working people to solve their own problems; it hates the steps taken by the shoras to exercise workers control over production and distribution. It thinks that the working people cannot organize a government themselves out of their own institutions. For these individuals serving the interests of the capitalists is more important than serving those of the revolution.

Every Muslim and militant person in this country knows that putting sincere revolutionists in jail is not in the interests of the revolution. As the workers themselves told us, Nematollah Jazayeri's place is behind a machine in his factory rebuilding the country.

The All-Iran Islamic Prosecutor's Office should consider his impressive record of struggle outside the country in defense of the political prisoners jailed by the vile Pahlavi regime. It should consider the real contribution he had made to the work of rebuilding the country and to the anti-imperialist struggle. It should release him from prison as soon as possible so that he can return to the trenches of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and to the firm ranks of the working people of this country. □

### **PFLP Denounces Iraqi War Moves**

[The following is an extract from a statement on the Iranian revolution published in the June issue of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine's *PFLP Bulletin*. The PFLP is the largest Palestinian guerrilla organization after Al Fateh. It was expelled from Iraq and forbidden to carry out any activity there in April.]

\* \* \*

At a time when Iran is locked in a life or death confrontation with the leading imperialist power, the Iraqi regime launches a virtual war on Iran, supposedly over the islands which it pre-

viously relinquished to the Shah.

Just as the fall of the Shah's regime opened new possibilities for the anti-imperialist struggle in our area, the outcome of the current Iranian-US confrontation will have decisive consequences for the future of this struggle. The Palestinian struggle to liberate our homeland is in the last analysis a struggle against imperialist dominance in this part of the world. The duty of the Palestinian Revolution and all anti-imperialist forces in the region to support the Iranian Revolution is not a secondary task. Rather, it is an integral element in our ongoing struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.



## Polish Workers Strike to Enforce Their Demands

By Gerry Foley

Solidarity, the new independent trade-union confederation in Poland, showed its growing power October 3 in a one-hour national strike called to counter the bureaucracy's attempts to block the spread of the free workers movement.

In Gdansk, the center of the confederation, the call was for a full work stoppage. It was massively followed.

"When sirens wailed in the port at noon," *New York Times* correspondent John Darnton reported, "thousands walked off their jobs, buses and streetcars came to a halt and restaurants and shops closed their doors. Virtually the entire city shut down."

Radio and TV reports stressed the atmosphere of festivity and triumph in Gdansk.

In other cities throughout Poland, only selected plants and groups of workers were called out. Solidarity's directives were reportedly followed to the letter. The confederation's leaders said that the strike had gone exactly as planned.

### 'Today Solidarity, Tomorrow Victory'

In the factories that were not called out, workers hoisted banners and bunting in the Polish national colors and hung out placards to show their support for the strike.

In Warsaw, Darnton reported "most buses pulled over to the curb and sat empty. Streetcars kept moving, as the new unions had urged them to, but many put their lights on. Flags were flying throughout the city and banners reading 'Solidarnosc' hung from factory windows."

In the steel center of Katowice in southwest Poland, the giant mills were shut down. Strikers' flags flew everywhere.

The organizer of the free union at the steelworks, Andrea Rozplochowski, was quoted in wire service dispatches as saying:

"It was beautiful, how the workers adorned their shops for the hour. The buildings had flags, people wore arm-bands, and when one o'clock struck, the sirens blared and normal work resumed."

At the Ursus tractor plant outside Warsaw, where the 16,000-strong work force led a national general strike in 1976, selected departments were shut down.

At a number of plants Solidarity organized demonstrations. At the Warsaw steel complex, marchers raised slogans such as "Today solidarity, tomorrow victory," "The radio and television must tell the truth," and "We want freedom of speech."

In this one-hour action, the independent



Representatives of independent union submit charter of new organization to Warsaw court.

union leaders showed their capacity to weld the new workers movement into a coherent, conscious, and disciplined fighting force on the national level.

### Careful Organization and Confidence

The strike was carefully organized to counter the government's claims that the free unions were undermining the economy. Workers were asked to remain on the job in the nerve centers of industry and social services.

"Our aim is not to do damage but to show our strength," explained Zbigniew Janus, union president at the Ursus plant.

Before the strike, Bogdan Lis, a member of the confederation coordinating committee, pointed out:

"The government should understand that our warning strike is in its interest. If we didn't call this strike, there would be a series of wildcat strikes throughout the country."

The leaders of the free trade unions and the main opposition group, the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) have stressed that it is the government and the Communist Party that are responsible for the economic difficulties and the discontent of the workers. The independent organizations, they say, are just trying to maintain order the only way possible—by organizing workers and masses to exercise direct control over the decisions that affect their lives.

It was apparently the discipline and organization of the strike that prompted a foreman at Ursus, where only a token action was held, to say, as Darnton re-

ported: "We must have the beginning of a real, authentic workers' government."

The new unions have clearly succeeded in giving the masses of the Polish working people a calm confidence in their power and in their leadership. That is the picture that emerges from all the reports.

In the face of this political and organizational strength, the government has been routed once again. The press blackout about the activities of the free unions was broken during the strike itself. There was extensive TV, radio, and press coverage of the actions. Another wedge has been driven into the bureaucracy's totalitarian control of the mass media.

The strike also seems to have dealt a heavy setback to the bureaucracy's maneuvers to contain and wear down the free unions.

The free workers movement is once again on the offensive, poised for an all-out general strike October 20 if the bureaucracy continues to try to hold the line against the advance of independent organization and freedom of information and discussion.

### Divisions in the Communist Party

The victory of the strike, on the eve of a Central Committee plenum is likely to deepen the divisions that have already appeared in the Communist Party.

The plenum is to discuss a new party program. It was postponed day by day for a week without explanation before the present opening date was set.

The pressures on the Central Committee

are indicated by the motion of the party cell in the economics department at the University of Warsaw.

The resolution calls for the removal of the officials responsible for "the wrong political decisions that have demonstrated incompetence and lightmindedness . . . and undermined the authority of the party and the ideals of socialism in Poland and abroad, giving false information to the population."

Speaking at a meeting of the Polish Writers Union on September 5, prominent party journalist Stefan Bratkowski openly opposed the campaign in the official press against the KOR and its most well-known leader, Jacek Kuron.

The New York Polish daily *Nowy Dziennik* reported:

"In his usual precise style, this party publicist defended the Committee for Social Self Defense-KOR, which has come under propaganda attack."

Bratkowski said: "The fact is not we but the KOR defended the workers in 1976. That is its merit and it's too bad we did not do the same. That is the truth and there's no point in raising a hue and cry about antisocialist forces, when the party leadership itself did everything possible to lead to this defeat."

"It wasn't the KOR that directed official propaganda. It wasn't the KOR that disorganized our economy and got us so deep in debt that the state is threatened with bankruptcy, which promoted wastrels and criminals."

The independent union leaders have sought to take advantage of these divisions in the CP. For example, in closing the first conference of the independent workers organizations in Gdansk on September 22, Lech Walesa said "we have to help people like him [Deputy Premier Jagielski, who negotiated with the unions during the August-September strikes]. There aren't very many of them in the upper echelons of the party. They aren't all bad, and some deserve our consideration."

At the same time, the independent unions have drawn a clear line between themselves and the bureaucracy, refusing to allow any party official to hold positions in the new organizations.

#### Counterattack by Bureaucracy

Walesa decided to take a firm line against the bureaucracy's maneuvers after the end of the big strikes. He told the Gdansk conference:

"They [the bureaucrats] are starting to whittle down what we won because we weren't firm enough. We have to think about what to do, including calling a strike. They are trying to sidetrack us."

The bureaucracy launched a counterattack against the independent unions after the August-September strikes. It sought to drive a wedge between the new workers organizations and the KOR, which served as a center for developing and disseminat-

ing political ideas.

This maneuver was assisted in fact by the Western press, which sought to give the impression that, having become a successful union leader, Walesa was moving away from his radical allies. He was supposed to be embracing the Catholic hierarchy, "the main pillar of opposition in Poland," according to Bradley Graham writing from Warsaw in the September 25 *Washington Post*.

Graham wrote that the bishop of Gdansk had lent Walesa a white Mercedes, and that now the free union leader "appears to want to distance himself officially from the KOR."

In declaring that Walesa had chosen the side of the Catholic leaders who tend to take a more conciliant stance toward the regime, Graham described a polarization between the main moderate group, the Catholic Intellectuals Club (KiK), and the KOR. He quoted one of the KiK leaders, Krzysztof Sliwinski as saying:

"Kuron believes it is more important to keep the pressure on, to keep menacing, to wave the possibility of a strike before the authorities. For Mazowiecki [the main KiK figure], the important thing is to keep the authorities in a position where they will keep their promises and that means lessening tensions while insisting that everything in the Gdansk accord is followed to the letter."

The events leading up to the October 3 strike and the continuing offensive of the independent trade unions show what kind of line Walesa and other union leaders are following.

#### Slander Campaign Backfires

Moreover, when the bureaucracy launched its propaganda campaign against the KOR and Kuron, Walesa defended them in no uncertain terms. When he met with Jagielski on September 24, he declared:

"These attacks seem directed against those forces who helped make the independent unions a possibility and who opposed those abuses that are now being recognized by the party itself."

Members of the Catholic Intellectuals Club, including Sliwinski, also opposed the government's campaign against the KOR and Kuron. In a letter to *Zycie Warszawy*, *Tribuna*, and *Sztandar Mlodych*, the newspapers in which the attacks appeared, they wrote:

"For various reasons we are not members of the KOR . . . but we consider such violent, unjustified, and utterly unfounded attacks on the KOR, when it had no possibility of defending itself in the press, to be impermissible. This is to say nothing of the fact that we consider insinuation and false attacks to be immoral in essence."

"The incorrigible resort to such discredited methods . . . violates both the letter and the spirit of the Gdansk agreements

and does harm to the country which desperately needs peace."

Thus, the bureaucracy's slander campaign against Kuron and the KOR strengthened the unity of the opposition and touched off a reaction that increased the divisions in its own ranks.

If the free unions had marked time after their victory in the August-September strikes, the government's maneuvers



Jagielski (left) with Walesa.

might have had some chance of success.

In the September 26 issue of *Rouge*, the newspaper of the French section of the Fourth International, Cyril Smuga wrote that there was still considerable confusion among Polish workers after the conclusion of the big strikes. Many were afraid that they would lose their vacations and other benefits if they left the official unions. Also, a number of official unions are trying to present themselves as independent by formally withdrawing from the national federation without changing their leadership or methods.

Moreover, in many areas where strikes did not develop or the workers went on strike late in the confrontation, there was no clear idea of what was involved concretely in the organization of the new unions. The free unions were an "empty slogan" for these workers, Smuga reported.

The Warsaw District Court, given jurisdiction over the free union statutes, tried to restrict their right to organize and conduct their affairs as they chose. On September 23, it raised objections to the statutes of the free union at the Katowice steelworks. The court wanted to deny it the right to operate nationally, to accept affiliation



from workers in unrelated trades, and to accept money from sources other than membership dues.

On September 24, Walesa submitted the statutes of the national confederation. But he made this an occasion for mobilizing the workers. Together with other union leaders he marched to the court building behind a banner. Then, after appearing in court, he spoke at a rally of 5,000 workers at the Ursus plant soccer stadium. He informed the workers about the government's obstructive tactics, and told them that nothing could stop the organization of the new unions.

#### 'We Stand Together'

He projected the idea of a national general strike to force the government to comply with the Gdansk agreement. And he put such action by the unions in a broader social context.

"If there are different problems we can all strike together. If things get bad we stand together as a united Poland."

