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Greensboro Verdict Meets With Outrage

**NICARAGUAN WORKERS, PEASANTS
MOBILIZE AGAINST COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY THREAT**

NEWS ANALYSIS

Imperialist Hypocrisy in Madrid

By Fred Feldman

The first phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which officially opened in Madrid November 11, has been used as a propaganda platform by the U.S. imperialists and their allies in Canada and Western Europe.

The Madrid meeting is supposed to review the application of the Helsinki pact signed in 1975 by Moscow and the other Warsaw pact governments, the NATO powers, and such unaffiliated European states as Sweden, Yugoslavia, and Austria. The pact sought to enshrine the status quo in Europe.

In an effort to place themselves in the best possible light, the imperialists made a big point of insisting in 1975 that some sections on human rights be written into the Helsinki pact. None of the signers ever intended to abide or has abided by these provisions, but they now provide part of the pretext for a flood of warlike rhetoric by Washington and its allies.

On November 13, former U.S. attorney general Griffin Bell cited the names of Soviet dissidents, stating that the Kremlin had subjected "these brave people to brutal repression."

He declared that Moscow's sending of troops to Afghanistan "had cast a dark shadow over East-West relations which no meeting, no pronouncement, nothing in fact but the total withdrawal of Soviet troops can dispel."

The rhetoric got hotter as the days went by. By November 17 Max Kampelman, the co-chairman with Bell of the U.S. delegation, was declaring that Moscow and Washington were "moving precipitously toward confrontation."

"We are embarked on our program of renewed military strength," he went on, "because we have been forced to do so in the light of a massive military buildup unparalleled in world history" by the Soviet Union.

Kampelman came close here to giving away the real purpose behind the imperialists' diplomatic performance in Madrid. That purpose has nothing to do with the cause of human rights in the Soviet Union or the Afghan people's right of self-determination.

The goal of Washington and its allies is to win acceptance for their war preparations by falsely portraying the Soviet Union as the main threat to world peace and its rulers as the prime opponents of human rights in the world.

They hope that a daily diet of headlines denouncing Moscow will soften up work-

ing people in Western Europe, the United States, and the other imperialist countries for stepped up arms spending and military intervention, and for the sacrifices in living standards and democratic rights that these will entail.

As part of this public relations campaign, Washington also engineered a November 20 repeat performance of the January vote in the United Nations General Assembly demanding that Soviet forces be pulled out of Afghanistan.

Among the major targets of the imperialist speechmaking at Madrid are British, Belgian, and Dutch workers who have been resisting moves to place nuclear-armed Cruise missiles in their countries. Also targeted are American workers, whose antiwar feelings turned draft registration into a political fiasco for the Carter administration last Summer.

The West European rulers share Washington's desire to step up arms spending and to bring more force to bear against revolutions in the Middle East, Africa, and elsewhere. And they are as anxious as Washington to identify socialism with violation of human rights at a time of deepening economic difficulties and rising opposition to capitalism among the workers in their countries.

But even some bourgeois observers doubt that the imperialists are succeeding in turning around the antiwar sentiment of the working people.

In the November 19 *New York Times*, James M. Markham commented: "This encouraging picture of a steadfast, united North Atlantic Treaty Organization facing down a wavering and divided Warsaw Pact does not conform with the harsher realities in Europe, where several Atlantic alliance countries, notably West Germany, have lately turned indecisive or reneged on promises to increase military budgets in coordination with the United States."

Among the "harsher realities" that the imperialists must take into account is the fact that they are in a relatively weaker position today than ever before in regard to their own working classes, in regard to the colonial revolution, and in regard to the workers states.

Because of this, détente has not been shelved, although it is taking a back seat for the moment to the needs of imperialist propaganda. The imperialists still need the collaboration of the Soviet bureaucrats in maintaining class peace at home and dampening the colonial revolution abroad.

After a long procedural wrangle, the

Madrid conferees reached a compromise that allows the first weeks of the Madrid meeting to be devoted to blasts at Moscow.

After a Christmas break, the conference will reconvene in late January with these issues off the agenda. At that time, the incoming U.S. administration will be able, if it wishes, to get down to bargaining with Moscow.

The Madrid meeting provided some striking portraits of imperialist hypocrisy. Imagine, for instance, Griffin Bell as a paladin of human rights. As attorney general, Bell played a prime role in covering up for the crimes of secret police agencies against dissenters in the United States. He was briefly held in contempt of court for refusing to turn over the files of eighteen FBI informers to the judge hearing the Socialist Workers Party's lawsuit against FBI crimes.

He represents a government that permits the Klan, the Nazis, and counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles to gun down critics and terrorize the Black community.

Bell's denunciations of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan are a crude coverup for U.S. imperialism, which maintains an outright colony in Puerto Rico; imposes an economic blockade against Cuba because its people refuse to bow to Washington's dictates; propped up the shah of Iran and is still trying to crush the revolution that brought him down; and has dozens of U.S. advisers fighting and dying to keep a blood-soaked dictatorship in power in El Salvador.

Or take the Belgian representative, Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb. He appealed for the right of Afghanistan "to decide by itself its own destiny." Tell that to the people of Zaïre, who face slaughter by Belgian paratroopers every time they threaten to topple the Mobutu dictatorship!

It is the imperialists' drive to maintain and extend their investments, markets, and profits that is the threat to peace and human rights in the world today.

The moralizing in Madrid against Brezhnev's human rights record is intended to divert attention from violations of human rights by Washington and its allies and to prepare the way for even greater atrocities as the imperialists press on with their war drive.

The fervid declarations about self-determination for Afghanistan are intended to smooth the way for sweeping violations of that right by Washington and its allies. That is the only way the imperialists can roll back the tide of revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The actions of the Kremlin rulers certainly provide grist for the imperialist propaganda mill. But working people must reject with contempt the posturing of the profit-hungry enemies of humanity at Madrid. □

Nicaraguan Revolution Faces New Slanders

By David Frankel

Capitalist provocations and resistance to the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua have reached a new level of intensity. A counterrevolutionary plot involving prominent Nicaraguan business leaders has been uncovered and Jorge Salazar, the vice-president of Nicaragua's Superior Council of Private Enterprise, has been killed in a gun battle with Sandinista security forces (see article on page 1237).

There are also signs that Washington will seize on these events as a pretext for taking a harsher stance toward the Nicaraguan revolution. Immediately after news of Salazar's death was received in the United States, the State Department expressed its "deep regrets" and declared that Salazar "played an active and courageous role against the Somoza regime, and he was working, as a prominent leader of the private business community, for a democratic political future in Nicaragua."

A sharper statement was made by the editors of the *New York Times* November 21. In a clear shift from its previous stance, the *Times* called on the Carter administration "to ask some pointed questions" of the Sandinista government. It asked, "Why are the Sandinistas becoming more repressive? What has happened to their promise of a pluralistic society?"

Belittling the counterrevolutionary threat from armed followers of Somoza, from neighboring U.S.-backed dictatorships, and from Washington itself, the *Times* portrays an increasingly repressive Nicaragua.

"Political meetings have been restricted. Critical newspapers have been censored. Former political prisoners have been rearrested. And rumors are rife in private-sector organizations that top officers of the Chamber of Commerce, the Rice Growers' Association and the largest private coffee growers' cooperative have been taken into custody. In this context, Mr. Salazar's alleged conduct would certainly be understandable." (Emphasis added.)

Thus, by stringing together a combination of half-truths and outright lies, the editors of the most influential capitalist daily in the United States give their endorsement to Salazar's counterrevolutionary plot.

Even the *Times* is forced to grudgingly admit that "Nicaragua is still a much freer place than it was under the Somozas," and that "The Sandinistas still enjoy wide public support."

But it is clear that a sustained press campaign against the Nicaraguan revolution is not far off. It is necessary for

supporters of the revolution to redouble efforts to get out the truth about what is happening in Nicaragua. □

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Nicaragua: Masses Answer Capitalist Provocations

By Lars Palmgren

MANAGUA—The day began here like any other. But at around 4 o'clock in the afternoon of November 19 the streets filled with people. Column after column organized on the basis of workplace, neighborhood, or mass organization marched in from all parts of the city toward the Plaza of the Revolution.

By twilight nearly 100,000 persons had filed into the plaza, filling it to overflowing. Among the black and red banners of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the blue and white flags of Nicaragua, red flags borne by the Nicaraguan Communist Party and the Workers Front (FO) were also visible.

This was the first mass rally held in Managua since August 23, when tens of thousands of young volunteers from the literacy campaign were welcomed back to the capital. On the surface the two meetings were similar—the same songs and slogans, the same enthusiasm. But this rally was not organized to celebrate a victory or commemorate a hero.

Instead the November 19 rally was a response to a series of political provocations mounted by the bourgeoisie against the revolution and to the mounting counterrevolutionary attacks and armed conspiracies that threaten Nicaragua's tranquility. The workers and their allies were demonstrating their readiness to defend the revolution both politically and militarily.

The rally marked the culmination of a series of meetings, demonstrations and mobilizations organized in preceding days around the country. Similar rallies took place in other cities at the same time.

Three developments led up to these mass mobilizations. The prohibition by the Revolutionary Government of a rally scheduled by the main bourgeois party, the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), which was to have taken place in Nandaime on November 9; the sacking of the MDN's Managua headquarters by an angry crowd of supporters of the revolution on the same day; and the walking out of the Council of State by all the representatives of the bourgeoisie on November 12 (see *Intercontinental Press*, November 24, page 1212).

One more event also contributed to the tense atmosphere—the death of the vice-president of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), Jorge Salazar, in a confrontation with security forces two days before the big Managua rally. Salazar was to have been arrested on suspicion of counterrevolutionary activity.

The events of early November were part of a long prepared offensive by the bourgeoisie, an offensive that has now collapsed in failure. The way for this offensive had been prepared by the reactionary bourgeois daily *La Prensa*. The MDN rally in Nandaime was to have issued a virtual declaration of war against the FSLN and the revolution by the bourgeois political parties and organizations.

The other parts of the bourgeoisie's offensive were carried out, however. On November 10, the day after the banned MDN rally, the COSEP published a document that was to have been a follow-up to the planned speech in Nandaime of MDN leader Alfonso Robelo.

The forces opposed to the revolution intended to put together a coherent political alternative to the Sandinistas for the first time since the victory over Somoza.

This would have been important not so much for gaining popular support in Nicaragua, but for appealing to Washington and to bourgeois governments in Latin America. But the plan collapsed.

Instead, the streets and plazas of Nicaragua began to fill not with partisans of the MDN and the COSEP, but rather with ardent defenders of the Sandinista revolution. This showed one more time for all to see that it is the FSLN and the Government of National Reconstruction that have the support of the overwhelming majority of the Nicaraguan people.

In his main address to the November 19 rally, Commander Jaime Wheelock, a member of the FSLN's national directorate, took up some of the main points in the COSEP document.

The central charge made by the capitalists is that the FSLN and the Junta of National Reconstruction have failed to live up to the program of government published in June 1979 before the revolutionary victory. Wheelock declared that there has been no deviation from the basic premises of that program.

"But it is necessary to point out," he added, "that a program that is drawn up in the midst of an unequal war cannot be a definitive, perfect document. It was necessary to make some changes, changes that in any case favored our people. They have criticized us, saying that we have deviated, and we have to recognize that, yes, of course we have deviated. But it is not the people that have criticized this deviation, because this deviation has been in favor of the interests of the people."

The COSEP argues about the letter of the June 1979 program in order to avoid

any discussion of the real class interests that are driving them into opposition. But as the demonstrations of the past two weeks have shown, and as Wheelock explained November 19, the process taking place in Nicaragua cannot be contained by the wording of one or another document. It is a mass revolution whose driving force is the defense of the interests of the working people.

The bourgeoisie based its hopes on speculation that the FSLN was losing popularity because of ongoing economic difficulties. They counted on being able to defy the FSLN and win popularity by promising that the problems could be rapidly resolved if only they could have more influence over the government and the economy.

Wheelock answered them:

"If we had wanted to demonstrate to them how popular the ideas of Sandinism and the revolution are, it would have been enough to tell the workers and peasants 'From today on, all the farms and factories of this country are yours, put them into production. And you will know how to produce with your hands, with your experience, and with your patriotic fervor.'"

But, Wheelock continued, "that was not the position of a revolutionary leadership that had to understand things above and beyond slogans and party politics. And we are ready to sacrifice our own popularity, if in doing so we can solve today's problems and build a future and the homeland of tomorrow.

"But today," Wheelock emphasized, "so long as it is necessary to defend the homeland against imperialist aggression, as long as it is necessary to defend our country from Somozaism, so long as it is necessary to defend the revolutionary program, we are never going to permit the reactionary bourgeoisie to return to power as they would like."

Wheelock spoke for almost two hours but the attention of the crowd never flagged and when he finished by shouting "Patria Libre!" the "O Morir!" that answered him from 100,000 throats was the loudest heard here for a long time. □

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Sandinistas Uncover Counterrevolutionary Plot

By Lars Palmgren

MANAGUA—Tension between capitalist forces in Nicaragua and the Sandinista government there has reached a new pitch after the uncovering of a counterrevolutionary plot involving top business leaders, the death of one of the figures in the plot in a gunfight with government security forces, and a massive rally November 19 that was called by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to answer the rightist threat.

Jorge Salazar, the owner of a big coffee plantation near Matagalpa and the vice-president of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), was shot and killed at a gasoline station in El Crucero November 17 as he was about to be arrested by members of State Security. Salazar was suspected of involvement in counterrevolutionary plots with members of Somoza's National Guard, with the aim of overthrowing the FSLN-led Government of National Reconstruction.

The shooting at El Crucero broke out because Nestor Moncada Lau, who was accompanying Salazar, opened fire on the security agents. Six M-16 rifles were later found in Salazar's car, along with two magazines for each rifle. The next day Interior Minister Tomás Borge explained that it had been known that Salazar had invested some \$50,000 in counterrevolutionary activity.

At the same time Borge said that four persons with close ties to the private sector had been arrested as Salazar's co-conspirators.

In his speech at the November 19 rally, Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock explained that the conspiracy involved the coordination of armed attacks from Honduras (and eventually from Costa Rica as well) with similar activities inside the country. Plans for fomenting divisions inside the Sandinista People's Army had also been made.

Wheelock also stated that an unidentified member of a Latin American government was involved in the plot. This person had promised to send between 500 and 1,000 FAL rifles to Nicaragua for use by the counterrevolution.