The free unions have maintained and extended the mobilization of the Polish workers. They have effectively countered the bureaucracy's attempts to create divisions and to put responsibility on them for threatening peace and production in Poland.

By organizing the October 3 strike the free unions have taken a major step forward in welding the working people into a power that can take real control of the economy and the country and overcome the waste and chaos created by the totalitarian rule of the bureaucracy. □

#### Indians Crucified in Guatemala

MANAGUA—The Guatemalan army's campaign of terror against the Indian peasants of El Quiché Province has registered new outrages.

According to Guatemalan Catholic priests who have formed a "church in exile" in Costa Rica, three Indians were crucified by army troops in El Quiché in September. A report in the September 26 *Barricada* here said two of the peasants died and the third was finally brought down in a deranged state after a week on the cross.

The crucifixions were part of the army's campaign in El Quiché to try to discourage Indian support for revolutionary guerrilla groups operating in the province. Other atrocities reported by the exiled priests included the shooting of peasants in groups of twenty for refusing to give information about the guerrillas.

The army has also assassinated Catholic priests and bombarded churches and convents in El Quiché Province.

## Relatives of Dissidents Also Arrested

### Political Prisoners Tortured in Zaire

The Zaïrean dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Seko carries out widespread torture of political prisoners, according to a September 24 report by the U.S. section of Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization.

Those who have been subjected to torture, Amnesty International reported, "included students seized after demonstrations, teachers and workers who went on strike for higher wages and people suspected of belonging to banned parties or whose relatives were suspected of belonging to these parties."

Some of the organization's information came from a group of eighty former prisoners who left Zaïre between May 1979 and May 1980. Doctors who examined them found evidence that at least sixty of them had been tortured.

While prisoners in Zaïre are subjected to brutal conditions, beatings, and undernourishment, political prisoners receive especially harsh treatment. They are held at military camps, security police headquarters, Makala Central Prison, and other prisons and interrogation centers in the capital, Kinshasa.

One student told of being held with about forty other people in a cell measuring six meters by seven meters. Many cells have no sanitary facilities, and illnesses such as dysentery are endemic.

The most frequent kinds of ill treatment are beatings and deliberate starvation. But Amnesty International's witnesses also told of other forms.

At a villa in Kinshasa known as "B2," prisoners reported being tied to stakes and beaten every day for three or four weeks. Doctors who examined former prisoners from "B2" saw the scars that resulted from the beatings.



MOBUTO SESE SEKO

At some interrogation centers, women prisoners were raped. And one male prisoner reported that his wife was brought to the prison and raped repeatedly by the guards, who were trying to extract information from him.

Other torture methods included electric shocks and being hung upside down.

Of six workers who were arrested in September 1979 for participating in a strike at Petrozaïre, the national oil company, three died within a few weeks as a result of the torture. Of fifteen students arrested at the end of December 1979, five were shot to death. □

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## Counterrevolutionaries Step Up Attacks in Nicaragua

By Claudio Tavárez

MANAGUA—Counterrevolutionary demonstrations involving some 500 persons took place in the Atlantic Coast town of Bluefields, 160 miles east of here, on September 30 and October 1. The actions also involved strikes in some work places and the occupation of radio stations and the city hall.

The organizers of these actions—pro-Somoza elements and right-wing Protestant pastors—had as their immediate target a contingent of Cuban doctors and teachers who have been lending their services in Bluefields, a town of some 20,000 populated mostly by English-speaking Blacks.

The houses where the Cuban volunteers are lodged were attacked with stones at one point in the demonstration. Two members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) were beaten.

While the organizers of the events were known counterrevolutionaries, the bulk of the participants "cannot be against the revolution," said Sergio Ramírez of the Junta of National Reconstruction. "Rather they are the victims of the underdevelopment to which the Atlantic Coast communities have been submitted."

It is impossible, Ramírez continued, that "the people of the Coast oppose the internationalist doctors and teachers, since this is the first time they have had real access to medical care and education."

Besides the activities of the local counterrevolutionaries, the residents of the Atlantic area have been subjected to a constant propaganda barrage from radio and television stations in Costa Rica and Colombia. On September 28, Costa Rica's Channel Two broadcast an interview with an anticommunist Cuban who declared that the Cuban teachers in Nicaragua are "disguised agents who have gone there to impose communism."

The Somozaists who organized the September 30-October 1 actions in Bluefields threatened to burn down the houses of workers who refused to heed their call for strikes. Similar threats were made against merchants who opened their shops.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front has emphasized that the Atlantic Coast is the area of Nicaragua that suffered the most from the Somoza dictatorship. No roads connect it with the more developed areas along the Pacific. Apart from the gold mines in the northern interior and one sugar mill outside Bluefields, the area has no industry. Most residents eke out a subsistence through fishing or farming small plots.

A further obstacle faced by the revolu-

tion in the Atlantic region is the fact that the radicalization of the masses in the fight against the dictatorship, and the revolutionary war itself, scarcely reached there. The FSLN lacks experienced cadres who are native to the area.

To confront these extensive problems, the revolutionary government has created the Nicaraguan Institute of the Atlantic Coast (INNICA), headed by Guerrilla Commander William Ramírez. An important step forward in bringing the revolution to the region is the literacy campaign in the native languages of English, Miskito, and Sumo. This effort is to begin October 5.

Other measures aimed at the special needs of the Atlantic Coast have included the return of lands stolen from the Miskitos by the Somoza dictatorship, and the acquisition of new boats for cargo and passenger transport.

The events in Bluefields came as part of a general step-up in counterrevolutionary actions—murders and attacks on members of the Sandinista army and police, incursions by counterrevolutionary armed bands along the Honduran border, and so on. The most recent of these was the killing of two brothers in Matagalpa, Arnaldo and Rodolfo Amador Gallegos. Rodolfo was an FSLN leader and chief of State Security operations in Matagalpa.

At a news conference October 2, Interior Minister Tomás Borge announced that twenty persons had been arrested by State Security in Bluefields, among them several Protestant pastors and leaders of the Confederation of Trade-Union Unification (CUS). The CUS has close ties to the CIA-backed American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

Those arrested would be charged with sabotaging production and attempted arson, Borge said. He added that the Sandinistas considered the events in Bluefields to be part of a plan "to separate the Atlantic Coast from Nicaragua."

The Junta of National Reconstruction also held a news conference October 2. Junta member Arturo Cruz read a statement denouncing "the well-orchestrated anticommunist propaganda campaign" being carried out against the revolution, as well as "the existence of counterrevolutionary bands that take sanctuary in neighboring territories. . . ."

With the events in Bluefields, the Junta statement said, "the situation has become intolerable. . . ."

"The revolution will not tolerate any form of boycott or destabilization. The

time has come to declare firmly, with the backing of a revolutionary people determined to defend their revolution, that disorders, riots, aggressions, and disrespect for the members of the armed forces and the police will not be tolerated.

"Nor will the decapitalization of enterprises be tolerated under any circumstances. The revolutionary laws will be enforced without the slightest hesitation. The revolution's generosity comes to an end when the revolution itself is undermined.

"There should not be the slightest doubt in anyone's mind that this revolutionary process—its conquests and steps forward—will be defended to the final consequences. The counterrevolutionary activities in Bluefields may have been aimed at separating the Atlantic Coast from Nicaragua, but as Commander Bayardo Arce declared at the First National Youth Assembly, 'There is not going to be another Guantánamo here in Nicaragua.'" □

### Nicaragua Gains Aid From Western Europe

MANAGUA—The revolutionary government's ambassador to the European Economic Community (EEC), Gonzalo Murillo Romero, has announced that a number of important aid projects to Nicaragua from West European countries have been set in motion.

The aid comes from governments, church organizations, and solidarity committees.

Projects being funded as direct donations from the EEC itself amount to \$27.5 million, Murillo said. They include \$326,000 for housing construction, \$800,000 in food aid, a hospital ship for the Atlantic Coast region, and the construction of 100 rural schools.

The government of the Netherlands has granted Nicaragua a \$17 million long-term loan at 2 percent interest. Dutch cooperation has also been obtained for a campaign to control and eradicate mountain leprosy, a disease widespread in remote rural areas of Nicaragua.

Murillo also commended the work of Nicaraguan solidarity committees in Europe. After doing an enormous amount of work in simply explaining the facts about the Nicaraguan revolution, he said, many solidarity groups are now in a position to organize significant projects of direct material aid. □



## Tomás Borge Addresses Literacy Teachers

[The following is an excerpt from a speech by FSLN Commander Tomás Borge to literacy teachers in the city of Matagalpa on August 19. The text and the translation are from the September 24 issue of the New York weekly *Guardian*.]

\* \* \*

The tasks are very complex as regards the literacy campaign. We can affirm that you defeated the enemy, although some disperse elements of the enemy army of ignorance are still on the loose. It was a hard war, as we had said it would be. You would experience difficulties in the mountains: we already knew that as guerrilla fighters—the cold, hunger, illnesses, the rain, the mosquitos. And we also said that, just like those guerrillas of the past, the new guerrillas of the present will never desert the revolutionary ranks. And you didn't desert. You confronted all the dangers, including the threats, including the crimes.

What new tasks correspond now to the young literacy teachers? They are waiting for you everywhere, not just in the plaza. Some reactionary political groups wander around Nicaragua raising slogans against the revolution. They use fifty thousand pretexts: freedom of the press, elections, respect for human rights, the religious problem. They use all these issues to attack the revolution. We have left them wandering about for a while, because no army can wage a battle on ideological, political or military grounds without having its forces strategically concentrated. And we want those reactionary groups to know that we were waiting for the People's Literacy Army. We were waiting for the young people, the teachers of the Nicaraguan Teachers' Association, the Workers' Literacy Militias.

Therefore, we are preparing. But what counts most is neither the number of arms nor the volume of fire power, but the quality of the men. We are sure that just as you took up the primer and the pencil, you will surely take up the rifle if and when the moment arrives to defend our sovereignty and our land.

With the youth and the people as we have in Nicaragua, we are capable of challenging all dangers: the danger of military and economic aggression and the danger represented by the situation of crisis inherited from the past. We have serious economic problems.

We can't say that all our problems will be solved tomorrow. We would like to have a hat, like the magicians, and pull out answers to our problems just as the magicians pull out palm leaves and doves.

But we are not magicians. Nonetheless

the energy of the people is so extraordinary, that in spite of all the problems and difficulties, I'm sure that we will resolve the problems inherited from the past in a short period historically speaking, just as you resolved the problems of illiteracy in less than one year.

We begin to speak of these things because it is necessary that you become more conscious of them. Wherever you are, you should not only communicate the orientations of the National Directorate of the FSLN, but also an ample explanation of the reality of the country. You must become familiar with the economic problems of the country. You must understand the correlation of political forces and determine who are our friends and who are our enemies.

It is necessary that when some pose the problem related to religion, that we know what they mean. Because our revolution has said that we are with the church of the poor, we are with the Christ who said that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than it is for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. We are not with the Christ of the rich. We are with the church of the poor. And we have a large number of priests who identify with the poor.

We are not worried if some priest stands up and says there is neither liberty nor justice, that people here are scared of going to jail. We are not worried, because for the first time we have conquered our freedom, for the first time we are the owners of an authentic justice. And here the only ones who are scared of the jail are the assassins of the literacy teachers, the counterrevolutionaries, the enemies of our people, and the prostitutes who have sold themselves to yankee imperialism.

As everyone knows, we are broad, but within the revolution. We are open and flexible, without violating principles. But it is necessary that our enemies know that we will never give up revolutionary power.