According to maps found in Salazar's car, the weapons were to have been brought in by sea to a small port called Jiquilillo.

By November 20, all this information was public knowledge. Nevertheless, the front page of the bourgeois daily *La Prensa* was devoted to the funeral of Jorge Salazar—"The Burial of a Hero." COSEP

declared in a communiqué that the death of its leader had been a "political crime."

In contrast to the FSLN daily *Barricada*, which carried enormous photos of the November 19 demonstration and the single banner headline: "The Future Belongs to the People," *La Prensa* made no mention of the rally that had filled the center of Managua.

Two days later, on November 22, State Security chief Lenin Cerna held a news conference to offer full details of the plot involving Salazar. Three of those arrested were presented to reporters: Dora María Lau de Lacayo, her husband Gabriel Lacayo, and Leonardo Somarriba, vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce.

During the news conference it was made clear that Salazar had been at the center of plans to mount a coup against the Government of National Reconstruction. During trips to Honduras and Costa Rica he had been in contact with several well-known officers of the Somozaist National Guard.

The conspirators had organized themselves into an "External Front" and an "Internal Front." The "External Front" mainly involved former soldiers and officers of the National Guard. Those arrested claimed to know few details of this, and said that Salazar's contacts with the Somozaists were aimed at learning what they were planning so he could coordinate his actions with theirs.

The exact structure of the "Internal Front" was also unclear. Those arrested acknowledged that their plans had no real social base inside the country, but they said that certain sectors sympathized with the intentions.

Special military responsibilities had been assigned to Nestor Moncada Lau, a relative of Dora María Lau de Lacayo, who had started the shoot-out in which Salazar was killed. He had been assigned to gain support for the conspiracy within the Sandinista People's Army, of which he was an employee.

Salazar had also been in contact with members of the Salvadoran and Honduran governments, including Col. Abdul Gutiérrez of the Salvadoran junta.

According to the information presented at the news conference, it appears that the conspiracy was still in its early stages when it was discovered and broken up. But the large sums of money involved—besides the \$50,000 provided by Salazar, Dora María Lau de Lacayo admitted donating \$15,000—and the contacts with the Somozaists were clear signs that the plot was in earnest.

This conspiracy had clear links with two earlier plots broken up by State Security. Each of these had involved the creation of the so-called "Democratic Armed Forces" (FAD). One of the plots was led by the Somozaist president of the Nicaragua Amateur Baseball Association, Carlos García. It also involved cattle farmers from the central Nicaraguan province of Boaco.

The other was led by Col. Bernardino Larios, the ex-National Guard officer who tried to mount a coup against Somoza in 1978, and who later served as the first defense minister in the revolutionary government. Information revealed by Larios after his arrest had led State Security to begin its investigation of Jorge Salazar's activities.

Conspiracies of this kind are nothing new for the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. A number of putsch attempts were mounted against the Somozas by their bourgeois opponents.

One of those arrested said at the news conference that the conspirators' aim was to achieve the "progressive democratization of the country" and to provide the revolution with "improved organization of public administration in order to encourage economic reactivation!"

A journalist, nonplussed by such a formulation from someone involved in plans for a coup to finish off the Sandinista government, asked why they had not simply presented their ideas in the Council of State or sought contacts with the government to achieve such worthy ends. The detainees had no answer.

Conspiracy, it would appear, is still the natural form of struggle for the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. But they have not learned that conspiring against Somoza is one thing, but conspiring against a social revolution is quite another.

When one looks at the way *La Prensa* and the COSEP have acted in this entire affair, *Barricada* said in a November 23 editorial, "the only thing that remains for *La Prensa* is to say openly and with all honesty that it is 'at the service of Somozaism and reaction.' And it seems that the same goes for the leaders of COSEP, some of whom even appear to be linked to the 'new' government that the gang headed by Salazar and his Somozaist partners were planning to install." □

Nicaraguan Unions Take Big Step Toward Unity

By Lars Palmgren

MANAGUA, Nicaragua—Some two hundred delegates representing nearly all of Nicaragua's trade unions and union federations concluded a highly successful two-day conference in Managua on November 16 with the establishment of an ongoing Coordinadora Sindical de Nicaragua (CSN—Nicaraguan Trade-Union Coordinating Committee).

The conference was the first organized discussion among the various groups in the Nicaraguan workers movement since the victory of the revolution on July 19, 1979.

The delegates represented the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), the Rural Workers Association (ATC), the Independent General Workers Federation (CGT-i), the Confederation of Trade Union Action and Unification (CAUS), the Workers Front (FO), the health workers union (FETSALUD), the Confederation of Trade Union Unification (CUS), the teachers' union (ANDEN), and the Union of Nicaraguan Journalists (UPN).

Representatives were also present from most of the nonaffiliated local unions. The only union federation to refuse an invitation to participate in the conference was the Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN). (Two days after the close of the conference, a delegation from the newly formed Trade-Union Coordinating Committee visited leaders of the CTN to ask them to join the process of unification that has begun.)

Growth of Labor Movement

The organized labor movement in Nicaragua has grown tremendously since the overthrow of Somoza. Before the victory of the revolution only 7.5% of urban workers were organized into trade unions, and only fifty union locals were registered with the Ministry of Labor.

Today about 80% of the urban work force is organized into 529 union locals. The bulk of the new unions have affiliated to the Sandinista Workers Federation, which encompasses 82.2% of all organized workers. The next largest federation, the CGT-i has 4.8% of the unionized workers.

The conference, called at the initiative of the CST, discussed the social problems facing the revolution today and the attitude of the workers toward those problems. The discussions helped to break down many antagonistic and sectarian attitudes that have existed between the participating organizations.

The sessions also helped to overcome a whole series of misunderstandings and

misinterpretations of the real positions of the different groups and created a climate of fraternal cooperation that had not existed for most of the period since the overthrow of Somoza.

The conference concluded by adopting a common line of action in relation to four points of discussion proposed by the CST. Those four points were: "increasing production and productivity; improving working conditions and social services and increasing wage levels in accord with the economic situation of Nicaragua; maintaining strict revolutionary discipline in the workplace;" and "resolving labor conflicts without halting production." Delegates also considered documents presented by FO and CAUS.

The sense of unity that dominated the two day conference was expressed in introductory speeches by FSLN commanders Víctor Tirado López and Daniel Ortega, and members of the Government of National Reconstruction Arturo Cruz and Rafael Córdova Rivas.

Common Strategic Interests

Ortega made reference to the differences and discussions that had taken place between the FSLN and other political currents within the trade union movement. "In the final analysis," Ortega stated, "the differences that develop between us are simply natural differences of opinion. But we have strategic objectives concerning the interests of the workers, the peasants, and the exploited that are much stronger than these differences."

It was these common strategic interests that dominated the conference. A reflection of this was seen in the fact that the speakers who officially closed the conference were leaders of the CGT-i, CUS, FO, and CAUS, and not the CST or any other Sandinista union.

The assembly was organized to permit the broadest possible discussion, with participants divided into five working commissions, each of which fully discussed the four points proposed by the CST.

I was able to observe the discussion in one of those commissions for both days of the conference. The commission included representatives from all the national union federations in attendance, as well as a delegate from a local union affiliated to the CTN, the only federation that did not attend.

Delegates were also present from big workplaces, such as METASA, the largest machine shop in the country; FABRITEX, the biggest textile factory, PROLACSA,

which is the Nicaraguan branch of Nestlé; the Benjamín Zeledón sugar mill; and others.

The discussions reflected a tremendous desire for unity, even when the debate was the most heated. The tone of the participants, while frank and open, was always fraternal and respectful. Rather than trying to cover over differences, the emphasis was on clarifying them in order to work out a united position around those questions where there was real agreement.

Productivity and Production

A great deal of interest focused on the first point under discussion, the question of productivity and production, since production has declined since the revolution. Delegates discussed how to change that situation.

Some delegates initially approached the question by blaming lowered productivity on the workers themselves. They argued that the workers had abused the freedoms won by the revolution, interpreting freedom as freedom not to work.

Most of the delegates, however, viewed the question in a different light. They maintained that although abuse of freedom does exist, the decline of productivity had much more fundamental causes. They pointed primarily to the contradiction that exists between the freedom that has been won and the fact that capitalist relations of production still exist in the factories.

The way to overcome the problem, they argued, was to develop workers participation and control over production. There have already been many instances of increased workers control, through the formation of production councils and committees, and assemblies for reactivation of the economy. Most of these, however, have been restricted to the state-owned sector of the economy, the People's Property Sector (APP).

These experiences remain uneven and have not been systematized. A delegate from PROLACSA, Jaime Pérez, told how the workers there had fought for and won the right to have access to the factory's books, as a central part of their fight for workers control. He explained that this had helped them develop greater understanding about the factory and had led to an increase in productivity.

"But," Pérez emphasized, "it is important that workers control result from a fight waged by the workers themselves, so that everyone feels that it is something they have won."

The commission recommended that var-

ious mechanisms of workers control be instituted as a central way to raise productivity, improve methods of work, and fulfill production norms. It also recommended greater technical training for workers.

Improving Conditions of Workers

In discussing the second point—improvement of working conditions and social services, and wage increases in line with the economic conditions of the country—the delegates approached the question from the vantage point of the overall economic situation facing Nicaragua. But to do this, it was argued, the unions need greater access to the necessary information.

To that end it was proposed, and accepted, that a commission made up of representatives of the unions, the labor ministry, and the planning ministry be established to gather the relevant information so that unions can formulate appropriate norms regarding wage increases.

Occupational health and hygiene was also a major theme of discussion. One of the legacies of the half-century of Somozaism is the terrible conditions that exist in the workplaces. Serious efforts have already been made to improve those conditions. The ministry of labor, for example, has organized seminars in many workplaces, and many unions have established committees to deal with occupational health.

But, as one delegate remarked, the efforts to date have not been sufficient. He noted that “if we want to succeed in raising production and productivity, we have to improve the working conditions.”

The conference as a whole decided to “put greater pressure on administrators and businessmen to comply with the recommendations of the labor ministry’s department of hygiene and occupational safety.” It also called on the ministry’s inspectors “to be firmer” in forcing the employers to fulfill the legal requirements.

The discussion on maintaining revolutionary discipline in the workplaces touched upon many questions. A number of delegates related the problems of poor work discipline to people’s overall attitudes toward themselves and toward daily life.

Need for Self-Discipline

One delegate, using himself as an example, told the commission that “like many of my comrades before the revolution, I drank too much. Through that I avoided not only my obligations as a revolutionary, but also my obligations as a father and husband. Many comrades still drink too much, and that is a problem of discipline that affects all aspects of life.”

He went on to emphasize that improvement of discipline within the workplace had to be accompanied by an educational process that aimed at changing many other aspects of daily life as well.



Fred Murphy/IP

SERGIO RAMIREZ

There was considerable disagreement among the delegates over the role that administrators should play in maintaining and controlling discipline. Some felt that they should play the primary role.

But the majority of delegates disagreed. A delegate from METASA, Emilio Solís, argued that “discipline in the workplaces can only be improved if it flows from a decision made by the workers themselves.” He described the experience in METASA, where an assembly of workers adopted a set of disciplinary rules. Because these rules had been worked out by the workers themselves, they were applied much more effectively.

“In this way,” Solís stated, “discipline forms part of the overall education of the workers by the workers.”

On this point, as on others, the political education of the working class was discussed. A delegate from the CGT-i, for example, pointed out that “in order for the workers to feel that they are participants in and movers of the revolution, it is necessary to combine direct workers participation in the factories with continuous information about the goals of the revolution and the role of the workers in achieving these goals through production.”

It had been expected that the final point on the agenda, on resolving labor disputes without interrupting production, would be the most controversial and heated. The discussion took place against the backdrop of the strikes called by CAUS early in the year, the CST’s denunciation of those strikes, and the arrest and subsequent release of some CAUS leaders.*

But as the discussion progressed it became clear that those differences had been largely overcome. What heat there was in

*For background on the activities of the CAUS, see “CAUS Shifts Away From Confrontationist Course in Nicaragua,” by Fred Murphy, *Intercontinental Press*, July 7, 1980, p. 710.

the discussion tended to stem from poorly expressed arguments rather than real differences.

Strikes ‘a Last Recourse’

All the delegates agreed that the strike weapon is a historic achievement of the workers movement, which must always be defended. But the delegates also were in total agreement that “in this transitional period in Nicaragua, the strike should be the absolutely last recourse of the workers.”

Iván García, the general secretary of the CST, summed up the feeling of the delegates when he stated that “before using the strike weapon all other possibilities of resolving the conflict must first be exhausted.”

Allán Zambrana of the CAUS directly referred to the strikes his organization had led early in the year. Zambrana admitted that “in some cases the strike had been misused. But the question of the strike,” he continued, “is not so much what the union leaders say. Strikes take place independently of the union leaders, as a product of the objective conditions of a system where exploitation still exists.”

The conference also adopted a motion condemning maneuvers by sections of the bourgeoisie against the revolution. These maneuvers have included a walkout by bourgeoisie representatives to the council of state on November 12. The assembly pledged its support for the FSLN, the Government of National Reconstruction, and the Council of State, and called on all the workers to participate in a big demonstration in Managua on November 19 to express that support.

The conference concluded on a note of militant optimism. The progress toward workers unity was symbolized by the nine members of the conference presiding committee, representing all the union federations except the CTN, who raised their linked hands in a gesture of unity as the delegates chanted “Long live workers unity.”

As PROLACSA delegate Jaime Pérez told me after the final session, “now we can begin the real work, backed up by our combined strength.” □

Five Salvadoran Unionists Released, Eleven Still Held

On November 8, five of the trade-unionists arrested in August during an electrical workers strike were released from prison. Eleven others, however, remain in prison, including Héctor Bernabé Recinos, the president of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS). FENASTRAS has some 50,000 members organized in thirty unions.

Nicaraguan Masses Discuss New Educational System

By Lorraine Thiebaud

MANAGUA—For the first time in any country an entire population will be drawn into the creation of a new educational system. That was how Nicaraguan Minister of Education Carlos Tunnermann explained the significance of the National Educational Inquiry (CNE) November 7.

Speaking at a rally to commemorate the death of Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) founder Carlos Fonseca Amador, Tunnermann said that the purpose of the CNE is "to carry out a profound reform of the national educational system, to convert education into a key factor in the humanistic transformation of Nicaraguan society, and to give education a critical and liberating orientation. This reform will . . . include all phases from preschool education through higher education."