We can make concessions in many areas, but we will never turn over the rifles we won in the war. This is not even on the negotiating table. We can discuss more confiscations or less confiscations, greater or less surplus in production, some things related to consumption, respect for certain property norms. Yes, we can discuss these things. But there is one thing we can never discuss. [Borge raises a rifle.] This is the people's rifle. This is the rifle of an army of the people, and of a people that will have rifles to defend this revolution.

And we are also going to fortify the organisms of people's power. We are going to raise the capacity of the police and state security forces. We will raise the fire power

of the Sandinista People's Army. You can calculate how worried our enemies must be. If it were just a question of the army, police and state security, they wouldn't worry too much. But we also have the Sandinista People's Militias. And if that's not sufficient, we have the Sandinista Youth.

It is truly honorable that you have fulfilled this task in such difficult conditions. We must take into account that there was an 80% illiteracy rate in Matagalpa, one of the highest in all Nicaragua. And the geography of Matagalpa is difficult. And here the reactionary spokesman came to say that the literacy teachers were domesticating the peasants.

They, who never did anything—what stone faces, they are so stupid. For 400 years they did nothing. And how they say you were domesticating the peasants.

Did you take away a piece of their land? Did you take away their agricultural implements? Did you throw them in jail? Did you torture them? Did you assassinate them?

They who took away their lands, they who tortured, they who raped their women, they who never concerned themselves with teaching the peasants to read and write—they say we are domesticating them when what you did was to break the chains of domestication to which they were submitted.

I don't know what they'll come up with next. They say you were teaching Marxism-Leninism. I don't think you know Marxism-Leninism yet. Or do you know Marxism-Leninism? Something? Do you have some idea? [A literacy teacher shouts out: "We want to learn."] You want to learn Marxism-Leninism. I think that's fair. Just as they taught us Christianity in school, just as we study Ricardo and political economy, just as they taught us chemistry, now, if you want, if you are interested, you can study Marxism-Leninism.

Our National Directorate, our Sandinista National Liberation Front, which never bowed down to the powerful, now bows with profound respect before you literacy teachers. You are the new Nicaragua. And you, more than anyone, have won the right to be considered children of Sandino. And no one, no one, has as much right to shout:

Free homeland!

[The crowd responds: "Or death!"] □

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### Venezuelan Regime to Free Anti-Cuba Assassins

By Harry Ring

Cuba has withdrawn its diplomatic staff from Venezuela and stands ready to end diplomatic relations with the Venezuelan government.

The action is in response to the decision by Venezuelan authorities to free four terrorists who blew up a Cuban passenger plane in 1976, killing all seventy-three passengers and crew members.

Those responsible for the mass murder—Cuban counterrevolutionaries and Venezuelan accomplices—were apprehended almost immediately afterward and their guilt clearly established.

Now, four years later, authorities in Caracas blandly announce there is no "convincing evidence" of guilt and propose to let the killers loose.

Announcement of Cuba's response was made by Fidel Castro at a September 27 mass rally. The gathering in Havana's Plaza of the Revolution marked the twentieth anniversary of the founding of Cuba's Committees for the Defense of the Revolution.

Fidel harshly denounced the action of the Venezuelan government. He noted that the prosecutor who asked the military judges to release the killers had initially presented the proof of their guilt and had recommended thirty-year prison terms.

If the assassins are actually released, Fidel declared, "Cuba will consider that prosecutor, those judges, and the government of Venezuela to be the ones responsible for that monstrous crime committed on October 6, 1976."

A military court in Caracas is slated to take final action October 11 on freeing the killers. Apparently to demonstrate the even-handedness of its justice, two of the assassins are now being sentenced to four months and twenty-two days for having entered Venezuela with forged passports.

Both men, Orlando Bosch and Luis Posada, are Cuban exiles. Bosch was a notorious figure among the counterrevolutionary forces in Miami. He is a fugitive from the United States and, theoretically, Washington should be seeking his extradition.

Posada functioned in Venezuela, where for a period he was a ranking official in the country's secret political police.

In 1968, Bosch had been convicted of a bazooka attack on a Polish ship in Miami. He was sentenced to ten years, but paroled after four years.

He then left the country in violation of his parole, making him a fugitive. He entered Venezuela with a phony passport in September 1976.

In October the Cuban airliner exploded as it was taking off from the airport in Barbados.

Two Venezuelans—Héran Ricardo and Freddy Lugo—had boarded the plane in Trinidad and left it in Barbados. They returned to Trinidad where they were arrested the next day. Police in Trinidad disclosed that the two had confessed to planting the bomb en route between Trinidad and Barbados.

They said they were employed by a private detective agency in Caracas staffed by exile Cubans.

This was confirmed by Venezuelan police who arrested Posada, then head of the detective agency, and Bosch, who presented himself publicly as chief of the Command of United Revolutionary Organizations, an umbrella group, at the time, of counterrevolutionary Cuban exile gangs operating in Miami and Latin America.

The group took public credit for the destruction of the plane.

The four were indicted on the basis of evidence compiled by police in Venezuela, Trinidad, and Barbados, plus bomb fragments retrieved by Cuban divers from the plane wreckage in Barbados waters.

Fidel Castro bluntly charged that the crime had been directly organized by the CIA. He cited eight major terrorist attacks against Cuban officials in various countries that immediately preceded the bombing of the plane.

He charged that the CIA had undertaken these criminal acts in retaliation for the role played by Cuban troops in Angola in late 1975. They had played an important role in helping Angola drive back an invasion by South African troops.

Washington, Fidel charged, was "resentful of Cuba's contribution to the defeat suffered by imperialists and racists" in Angola.

Henry Kissinger, then secretary of state, issued a heated denial. He flatly asserted that no United States government agency had anything to do with the killers jailed in Venezuela.

A few days later, "officials" conceded to the *New York Times* (October 29, 1976) that both Bosch and Posada had been trained by the CIA and both had been used in various operations against Cuba.

Five days later, the *Washington Post* reported that the FBI agent attached to the U.S. embassy in Caracas had been in contact with Posada and Ricardo.

And when Freddy Lugo, who with Ricardo had planted the bomb, was arrested, his appointment book contained the address and phone number of the FBI agent.

In the past months, the Venezuelan government has moved into open cooperation with Washington's anti-Cuba campaign. Feeling the hot breath of the rising Central American revolution, it has joined in the effort to exploit the Cuban "refugee" issue and has sought to help stabilize Central American dictatorships.

The decision to free Bosch and his murderous cohorts came fifteen days after Cuban diplomat Félix García was murdered by counterrevolutionaries in New York. U.S. authorities say they are without a clue in that case. □

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## Dissatisfaction Grows Among Workers in Trinidad

[The following article by N. Faria, dated from Port of Spain, Trinidad, is taken from the September 13 issue of the weekly *Free West Indian*, published in St. George's, Grenada.]

\* \* \*

It is now 10 years since the spectacular "black power" revolt shook the bastions of power in what is described as the most prosperous of the Anglophone Caribbean community.

Back in April 1970, thousands of Trinidadians took to the streets to call for the taking over of the major industries, including the Canadian commercial banks on the island, and other economic reforms. They took to the streets then to campaign for an end to unemployment, high prices and cultural imperialism.

Critics of the Eric Williams government, which has been ensconced in the island's Parliament for the last 25 years, say little has changed in that time for the working man in this former British colony.

On the surface, Trinidad and Tobago is prosperous by Caribbean standards: foreign reserves have now reached TT \$5.3 billion (One US dollar=TT \$2.40) and last year's trade surplus was \$1,070 million.

The island's fertile oilfields largely account for the state of affairs—there are proven reserves of 750 million barrels, plus some 12 trillion cubic feet of natural gas yet to be tapped.

Williams's People's National Movement (PNM) has earmarked some of this fuel for a sprawling industrial estate at Point Lisas where aluminum, steel, fertiliser and other industries are now coming on stream.

However, there are rumblings about whether the benefits from these new industries will filter down to the island's one million people, the majority of whom are of African and East Indian descent.

The apparent contradiction between the publicised and the actual distribution of this wealth is no more clearly spelled out than in the "declared war" on the government by the island's powerful Oilfield Workers' Trade Union (OWTU).

The union, which played a major role in the 1970 upheavals, is currently fighting the PNM's move to restrict union representation at the industrial park.

The government has clearly passed an order making the TT \$800 million Point Lisas iron and steel plant an essential industry. Under the island's Industrial Relations Act, workers at the plant cannot

now join a union already involved in another essential industry.

Backing up the union is the United Labour Front (ULF), a badly-split coalition of workers and socialist groups. The official opposition to Williams, the ULF is now divided into two factions: one led by sugar workers' union leader Basdeo Panday and the other by a former army officer who was among the leaders of the 1970 events, Raffique Shah.

The factions now spend their time bickering with each other and carrying on extra-parliamentary work.

This lack of a united opposition to Williams, coupled with the general sense of frustration, probably accounts for a spate of bombings (35 incidents, usually against the homes of politicians, up to the end of June this year) and unexplained fires, one of which has left the island's conservative newspaper, the *Trinidad Guardian*, crippled since April 27.

The frustration stems from many causes. Like most West Indian islands the unemployment level is well over 10 percent of the total labour force.

In Trinidad, a 4,823 square kilometre (1,863 square miles) tropical island sighted by Christopher Columbus in 1498, the official figure is 11.9 per cent (down from 14.1 per cent in 1978) but this figure is widely dismissed by anti-Williams forces here.

Aside from the traditional problems with telephone and water services, the inefficiency of which are the subject of standard jokes in the region, the housing situation is particularly bad. A national housing shortage has resulted in comfortable flats renting for up to \$1,000-\$2,000 per month—well out of the reach of, for example, some categories of domestic servants who may bring home \$120 per month.

As the island celebrates its 18th year of independence, the Williams government is cynically responding to what some people call the national mood of uneasiness and desperation with silence—the same cold-shoulder treatment (even refusing to reply to official correspondence) the government extends to the new revolutionary state in neighbouring Grenada.

With elections constitutionally due next year, Williams's PNM will have to open up to face these complaints.

Among the issues which will certainly need some explaining: the alleged payment of US\$575,000 to unknown persons in the island by the US aircraft manufacturer McDonnell Douglas in connection with the

sale of three jets to the state-owned carrier BWIA [British West Indian Airways].

The latest word from the island's Information Minister Patrick Manning on the alleged payoffs is that a field audit of the firm representing McDonnell in Trinidad, Navorro and Company, will take place and the Attorney General is now empowered to start legal proceedings against Navarro for the alleged breach of exchange control regulations. Whether any government ministers are involved in the alleged payments is the subject of many conversations here.

Another problem, expected to demand attention in the forthcoming elections, is the demand of more autonomy for the outlying island of Tobago, which together with the larger Trinidad, form the Republic.

Residents of Tobago, a 300-square kilometre (116 square mile) coral formation lying 33 kilometres (21 miles) northeast of the main island, complain of a cost of living 300 per cent higher than that of the mainland. Moreover, Tobagonians now cannot even obtain simple documents, like driving licenses, in their island.

For a long time now, Tobagonians have also asked the Williams government to investigate the erratic state-run cargo services from Trinidad, a state of affairs which, because a lot of the cargo now comes in through unreliable and small-scale private vessels, has resulted in unnecessary markups on such staple supplies as bottled cooking gas. □

## Chinese Activists Win Victory

According to a report from Canton He Qui, a prominent activist in the Chinese democratic movement, was released by the authorities September 16. He, a member of the editorial board of the samizdat publication *Road of the People*, was arrested on August 31 along with three other editors of unofficial publications. (See *Intercontinental Press*, September 29, page 1000.)

He and the others arrested with him had recently helped to organize the National Defense Committee for the Release of Liu Qing, another fighter for democratic rights who was secretly sentenced to three years of "labor reform" in July.

He's release is an important victory and shows that continued international protests can have an effect in helping to win the freedom of his unjustly imprisoned comrades.