The CNE will be carried out by thirty-four work groups which will later form a permanent consultative body linked to the Ministry of Education.

Groups invited to participate include the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMN-LAE); the July 19 Sandinista Youth; the

Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs); all trade-union organizations; the association of indigenous people (Miskitos, Sumos, and Ramas) MISURASATA; and the National Association of Clerics.

Also participating will be educational organizations such as the National Foundation of Catholic Schools and the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua. Provisions to include individuals not associated with any of the thirty-four groups have also been made.

Seminars to collect information will be carried out on a local level by these groups. Their members will meet in work cells of no more than ten people to discuss a guide prepared by the Ministry of Education.

Results of the local discussions will be summarized and discussed at the provincial and national level, and the information will then be used by the consultative body to formulate an overall educational policy in line with the needs of the people. As Tunnermann put it, "Nobody can identify their own needs better than the people themselves."

Junta member Sergio Ramírez pointed

out at the same meeting that the educational inquiry is a reflection of the real democracy that exists in Nicaragua today. "Here," he said, "we're not going to change the educational system from above, but rather by consulting all the people, all the forces within the country."

Ramírez emphasized the tremendous achievements made by the revolution in the field of education in just one year. Not only was the illiteracy rate reduced from 50 percent to 12 percent by the national literacy campaign, but today more than one million people in a population of 2.6 million are participating in the educational system.

There are 25,000 children in preschool education; 550,000 in primary schools; 122,000 in high schools and technical schools; and 33,000 in the university. Also, some 300,000 graduates of the literacy campaign are now enrolled in accelerated primary education.

Ramírez said, "We do not just talk about democracy, we exercise all possible forms of democracy. It is truly democratic that today Nicaragua has become one big school." □

Terrorists Strike in Grenada, Kill Five

Five people were killed and one wounded November 17 in two terrorist attacks on the Caribbean island of Grenada. The first four murders took place around 11 p.m. when a car heading for the town of Sauteurs, St. Patrick's, was riddled with bullets.

Donald Stanislaus, a twenty-nine-year-old immigration officer at Pearl's Airport and his thirty-two-year-old brother Dennis, who had just returned to Grenada for a visit from Britain, were both killed. Also dead were two students, Stephen Laisee, aged twenty, and Andy Courtney, aged eighteen. A stolen car was found near the scene of the shooting.

The second incident took place about two miles away. A house which had previously housed the militia camp in the area, but which had not served this purpose for some six weeks, was attacked. Eighteen-year-old Evan Charles was shot dead, and Roy Salim, also eighteen, was wounded.

In a statement on the shootings given November 19 to the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*, Grenadian Consul General to North America Joseph Kanute Burke declared:

"The forces behind this ambush are among those who support Eric Gairy [the ousted Grenadian dictator].

"Gairy is sheltered by the U.S. government. His visa was just extended eight weeks ago. He lives in San Diego and is openly raising funds to recruit counter-revolutionaries to attack Grenada.

"He represents the same forces that support acts like the freeing of the Ku Klux Klan people who committed the dastardly action against our brothers [in Greensboro, North Carolina]."

Grenadian authorities report that four persons have been arrested in connection with the murders, and police are searching for other suspects. □

Bolivian Union Chief Released by Junta

Juan Lechín Oquendo, longtime leader of the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB), was released by the military government on November 16 after spending four months in prison.

Lechín had been seized in a raid on the COB headquarters in La Paz, carried out in connection with the July 17 military coup that overthrew President Lidia Gueiler Tejada. He had been held in the Bolivian high command headquarters during his imprisonment, and it was widely reported that he had been murdered.

Upon his release Lechín was exiled from the country and flown to Lima, Peru, where he will take up residence.

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New Threats Against El Salvador Liberation Struggle

By Fernando Torres

Troops from Venezuela, Colombia, and Costa Rica have taken part in military maneuvers on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques in preparation for a possible invasion of El Salvador, according to Roberto Cuéllar, a representative of the Legal Aid Fund of the Archbishopric of El Salvador.

The soldiers are being trained by U.S. military personnel in an operation code-named "Centaur."

A representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador charged that the "Centaur" plan is also aimed against other revolutionary struggles in Central America, and includes an espionage network headquartered in the Sheraton Hotel in San Salvador, under the joint command of one officer from the Venezuelan political police (DISIP) and one Salvadoran officer.

Rafael Menjifar, a leading member of the FDR, charged that ten U.S. warships are now stationed off the coast of El Salvador and that 200 U.S. marines are taking part in the military operations against Salvadoran guerrillas.

The U.S. State Department has admitted only to providing equipment to the military junta that has ruled El Salvador since it overthrew Gen. Carlos Romero on October 15, 1979.

The increased international military support for the Salvadoran junta has been made necessary by the regime's growing isolation within El Salvador and the growth of the forces struggling against it.

A November 3 communiqué from the United Revolutionary Directorate announced that the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN) had joined with the three other principal groups fighting the regime in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. Farabundo Martí was an early leader of the Communist Party of El Salvador, who was killed in an unsuccessful uprising in 1932.

The communiqué stated that the FARN's decision is a contribution "to the process of unifying the people, as well as a valuable contribution to driving the struggle of the people to the final liberation."

In recent weeks the guerrilla forces have stepped up their attacks throughout the country, and have been able to successfully fight off government offensives against liberated zones.

A military offensive against the department of Morazán, which is largely liberated territory, was launched in late October under the code name "Operation Rake." More than three thousand government troops, backed by heavy artillery and

helicopter gunships, invaded the province, which is on the border with Honduras, cutting communications with the rest of the country, closing rural clinics and health centers and occupying twelve towns.

The Catholic Church of El Salvador described the Morazán operation in the following way in an October 26 statement:

"Genocide is being carried out in the hamlets and cantons of the country. It is cruel, indiscriminate slaughter. A war of extermination, not against the guerrillas but against the defenseless civilian population. . . ."

The government troops were unable to dislodge the guerrilla forces from the region.

Since defeating the government troops in the department of Morazán, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front guerrillas have conducted what has been described as their biggest military offensive to date. The guerrillas have attacked major military garrisons, have occupied radio stations, and have carried out numerous acts of sabotage.

On November 10 government troops attacked guerrilla camps in the mountainous area of San Vicente, east of San Salvador. The extensive military operation, backed by helicopter gunships, encompasses the region from the slopes of the Chichontepec volcano to the towns of Guadalupe, Tecoluca, and Aspastepeque, where the guerrillas control large agricultural areas.

Some five thousand peasants from the area have been forced to flee their homes. The Salvadoran Red Cross estimates that the number of refugees from government offensives throughout the country now exceeds 75,000.

On November 19 National Guard troops invaded the San Salvador Archbishopric, where 700 peasants had taken refuge. The troops entered a printshop, beating workers and damaging the archdiocese's printing press.

Meanwhile, international support for the Salvadoran struggle continues to grow. In Honduras, students opposing U.S. interventionism in El Salvador blockaded the U.S. ambassador at the university. The Honduran National Coordinating Committee for Solidarity with El Salvador, which includes some twenty organizations, has launched a campaign to save the life of Salvadoran guerrilla leader Santos Lino Ramírez.

Lino Ramírez was seized by Honduran troops near the Salvadoran border on

October 14. The solidarity movement is demanding that the Honduran government send him to a country that would guarantee his safety, rather than turning him over to Salvadoran authorities.

The increasing isolation of the ruling junta was seen in the success of a recent tour of some thirty countries in Asia, Europe, and North and South America by representatives of the FDR. As a result of the tour, numerous governments and organizations came out in favor of the struggle in El Salvador and recognized the Revolutionary Democratic Front as the legitimate representative of the Salvadoran people.

The junta's isolation was further demonstrated in the failure of the ninth International Fair, a trade meeting held annually in El Salvador. Traditionally, most of the European and Western Hemisphere countries have participated in the fair.

In late October, however, the Farabundo Martí front issued a communiqué advising foreign governments that "it would not be in your interests to participate in the event." The communiqué stressed that participation would be seen as "an act of collaboration with the genocidal junta." As of mid-November only three governments—Honduras, Guatemala, and the U.S.—had agreed to participate.

As the pressure of the mass struggle increases, growing divisions are developing within the ruling junta itself. When the junta seized power, it tried to portray itself as a reformist, centrist alternative to the left and the far right.

Since the October 15, 1979 coup, however, rightist death squads have operated with virtual impunity in El Salvador, with the encouragement of the Salvadoran military. More than 9,000 civilians have been murdered in 1980 alone.

Col. Adolfo Majano, the leader of the so-called moderate wing of the junta, has found himself increasingly isolated due to the rightist terror. Majano, who was himself the target of a rightist assassination attempt, stated on November 18 that he could no longer characterize the government as one "that lies between two extremes."

He acknowledged that his hope to establish a broad democratic center had been destroyed by the right, and admitted that ultrarightists now have increasing power within the regime.

Asked about rumors that Cuban counter-revolutionary exiles in Miami had been

hired by Salvadoran rightists to assassinate him, Majano responded that "it would not surprise me because the right is carrying out ill-fated plans that coincide with

rumors of a coup."

As the junta becomes more isolated and exhausted, and as the revolutionary forces become stronger, the possibility of foreign

military intervention to save the junta becomes greater. For that reason, international solidarity with the struggling Salvadoran people is more vital than ever. □

Police Attack Leaves Two Dead

Mass Protests in Greece Hit NATO and Austerity

By Rena Cacoullis and Bob Misailides

Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators marched in the streets of Athens November 16 to commemorate the 1973 uprising by Polytechnic students that led to the overthrow of the Greek military dictatorship.

A demonstration on the anniversary of the student uprising has been called every year by the National Student Federation (EFEE) and the youth organizations of the left-wing political parties.

This year's march was the largest in several years and was marked by the rise in militancy and anti-imperialist and anti-government sentiment among the masses.

Contingents of trade unionists, students, and youth from political groups marched to the parliament building chanting "Out of NATO forever," "Freedom, bread, work," "Down with Americans, murderers of the peoples," and "Unity and struggle to get rid of the rightist government."

The protest took place less than a month after the October 22 demonstration against Greece's reentry into the military wing of NATO, which drew as many as 500,000 people. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 17, page 1195.)

The EFEE initially called for a march on the American embassy, but at the last minute the government banned that route "in order to prevent violence." The EFEE agreed to change the march's destination to the parliament, despite opposition from a number of left-wing organizations.

As the demonstrators reached the parliament, and before the march was disbanded, the special anti-riot police attacked the demonstration. The police used armored cars and tear gas, and there is evidence that shots were fired against the demonstrators.

One young woman worker was viciously beaten to death by a gang of fifteen cops, a student was killed, and many demonstrators were seriously wounded. Hundreds of people were arrested, and seven remain in prison.

The government has tried to blame the violence on "extremist and anarchist elements." Andreas Papandreu, leader of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), initially went along with the government cover-up, placing responsibility for the brutal police attack on "suspect elements and provocateurs." However, after a more

careful assessment of the mood among the masses, Papandreu retreated from this reactionary position the following day.

In a November 17 statement the Central Council of the EFEE denounced the government for "the police-state climate and the terrorism that it has imposed on Athens."

It charged that the police attack was "part of an organized plan which aims at creating a climate of terrorism and intimidation," and linked it to "the development of our people's struggle and the desperate attempts of the right to repress them."

Both the Greek Communist Party (Interior) and the Greek Communist Party (Exterior), blamed the police and the government for the violence.

Along with the recent mobilizations against NATO, there has also been an ongoing struggle against the ruling class austerity drive. Nearly 1.5 million workers participated in a twenty-four-hour general strike on November 10. They demanded a

forty-hour, five-day workweek and cost-of-living pay increases.

Newspapers, banks, shops, schools, and industries were closed. Transport was paralyzed. In the large industries such as mining, construction, chemicals, tobacco, and textiles, participation in the strike was between 80 and 100 percent.

A joint offensive by the employers and their government has been unleashed against the strikers, many of whom are still out. There has been a wave of selective firings of militant workers who led the strikes, and the government has stepped in with its anti-union laws. There have been some work stoppages to protest the firings, and the unions are discussing how best to meet the bosses' offensive.

It is clear that the government, through actions such as the police attack on November 16, is trying to intimidate the masses and cut short further mobilizations by the working people.

As the Organization of International Communists of Greece (OKDE), the Greek section of the Fourth International, said in its statement following the November 16 demonstration, "the brutal police attack and its tragic consequences shows the real face of the government, a government of austerity and blatant terrorism." □



Uprising of Polytechnic students in 1973.

Israeli Troops Wound Eleven Palestinian Students

By David Frankel

Acting in accord with government policy, Israeli troops repeatedly opened fire on unarmed Palestinian demonstrators November 17 and 18. Eleven teen-agers were wounded in four separate incidents in the West Bank towns of Ramallah, Al Bira, and Bethlehem.

"One student who was shot today at Bethlehem University suffered a serious wound in the abdomen when soldiers perched on a rooftop fired into a crowded courtyard below," *Washington Post* correspondent William Claiborne reported in a November 18 dispatch. "Students were also shot and wounded in the main square of the West Bank town of Ramallah and at a nearby girl's high school. Periodically throughout the morning, the crackle of small-arms fire could be heard in Ramallah's city center. . . ."

Although Israeli officials claimed that troops had fired at protesters only after warning shots had been ignored and when they themselves were endangered, televised accounts showed soldiers on rooftops, well out of range of stones thrown by the students, firing at the youths below.

Zionist occupation authorities tried to clamp a news blackout on the protests, expelling all reporters from the area and preventing correspondents from interviewing any of the wounded students.

At a defiant news conference in Jerusalem November 19, students and faculty representatives from Bir Zeit University discussed the closing of their school and the military government's ban on a Palestine Week festival, which was what sparked the protests.

Sari Nusseibeh, the head of the faculty association at Bir Zeit, told reporters: "It seems to me that the Israeli Government, especially the military government on the West Bank, is engaged in a slow attempt at the murder of Palestinian national consciousness."

Nusseibeh added: "I think if the Israeli Government wants to eradicate the Palestinian consciousness, it will have to eradicate the Palestinian himself, either drive us out of the country or murder us."

Immediately after the November 18 shootings, Capt. Ishai Cohen, representing the West Bank military government, backed the action of the Israeli troops. Cohen declared that "people who throw stones ought to be very careful. We are not going to let them do it, not throwing stones, not throwing hand grenades, not closing roads. We see it as very serious and we shall use all means to prevent it."