## Turkish Generals Move Against Workers

By Gerry Foley

The international importance of the military coup in Turkey September 12 has become especially clear since the escalation of the Iraqi regime's attacks on Iran.

After the tanks went into the streets in Turkish cities, revolutionists and workers organizations in Iran immediately raised the alarm that the military takeover was aimed at tightening a noose around the Iranian revolution.

At the same time, the establishment of a military dictatorship in Turkey fits into a general attack on the rights of labor throughout the capitalist world, which big business sees as necessary to break the workers' resistance to cuts in their standard of living.

The capitalist press in the U.S. and West Europe, however, has tried to portray the aims of the generals as simply to restrain the "unruliness" of the Turks. It has been filled with stories about how happy the Turkish people—even "leftists"—are now that there is a firm hand at the rudder and they can live in "peace."

The *Wall Street Journal*, which is written for U.S. business, at least has made it clear what it means by peace. In this respect, it is more honest than the press that tries to maintain a liberal image in order to deceive other sections of the population.

In the September 15 *Wall Street Journal* Eric Morgenthau wrote, "If the new government can both continue the Demirel austerity program and quell labor unrest, its policies are likely to have the solid support of business."

The problem before the takeover was that many of the trade unions were not cooperative. Morgenthau explained that "high inflation—caused largely by the austerity measures, which lifted price controls on goods ranging from gasoline to bread—has caused discontent; widespread strikes have become one of business's biggest problems."

Giving an example of the hard times facing businessmen before the generals stepped in, Morgenthau noted that "a couple of days before the coup, Sakip Sabanci, the head of Turkey's biggest industrial holding company . . . talked of trouble at three of his big plants—which employ 10,000 people."

Now things are much better:

"The unions that were behind such strikes have been abolished and their leaders jailed, and several of the strikes by left wing unions have ended. . . . Businessmen, at least, feel the army has a

better chance of bringing labor peace than did the politicians."

The problem was that the politicians could not just "abolish the unions" and jail their leaders. For that you need the army.

### Massive Arrests

The army is particularly well placed to see the businessmen's point of view. It is itself directly involved in the capitalist economy. Much of the large Turkish armaments industry is owned by the military.

In addition, the army's welfare fund, OYAK, is one of the largest holding companies in the country. It has large investments particularly in the automotive industry, cement, petrochemicals, insurance, and tires.

In the tire industry, OYAK is in partnership with the U.S. Goodyear trust. In the car industry, OYAK owns 42 percent of the stock in Renault's Turkish subsidiary, one of the country's largest concerns.

On September 16, General Kenan Evren informed the workers what was expected of them:

"The patience, tenacity, and sacrifice of our people will be our main advantages in overcoming our [economic] problems."

On September 18, *Le Monde* reported that "Turkish TV is playing up the return to work of strikers. In metal and textiles, 70,000 workers had been on strike."

According to the U.S. and West European press, the only incidents of violence since the coup have been "terrorist" actions aimed at provoking the ill temper of the army.

However, on September 17, the Greek daily *Eleftherotypia*, published in Athens, gave a fuller picture of the new "peacefulness" in neighboring Turkey.

From Ankara, the Greek paper's correspondent, Nora Mauros, reported:

"Massive arrests have begun. By yesterday, [September 16] more than 15,000 persons had been jailed. And the generals are preparing big sweeps, especially in the eastern part of the country, to which large military forces have been sent."

### Suppression of Kurds

The eastern region is where the Kurdish population is concentrated. In the past five years, the rise of trade-union struggles has gone hand in hand with a resurgence of the Kurdish national liberation movement and increasing demands by Kurds for economic aid to their deprived region and for equal rights.

The suppression of the Kurds, perhaps one-fifth of the population of the country,

has been an integral part of the repressive system in Turkey throughout the modern period. One of the justifications General Evren gave for the coup was the need to crush "separatism." This can only refer to the Kurds. The other minorities are small and reconciled to assimilation.

The Iranian revolution and the accompanying upsurge and gains of the Kurdish population in Iran has had a strong impact on the Kurds inside Turkey. There are close links between the Kurds in Turkey, Iran, and Iraq.

The deepening of the Iranian revolution as a whole has undoubtedly made the Turkish generals more and more anxious to get a tighter grip on the eastern part of their country.

The Turkish government has carried out joint maneuvers with the Iraqi regime in the last period in an attempt to interdict the movement of Kurdish nationalists.

In launching its war against Iran, the Iraqi regime felt compelled to keep a large part of its operational forces in Iraqi Kurdistan. Obviously, the Turkish junta would be anxious to assure the tightest possible control of its own Kurdish areas before making any military moves against Iran.

In its September 16 issue, *Kargar*, the weekly paper of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), stressed the danger the Turkish coup poses to the working people of Iran:

"Today, along with mobilizing its military forces in the Persian Gulf, the U.S. is trying to turn Turkey into a fortress against the Iranian revolution. In view of the military attacks against us by the reactionary Iraqi regime, this would mean that we would be besieged on three sides."

*Kargar* quoted the statement of the Coordinating Center of Islamic Factory and Trade Shoras:

"The establishment of military rule in Turkey is designed to prepare the way for military intervention in our country. America is trying to prepare the basis for military intervention against us from our eastern borders all the way around to our frontier with the Soviet Union. . . . We consider the coup in Turkey part of a vast plot for military intervention in Iran."

*Kargar* noted: "The Turkish coup is a warning signal for the Iranian revolution. This danger must be answered by mass mobilizations and protests. . . . And part of these protests must be statements of support for the masses of Turkish working people. . . . They are the only force that can block the threat of a Turkish military attack against our revolution."

### Solidarity in Greece

In Greece, the Turkish coup also struck an alarm bell. On September 17, the Greek national student union, the EFEE, mobilized a demonstration of thousands in



Athens in support of the Turkish working people. The main speaker said:

The Greek people are sending a message to "the Turkish militants, thousands of whom have been exiled or jailed by the U.S.-manipulated junta. In the fight to defeat the military dictatorship in Turkey, the Turkish people can count on the help of the people's movement in our country.

"In our message we recall that thirteen years ago the tanks were in the streets of Athens. Today they are in the streets of Ankara and Istanbul. These are NATO tanks and American tanks sent into the streets to defend the interests of the imperialist policy set in Washington.

"We know very well who is responsible for this, who chained the Greek people and who is trying to chain the Turkish people now. We made a promise then and we kept it. We said in our common declarations: 'We have a common enemy—imperialism.'"

Greece is not a neocolonial country like Turkey. But because of its small size and its strategic position, the Greek people have to a certain extent shared the political fate of their Turkish neighbors—reactionary and repressive regimes have continually been imposed on them by the imperialist big powers. That is why the U.S.-backed coup in Turkey struck such a strong chord in Greece.

If a shared resentment against Washington-imposed dictatorship helps to overcome the national antagonism fostered by the imperialist big powers, this will immeasurably strengthen both the Greek and Turkish people against the forces that continue to hold them down.



Greek students demonstrated in support of Turkish workers September 17.

But the Turkish coup should ring alarm bells in a lot more countries, including in Western Europe and in the United States itself.

The editors of the *Wall Street Journal*, for example, stressed their appreciation for the "realism" of the coverage given to the Turkish coup by the "generally liberal" press. It expressed the hope that this would lead to a similar understanding for military dictatorship in such countries as South Korea.

There is another aspect of this coverage that the *Wall Street Journal* obviously also appreciated but chose not to commend openly. What does it mean when the "generally liberal" U.S. and West European press says in effect that abolishing unions and jailing their leaders is necessary to reestablish "peace" and "economic health"?

The justification of the Turkish coup in the capitalist press promotes the idea that the way to solve the problems created by the world economic crisis is to deprive working people of their basic rights.

#### An Attack on All Workers

The labor movement the military wants to smash in Turkey is the largest independent union movement by far in the Middle East. Furthermore, Turkish workers go in large numbers to countries such as West Germany where it is important to the local trade unions to make sure they are organized.

Even before the coup, for example, the assassination of Turkish labor leaders was arousing more and more protests from Western European trade unions.

The labor movement in every country has a major stake in defending the Turkish workers organizations. The crushing of the union movement in any country increases the downward pressure on wage rates internationally. Moreover, the economic crisis that led big business in Turkey to call in the military is not limited to any one country, or even to the underdeveloped ones. It is worldwide, and it is leading to increased attacks on the workers and peasants everywhere. □

## Indian Trotskyists Protest Repression

### Demand Release of Sri Lanka Union Leaders

[The following statement on the repression launched by the Sri Lanka regime against striking workers was issued September 6 by the Communist League of India, the Indian section of the Fourth International. A letter of protest to Sri Lanka President Junius Jayewardene was also sent by the Communist League. It demanded in particular the release of Vasudava Nanawakara, secretary of the United Federation of Workers, and G. Mahanama, secretary of the Government Clerical Service Union.]

\* \* \*

Faced with a galloping inflation rate of nearly 42 percent, the working class of Sri Lanka demanded a wage increase, to which the dictatorial Jayewardene regime replied with brutal repression. To fight

repression, to support striking railway workers, and to claim wage increases, the large majority of the trade-union organisations, grouped together in a united front known under the name of the JTUAC (Joint Trade Union Action Committee), decided to launch a general strike. More than 100,000 workers responded to the call.

To precipitate confrontation and to brutally crush the strike, on July 16, the government declared a state of emergency. All news of the strike was censored, all meetings of political parties or organisations were banned, trade-union offices were closed, the funds of unions on strike or sympathising with the strike were frozen, and police were given powers to arrest persons, etc. With this, the regime unleashed a campaign of intimidation and declared that it won't take back to work

the public sector workers who are on strike.

The Communist League—Indian Section of the Fourth International—strongly opposes the repression let loose by the Jayewardene regime on the Ceylonese working class. We demand the end of anti-union repression, the reestablishment of the right to strike, the abrogation of the state of emergency and censorship, the reintegration of suspended or sacked workers, and the immediate liberation of imprisoned militants (in particular Comrades Vasudava and G. Mahanama). The Communist League appeals to all working-class organisations and their allies to solidarise with the Ceylonese working class in defence of their rights. International solidarity action by the working class is always an effective weapon against political repression. □

## Washington Again Vows to Support Pol Pot at UN

By Fred Feldman

Secretary of State Edmund Muskie announced September 15 that the U.S. government will again support Pol Pot's claim that his ousted government is the legitimate representative of Kampuchea to the United Nations.

Pol Pot is commander in chief of the Khmer Rouge army, which was ousted from power in January 1979 by Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean insurgents. The Khmer Rouge is now universally acknowledged to have been responsible for the deaths of at least a million—and perhaps as many as four million—Kampuchians.

These forces are now confined to tiny enclaves along the Thai-Kampuchea border. They are maintained in camps set up by the Thai military dictatorship. The camps are guarded by Thai soldiers who operate with Khmer Rouge units on both sides of the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Arms are supplied to Pol Pot through Peking and the Thai military dictatorship. Other supplies are funnelled through so-called humanitarian relief operations along the Thai border.

U.S. activities in support of Pol Pot are coordinated by the Kampuchea Emergency Group, headquartered on the Thai side of the border. (See article on facing page.)

Despite all this assistance, the Khmer Rouge killers have failed to make any headway in nearly two years of efforts to bring down the Heng Samrin government.

As Washington's determination to back Pol Pot to the bitter end becomes more open, it is also becoming more controversial.

Presidential candidate John Anderson criticized the move to back Pol Pot in the United Nations, as have ten Senators.

The *New York Times*, which favors continued efforts to bring down Heng Samrin, suggested "a slight change in the American posture" in an August 29 editorial. "To keep championing Pol Pot's murderous gangs, who control only a few outposts in western Cambodia, would be a cynical betrayal of a ravaged people," the *Times* said.

The September 17 *Washington Post* argued that voting for Pol Pot "is also questionable in realpolitik terms."

"In asking the American people to support a policy that brings smiles and thanks from a gang of mass murderers," the *Post* editors explained, "Mr. Carter has made a serious political error. People will not support such a policy. They should not be asked to."

The London *Economist*, a prestigious

voice of British capital, uttered similar warnings.

The Carter administration faces a growing number of waverers at the United Nations. Many diplomats suspect that UN support to Pol Pot, intended to discredit the Heng Samrin regime, has actually been much more successful in discrediting the United Nations in the eyes of the world's people.

The *Times*, *Post*, and *Economist* do not favor a vote to recognize Heng Samrin, however. They advocate the construction of a more viable anticommunist coalition, one that would have wider appeal to Kampuchians than the hated Pol Pot forces.

There is only one problem: Washington and its allies have been trying to construct such a coalition for nearly two years without success.

In an interview with Oriana Fallaci published in the September 1 *Washington Post*, Chinese Communist Party chief Deng Xiaoping succinctly stated the dilemma of the imperialists and their allies:

"The question to be put is the following one: Who fights the Vietnamese? Prince Sihanouk has no force at all, the small groups like the groups of Son Senn are too small and cannot carry out any serious resistance. The only force which really fights is the one of Pol Pot and in fact it is Pol Pot that the people follow."

When the Vietnamese troops first moved into Kampuchea, the Western media confidently predicted that "traditional hatreds" between Vietnamese and Kampuchians would spur the formation of a broad front to bring down Heng Samrin. Some suggested that the people would rally even to Pol Pot in order to repel the Vietnamese invader.

The Carter administration banked heavily on such developments, but nothing of the kind materialized.

After nearly two years of Vietnamese occupation, nearly every vital force in Kampuchean society has united with the Vietnamese in efforts to reconstruct Kampuchea and repel Pol Pot and his allies.

The Kampuchean people did not see Vietnamese military intervention as a prime threat to Kampuchean sovereignty, but as liberation from a regime that threatened their survival as a people. And they see the imperialist drive to topple Heng Samrin as a similar threat.

They have no desire to return either to the rule of a "reformed" Pol Pot or to the imperialist domination which they have fought to decisively throw off since 1970.

At the same time, the Vietnamese troops,



MUSKIE: U.S. secretary of state is unruffled by genocide carried out by Khmer Rouge.

administrators, workers, and technicians have thus far gone to considerable lengths to avoid offending the deep nationalist feelings of the Kampuchean workers and peasants.

Washington's allies in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations also stand firmly behind Pol Pot. In the September 23 *Wall Street Journal*, Robert Keatley wrote from Singapore of their growing fears that defeat for Pol Pot will lead to further extension of the Indochinese revolutions:

"If ASEAN leaders can't have Cambodian peace on terms they find acceptable, many prefer continued war. Civil war inside Kampuchea, that is—not war spilling over the Thai border or southward into Malaysia and toward this prosperous city-state.

"An independent Cambodia, even one run by the brutal Communist regime of Pol Pot, doesn't pose great danger to Thailand and other ASEAN states, no matter how barbarous it may be to its own people. But a Vietnam-imposed government there, however benign toward Cambodians, is a quite different thing."

Canadian Foreign Minister Mark MacGuigan took the same stand, declaring that the consequences of supporting Pol Pot's murder squads "aren't nearly as bad as having a lack of fighting as a result of a Vietnamese conquest of Kampuchea. I regard that as a fundamentally more dangerous situation than if the fighting continues."

"Vietnamese conquest," of course, has always been the imperialists' term for further consolidation of the Indochinese revolutions. □



## Washington's Second War in Indochina

[The following article by John Pilger appeared in the August 1 issue of the British weekly *New Statesman*.]

\* \* \*

A few miles from Cambodia, on the Thailand border, is a suburban Fort Apache now sluiced with red mud as the monsoon settles over Indochina. It is a warren of attractive houses on piles, accommodating newly prosperous Thai families whose pick-up trucks and polythene-wrapped Hondas, and tape decks and winsome children, reflect the entrepreneurial opportunities of the past year, delivered by the unique tragedy across the border. There is a supermarket, proclaiming "Pepsi Superman" and "For Rent" signs ("Short or Long Time"; the ambiguity, strictly Thai, embraces a wide range of leasing); and there are foreigners, with pensions secure and motives not entirely altruistic, for which these services are intended.

The Catholic Relief Services has a house here; a place of urgency commanded by a former Green Berets officer, now a Jesuit priest. A short distance away is the border headquarters of UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund, with its hi-there receptionist, Year of the Child decor and refrigerated air conditioning; and there is the World Relief "post," from which thirteen missionaries of the Assembly of God go forth into the Khmer Rouge fortress of Sa Kao, known locally as a United Nations refugee camp, to inform thousands of opaque eyes that Jesus Christ will save them, if not their victims. Last year Rosalynn Carter came to the same camp and said America would save them, which was more to the point.

### 'Kampuchea Emergency Group'

This is Aranyaprathet, Thailand, overlaid with Amarillo, Texas and Saigon before it "fell"—the latter familiar to, and mourned by, many of the foreigners here. Indeed, outside Prol's restaurant, where everybody goes, the Hondarised cowboys wear shades and black hats, evocative of the view from the verandah of the Continental Palace before it lapsed into communist hands; inside, with Simon and Garfunkel and other memories on tape, with hamburgers, Tom Collins and dry martinis served by children, the cowboys comprise an assortment of freelancers, some not unlike the *paparazzi* to which Michael Herr's "Dispatches" was devoted, some on research grants, acknowledged "experts" on a Cambodia they have not seen, some

in the surgical uniforms of M\*A\*S\*H with stethoscopes positioned for maximum chic, and which they appear reluctant to take off. Overheard: "There's this Italian medical team sitting in Bangkok, right? We're up to here in fucking medical teams, but these guys are demanding a spot in the chorus line. Maybe they can take over the Valium programme. Three thousand downers a day to the Pol Potters should keep them busy." And there are tourists, asking: "Does this place have a bathroom?" And there are men on United States Government business.

These men live in and work from a large house with a radio transmitter on the roof and a fleet of unmarked white station wagons coming and going and which also have transmitters. This is the operations base of the Kampuchea Emergency Group, or KEG, whose activities somehow have escaped the otherwise saturation media coverage of the humanitarian aspects of the border. The men of KEG are attached to the US Embassy in Bangkok and report variously to the State Department, USAID, the CIA and, of course, to Ambassador Morton Abramowitz, a Pentagon China specialist who two years ago replaced Charles Whitehouse, an advocate of "normalising" with Vietnam, and whose appointment was greeted by a Bangkok newspaper with these comments:

As his past activities indicate, Abramowitz is one hope of the United States in its effort to cooperate with China to block Soviet and Vietnamese influence in South East Asia.

### West's Leading Warlord

Both the appointment of Abramowitz and the setting up of KEG were the decisions of Dr Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's National Security Adviser who, it might be fairly said, has taken over where Dr Henry Kissinger left off, as the West's leading warlord. Certainly, the current American war in Indochina, in which American blood, B52s and the products of the Dow Chemical Company are not needed, is his.

Enter Lionel A. Rosenblatt, formerly of the United States Embassy, Saigon, now "refugee co-ordinator" of KEG, Thailand, whose words are these:

I feel that what we're doing is an appropriate extension of our war in Vietnam. I think it's important for America to remember its responsibilities in this region, even though it doesn't have the high security threshold that we used to have with half a million men here. I think that actually the only problem with America in this part of the world is that, having fought the

Vietnam war, most people at home have retired completely in terms of involvement. Well, the people who are working here with us, some are old Indochina hands and some aren't, are people who are interested in seeing that humanitarian effort continue, who are concerned about the life-threatening processes here. Okay, so the general inclination is forget South East Asia, that was the sixties, early seventies. Now we say we need to be involved, and there *will* be an increasing US involvement in South East Asia in the 1980s. And the new line, if you like, is right here in Thailand, okay?

*Deja vu!* With the exception of Life Threatening Processes (LTP?), which is new issue, such words might have come echoing through that fabled, unlit tunnel of the sixties and seventies, had they not been uttered the other day, though I have to say that to describe the Vietnam war as a "humanitarian effort" is premature; history is being re-written in South East Asia, but not *that* quickly. The mission of KEG is indeed the "appropriate extension": it is to oversee the distribution of Western supplies, which are funded largely by the United States and the EEC, including Britain, to the proxies in the latest Indochina war: the "guerrilla forces" with a haven on the border, namely the Khmer Rouge, proportionately the most thorough mass murderers in modern times, whose demonry included the building of Auschwitz in Asia\*, whom even the President of the United States has described as "the world's worst violators of human rights."

This strategy is being carried out under the cover of humanitarianism; its objective is, to borrow from Dr Kissinger, the "destabilisation" of Cambodia and, more important, of Vietnam. The following effects are desired: the isolation and wrecking of Vietnam's economy, so that its spirit is finally broken and its revolution converted to the brutalised, authoritarian image into which it is presently cast, thereby forcing it into satellite dependency on the Soviet Union; the discrediting, in the eyes of the world, of a generation of Vietnamese struggle and sacrifice, so that the US intervention in Indochina and its use of Vietnam as a laboratory of rampant war technology is historically justified, thereby legitimising future adventures and drawing revenge for the humiliation of a "lost" war; and the continuation of an unwanted war of attrition between the Soviet Union and China and of the obsession of each with the other's "expansionism" (Mao's original revisionist charge having faded into obsolescence now that the "Sound of Music" is

\*See *Intercontinental Press*, June 2, 1980, p. 570.—IP

ensconced in Peking). This is the Brzezinski strategy for the 1980s. There is no reason to doubt that it will be the Reagan strategy. Divide and rule, I believe it is called.

#### Brzezinski's Indochina War

Brzezinski's Indochina war began with Ambassador Abramowitz's arrival in Bangkok in the summer of 1978 and the subsequent abandonment of a momentous chance of peace, to which reference should be made here because it went largely unreported and because it offers a perspective on Vietnam's relationship with the Soviet Union that is very different from the currently propagated version. In the autumn of 1978 a mission of doctors and nutritionists sent by Senator Edward Kennedy's Committee on Vietnam reported "shock" at the health of the Vietnamese people they saw and appealed to President Carter to "bring the people of Vietnam back from the precipice of calamity . . . and to save thousands of men, women and children by a single act of magnanimity." The report made special mention of extreme food shortages and the need of skimmed milk for children. On the advice of Dr Brzezinski, the President's response was to sign a renewal of the total American embargo of Vietnam, including food.

It was then that Vietnam's overtures to America, of which little was heard in the West and which the Vietnamese saw as the means of extricating themselves from the cold war between the Soviet Union and China, became exhausted. An abbreviation of an excellent analysis by Derek Davies, editor of the conservative *Far East Economic Review*, is worth quoting here:

At the time of Carter's election at the end of 1976 Moscow was losing ground in Vietnam. . . . Vietnamese Vice-Foreign Minister Phan Hien had made it clear that Vietnam did not accept the view of ASEAN [Association of South East Asian Nations] as an imperialist creation, nor did it support the Soviet proposal for an Asian collective security treaty. At home, Vietnam was re-absorbing the South with kid gloves.