Cohen argued that it was necessary to

use gunfire against unarmed demonstrators because "tear gas doesn't help."

Such Gestapo methods, however, are being noted by working people around the world. Sympathy for the struggle of the Palestinian people is increasing, and life is becoming more difficult for the Zionist regime's apologists.

An editorial in the November 20 *Washington Post* reflected the changing climate. It argued that "it was the soldiers who committed the real violence."

While insisting on the need to combat "Palestinian terrorism," the editorial continued: "But to shoot up unarmed students demonstrating on their campus? This is the act of an arrogant police administration. It is shameful."

"The shootings, moreover, were not really aberrations. Resistance to Israeli occupation, though it has its ups and downs, is constant. The Israeli government's policy is to reply by force with regular units and, it is increasingly suspected, to wink at the use of force by irregulars among the settler population and their army colleagues. Often force is used preemptively or routinely—not merely to retaliate but to intimidate. A press veil is drawn. And when the Palestinians turn to political action, the authorities crack down there, too. The government refuses to deal with the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] on grounds that it is terrorist and unelected, but then it expels mayors who are political and elected. As we see, it shoots students."

The U.S. State Department issued a statement saying that it was "troubled" by the Israeli policy. "The use of potentially lethal force to disperse unarmed demonstrators can lead to grave and far-reaching consequences," it pointed out.

Of course, no matter how "troubled" the U.S. government may be over events in the West Bank, it is hardly about to cut off the military and economic aid that makes the Israeli occupation of Arab land possible. On the contrary, as the class struggle in the Middle East heats up—including the Palestinian struggle for national liberation—the Zionist regime becomes more important to U.S. imperialism as a counterrevolutionary base.

A joint conference representing both houses of the U.S. Congress met November 20 and added \$400 million to the \$1,000 million in military credits already earmarked for the Israeli regime for the 1981 fiscal year. It also gave the Zionist regime \$785 million in economic aid. All the economic aid and the additional \$400

million in military aid were outright grants, rather than loans.

Meanwhile, as Palestinian protests continued, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin was also being challenged on another front. Begin's government barely scraped by November 19 with 57 to 54 vote on a motion of no-confidence in the Israeli Knesset (parliament).

The no-confidence vote came three days after a demonstration by 10,000 union members protesting the government's economic policies. Inflation in Israel, according to the government's own figures, was 138.4 percent from October 1979 to October 1980. Real wages during the first six months of 1980 fell by 14 percent. And unemployment rose to 5 percent by the third quarter of the year.

Even as the Zionist regime continues to confiscate Arab land and to build more colonies in the West Bank, tens of thousands of young Israeli Jews are voting with their feet. In 1979 the U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv gave out 60,000 tourist visas. More than half of those receiving a tourist visa stayed in the United States rather than return to Israel.

In an article on emigration from Israel in the August 29 issue of the Israeli daily *Yediot Ahronot*, Eli Tavor quoted an official at the Israeli consulate in Los Angeles who complained: "The 2,000 *yordim* [emigrants—literally, those who descend] that arrive monthly in L.A. alone could easily build a combat battalion in the Israeli Army."

Nor are things going to get any better for Israeli working people. As Ezra Sadan, the head of planning for the Israeli Ministry of Finance, recently put it, "There is too much health care, too much education. It's good social policy but too expensive." (*Wall Street Journal*, November 21.) Austerity and militarization for Israeli workers, racism and repression for the Palestinian masses—that is the future offered by the Zionist state. It is this reality which will increasingly drive the Jewish workers and the oppressed Palestinian population into a common struggle against the Israeli government. □

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Irish Hunger Strikers Face British Disinformation Campaign

By Gerry Foley

The hunger strike begun on October 27 by seven Irish political prisoners in the H-Block of Long Kesh concentration camp is now going into its fifth week. In view of the weakened condition of the men before the strike began, the possibility of deaths is becoming an immediate one.

The British government has begun trying to enlist journalists in a propaganda campaign to head off the growth of outrage against the inhuman treatment that has forced Irish political prisoners to starve themselves to death rather than continue to endure it.

In a luncheon held for journalists thought to be susceptible to such appeals, Michael Alison, the British minister of state for Northern Ireland, said:

"There is no escaping the fact that we are afraid that some of these people are going to terminate their own lives." (Reported by William Borders in the November 16 *New York Times*.)

The cynical officialness of this statement, reminiscent of the expressions of American officials in Vietnam, indicates the character of the British propaganda campaign.

It fits into a massive apparatus of repression focused on a small, impoverished population. The British government is relying on brazenness, volume, and the corrupting power of big money.

In Ireland, the tactics of the British government are fanning outrage.

The British government had first announced that it was going to meet the prisoners' demand not to be forced to wear a convict uniform. Then a few hours later it explained that what was involved was simply a change in the prison uniform. The prisoners would have to wear prison issue clothing conforming to a certain standard pattern.

In Ireland, it was generally understood that this was not a real concession. It was also understood how cruel a deception this was for the relatives, who knew that the hunger strike was coming and what it would mean. At the same time, this maneuver made fools of the Catholic church leaders who were trying to negotiate a compromise.

In the November 1 *Irish Times*, David McKittrick, a correspondent by no means sympathetic to the fight against H-Block, reported:

"According to one close associate of the clerics, they were 'deeply disappointed and very frustrated.' According to another associate: 'They were bucking mad. They felt Atkins [the British supremo for North-



H-block hunger striker Sean McKenna. The six other hunger strikers in Long Kesh prison are: Tommy McKearney, Leo Green, Ray McCartney, John Nixon, Brendan Hughes, and Tom McFeeley.

ern Ireland] had made right eejits of them."

The clerics had good reason to be angry. This was the second time the British government had made fools of them. When the H-Block issue was to be taken up by the European Commission on Human Rights this June, the British representatives convinced the tribunal not to rule on the case. They argued that since negotiations were still going on with the Catholic church leaders the complainants had not exhausted the "local remedies." Immediately after the court rejected the case, the negotiations were broken off.

But still McKittrick professed an inability to understand why the British officials would do such a thing:

"By any standards it was a bad mistake on the part of the administration. The prisoners saw it as "a cruel piece of teasing and political brinksmanship."

From outside Ireland it is clear why the British engaged in this maneuver. It was a deliberate attempt to confuse international public opinion, which is not so well informed on the issues.

The international capitalist press is still full of claims that the British granted the prisoners' main demand, but that fanatics intent on martyrdom insisted on going ahead with the hunger strike.

Perhaps the Irish bourgeois newspapers

are reluctant to point out that the British government has so much contempt for Irish public opinion. But this message is getting through to the Irish people. It explains why the wing of the ruling Fianna Fáil party that is most sensitive to anti-imperialist feeling is beginning to raise its head again.

In a speech given during the Donegal by-election campaign shortly after the start of the hunger strike, Fianna Fáil member of Parliament Síle De Valera said:

British propaganda is at present so strong on the issue of H-Block that anyone seen to highlight the plight of the prisoners there in the hope that their human rights are respected, is immediately dubbed as being an I.R.A. supporter, in the hope that this will silence their condemnations. It is important, however, when considering the matter of H-Block to bear in mind the existence of the Diplock Courts [one-judge juryless tribunals] and the interrogation techniques used in Castlereagh [most of the prisoners were convicted on the basis of statements extorted by torture]. . . .

The British have, for generations, boasted and prided themselves on their rule of law, yet these laws are saturated with hypocrisy in their denial of fundamental human rights which is basic to any just law. How then, I ask you, can the British authorities expect victims of violations of such fundamental laws to have respect for authority and adhere to the legal system in the North? . . .

If . . . the situation is allowed to continue and deteriorate the British Government must shoulder the responsibility for further deaths, whether it be in H-Block, on the streets, or elsewhere in the Six Counties [Northern Ireland].

In the November 16 *New York Times*, William Borders described the propaganda effort the British are mounting:

Through embassies in the United States, Continental Europe and elsewhere, [the British government] is distributing copies of a glossy new brochure describing conditions in the [Long Kesh] prison, which it says are "on a par with the best in Western Europe, "and emphasizing that the unpleasant conditions of the protesting prisoners are self-imposed.

In addition, diplomats and politicians are seeking out journalists to counter a campaign of sympathy for the hunger strikers that is being promulgated by the Provisional Wing of the Irish Republican Army.

In fact, there have been a spate of crudely biased articles against the hunger strikers in the U.S. and British big press, including in publications that generally seek to maintain a liberal image.

An example is the article by Jack Beatty entitled "The Troubles Today" which appeared in the November 15 issue of the

New Republic, an influential U.S. liberal weekly:

When the H Block issue first arose in 1976, the IRA warned that if its demands were not met it would take reprisals against prison guards. So far, 18 guards have been murdered. One man was killed coming out of his sister's wedding. His three-year-old daughter was beside him when he was shot; according to witnesses, she lay on top of him while he lay bleeding to death on the ground. Think of her white dress slowly blossoming red the next time you see a reference to the IRA. . . . The idea is to make the murder grisly so that it will get on the evening news. In this way the institutions of the open society are used to spread terror.

The effect of this rant depends on the reader not knowing that more than a thousand persons have been killed in Northern Ireland, most of them by the British army and its pro-imperialist Protestant allies. It depends on the reader not thinking that all these people had just as much blood in them as the prison guard he mentions.

Police and Landowners Blame 'Naxalites'

Peasants Face Reign of Terror in South India

By Sharad Jhaveri

JAMNAGAR—Murderous police assaults on oppressed peasants and agricultural laborers, and on youth who sympathize with their cause, are on the increase in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu in South India.

Official accounts of these attacks claim that they are confrontations between the police and "Naxalites."* With all-too-familiar regularity, the police claim to have been attacked by heavily armed Naxalites. The Naxalites invariably get killed, and the police invariably escape unscathed.

Tamil Nadu has the dubious distinction of being even more poverty stricken than India as a whole. News of bloody encounters has been trickling out of Telangana District, which has a long tradition of peasant struggles.

Mukundan C. Menon, a member of a fact-finding committee organized by several Indian civil liberties organizations, reported in the August 23 *Economic and Political Weekly* that there has been a

The minimum standards of objective reporting would require that Beatty at least mention that four of the organizers of the campaign against the H-Blocks have been murdered since June. In fact, some of the killings resemble the type of assassination that the Special Air Services (SAS), the British equivalent of the U.S. Special Forces counterinsurgency teams, specializes in.

In 1978, the SAS hit squads assassinated at least twelve Catholics. The murder campaign became so notorious that it was denounced even by the chauvinist British press.

Beatty does not even tip his hat to the well-known fact that the prison guards are recruited from the same elements of the proimperialist Protestant population that have traditionally been involved in attacks on the Catholic communities. Many of them even display the insignia of the Protestant murder gangs. They systemati-

cally torment the nationalist prisoners.

Beatty presents the desperate acts of retribution by the friends, relatives, and associates of the prisoners as a calculated terrorist campaign.

Crude propagandists such as Beatty have not only contempt for the Irish people but for international public opinion in general. They think that world public opinion can be dinned so senseless by the repetition of crude lies and distortions in the capitalist press that it will not react before the ultimate protest of the H-Block prisoners ends in death and demoralization.

The British propaganda campaign in fact shows even more clearly what is at stake in the hunger strike of the Irish political prisoners. The British government and its supporters have thrown down the gauntlet to all those who believe in human rights and even an elementary respect for the truth. □

the landlord-moneylender cliques, runs the risk of being hauled up and sometimes tortured by the police.

The Organisation for Civil and Democratic Rights has been prevented from conducting peaceful public meetings to protest such injustices.

Meanwhile, Nagabhushan Patnaik, one of the most prominent Naxalite leaders, is dying as a result of his treatment at the hands of the government.

Sentenced to death in 1970 for his alleged involvement in the death of a landlord, he refused to appeal his case to a higher court because of his lack of faith in bourgeois justice. However, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment because of the intervention of civil liberties organizations.

Authorities have prevented the forty-five-year-old Patnaik from meeting with any visitors. Having already spent eleven years in prison, he suffers from numerous ailments and his body bears marks of torture, according to a report by Sudip Mazumdar in the October 22 *Indian Express*.

Patnaik is currently at the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences. Doctors there say he needs continuous medical care, but the Andhra Pradesh government is reportedly considering halting his treatment on the ground of the expense involved—the paltry amount of five rupees per day.

In contrast to its treatment of Patnaik, the state of Andhra Pradesh allocated a huge grant to its chief justice for medical treatment abroad. Even the *Indian Express* attacked the "shocking callousness" of the regime in an October 23 editorial. □

*The term Naxalite is taken from Naxalbari in West Bengal, where a peasant revolt took place in 1967. Organizers of the Naxalbari revolt were among the forces that later formed the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Members of the CPI(ML), its various offshoots, and other small Maoist groups are popularly referred to as Naxalites.—IP

What Reagan's Victory Means for American Workers

By Fred Feldman

Policy statements and trial balloons from President-elect Ronald Reagan, his transition team, and congressional aides leave no room for doubt. The incoming administration is on a collision course with American working people—and with workers and farmers around the world.

The capitalists are seeking to use Reagan's election to massively escalate attacks on the living standards and human rights of working people.

The attacks include plans to:

- Cut Social Security Benefits.
- Slash up to \$40 billion from the budget (Howard Baker, the likely Senate Majority leader, suggested that social programs can be cut by 25 percent or more.)
- Reduce the minimum wage for youth and amend or repeal the Davis-Bacon Act, which mandates union wages for workers on federal construction sites.
- Speed building of nuclear power plants, including breeder reactors.
- Extend the death penalty.
- Abolish rent control laws in dozens of cities.
- Phase out the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, which provides jobs and job training for ghetto youths.

Racism and Sexism

The cutting edge is an assault on civil rights won in the past by Blacks, Latinos, and women. The rulers want these millions to continue to provide a reserve army of chronically unemployed cheap labor. And



Construction workers face attacks on union wages.

they want to weaken the fighting capacity of all working people by reinforcing racist and sexist discrimination.

W. Allen Wallis, chancellor of the University of Rochester, who advises Reagan on education, called for "discontinuing

affirmative-action programs," reported the November 11 *New York Times*. Wallis has no qualms tossing off such phrases as "Blacks in the inner city are ignorant."

Reagan advisers promise a "cautious approach to enforcement of civil rights," the November 15 *Times* reported. Instead the focus of the Justice Department is to be on "street crime." What "caution" means was signaled when Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who will become chairman of the Judiciary Committee, announced he might push for repeal of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which made it possible for hundreds of thousands of Blacks throughout the South to register and vote for the first time since the end of the Reconstruction period right after the Civil War.

No wonder racist murderers in Buffalo, Atlanta, New Orleans, and Greensboro feel a surge of confidence. They know that the murder of Black children or anti-Klan demonstrators won't be the kind of "street crime" that Reagan's cops go after.

The rights of women are also in the new president's gunights. Reagan has reiterated support for a constitutional amendment to ban abortions and opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment.

What Mandate?

The media joined Reagan in proclaiming his election as a mandate. This pretense is part of a war of nerves against the American working people. The aim is to head off and isolate resistance to the coming attacks by proclaiming Reagan's reactionary proposals to be "the voice of the people."

This is a calculated lie. The election showed that millions were fed up with Carter's assault on living standards, not that millions will welcome the same and worse from Reagan. In fact, knowing the unpopularity of his extreme right-wing platform, Reagan systematically obscured it during much of the campaign behind promises of peace and prosperity.

Reagan's post-election stance is not simply the aberration of a racist, reactionary individual. The billionaires who rule this country desperately need to impose the brutal program that Reagan proposes. They are impelled to try to make workers and farmers pay for inflation and intensifying international competition, economic dislocations and breakdowns, declining profit rates, and all the other ills built into a declining capitalist system.

That's why the attacks are bipartisan. Even verbal differences between liberals and conservatives are narrowing rapidly

as Democratic and Republican politicians close ranks in defense of the needs of capitalism. One Carter administration official told the *Wall Street Journal* it was "unlikely that any liberal Democrats will raise the banner for labor" against Reagan's policies.

The lame-duck Democratic-controlled Congress is doing its bit to fuel the reactionary drive. On November 17 the Senate approved a House proposal to ban desegregation suits by the Justice Department that involve the busing of school children. Without busing, housing segregation guarantees a situation in which Black children will attend virtually all-Black schools where much less tax money is spent to provide books and other educational services.

The next day the House approved a proposal to incorporate a 2 percent spending reduction in every area except the military in the 1981 budget.

New Vietnams

The profit drive of the oil companies, banks, and other big corporations is international. And the ultimate sacrifice demanded to help them maintain their investments and markets is war.

For starters, Reagan and Texas Senator John Tower are preparing to tack on another \$3 billion to Carter's record \$157.5 billion arms budget for 1981.

Reagan's national security advisers have openly declared the whole globe to be their province. "No area of the world is beyond the scope of American interest," they declared, calling for "sufficient military standing to cope with any level of violence."

They explain that this "requires a structure of overseas bases and access rights able to assist ground, naval and air forces in supporting U.S. interests anywhere in the world."

There's a formula for new Vietnams!

The push for stepped-up military intervention abroad requires that American youth be subject to the draft. And so Senator Tower let it be known that the Senate probably wouldn't repeal Carter's draft registration edict, even though the Republican platform opposed it.

A Weakened Imperialism

The arrogant tone of the Reagan team's foreign policy pronouncements should not be mistaken for strength, however.

Their warlike rhetoric and policies express a weakening imperialism's attempt to stem a rising tide of revolution. Many a

Washington-backed dictator has been compelled to seek other employment. From Indochina to Southern Africa, from the Middle East to Central America, workers and farmers have scored gains in breaking the stranglehold of Washington and Wall Street.

The Reagan program is a challenge to the life-and-death interests of American working people. But like his desire to drive back the workers and farmers of the rest of the world, it is easier said than done.

The attempt to implement these policies will inspire resistance, because they are just the opposite of what the overwhelming majority want.

Working people want peace, jobs, decent living standards, a livable environment, safe workplaces, equality, and human rights. The contrast between those needs and the needs of the billionaires that Reagan represents means sharper class struggle and broader confrontations in the weeks and months ahead.

What Will Stop Reagan's Plans?

The coming together of Republican and Democratic politicians behind Reagan's program, in the wake of four years of reactionary Carter policies, shows that these parties won't stop the reactionary drive. Whatever their tactical differences over how fast to proceed, they all serve big business and view working people as the enemy.

Working people will have to rely on their own strength to hold on to what they have and move on to new gains.

First and foremost, workers and their allies within the United States need to oppose the divide-and-rule tactics of the Reagan team by opposing racist terror and defending busing, affirmative action, the Equal Rights Amendment, and all the



Arms spending will increase as social services are cut.

human rights of Blacks, Latinos, and women.

Reagan's reactionary proposals strike at every sector of the working class, from unemployed Black youth to the better-paid skilled construction workers to the working farmer. They are a reminder of the truth of the labor adage that an injury to one is an injury to all.

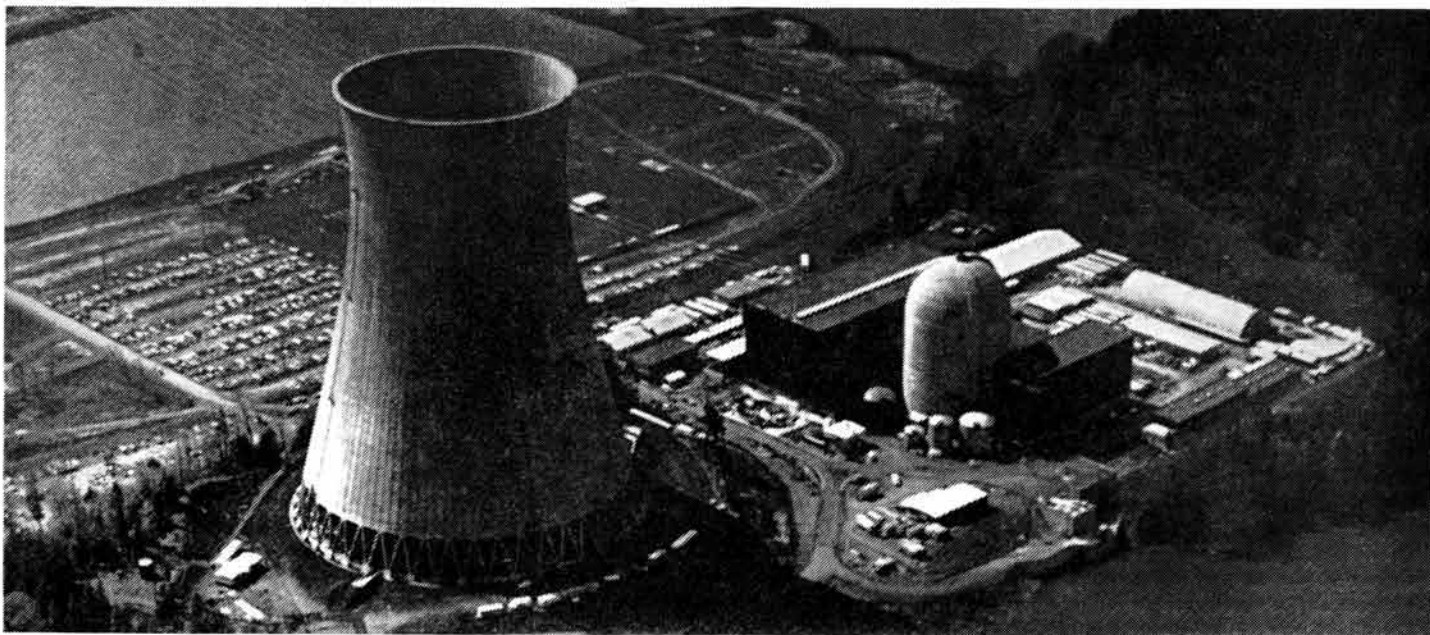
Need for Labor Party

An effective response means mobilizing the enormous power of tens of millions of working people who keep the U.S. running. A key part of the fightback is the organization of a labor party to give the U.S. working class a political voice and to fight for political power.

The last two years have seen some

initial steps toward the kind of united fightback that is needed: the miners' strike of 1977-78 that pushed back the coal bosses' union-busting effort; the anti-Klan march that drew 7,000 to Greensboro on February 2; the May 10 march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Chicago, preceded by the April 26 labor conference for the ERA; and the Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in October, where more than 900 unionists, including close to 200 coal miners, challenged the oil companies and nuclear power combines.

Millions of working people—unionists, Blacks, women, and farmers—have it within their power to shatter all the well-laid plans of Reagan and his transition team. □



More nuclear power plants, including breeder reactors, are planned.

USA: Klan and Nazi Murderers Acquitted by All-White Jury

By Fred Feldman

On November 17, an all-white Greensboro, North Carolina, jury brought in a not guilty verdict in the murder trial of four Ku Klux Klansmen and two members of the Nazi Party. They were among those who gunned down five participants in an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro on November 3, 1979.

The jury verdict that the racists acted in "self-defense" flew in the face of photographs and videotapes which showed the racists calmly pulling guns from the trunk of their car and firing point-blank at peaceful Black and white protesters.

The prosecution helped lay the basis for acquittal by joining with defense attorneys in excluding Blacks from the jury while including known right-wingers. Prosecutors focused their attack on the views of

the Communist Workers Party (CWP), which sponsored the anti-Klan rally. The five victims were CWP members. Several had been active in union organizing drives in the area.

News of the verdict sent shock waves through Greensboro and the nation. Blacks and other supporters of civil rights saw it as a green light to the racist killers who have been taking a growing toll of Black lives in recent months.

"I thought they were going to be convicted of something," said State Senator Henry Frye, the first Black elected to the North Carolina legislature in the past century. "It would take me a long time to get over it, if ever."

"I think the verdict is tantamount to giving the Klan and Nazis a license to

kill," said Dr. George Simkins, president of the Greensboro chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

"What if it had been six Blacks on trial," said Ossie Ruth Beasley, chairwoman of the Residents' Council of the Morningside Homes where the killings took place. "What kind of chance would they have of getting off?"

In interviews with people heading to work in downtown Greensboro, the *Greensboro Record* found "surprise, and, for the most part, disagreement with the verdict."

Flores Cauce and Marty Nathan, widows of two of the victims, held a vigil and news conference at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, to denounce the verdict.

Civil-Rights, Labor Leaders Blast 'Travesty of Justice'

In the days following the Greensboro verdict, the U.S. socialist newsweekly *Militant* interviewed civil-rights and union leaders. Their reactions testified to the outrage and alarm that the verdict has caused among working people, and above all in the Black community.

Jesse Jackson, director of Operation PUSH and perhaps the best-known civil-rights leader in the United States, declared the acquittal a "travesty of justice" that "discredits the judicial system."

"The issue is clouded even further," he continued, "by the press, which constantly referred to the assassinated victims as 'communists,' that is, as something less than human, and therefore without civil rights."

"The campaign against Blacks and poor people at both the governmental and street levels have reached an epidemic stage," charged Rev. Joseph Lowery, the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The SCLC was founded by the late Dr. Martin Luther King. Lowery urged the Carter administration to prosecute the Klan and Nazi murderers for "violation of the rights of the victims killed November 3."

Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and a member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO (the U.S. trade-union federation), declared, "There is no question in my mind that justice was certainly not done."

"This acquittal," commented Rev. Lu-

cius Walker, director of the National Anti-Klan Network, "must be seen as giving the Klan and Nazis the license to shoot and kill any person, Black or white, who will stand against their racist proclamations." Walker was an organizer of the February 2 march against the Klan in Greensboro, which drew more than 7,000 people.

Anne Braden, co-chairperson of the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice, demanded federal prosecution of the killers.

"We're convinced that the racists are not the majority of the white people in this country," Braden declared. "We who believe in freedom and justice are the true majority in Greensboro and in the rest of the country."

The National Organization of Black University and College Students (NOBUCS) reacted strongly. "A judiciary precedent was set in Greensboro yesterday," the statement issued November 18 stated. "Now it will be legal for Klansmen and Nazis to shoot people down in the streets. . . ."

"Blacks all over the country are threatened—innocent Black children are murdered in the streets of Atlanta, Black men are mutilated in Buffalo, injustice has struck Miami and Chattanooga, and now a not guilty verdict in our beloved Greensboro."

NOBUCS asked the Carter administration to send a Justice Department task force to Greensboro. And they demanded

that President-elect Reagan condemn the jury's decision.

Horace Sheffield, an official of the United Auto Workers and president of the Detroit Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, also spoke out. Stating that the Greensboro decision "does not bode well for the future of civil rights," he predicted it "will encourage the racist elements in this country who would act out their racism in its most ugly and violent form. . . ."

"The whole gamut of liberal concerns in this country, labor, women's rights, all the things that we've been concerned about, that we generally have accepted as part and parcel of a progressive nation, are threatened."

Andrew Pulley, who was the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate in the 1980 elections, added his voice to the calls for federal prosecution of the killers. He also demanded that charges be dropped against the Communist Workers Party members facing trial in Greensboro.

"It's time to mobilize by the thousands across the country to stop this racist conspiracy," Pulley declared.

"We should demand a dragnet of Klan and right-wing groups—including the armed training camps they boast of—to question them on suspicion of murder in the spate of Black assassinations. . . ."

"Wherever racist and right-wing terror raises its head, we should countermobilize." □

State officials were openly hostile to critics of the decision. According to the November 19 *Washington Post*, cops attended the widows' news conference, "meticulously photographing all of the speakers."

And NAACP leader Simkins came under fire from Greensboro mayor Jim Melvin. "He keeps on talking that same tired old rhetoric of the 1960s," the mayor said.

Six CWP members still face trial in Greensboro on charges stemming from the Klan-Nazi attack.

Anger soon began expressing itself in action. Hundreds participated in protests in Greensboro, Durham, and Chapel Hill, North Carolina, November 20.

The Greensboro trial was the latest demonstration of the immunity which ultraracist and fascist-type outfits have from arrest or effective prosecution for terrorist acts.

Vernon Jordan, president of the Urban League, one of the largest civil-rights organizations, was gunned down and badly wounded in Indiana last May.

Ku Klux Klan snipers who shot four Black women were acquitted in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Six Black men in Buffalo, New York, were brutally murdered, and racists harassed the funeral of one of them. An anonymous Ku Klux Klanner has taken credit for the killings.

Sixteen Black children have been murdered or have disappeared in Atlanta, Georgia.

Ultraright hit squads have claimed other victims. Cuban diplomat Félix García Rodríguez was assassinated in New York September 11. Omega 7, an anti-Castro group that maintains a public headquarters in Union City, New Jersey, took credit for the murder. But there have been no arrests.