Hanoi had irritated Moscow with its membership of the World Bank, the IMF and the Asian Development Bank and was bent on improving relations with China. Peking was responding, recalling the late premier Chou En Lai's concern for Vietnam. In the spring of 1977, Hanoi publicly confirmed the pragmatism with which it was prepared to tackle its economic problems. It promulgated a foreign investment code which was both liberal and flexible, providing for joint enterprises and wholly-owned foreign projects. In the spring of 1978 Pham Van Dong indicated that Vietnam would be willing to drop all preconditions to talks with the Americans—even reparations. There was no response from Washington. The US again voted against the [Asian Development] bank being used to channel funds to Vietnam.

"The tragic circle," as Davies describes the American rebuff, was closed on 3 November 1978 when Vietnam had no alternative but to join COMECON, and to

slip further into the Soviet sphere. (Indeed, I am reliably told, two officials of the Asian Development Bank were instructed to "lose the files on Vietnam.")

With famine a real prospect, there also was no alternative but to end the "Cholon Chinese" control of the rice market in southern Vietnam, and this helped to precipitate the first substantial and brutally encouraged exodus of "boat people." With Chinese military advisers at his elbow, Pol



Der Spiegel  
Pol Pot greeted by Chinese CP chief Hua Guofeng in Peking, 1977.

Pot increased his attacks on the ricelands of the "Parrot's Beak" to a level of almost daily atrocities in Vietnamese border villages; and finally the Vietnamese, who had offered the Khmer Rouge a demilitarised border with international inspection, had little choice but to "invade" Pol Pot's charnel house (Why is it that we think of Europe as having been "liberated," not "invaded"?) and, in so doing, put an end to the genocide of the Khmer people. Vietnam, having journeyed through a history of courage and pain, with millions dead and maimed, and having expelled both its colonial masters and a great power (which no other small country has ever done) was now an international pariah; and with the nod from Washington—that is from Brzezinski, not from Cyrus Vance—China attacked massively from the north.

#### Peking's Indochina Policy

Three weeks ago, in Tokyo, President Carter and Chairman Hua Guofeng met for the first time. It was indeed "an historic meeting," as their spokesmen effused; for here was the remarkable alliance begun by Nixon and Kissinger in 1972 being consummated with the tacit agreement that the Pentagon would arm China (no longer, "Red China," of course) and with the following communiqué:

There is essential agreement between the United States and the People's Republic of China with regard to strategic perspectives and particularly as they relate to . . . the invasion of Cambodia by Soviet backed Vietnamese.

In other words, it would seem that America has abandoned the relatively cautious position taken by Secretary Vance before his resignation—that Washington neither supported the Phnom Penh government nor the Khmer Rouge—and has given full approval to China's Indochina policy, which is to subdue Vietnam, by force or attrition, and to restore the Khmer Rouge to power in "Democratic Kampuchea" with a new, respectable image and, should America insist, in the guise of a "non-aligned" coalition. The United States and its Western partners already are playing their part by supplying the "new" Khmer Rouge with "relief."

This returns us to the Thai border, where the new line is drawn, and to those who implement the American side of the bargain, or "the increasing involvement of the 1980s," as the Deer Hunters of the Kampuchean Emergency Group see it. Indeed, the identity of the chief of KEG underscores the unflagging continuity of American involvement in Indochina. He is Colonel Michael Eiland, an illustrious Deer Hunter. In 1969/70 Eiland, then a major, was operations officer of a clandestine Special Forces group code-named Daniel Boone which, as William Shawcross documents in *Side Show: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia*, was responsible for the reconnaissance of the secret and illegal bombing that tore apart Cambodia's fragile neutrality and ushered in a decade of war and butchery and, as a consequence, was a catalyst for the triumph of the Khmer Rouge. Colonel Eiland, having indirectly given the Khmer Rouge a helping hand a decade ago, is once again reaching out to them, though several million people have died in the interim.

#### Task Force 80

In seniority, a commanding, burly figure in a yellow baseball cap is above both Rosenblatt and Eiland. He is Jack Williamson, who was the USAID man in Laos during the "destabilising" there in the early seventies. He is now the Pentagon's most important man in Thailand. "Williamson's job," I was told, "is to see that the Thais don't lose their nerve or focus on what's important: support for anti-Vietnamese forces, and that means Pol Pot."

Williamson "co-ordinates" and "advices" Task Force 80, a special Thai Army intelligence unit assigned to "police" the border camps. What that means is that Thai officers in civilian clothes command guerrilla groups both inside Thailand and when they move back into Cambodia. When a *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter discovered "Camp 42," a Khmer base run entirely by Thais, he was imprisoned and his film destroyed. Task Force 80 draws most of its funding direct from the US Embassy in Bangkok.

In the past few weeks the facade of the humanitarian operation along the border



has begun to crumble. This is not to suggest that the international and voluntary relief agencies did not save a great many lives last year, when people fled from the Khmer Rouge enclaves in search of food, nor is it to impugn the motives of many individual aid officials. Indeed, it is the most dedicated among the aid people who now talk openly and with rising bitterness of their manipulation by their own bureaucracies, by the Thai military and by the Americans in Bangkok and on the border.

One UNICEF official was recalled to New York and threatened with dismissal if he continued to speak publicly of this manipulation and especially of Vietnam's humanitarian assistance to Cambodia, evidence of which he had seen. For agency people like him, the repatriation of 8,600 from the Thai camps is the sorest case in point. All these "returnees" came from Sa Kaeo camp, inside Thailand, which the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) administers, nominally, and the Khmer Rouge control in reality, dispensing aid and intimidation, not to mention burying people up to their necks as sport.

#### Khmer Rouge—Rested and Fattened By Western Aid

The Khmer Rouge in this camp have been rested and fattened by Western aid and, said a UN official who watched the first batch leave, "they're ready to fight . . . we're sending back an entire division of the bastards. This is like a declaration of war." An official of CARE, the American relief organisation, said, "In a few months we'll have the starving babies back on television, the products of a war which this repatriation stunt makes damn sure will go on, and on." The *Bangkok Post* reported:

The followers of toppled premier Pol Pot, who exercises a strong hold over many of the camp's 30,000 refugees, want as many to return as possible to help wage a guerrilla war against Vietnam's forces. Pol Pot officials have been telling refugees that the United Nations would cut off food aid to them if they refused repatriation and that they had to return to Pol Pot controlled areas of the Thai-Kampuchean border. The Pol Pot followers, some of whom have told interviewers that they took part in mass executions during Pol Pot's days in power, have a ditty to reinforce their point. It goes:

*Those of you who go back first will sleep on cots,  
Those who go back second will sleep on mats,  
Those who go back third will sleep in mud,  
Those who go back last will sleep under the ground.*

The UNHCR Chief Coordinator, Zia Rizvi, attempted to postpone the repatriation, but was turned down by the Thais. Predictably, the Vietnamese responded to the provocation with an attack that closed the "land bridge" at Nong Chan and has stopped, perhaps only temporarily, the agencies' regular supply runs to such

Khmer Rouge bases as Phnom Malai and Ta Prik in the south and Phnom Chat in the north. Certainly, my own journey across the border, to Phnom Chat, produced a spectacle of proof of how UNICEF and the Red Cross have restored the Khmer Rouge and helped to mould them into an effective force now estimated at 30,000 troops, or double their strength since the inception of "cross border feeding."

I travelled in a UNICEF Land Rover at the head of a convoy of forty trucks: seventeen loaded with food, seventeen with seed and the rest with agricultural kits and assorted "goodies," which is a quaint term the agency people use for the West's largesse. Phnom Chat is a Khmer Rouge operations base set in forest, and bunkered, with land mines every fifteen yards. These were laid by courtesy of the Thai



army, which keeps a commando unit encamped (and not very well camouflaged) on the periphery of the base inside Cambodia.

The base itself has a Task Force 80 "liaison officer" who was worried and displeased by the presence of foreigners other than those bearing "goodies." The UNICEF official leading the convoy, Phyllis Gestrin, a University of Texas psychology professor, was also worried and clearly disliked what she was doing. "I don't want to think what this aid is doing; I don't trust these blackshirts," she said.

Indeed, she could barely suppress her fear and turned the Land Rover around and pointed it back along the track. "I always do this," she said, "so I can make a quick getaway." Later, in a state of mounting unease, Phyllis drove us into a tree, then over ground which she earlier had pointed out as a possible minefield. "Oh man," she said, "this place gives me the creeps. Let's get it over with."

When the forty trucks had dumped their "goodies" at sheds in a clearing, Phyllis solicited the signature of one of three Khmer Rouge who had watched in silence

from a thatched shelter, like the framed silhouettes of hanged men. "I guess what I got here is a receipt," said Phyllis attempting a little laugh.

As we were preparing to leave, UNICEF's chief of the North West Operations in Thailand, Ulf Krisstoffersson, arrived and proceeded to explain to me a complicated monitoring system that entailed checking "non-resident family groups." "But," I said, "the trucks have dumped the loads at the feet of the Khmer Rouge and it's they who distribute it." "Well, yes," he said, "but I want you to understand it gets to civilians, too. Many of these people are not Khmer Rouge; they're Khmer Serei."

#### 'Monsieur Le President'

The Khmer Serei are usually described as "right wing guerrillas"; in fact, their leaders are bandits who, with the Thais, run the black market and gold trade in the refugee camps on the Thai side. They have no real popular following; and what the Thai military is doing is grafting civilians, with no particular allegiance, on to Khmer Rouge bases—so that they can proceed with the fiction that the Khmer Rouge and the Khmer Serei are united against the Vietnamese. This also creates a justification for humanitarian aid, although the beneficiaries of the aid are clearly *not* civilians, who look undernourished as well as terrified. By contrast, the Khmer Rouge are well fed and muscled. "Okay," said Krisstoffersson, "that man over there is a butcher and we're feeding his army, but *we* are not political."

The "butcher" is the base commander, a senior Pol Pot man who likes the foreign aid people to call him "Monsieur Le President." I asked to see Monsieur Le President and was assured that he would "appear"; and I was soon confronted by a man with the calcified face of a small boy, and static eyes.

Last year, in Siem Reap province, I saw the mass grave of several thousand people, many of whom had been beaten to death. Now, smiling before me, was Pol Pot's equivalent of the governor of that province. His name is Nam Phann, which is probably a military alias. He was eager to confirm that Western aid had indeed sustained and restored the Khmer Rouge. " . . . and thank you very much, and we wish for more."

He said that "our friends in the world" were the United Nations, the countries of ASEAN, especially Thailand and Singapore, and the United States. "Oh yes, the United States!" he said, with feeling. But what of all the stories of atrocities and genocide under Pol Pot? "Oh *that*," he replied. "Those stories are completely untrue. They were made up by the Vietnamese to confuse the world."

#### Role of Relief Agencies

The agencies cannot plead naiveté; Red Cross medical teams have ministered to



Thai troops, Red Cross trucks: Part of the same operation.

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the Khmer Rouge inside Cambodia, at Ta Prik and Nong Pou, knowing that these are logistical forward positions. Our request to accompany them was refused; not even the day of departure could be disclosed. Why should a strictly humanitarian mission be secret?

"You must not be too hard on us," said a Red Cross official. "The whole thing is rotten and we're sitting here in the middle of the garbage, trying to get off. What are we to do when Task Force 80 brings Khmer Rouge wounded to Sa Kao camp (inside Thailand) in the middle of the night and orders our teams to treat them? Of course, we have to patch them up, and the Thais send them back. If we pull out of the border, the Thais will prevent our supplies going through Bangkok to Phnom Penh, and the Phnom Penh authorities will regard us as accessories to their enemy, and make life difficult for our people there. It's an impossible situation for us."

A senior UNICEF man said, "I have the US embassy and the KEG people on the phone every day now. They keep telling us to hang in there. Well, I am fed up, and I want to get out. But they know that we know that if we desert the border, US funds will dry up. It's the crudest form of manipulation."