And U.S. courts recently overturned the guilty verdict against those who killed Chilean exile leader Orlando Letelier.

Moreover, from Miami to New Orleans to Indianapolis, police have been stepping up their killing spree against Blacks.

Ultraright outfits like the Klan and the Nazis remain small. But they have experienced some growth, an expression of the deepening social and economic crisis in the United States and the resulting class polarization.

The cloak of protection provided by the government is enabling them to increase their terrorist activities. And it is undoubtedly helping them attract more racist killers to their ranks.

The racist groups have received an added injection of confidence from Ronald Reagan's election and his subsequent promises to go easy on the enforcement of civil-rights laws.

The terrorist groups are particularly useful to the ruling class and government at a time when it is imposing policies of austerity and seeking to get into position



November 20 demonstration in Greensboro blasts jury verdict.

for military moves against the spread of revolution in the Middle East, Southern Africa, Central America, and elsewhere. These policies, which are unpopular now, are certain to become even more so.

Extralegal terror is aimed at intimidating those who speak out for Black rights, defend the union movement against attacks, or oppose war moves against Cuba, Nicaragua, or Iran.

Blacks are a special target because of their vanguard role in the U.S. working class, and because of the capitalists' need to intensify racial oppression and reinforce divisions in the working class.

These divisions have eroded over the last two decades as a result of the impact on working people of the Black struggles for equal rights, the destruction of legally enforced segregation (Jim Crow) in the South as a result of these struggles, and the deepening of antiestablishment and antigovernment sentiments in the wake of Vietnam and Watergate. That's why there

is such wide opposition to the Greensboro verdict.

The growth of reactionary terrorism is not limited to the United States. Parallel developments can be seen in Italy, France, Britain, and elsewhere. It is a product of the imperialist rulers' need to slash workers' living standards, increase war preparations, and reduce democratic rights.

Thus French police have yet to arrest the ultrarightists who recently planted a bomb in front of a Paris synagogue, killing four.

And throughout Western Europe governments are attempting to stir up racist sentiment by proposing new anti-immigration laws. The Thatcher government in Britain is moving to bar many nonwhites from citizenship.

The immunity of the right-wing terrorists is fostered by the overlapping membership they share with the state security services. Thus dozens of Paris cops are reported to be in the anti-Semitic gang that

carried out the bombing. (See article on page 1252.)

In Greensboro, local and federal police agents helped the Klan and Nazis plan and carry out the attack on the anti-Klan rally.

The rightward shift of the capitalist rulers in the United States was reflected in press reaction to the Greensboro verdict. The *Washington Post*, which has posed as a devoted friend of civil rights, leaped to the defense of the jury decision.

"We doubt that anyone other than those who sat through all of the trial is in position to provide an authoritative opinion" on the guilt or innocence of the racist killers, the *Post* declared in a November 20 editorial.

It suggested that the federal government could play a role in completing the exoneration of the killers and isolating the victims: "If an injustice has not been done, the federal government can help establish that by providing an evenhanded, non-political review that will be acceptable to all but those few who, from the beginning, may have been intent on creating martyrs and heroes out of this tragedy."

A November 20 *New York Times* editorial echoed many of the *Post's* apologies for the verdict, but indicated some concern that brutal provocation of the Black community might backfire. It expressed surprise that the killers were acquitted, "not only of murder but also rioting. . . ."

"What plainly agitates many Blacks is the fear of open hatred in a time of national retreat from the cause of equality."

The *Times* hinted that the combativity of antiracist forces might necessitate more

restrictions on democratic rights, saying "All American communities need to be alert to the stirrings of agitators. . . ."

The retreat from the cause of equality that the editorial talks about is not a retreat by decisive sectors of the working class, and that's what agitates the *Times*. On the contrary, in noting the growth of the Klan, the *Times* warned, "when [the Klan] seeks confrontation, there are now many more blacks and whites who will stand and fight back."

Yes, there are "many more blacks and whites who will stand up and fight back" against the Klan, Nazis, and similar terrorist gangs. The massive countermobilization of these forces is the necessary response to crimes such as the verdict in Greensboro. □

Ku Klux Klan: 'I Was Only Shooting at Niggers'

Trial Evidence Refutes Claim of Self-Defense

By Steve Craine

[The following article appeared in the November 28 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

GREENSBORO, N.C.—Jurors who acquitted six Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party members of murder here claimed that they "considered only the facts, the evidence, and applied the law."

But in this highly publicized case, in which the murders were recorded on film and televised across the country, millions of other people have also considered the facts and seen the evidence.

They know the verdict was a travesty of justice.

Self-defense was the only legal basis of the defendants' case, and it was the jury's rationale for reaching its "not guilty" verdict. But the statements and actions of the defendants themselves, many of which are on film, refute the self-defense claim.

The six men just acquitted, plus about thirty other racists from around the state, traveled as much as 100 miles to Greensboro to confront an anti-KKK rally sponsored by the Communist Workers Party. Most brought one or more guns and knew that the others had weapons as well.

After the racists' caravan of nine vehicles arrived at the scene, shouts and insults were exchanged, and a few of the Klanners' cars were kicked and hit with sticks.

But defense and prosecution witnesses agree that the first two shots were fired by KKKers at the head of the caravan.

Then came three shots, which cannot be pinpointed, but originated in an area



Klansmen and Nazis taking weapons from cars at November 3, 1979, demonstration.

where members of both sides were engaged in a stick fight. The defendants then opened the trunk of one of the cars and unloaded an arsenal of shotguns, rifles, and handguns.

The videotapes, which the jury saw over and over again in both normal and slow motion, show the racist gunmen acting in an aggressive, not a defensive, manner.

Three of the defendants can be seen running toward the demonstrators as they fire. Others are standing erect, without seeking cover, and blazing away with shotguns.

The anti-Klan demonstrators, in contrast, began to flee from the area as soon as gunfire began. One reporter, when asked what the demonstrators were doing, replied, "They were falling like flies."

Another key to the Klanners' self-defense plea is the claim that they had no way to escape from the confrontation. Yet, other Klanners, and a local resident who had inadvertently driven into the caravan, were able to drive on past or turn around and leave. There was no reason the defendants could not have done the same. The

defense never attempted to counter this evidence.

The defendant's comments immediately after the shooting also contradict the self-defense argument. Three witnesses quoted KKK "Knight Hawk" David Wayne Matthews bragging, "I got three of them," at various times on November 3, 1979.

One of the two Nazis just acquitted quoted the other as saying, "I got my share."

Matthews told police investigators, "Some innocent people were shot, but I was only shooting at niggers."

Two government informers operated in the local Nazi and Klan organizations and helped plan and carry out the deadly attack of November 3. But their role was carefully avoided by both the prosecution and the defense throughout the trial.

The defense relied on innuendo and anticommunist prejudice rather than facts.

They pictured their clients as patriotic family men who merely wanted to sing "My Country 'tis of Thee" at the "communist" demonstration.

The victims were portrayed as blood-thirsty people intent on creating a martyr for their unpopular cause.

Since the facts do not support the jury's finding of self-defense, these other "arguments" apparently carried more weight with the jury.

Klan Defendant Says 'We Feel the System Works'

North Carolina Officials Defend Verdict, Threaten Protesters

[The following article appeared in the November 28 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

GREENSBORO, N.C.—When six Klansmen and Nazis were acquitted of murder here November 17, authorities responded by defending the verdict and threatening any who take action to protest it.

Indeed, their response seems to have been readied long before the not-guilty verdict was made public.

Greensboro police captain J.W. Hilliard revealed that a special plan for patrolling the city at the trial's conclusion was prepared months ago.

Public Safety Director Hewitt Lovelace said the plan included surveillance of the homes of Communist Workers Party members and the CWP's local headquarters. The CWP organized the November 3, 1979, demonstration that was attacked by more than two dozen Klansmen and Nazis.

A full week before the verdict came in, Lovelace had warned that it might turn Greensboro into "another Miami or Chattanooga," according to the November 11 *Winston-Salem Journal*.

Lovelace had complained that the CWP was on a recruitment drive, especially directed to "Blacks and Jews." And he claimed the CWP "would like an acquittal."

Also issuing a warning prior to the verdict was Harold Covington, leader of the Nazi Party. Standing in a hallway outside the courtroom here, he had threatened that "anyone who messes with us will get what their buddies got November 3."

Is this the voice of someone who fears his members are about to be convicted of murder?

The official attempts to portray the CWP as eager to initiate a violent response to the verdict continued the frame-up of the group that has been pressed by news media and government authorities ever since the November 3 massacre.

In press statements here and at its



Nazi leader Harold Covington hailed acquittal of six racist killers at North Carolina news conference.

national office in New York, the CWP condemned the verdict as "obscene and unjust" and the trial as a "sham." Contrary to some media reports, the group made no threat of a violent response.

The mood of the "prosecuting" attorneys was distinctly not one of defeat. District Attorney [DA] Michael Schlosser insisted that "the state showed the jurors everything that could have been shown."

He said the prosecution was "absolutely void of political considerations, of ideologies of the three hate groups."

This theme was repeated by jury foreman Octavio Manduley, who said, "We do not condone the actions of any of these three groups."

Throughout the trial the victims were lumped together with the criminals in precisely this way.

Assistant DA James Coman also defended the selection of an all-white jury. "They said they could be fair and we had no reason to doubt them," he said.

Another assistant DA, Rick Greeson, tried to explain why the prosecution did not call on what should have been a key witness: Edward Dawson, a police in-

former in the KKK. He said that Dawson would have been friendly to the defense because he allegedly was afraid of them. And besides, "he offered absolutely nothing to our case."

Nothing except perhaps information on police complicity in the murderous attack—a subject the prosecution shunned throughout the trial.

District Attorney Schlosser said he would announce later whether he will prosecute any of the other KKK or Nazi members arrested for the killings.

Meanwhile, several members and supporters of the CWP still face serious felony "riot" charges stemming from the anti-Klan demonstration.

The Klan and Nazis were pleased with the outcome, to say the least.

Jerry Paul Smith, one of the KKK defendants, said, "We're all tickled about it. We feel the system works."

Nazi leader Covington said the acquittal "represents the wishes of the people of North Carolina."

The verdict, he advised, "was a great victory for white America."

For the white rulers of America, for sure.

Ultrarightists in Europe Given License to Kill

By Christian Picquet

[The following article appeared in the October 30 issue of the French-language fortnightly *Inprecor*, published in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On August 2, eighty-four people were killed in a bombing at a Bologna train station. On September 26 a bomb exploded at Munich's Oktoberfest—twelve people were killed. On October 3, a synagogue on the Rue Copernic in Paris was the target—four people died.

Bologna, Munich, Paris: three bombing attacks all with similar characteristics.

In all three cases, the terrorists aimed their attacks against large crowds. The perpetrators have all openly affirmed their allegiance to Hitlerism: the Armed Revolutionary Nuclei in Italy; the Military Sport Group Hoffmann in West Germany; and the European Nationalist Fascists in France.

And if the regularly perpetrated murders ions" or the ATE (Anti-ETA Terrorism) commandos are added to these, the similarities cannot be missed.

Network of Rightist Terrorism

This network of right-wing terrorism has been spoken about for a long time. In 1974 when fascism was overthrown in Portugal and the files of the Portuguese political police (PIDE) were examined, it was discovered that there is a real coordinating center of fascist subversion—Aginter Press.

The trail of this network can be seen in connection with other upsurges of the mass workers movement in Europe: "the creeping May" in Italy; post-Franco Spain; and revolutionary Portugal.

In November, 1968 an Aginter Press document written to some members of the Ordine Nuovo group laid out the basis for what would become their strategy for tension in Italy:

We think that the first part of our political action must be to bring about chaos in all the regime's structures. . . . In our opinion, the first activity we must launch is to destroy the government structures, using the cover of communist and pro-Chinese actions. This will create a feeling of aversion towards these forces who are threatening the peace of each individual and of the nation.

Taking off from this state of things, we must operate inside the courts and the church in order to influence public opinion, propose solutions and demonstrate the deficiencies and incompetence of the legally constituted apparatus. This will then make us appear as the only ones who

can provide a social, political, and economic solution that is applicable to the situation. . . .

In December 1969 a bomb explosion at the Piazza Fontana in Milan caused a number of deaths. This led to a gigantic roundup of the far left, including the anarchists Pinelli and Valpreda.

Another quote from Aginter Press provides the connection with the recent wave of terrorist attacks. Here is their theory of terrorism:

Terrorism: terrorism breaks all resistance, results in submission, and provokes a rupture between the population and the government. . . . Blind terrorism breaks the masses' confidence, disorganizing them so as to better manipulate them.

An international network of the far right certainly exists, no matter what they call themselves (European New Order, World Union of Nationalist Socialists, World Anti-Communist League, Aginter Press), and whether or not they have a centralized structure. On numerous occasions the heads of these fascist terrorists have met to coordinate their actions.

The Italian press recently revealed that a meeting of this type was held in Paris in August 1978. In attendance were Stefano Della Chiaie (one of the originators of the strategy of tension in Italy and the mastermind behind the bombings by the Armed Revolutionary Nuclei); Ernesto Milà (who founded the Anti-ETA Death Battalions in Spain); and a number of French fascists, including Marc Fredriksen, the head of the European Nationalist Fascists. This meeting was said to have drawn up a plan for European-wide terrorism.

Ties with the State Apparatus

These men are especially dangerous since they have the benefit of total impunity. In the three cases where the bombings resulted in massacres, it was clearly shown that the fascists had helpers within various state apparatuses.

The inquiry into the Bologna bombing put the secret service under cross examination once again, but only some flunkies ended up being arrested. But what is so surprising about that? In 1969 the Italian secret service also knew who was responsible for the bombing attacks but deliberately oriented its investigation towards a phony "Red Path" group. The "Compass plot" in 1974 brought to light that the far-right activists were manipulated from inside the secret service itself.

The Christian Democratic leaders—especially Giulio Andreotti and Mario

Rumor, consciously covered up these activities, utilizing the strategy of tension to strengthen the Italian state apparatus. All the judicial inquiries were buried. The fascists continue to kill and to hide behind the mass neofascist party—the Italian Social Movement (MSI).

In the final analysis, actions like those at Bologna benefit the Christian Democrats. The August 2 crime served to create a feeling of national unity around the present government and strengthened the bourgeoisie's repressive arsenal. This was the card that Francesco Cossiga, then president of the Council, tried to play. But the workers' anger—extremely strong in this period of austerity—was powerfully expressed at the victims' funeral. This and the "hard line" tactics adopted by the Italian Communist Party overturned this maneuver.

In the Munich crime, ties of another kind were seen. The only reason a far-right group was implicated in this crime was because a member of the paramilitary Hoffmann group was killed by his own bomb blast. Over the years, members of this group have been able to freely organize uniformed parades in Bavaria, marching with weapons, thanks to the indulgence of the Christian Democratic Union—Christian Social Union party of Franz Josef Strauss, which is in power in that state.

In response to demands that the Hoffmann group be dissolved, the Christian Democrats answered that this group "was not dangerous." It was only much later that Helmut Schmidt's federal government finally banned the Hoffmann group. Previously, the federal government had been too busy blacklisting the left and far-left groups.

When the Munich massacre took place, Franz Josef Strauss was in the midst of his election campaign, supported by a large section of West German big business. He tried very hard to exploit this crime, preaching about the need for a "strong government." But this maneuver failed—Strauss' responsibility for allowing the Hoffmann group free reign was totally evident. The unforeseen death of the bomber prevented Strauss from using this incident as he would have if the crime had remained anonymous and if he had been able to blame it on a far-left terrorist group.

In Giscard D'Estaing's Service

For three years, fascist attacks have been on the rise in France. Between June

1977 and September 1979 some 159 attacks were recorded. The perpetrators have never been arrested. Moreover, from the murder of the Association of Algerians in Europe employee, Laid Sebai, to the murder of Pierre Goldman and Henri Curiel, these actions have caused numerous deaths. Most of the victims have been immigrant workers.

Seventy Algerians were victims of racist crimes in a period of six years. Even when the perpetrators of these racist attacks are caught practically red-handed, all they get are an assortment of suspended prison sentences. This was the case in May and June of this year when young North Africans from Bondy, in the northeast suburbs of Paris, were the victims of Nazi attacks for a period of several weeks.

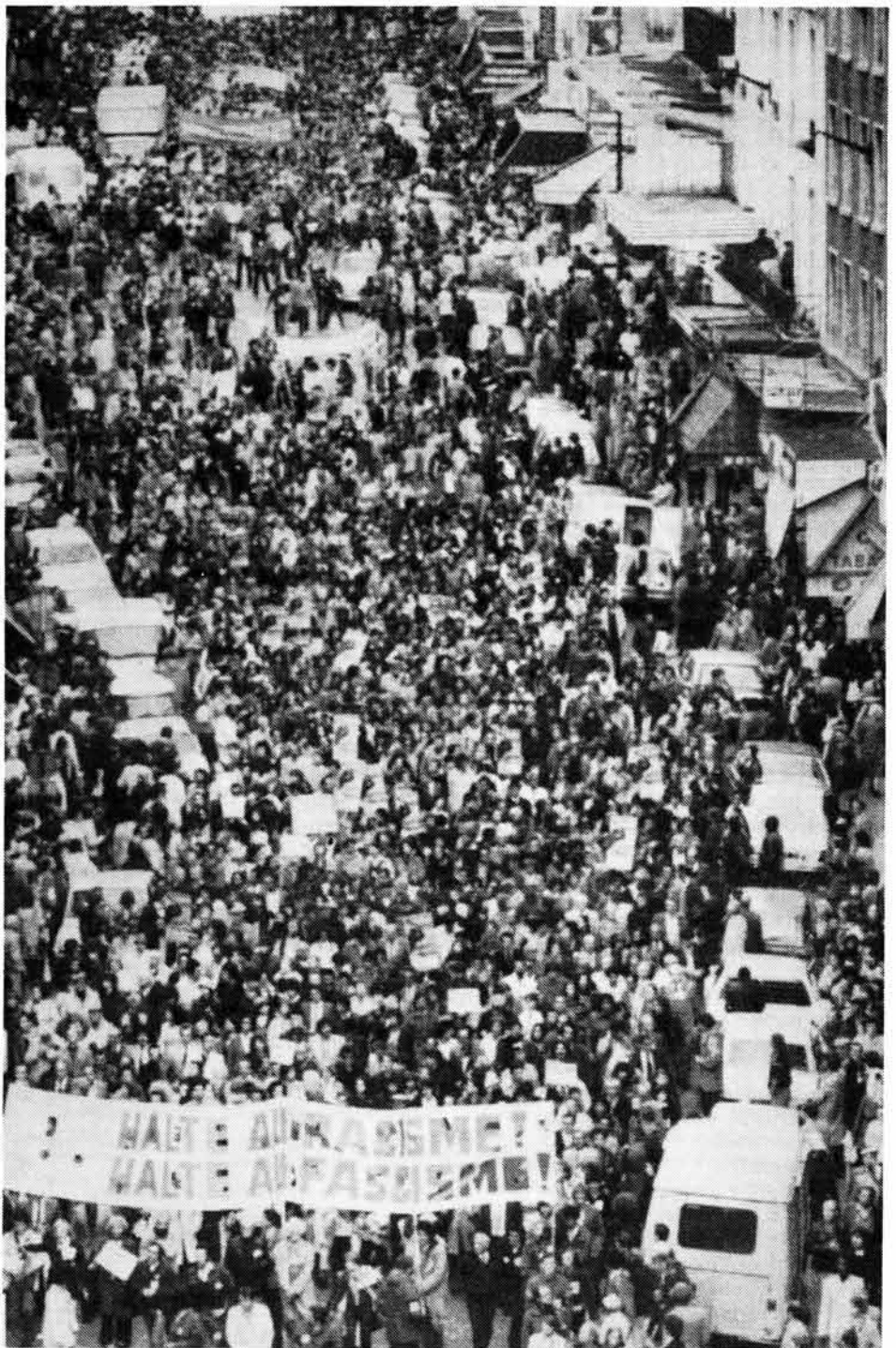
Altogether the right-wing grouplets in France involve barely a few hundred members. The most active ones (such as the Federation of European National Action, which was disbanded and then reconstituted as the European Nationalist Fascists, and which claimed responsibility for the Rue Copernic bombing, and the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement) openly proclaim their pro-Hitler views. Other groups—the largest ones—try to take on a respectable veneer. This is the case with the National Front and the New Forces Party (PFN). But there are close ties between all these groups. This has been proven on many occasions.

The impunity with which these Nazi groups function was shown by the speed with which the Federation of European National Action, which was forcibly dissolved in September, reconstituted itself. It has continued to function without the slightest trouble.

During the seven-year term of French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing there has been a methodical penetration by fascists into the state apparatus. The French president's party has made use of their services on numerous occasions. Members of the New Forces Party provided protection for Giscard during the 1974 presidential campaign. And during the 1977 municipal elections, fascists appeared on Giscard's slate in a dozen cities. Several were even elected.

Among Giscard's own entourage, there are those who have a long record of far-right activity. This is the case with at least three Giscardian parliamentary deputies: Alain Madelin and Gerard Longuet were trained in fascist groups in the 1960s; and Hubert Bassot, a former Secret Army Organization (OAS) member, was implicated in the disappearance of OAS treasurer Raymond Gorel, alias "Scimitar." And these are not isolated cases. Several fascist skeletons are hidden in the closets of various political figures in the Giscardian right wing.

This state of affairs flows from the tactics adopted following Giscard's 1974 victory. In order for the Giscardians to



Anti-fascist demonstrators march in Paris October 7.

Informations Ouvrières

accomplish their political aims they had to find replacements for the members of the Gaullist apparatus in the cogs of the Fifth Republic. Since they did not have the same kind of political apparatus as the Gaullists, they relied largely on the remnants of the OAS and the fascist groups of the 1960s. And the Giscardians freely use members of these far-right groups as thugs, in place of the Gaullist's parallel police network—the Civic Action Service.

But this infiltration is not just limited to

political figures. The repressive apparatus has also been affected. Just before the Rue Copernic bombing two police unions—the Autonomous Federation of Police Unions and the National Autonomous Union of Plainclothes Police—pointed out that police officers made up 20 percent of the membership of the Federation of European National Action and the European Nationalist Fascists. Some of them even hold key positions in the police command structure.

This collusion in high places that aids

the fascists was documented in a letter from one of the special prosecutors, Judge Guy Joly, which was made public by the weekly *Le Canard Enchaîné*. In this letter to the head of the Criminal Brigade, the judge exposed an investigation that was conducted so that it could not succeed, since the top police hierarchy had refused to carry out judicial orders for strict surveillance of far-right elements.

In addition, lists discovered at the headquarters of fascist organizations were not turned over to the prosecutor. For example, the judge only learned about the role of policeman Paul-Louis Durand—a member of the Federation of European National Action and of French police intelligence—through the international media, which widely publicized this after the Bologna events.

Interior Minister Christian Bonnet had long denied these facts. But he finally had to acknowledge before the senate the truth he had always refused to admit: that the police knew about the policemen whose names were in the files of far-right organizations. It is clear that Bonnet had hidden and covered up the inaction of these services in face of the fascists.

During the investigation of the Rue Copernic bombing, some of the French press gave big play to a new lead in the investigation that could point to the Middle East. What was this all about? The police had identified the owner of a motorcycle that was found at the scene. He was from Cyprus and had purchased the Suzuki with U.S. dollars. He was traced to a hotel in Paris, from which he disappeared September 22. That's all there was to it.

The emphasis given to this "Cyprus lead" by certain newspapers seems to have been intended to divert attention from the responsibility of Nazi groups for the growing number of attacks over the last two years and the obvious impunity with which they function.

The new outbreak of attacks and racist and anti-Semitic propaganda is tied to the ideological opening that has been provided for it for several years now by the New Right, whose adherents have become the Giscardian regime's official intelligentsia. These people were all members of Europe Action—the fascist group of the 1960s. Today they present themselves as nothing more than rightist intellectuals. But their theories take up the same old trilogy of fascism—order, elite, and race—only with a less conspicuous form and a more modern appearance.

One of the avowed aims of this New Right is to infiltrate the "centers of decision-making." And, in fact, these men hold a number of ministerial positions. So, these fascist and Nazi groups are especially dangerous since there are those in high levels of the government who profess sympathy for their ideas.

The current situation cannot be likened to an upsurge of fascism. Despite the deep

economic crisis, in the short run there is no section of the petty bourgeoisie or lumpen-proletariat that is likely to be drawn in by a fascist party. Thus, the explanation for this situation must be sought elsewhere.

A Strategy of Tension?

We have seen how various sections of the bourgeoisie have used these far-right formations. In certain cases and on certain questions it is striking how governmental policy and the actions of the fascists have complemented one another. This is the case with the immigration issue. The government has undertaken to block immigration and expel certain foreign workers.

The Secretary of State for Immigration raised a traditional battle cry of the far right when he declared October 14 in Metz, "We can no longer welcome a single foreigner in France. When there are 1.4 million unemployed in our national territory, one must be intransigent." Does not the fascists' propaganda also say, "One million immigrants means one million too many unemployed"? And while this policy was being implemented, Nazi groups were sowing terror in Bondy, a district that has a large immigrant population.

The more "hard line" groups have grown during the last period because they were able to carry out their violent actions with full impunity. This is how the Federation of European National Action was able to grow from a dozen members to several dozen in the space of a few months. The media pushed this grouplet forward.

But the main danger with all these fascist groups is their infiltration of the government apparatus and the regime's benevolence towards them. With the presidential elections coming up in several months, focusing the spotlight on this far-right formation means trying to cover up a situation that threatens the entire team in the government.

The bombing attack on the Rue Copernic synagogue created problems for the regime, provoking the rage of France's Jewish community. Whereas the interior minister didn't utter a word about the rise in the murders of immigrants, on the evening of the massacre he declared he felt like "a young Jew." In the present pre-election context, the bombing attack worries the regime. From their point of view it is like a "stain." Certain groups, encouraged by the impunity they enjoy, wanted to go beyond the framework that the government would tacitly tolerate, and they came into conflict with its electoral interests.

But today the government cannot come down very hard on the far right because any really serious investigation would bring to the surface things that would embarrass the regime. This explains the government's seeming impotence, its excuses, and its inability to respond except by subterfuge and lies in a situation that in the long run could cost it hundreds of thousands of votes particularly in the

Jewish community.

Following the news of the October 3 bombing attack, massive demonstrations were organized throughout France. In Paris, more than 200,000 people marched for several hours on October 7. But these demonstrations did not make it possible to take a leap forward in mobilizing the workers against racism. There won't be many more such demonstrations in the future. Once again the disputes between the Communist and Socialist parties and the refusal of the largest trade union federations to work together, limited the impact of the popular response. While the police unions were denouncing the regime and a majority of the media was questioning the interior minister about the police force's tolerance of the fascist groups, the divisions within the workers' ranks prevented the massive anger at the government's complicity from being expressed with all its might.

Within the Jewish community, anger was at its peak. The slogan, "A passive government is a complicit government" was taken up by large numbers of demonstrators. One Zionist organization, *Renouveau Juif* (Jewish Revival) channeled this anger into another direction in order to draw the ranks of the community around the state of Israel and to try to bring pressure to bear on Giscard's policies in the Middle East.

The Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International, played an active role in the response. The very evening of the Rue Copernic bombing attack, the LCR initiated a demonstration that began at the synagogue and wound through the streets of Paris until late in the night. The LCR took part in all the antifascist actions that followed. Outside of Paris, the LCR was often the initiator of the mobilizations. The LCR's slogans emphasized the need for a broad and united response to the racist crimes and for self-defense against the fascists.

Time and again, the LCR not only denounced the police and the minister of the interior for their responsibility in the attacks, but also all the high officials in the government. The LCR called for a united and coordinated mobilization to get rid of Giscard and his regime.

After the October 7 demonstrations members of the LCR put forward the idea of a mutual self-defense pact among all workers organizations, the only effective way to reduce the Hitlerite vermin to impotence. The LCR calls for the creation of a commission of inquiry by these workers organizations, together with all groups that support democratic rights, to expose the government's responsibility.

In the final analysis, the Rue Copernic bombing will become part of the long list of scandals that have sullied the reputation of the Fifth Republic and the Giscardian regime for many years. □

The Working Class and the Fight for National Liberation

[In late 1979, Tozamile Botha came into prominence in South Africa as the central leader of a strike by several hundred Black workers at the Ford Motor Company in Port Elizabeth. It was one of the most militant strikes in recent years, with workers explicitly linking their economic grievances against the company to their opposition to South Africa's racist system of apartheid. (For an account of the strike, as well as for two earlier interviews with Botha, see *Intercontinental Press*, May 26, 1980, pp. 544-48.)