Both the international agencies and the Americans have canvassed the voluntary agencies for those willing to take over the supply runs to the Khmer Rouge. Even the Catholic Relief Services, which always has had close relations with the Americans, has refused to "hang in there."

"They'll find some Volag (voluntary agency) to do it," said a former UN official. "Most of them are Christian and anti-Communist and some are no more than cowboys, with too much money and too little to do, and feeding Pol Pot or flying out a jumbo load of lactating mothers is all the same to them."

Three weeks ago James Grant, the new executive director of UNICEF, said in London:

Reports that relief supplies are to be cut off in two weeks time are unfounded. The aim is to continue the supply of relief in situations where assurance can be given by the Thai Government that the aid is going only to civilian groups and not to Khmer guerrilla forces.

The italics are mine; the gall is his. The problem for Mr Grant, for UNICEF and for the Red Cross is that these Western government-funded agencies are now seen to be doing *precisely* what the Phnom Penh authorities have accused them of doing. Readers may recall last year's orchestrated public outcry, mostly from Geneva and New York, that the Phnom Penh government would not allow the agencies to send in a monitoring force of some 50 officials. There are now 78 aid officials in Phnom Penh; and whatever the shortcomings of effective relief monitoring *inside* Cambodia (Kampuchea), there is virtually none across the Thai border, which has received a hugely disproportionate share of Western charity.

Indeed, an internal UNICEF estimate is that 84 per cent of rice sent across the border is sold. By attracting up to 20 per cent of the population toward the border, farmers and draft animals are drawn away from the fields and from planting seed for the vital December harvest, the success of which will determine whether or not the nation is able to feed itself or is to remain dependent on foreign welfare. I have met few aid officials who do not regard the magnet of the border as an indirect means of de-stabilisation.

Aside from shoring up the Khmer Rouge, there are other direct methods. Before I went to the Thai border I travelled extensively in Cambodia, including up to within a few miles of the border. A farmer, Ses Kravah, who has worked his fields in

the village of Kob for thirty years, lamented that his crop would be stunted and a disastrous harvest assured. He had received seed from Phnom Penh, but had decided to buy most of his seed from across the nearby border, only to discover bags of empty husks and a germination rate of less than forty per cent. The World Food Programme has dumped, from the Thai side of the border, a great deal of this low-grade seed, for which the invoices can be traced to the US Embassy in Bangkok.

#### Destabilisation and the Media Campaign

The distortion in the West of events in Indochina, which have allowed Washington to play its "China Card" and Western governments (and the relief agencies) to cast themselves as saviours and the Vietnamese and the Phnom Penh government as wicked and obstructionist, has effectively complemented the de-stabilising activities along the border, where the media coverage has concentrated. (So much so that children in Kao I Dung camp have produced a piece of melancholy theatre that tells the story of Cambodia's suffering, beginning with little soliloquies about murder and starvation and ending with a tableau of foreign television crews gaping emptily at the dead.)

It is now clear that the insidious propaganda against Cambodia has been planned. It the *Guardian* of 8 January John Gittings reported:

The Brzezinski strategy of crudely dividing Peking from Hanoi (thus pushing the Vietnamese toward Moscow) is compounded of deep feelings of hostility toward the only Asians who have managed to defeat the United States in War. One adviser on his staff has recently called Vietnam a "cesspool of humanity." Last November, State Department sources revealed their intention of mounting an international propaganda offensive to spread atrocity stories about Vietnamese behaviour in Kampuchea. Within days, presumably on White House instructions, US journalists in Bangkok and Singapore were shown the appropriate "refugee stories" and Dr Brzezinski himself verbally briefed a distinguished foreign correspondent Washington columnist over lunch on the contents of "the latest CIA report."

Stories began to appear in the American press that this "latest CIA report" charged that the Vietnamese were burning crops, laying mines in paddies, stealing food, even preventing planting and that the Soviet Union also was blocking food distribution. Editorialists trumpeted "genocide," and liberal columnists atoned for their sins during the war and Watergate and printed, at times verbatim, that which Brzezinski's office fed them. It was as if the clock had spun back twenty years, and the Pentagon Papers had never happened. Of course, the CIA report was a fabrication. Indeed, it was not a report at all; it was warmed-over propaganda that rejected a genuine CIA analysis, whose author recently told a Washington-based Indochina research group, "They misrep-



resented everything I wrote."

#### 'Subtle Genocide'?

Shortly after the "report" was given to the press, I was asked by a Western foreign minister to give my observations of what I had seen in Cambodia. I told him that the only substantial relief my ATV team and I had seen was that coming from Vietnam, that we had followed a civilian convoy coming over the "land bridge" from Saigon to its recipients among the Khmer population, that the only doctors we had seen were Vietnamese and that every Khmer we had spoken to spoke the obvious truth: that the Vietnamese had saved their lives.

"Yes, I know that," he said. "But," I asked, "Haven't you seen the CIA report?" "Yes," he replied "the State Department told us to ignore it, that it was only for the media."

The "diversion of aid," and "Vietnamese atrocity" stories have been discredited by every journalist who has been to Cambodia, including those hostile to Vietnam, and by all relief officials. Dominic Dufour, chief of the Red Cross mission in Phnom Penh, told me, "Apart from minor pilfering, the stories of misuse have come from outside as propaganda and are rubbish. Why should the Vietnamese give with one hand and take with the other?" Even Ambassador Abramowitz has been moved to say there was no proof that the Vietnamese were committing "subtle genocide." As for the Russians blocking aid, the State Department's current assessment shows the Soviet Union as the biggest single donor. But the momentum, or "drip effect," of this type of propaganda, familiar to most foreign correspondents (and documented in a fine article by Philip Jacobson in last week's [London] *Sunday Times*), had left its stain.

On 28 December last year Alistair Cooke, in his BBC *Letter from America*, spoke of "a document that has been delivered into the hands of the President of the United States and one that made him furious." Speaking of The President and The Document (the bogus CIA report) in his customary hallowed tones, Cooke accused the Vietnamese and the Russians of plotting to block "great supplies and medicines that could save unaccountable lives in Cambodia."

I mention Cooke's broadcast because it was delivered during the Christmas period when a great many people in this country were deeply concerned about Cambodia. Tens of thousands had given to Oxfam and other agencies; and many of them were those who could least afford to give. Every day for several months they had sent family allowances, life savings, holiday money, dole money and pocket money; the rescue of Cambodia had become something of a national cause in Britain, above and in spite of politics, especially among children; the Blue Peter appeal raised

£3,500,000. No doubt some of these people heard Cooke's broadcast, and the lie he repeated would have dismayed them. He was one of many who did that. Never have I known so many pundits tending the same little garden of bigotry; Cambodia's suffering seemed to draw them out. That no reporter who went to Cambodia confirmed such pernicious rubbish says something about the nature of journalism.

#### Extent of Kampuchea's Recovery

I went back to Cambodia last month, accompanied by Jim Howard, who started Oxfam's operation, and two French doctors who were the only Western doctors in Cambodia when I was there last summer. I had asked them to return with me, believing that only those who had seen Cambodia's landscape of famine then could make a fair assessment now.

So great are the problems remaining in a society whose very fabric has unravelled, with no family I met grieving the death of fewer than six members, that the task of restoration would daunt the most advanced nation; and this is a peasant society, with its educated and skilled decimated. For example, last year the Ministry of Health consisted of a Minister, a deputy and an old Renault car with a flat battery and no tyres. Today this ministry, which has just five senior officials working from what was the old Volkswagen showrooms, is much criticised by foreign officials for its "lack of efficiency." Last August the hospital at Kompong Speu, which comes under the Ministry of Health, had no drugs, no bandages, no beds, no blankets. It was not a hospital at all; the Khmer Rouge, in their orgy of demolition and vandalism, had *erased* it in the almost ingenious way they had dismantled the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Phnom Penh, leaving not a stone.

After Battambang province, Kompong Speu was probably the most wasted, plundered and brutalised area of Cambodia. Last August, a lone Vietnamese doctor insisted on splashing Dettol on us; for there was cholera, plague and anthrax. Dr Jean-Michel Vinot, one of the French doctors who accompanied me, said:

I remember a whole ward of orphans died in one week; there was *nothing*. Now they have a functioning hospital, and a dispensary with a whole range of drugs. The most serious case I can find is a child with meningitis, and she will survive.

When we were last here, Dr Vinot estimated that eighty per cent of the women in Kompong Speu had lost their menstrual cycle, as a direct result of the trauma of life under a regime which—in forging together the outer reaches of Maoism with a barbaric and glorified medievalism—outlawed not only the family, but all sentiment and expressions of love and grief. Today the hospital has an overflowing maternity ward. "The transformation and resil-

ience," said Dr Vinot, "is *incredible*."

Ian Hopwood of UNICEF has calculated that 912,000 children are now in schools throughout Cambodia. "Many of the 19,000 teachers have never taught before," he said, "but the Government has introduced a two-month crash course and it appears to be working." Last August, in Phnom Penh, Jim Howard found fifty sick and starving children in what had been converted to a pig pen. In ten months this place has been transformed into the largest primary school in the country, with desks, paper, pencils, toys, footballs: most of them paid for in Britain. In the playground, as in the pavement outside, as in towns all over the country, are palm trees planted by the Khmer Rouge, beneath which has been discovered human fertiliser. Here, the children, now in hot pursuit of a cheated childhood, use them as goal-posts.

When we arrived in Phnom Penh last year, the city stood virtually as it had been abandoned, with rubbish tips inhabited by little phantoms, mostly orphaned children, attempting to use worthless banknotes as fuel and to eat a gruel of roots and plants. I remember the presence of death, not of rotting corpses, but of something surreal and pervasive in the humidity and stillness; this had been a city whose population had swollen to more than two million and all of them had been marched, at gunpoint, into the countryside and perhaps half of them are now dead.

Today, Phnom Penh has more than 100,000 people, traffic, shops, restaurants, weddings, two raucous markets, electricity, water (the waterworks restored with British money) a textile factory, a drugs factory, reopened pagodas, telephones, two bus routes, a jazz band, a football team and currency; the successful introduction of the *riel*, in April and May, is an achievement which all good monetarists surely must regard as remarkable.

Although we saw none of the starvation we saw last summer, which the Khmer now recall as "the great months of death," we did see pockets of worrying malnutrition among children. In Battambang railway yards, very thin children swept rolling stock with their hands for rice seed. They have survived and they exude the kind of energy that seems resourceless, but I suspect it will take just one epidemic to decimate them. Bill Yates, Oxfam's chief in Phnom Penh, believes the Government has taken a gamble to stockpile and ration food, giving priority to seed distribution for the December harvest. He said:

They have trusted in the peasants' natural instinct to live off the land, and everyone who needs to work and has no source of food, from nurses to bridge repairers, is receiving rations. All the villages I have seen have subsistence plots of maize corn, sugar cane and fruit, and I haven't seen a sow that isn't pregnant. I may be



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Remains of Khmer Rouge victims in Battambang. Washington insists on return of Pol Pot as Kampuchea's 'legal' ruler.

wrong, but I think the relief agencies may have been outguessed by the government?

#### Distribution of Aid

Certainly, although food distribution is sporadic and dangerously uneven, the opposite is true of seed. Unannounced, we watched seed unloaded from the Oxfam consortium's twentieth barge in Phnom Penh, followed it to the railway yards, then drove 350 miles to Battambang to see it unloaded and trucked to warehouses. The next day an armada of ox carts, donkey traps and cycles delivered the entire consignment of 390 tons to villages.

From barge to soil took just three days.

There are myriad frustrations, obdurate officials, "political" interferences etc. etc; and so what, one might ask, is new? The government is not a monolithic "regime," as it is often presented; it is a confusion of students, teachers and other surviving remnants of the old bourgeoisie, *anyone* with skills, over whom preside men who defected from the Khmer Rouge and who, after a spot of reeducation in Hanoi, are now keeping their heads down. There are crash-course cadres whose bored audiences want nothing to do with *any* political evangelism; one lady emerged from a politi-

cal lecture and remarked that the name of a "Mr Marx Lenin" had come up, whoever he was. (For the Vietnamese, this is another irony for the album; the unique experience of their so-called clients bears no resemblance to their own, and by shoring up a re-emerging urban elite, as they must, they are inadvertently re-creating again the divisions that, with Kissinger's bombs, helped to spawn the Khmer Rouge.)

After travelling with us, Jim Howard estimated that more than ninety per cent of the Oxfam consortium's relief had got through to "end users." Howard is probably one of the most experienced and respected "disasters firemen," having been through India, Bangladesh and Biafra, and unlike some of the aid people in Phnom Penh, encamped in the old Hotel Royale, an Asian Wuthering Heights with stuffed crocodiles in the foyer and an atmosphere given to monastic claustrophobia, Howard sees problems from the point of view of *people*, and not from a Messianic complex, or a career. He said:

I think it will be a pity if ordinary people in Britain, who supported a faraway nation with their hearts and their savings, do not realise how much they have contributed to the rescue of Cambodia.

You see, for some of us in the relief business, the old colonialist fervour dies hard. How can the natives *possibly* have a government which might, just might, know its own people best? Their attitude is that the West knows best. The truth is that real corruption here has been negligible. *None* of the supplies are on sale in the market. The problem, which Westerners have difficulty with, is sensitivity. This is a government whose murderous enemy is still recognised by the United Nations and which rightly feels itself cut off and isolated fighting for its life. In the circumstances, I believe they have done an historic job of recovery.

Fear, not hunger, is Cambodia's burden now. It is a fear that threads through every conversation, that haunts every other face in every crowd. "Will Pol Pot come back?" I was asked, time and again. In spite of the years of bombs and the West's backdoor support for Pol Pot, there seems little of the xenophobia toward Westerners that one would expect in a small nation that has suffered so much foreign vandalism. Traditional Khmer antipathy toward the Vietnamese has been shelved for the duration, and there is no manifest "hatred" of which much has been made by those on the border. Vietnamese soldiers stroll through the markets, unarmed; their discipline is respected; people inside Cambodia know that only they stand between them and another Khmer Rouge regime.

The Monorom Hotel, where I stayed in Phnom Penh, arranged a "disco night" recently. The girls and the children sat on one side of the room, palais style, and the men on the other. It was a lot of fun, until a cassette of the much-loved singer, Sin Sisamouth, was played, and people walked



to the curtains and wept. He had been taken to Battambang, forced to dig his own grave and to sing the Khmer Rouge anthem, which is all about blood and death. Then he was beaten to death.

#### 'Working for Freedom?'

There is a unique train that carries seed from Phnom Penh to the north-west. On the return journey, every other day, it is a human ant heap with between five and ten thousand passengers slung in hammocks between the wheels, embracing the funnel, sardined in the driver's cabin. The station master, a sardonic man, who spoke to me his first English in five years (knowledge of a foreign language under Pol Pot meant death) explained that the train could not proceed right to the Phnom Penh central station "because the driver is no good; he is learning, you see. He does not know when to put on the brake, and when it is raining cats and frogs he is even worse!"

Two days later the train was ambushed by the Khmer Rouge with rockets and automatic weapons; at least 150 people were killed. When I told a Khmer friend that this had happened, her face became a mask, as if her feelings were incubated. It is a common expression and tears are rare.

She had been a radical student at Phnom Penh university when the Khmer Rouge marched silently into the city. "With my comrades I went into the street to welcome them," she said.

One year later they had killed my sister, who was pregnant, my six brothers, my mother, my father. Just before the liberation, I knew they were going to kill me, but I ran into the forest. On that morning two little boys were accused of stealing pigswill and we were brought out to watch them hanged. They were six or seven years old.

Readers may know of such horrors, and I am sorry to have to repeat them. But as the second Indochina war is fuelled, with the most populous nation and the most powerful nation supporting those who murdered many children, memories are fading almost as quickly as the killers' image is being refurbished. Khieu Samphan, who has replaced Pol Pot as "Prime Minister" of "Democratic Kampuchea," has received the international press at his bush headquarters, courtesy of the Thai military. *The [London] Times* man in Bangkok, Neil Kelly, found him to be a "youthful, sturdy man with a ready smile" who "wished to clear away the past" and said that "his government's future policy was to work for freedom for the people to choose a government of any ideology—Communist, capitalist or middle of the road." *Ad nauseum*.

Such "objective" interviews with a man who was the theoretician most responsible for the crimes against his people are not yet common; but they are emerging, as if what the Khmer Rouge did was a mere political "problem," not the mammoth



London *Times*'s "man with a ready smile" Khieu Samphan, with Prince Sihanouk.

Nazi-like perversion it was. Dr Brzezinski's "background" people already are passing the word that "Democratic Kampuchea" will, of course, have to be part of a coalition, with or without Prince Sihanouk who has rather disturbed this vision by saying he wants nothing to do with the butchers of his people.

Britain's Foreign Office has followed dutifully along; the Minister of State, Peter Blaker, who gives the impression of having almost no knowledge of South East Asia, has said repeatedly that the Vietnamese are no better than the Khmer Rouge and that their "puppets" in Phnom Penh control no national territory. Last year, the

Foreign Office applied unsuitable pressure to voluntary relief agencies, warning them of "grave difficulties" if they went ahead and sent relief to the Phnom Penh government; Oxfam, to its great credit, ignored this. The perfidious effect, if not the purpose, of Britain's "de-recognition" of Pol Pot last December has been to quieten opposition to the policy of backdoor support for the Khmer Rouge; in May, the Foreign Office instructed Sir Henry Yellowless, the British delegate to the World Health Assembly, to vote in favour of the credentials of "Democratic Kampuchea."

Pol Pot's (or Khieu Samphan's) representative at the United Nations, who occupies a luxurious suite in the Beekman Tower hotel, has said there is no doubt that, with Washington's and Peking's backing, the General Assembly will vote in September in favour of the legitimacy of his "government." So the pieces are fitting together. China, having rejected a lunar new year peace, has moved three new divisions to its border with Vietnam, now in its thirty-fifth year of siege, and suffering. As Deer Hunter Rosenblatt would say, another "humanitarian effort" is well under way. □

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11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(signed)  
Sandra M. Sherman  
Business Manager

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## El Salvador—More Repression, Less 'Reform'

By Aníbal Yáñez

Pursuing its policies aimed at doing everything possible to avoid a "second Nicaragua" in Central America, Washington will increase its 1980 economic aid to the military/Christian Democratic junta of El Salvador by \$20 million. This will raise the total for the year to some \$90 million, according to reports in the U.S. news media in September.

Coinciding with the aid increase to a government that is repudiated by the overwhelming majority of the Salvadoran people, the capitalist news media in the United States has been trying to convince public opinion that the revolutionary movement in El Salvador has been put on the defensive. The movement is said to be rent by internal disputes and losing its base of support among the population, owing to the alleged success and popularity of the "reforms" imposed by the junta.

### Discussions Among Revolutionaries

On September 15, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) announced that the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN) had chosen to withdraw from the united military command, the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU).

The FARN is reported to have disagreed with other members of the DRU over military strategy. When an open split between "moderates" and "hardliners" broke out in the Salvadoran officer corps in early September, the FARN reportedly called on the DRU to lend support to the "moderates" headed by junta member Col. Adolfo Majano.

This approach was rejected by the other groups in the DRU. Instead, the FDR called on the "moderates" and Majano himself to join the revolutionary cause. "There are honest officers in El Salvador," FDR leader Oscar Bonilla said, "but they lack the strength to impose their policies."

The "moderates" eventually gave up their resistance to Defense Minister Col. José Guillermo García's efforts to remove them from troop commands and ship several off to foreign diplomatic posts. Control by the most right-wing sectors over the armed forces has now reached a point where officers ousted in the October 15, 1979, coup against the Romero dictatorship are regaining their posts in the military hierarchy.

The FARN's withdrawal from the DRU "does not essentially alter the military and political power generated by the unity all our organizations have achieved in practice," the statement of the Revolutionary Democratic Front said. The FDR expressed

confidence that "a frank and open discussion" would take place and that the FARN's "full reincorporation would soon be achieved."

### 'Reforms' Have Solved Nothing

The program of "reforms with repression" launched by the junta last March has done nothing to solve the country's economic problems and has thus failed to significantly undermine support for the revolutionary organizations.

The famous agrarian reform is collapsing and is losing its effectiveness as a public-relations instrument for the junta. The power of the landholding oligarchy remains basically intact. The expropriations of cotton lands, compensated with cash and state bonds, has only transferred some economic power from agricultural capitalists to industrialists. At the same time, at least twelve large haciendas have already been returned to their owners.

From the outset the agrarian reform was denounced as a cover for systematically repressing the rural workers. Even the regime's own Institute of Agrarian Transformation has protested that real control of the program rests with the armed forces and with the U.S. government. A big role is being played by personnel provided by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which has long been notorious for its ties to the Central Intelligence Agency. The chief of AIFLD operations in El Salvador, Roy Prosterman, participated in similar rural pacification programs in South Vietnam during the U.S. intervention there.

The Salvadoran economy as a whole is on the verge of collapse. The government's own figures predict a fall in the Gross National Product of 2.6 percent for this year, and a recent study by the Central American University of El Salvador indicates that the real drop could be more than 8 percent. The regime's planning ministry reports that half the economically active population is unemployed. Fifty-six plants have shut down in the past year, leaving 11,000 workers without jobs.

### August General Strike

The capitalist press and even some commentators on the left have pointed to the results of the August 13-15 general strike called by the FDR as evidence of a certain erosion of popular support for the revolutionary forces.

This is to miss the point of what took place in August. Between 60 and 70 percent of Salvadoran industry was shut

down. Teachers and students almost unanimously supported the strike. Commerce and transportation did function at around 70 percent, but public use in these sectors too was minimal.

The junta had drawn certain conclusions from the previous general strike in June. It tried to prevent the August strike through military terror and threats of mass firings. Worker and peasant militants were murdered, the factories were surrounded by troops, and paramilitary bands issued death threats against merchants who closed their shops. Transport was militarized, and the capital, San Salvador, was virtually occupied by the armed forces.

Under these conditions, strike participation still achieved the figures cited earlier. In addition, the armed revolutionary groups mounted widespread actions, ambushing government patrols and temporarily occupying various towns.

Several working-class suburbs of San Salvador were taken over by DRU military units. Despite attacks by the army and by helicopter gunships, these neighborhoods remained in the hands of the revolutionary forces for all three days of the strike. Not only were rallies and meetings held, but military training sessions took place with the participation of the population.

The FDR had not called for an insurrection in August. Rather, what it sought was a further advance in the organization and experience of the masses. In this sense, the strike was a success. It underscored the words of DRU leader Salvador Cayetano Carpio that "a massive Yankee intervention might prolong the suffering of the people, but if U.S. imperialism makes the mistake of launching a dirty war, just as in Vietnam even the children, women, and old people will join the struggle."

Washington is stepping up aid to the murderous junta and drawing up plans for more direct intervention using the Guatemalan and Honduran armies and the remnants of Somoza's Nicaraguan National Guard. Defenders of the Salvadoran people's right to self-determination and social progress must continue to demand a cut-off of all U.S. aid to the junta and a halt to all threats of military intervention.

Hands off El Salvador! □

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