[Tozamile Botha first became politically active following the massive 1976 youth uprisings, when he organized a fund-raising campaign to defend arrested student activists. At the time of the Ford strike, he was also chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, a mass-based community group that identified with the political current known as the Black Consciousness movement.

[On January 10, 1980, Botha was detained by the South African security police. He was later released and banned, a form of house arrest that bars any kind of political or trade-union activity. In May, Botha escaped and fled abroad. He is now living in exile and has continued organizing against the apartheid regime, in collaboration with the African National Congress of South Africa.

[The following interview with Botha was obtained by Ernest Harsch and Osborne Hart on October 30 in New York.]

* * *

Question. What is the role of workers in South Africa, in relation to the struggle against apartheid?

Answer. The workers' struggle in South Africa is part and parcel of the total liberation struggle, the fight for the total liberation of the oppressed majority of South Africa.

They don't see themselves as divorced from the national struggle. They are fighting a two-fold struggle. The workers realize that they are oppressed as a class and also as a nation. So they have got to liberate themselves as a nation, then as a class.

The role of the workers today is clearly felt by the enemy—the whites—in that the workers are directing their attack on the economy of the country. And workers are realizing the importance of their labor power. They know that if they withdraw their labor power, production would stop. This would definitely cripple the economy of the country.

In their actions, there is coordination between the workers and the community



Osborne Hart/IP

BOTHA

organizations and the community at large. They see the importance of working together, realizing that the problems they are faced with in the country are problems that are caused by the employer, that the workers are unable to pay for the fees to educate their children, that they cannot pay rent, that they cannot pay high bus fares—it's a problem that's created by the employer by underpaying the workers, giving them slave wages.

The fact that the worker lives thirty kilometers away from the so-called white areas is a problem created by the government in terms of the Group Areas Act.¹ For a worker to go to work, he has to spend a quarter of his wages on bus fares, which means he is being penalized for the Group Areas Act enacted by the government.

These are the reasons for the workers to see themselves as part and parcel of the total liberation struggle.

Q. Has the role of foreign employers, like Ford, been any different from that of South African employers?

A. The multinational corporations who are signatories of the Sullivan principles² claim to be making some changes to improve the quality of life of Blacks.

But if one analyzes the Ford strike,

1. The Group Areas Act enforces residential segregation, with Blacks compelled to live far from the central cities.

2. The Sullivan principles were originally drawn up by Rev. Leon Sullivan, a Black member of the General Motors board of directors. It seeks to provide "guidelines" for foreign companies with subsidiaries in South Africa, such as proposals to lessen segregation within the plant and to provide job training and promotion opportunities for Black workers.

which started at a plant that is regarded as Number 1 in the implementation of the Sullivan principles, you see from the demands of the workers that in fact Ford has done nothing. The demands were for equal pay for equal work, the scrapping of job reservations within the plant, integration of training facilities for Black and white, promotion of Blacks to managerial and supervisory positions within the plant.

If these problems still exist at Ford, one can imagine what is the position with other companies that are not as supposedly progressive as Ford.

Companies like Ford, General Motors, IBM, Kodak, and other multinational corporations are directly involved in supporting the South Africa regime, militarily and economically. Ford is building cars for the police and the army. IBM is manufacturing computers for the army, for the intelligence of the army. Kodak is selling cameras to those who take photos for the Bantustan citizenship documents and also for the Books of Life,³ which are a means for driving Blacks out of the so-called white areas to the Bantustans.

The problem is that the Black is being robbed of his land. He is being denied a right to have a say in his country. He cannot share in the wealth of his country; he is the producer of the wealth of the country, but he cannot enjoy this wealth. Instead it is enjoyed by the minority that rests on the back of the worker, who is doing all the menial jobs in the country.

So because of this, the workers are prepared to suffer for a meaningful change. They are even going further, to confront the authorities with grievances challenging their policies.

Q. What is the meaning of the regime's new laws regarding Black trade unions?

A. The government has recently legislated that trade unions can operate legally. But there are conditions that these unions can operate legally only if they register in terms of the Wiehahn and Riekert commissions' recommendations.

Those recommendations say that trade unions, in order to operate, cannot represent migrant laborers. For trade unions to be registered, they must not participate in politics. And they must register on a racial basis: whites as whites, Coloureds as Coloureds, Africans as Africans. In other words, in one plant, you will find three or

3. Those Africans assigned to the supposedly independent Bantustans (the isolated and impoverished rural reserves) must carry citizenship papers. All other Africans must carry a pass, officially known as the Book of Life.

four trade unions, depending on how many races exist within the plant.

Because of this, the unions have refused to register. They have applied, but stating that though they are not opposed to registration in principle, they are opposed to the conditions as laid down by the government.

Under these conditions, the unions find themselves in a dilemma. The managements usually refuse to recognize unregistered trade unions, which means that the unions, in order to exist, have got to confront both the management and the government, by refusing to register and by operating against the will of the management within the plant.

Until now they have allowed unregistered unions to exist, but for how long, I do not know.

Q. What are the main Black trade unions in South Africa?

A. There are many existing trade unions within South Africa. But there are two federations that represent the people, the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) and the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), which is a newly formed federation.

Both of these trade unions are nonracial. But they differ on a tactical point: the question of accepting whites in the leadership. CUSA says that they would not at this stage accept whites in the leadership, while FOSATU already has whites in the leadership.

But nevertheless, these two federations represent the progressive trade unions inside the country, which are prepared to confront management.

Within these unions, though, you find some trade unionists who are refusing to involve trade union work in community activities or in political activities, saying that these things are divorced from each other. But the workers are refusing to accept this view, because the very existence of the worker within the plant is a political one. The very fact that there is a Black worker and a white worker treated differently in the plant is for a political reason.

To ask for the implementation of the Sullivan principles is a sham, because the Sullivan principles speak for reform. The workers in South Africa are not fighting for reform, they are fighting for radical and revolutionary changes.

Those who want to make the Sullivan principles law are in fact saying that the multinational corporations operating in South Africa should continue with the oppression and exploitation of the Black worker under the protection of the South African government. Though these companies are signatories of the Sullivan principles, they are still bound by the South African laws. Today you cannot find one company that has implemented the Sullivan principles.

Q. Over the past few months, there has been a series of large student demonstrations in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and other cities, and also a new wave of strikes by meat workers in Cape Town, the Volkswagen workers, the municipal workers in Johannesburg, and others. What do you see as the main features of this upsurge?

A. There is a general growth of the political consciousness of the people inside of the country. There is a general awareness of their labor power. They are realizing that they are being used.

It is only when they take up arms and fight against their exploiter that they can have their problems solved.

As I said earlier, the struggle now is no longer an economic struggle. It is a political and a national struggle. The workers now are making political demands. They are even willing to form trade unions outside of the trade unions that are refusing to participate in politics. That is, the workers themselves are prepared to take action against the regime.

The Cape Town strike, the meat strike, is a very good example of the cooperation between the community and the workers. The workers appealed to the community to boycott red meat and this was done successfully.

Some of the workers, however, were sent back to the Bantustans, since if they belong to the Bantustans, and they strike, they are sent back. This is an instrument the government is using against the workers. The same happened with the municipality workers in Johannesburg. A large number were sent to their "homelands."

Despite all this, while they were aware that they would be sent back to the Bantustans to starve, they were still deter-

mined that they would not go back to work until their demands had been met.

I remember one of them was interviewed. He said he had eight children and a wife, but he was prepared to go home if his demands were not met. This is enough to show that the workers, even the illiterate, are prepared to sacrifice, to starve, to even face death for a meaningful change.

Q. What in your opinion can working people here in the United States do to help support the struggle in South Africa?

A. First of all, we have multinational corporations that have heavily invested in South Africa and the people of South Africa are saying that these multinational companies must withdraw their investments, because they are supporting the regime economically and militarily.

People must withdraw their funds from the banks that support South Africa.

When the workers go on strike, they do not have funds. They need support. There are many ways that people here can provide support by sending money through authentic and representative organizations outside South Africa to the workers at home.

Also, workers here from time to time load or unload goods that go to or come from South Africa. They must stop this.

When workers go on strike in South Africa, at Ford or any other company that is a subsidiary of an American corporation, workers here should pledge solidarity with the workers in South Africa, morally, economically, and otherwise.

The worker should realize that he is a worker wherever he is. The battle that is being fought by the workers here is not only for the United States. It is the battle of all the workers of the world. □

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Zaire—'Mobutu Dictatorship Must Go'

[The Congo National Liberation Front (FLNC) is one of the largest organizations in Zaire fighting to overthrow the imperialist-backed dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Seko. In 1977, and again in 1978, it launched armed uprisings in Zaire's mineral-rich province of Shaba, uprisings that spread to several other provinces as well. Both rebellions were put down only with the help of French, Belgian, and Moroccan troops, who killed hundreds of African villagers.]

[The following is an interview with Serge Mukendi, the representative of the FLNC in the United States. It was obtained by Ernest Harsch on October 15, in New York.]

* * *

Question. How would you characterize the Mobutu regime?

Answer. The Mobutu regime is corrupt, unpopular, and repressive. Amnesty International has just released a report on human rights violations in Zaire. But such things aren't new. They have been going on since Mobutu took power.

There is torture of prisoners. Now he arrests not just intellectuals, but also students, and workers who go out on strike. He also takes family members of workers who strike or of those who belong to banned organizations. They are beaten upon their arrest. They are detained without trial. There are so many executions. There is no justice. You don't have the right to appeal.

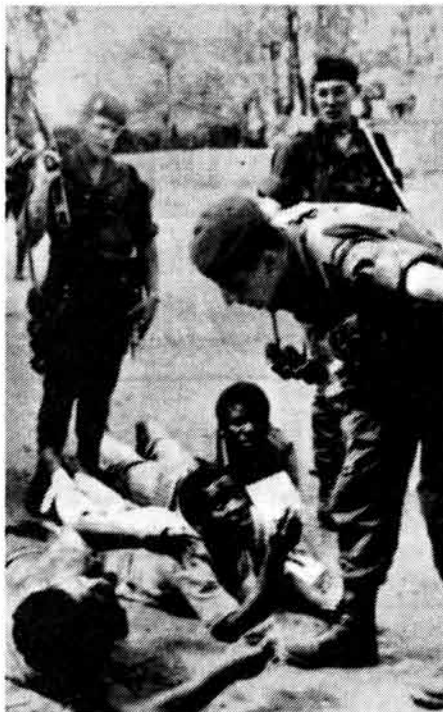
Everything is decided by Mobutu himself.

The daily conditions of the people are very bad. Some have to survive by eating grass, literally grass—while Mobutu can come here, to New Jersey, to buy a farm, while he is one of the richest men in the world. Mobutu owns villas in the Ivory Coast, Morocco, Spain, West Germany, Belgium, and France, but he gives only 1 percent of the national budget to medical care. He has Swiss bank accounts, but gives only 1 percent to education.

Mobutu controls all the plantations he took from the Europeans. Others he shares with the Europeans. But the peasants don't have much land to cultivate. Mobutu shares the wealth of the country with other members of his family, at the same time that schools are closing, hospitals are closing. To go to a hospital, you have to bring your own medicine from a drug store. And then you are not guaranteed treatment. You have to pay the hospital, the physicians, and the nurses.

In my country, there are two kinds of schools, those for the poor and those for the rich. In the schools for the rich, there is all kind of equipment. In the schools for the sons and daughters of workers, there is no chalk; they must use coals to write on a green board. Children don't have slates. They must write in the sand.

This is the kind of "human rights" that the imperialists here in the U.S. and their partners in Western Europe want for us.



French paratroops in Zaire

Q. What is the FLNC's assessment of American policy toward Zaire and its relations with the Mobutu regime?

A. As you know, it was Washington that put Mobutu in power. Mobutu has worked with the CIA since 1960. And Mobutu has carried out the policies of the U.S. from then until now.

The imperialists have said that they cannot let us go the way of Angola or Mozambique. They are happy with the misery of our people, because that misery guarantees their exploitation of our country. What they do is perpetuate the misery and the suffering. They don't want the people of Zaire to take their destiny in their own hands.

That is why the FLNC is a mass organization, a revolutionary vanguard, a fighting arm of the Congolese people. We try to

organize, orient, politicize, and unite the people to fight for our national liberation.

The FLNC is based on the political legacy of Patrice Lumumba. It is the logical consequence of the political experience of neocolonialism by our people. Our organization is composed of members from every region of the country. That demonstrates that we are nationalists, not secessionists. We are fighting to free all of Congo-Zaire, not just one of its regions.

We want to establish a socialist society, a society where the people have the right to work, the right to medical care. The people must have the right to choose their political system.

In order for that to happen, the Mobutu dictatorship, torture, and colonial domination of our country must disappear. That is what we are working for.

The imperialists understand that the kind of society the FLNC wants to build in our country is contrary to their designs. That is why they try to discredit us by putting out the propaganda that the FLNC are the former Katangese gendarmes, that we are secessionists, to try to cut us off from the masses and from getting support abroad.

Internally, they didn't succeed. But outside Zaire they have had some success. That is why we have come here, to explain the true nature of the FLNC and of the struggle of the Congolese people. Once people understand that, the imperialists will be exposed.

For the interests of the Congolese people are the same as the interests of the people of this country.

Q. What has been the strategy of the FLNC since it launched the uprising in Shaba, and other provinces, in 1977?

A. The FLNC, since we launched the armed struggle on March 8, 1977, has continued to fight. We did not retreat to our bases in Angola. We remain inside the country; the struggle is inside the country.

The FLNC, as a revolutionary movement, is carrying on the fight for national liberation and for socialism. The Congolese people reject the way of development of capitalism, and choose the way of development of socialism.

The FLNC aims to form a national democratic government of workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals. We want to eliminate all foreign bases from the country. We are for an agrarian reform, to distribute land to poor peasants; for a literacy campaign for the masses of the people. The FLNC stands for equality between men and women.

We want to eliminate exploitation, corruption, ignorance, and poverty. We support the liberation struggles of all oppressed people, and aim to develop the bonds between the Congolese people and the people of the rest of Africa, in order to realize true African unity. □

Statement of the Fourth International

The Evolution of the Iranian Revolution

[The following resolution was passed earlier this year by a majority vote of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

1. The February 9-11, 1979 insurrection that brought down the Pahlavi monarchy was a deepgoing defeat for imperialism. Imperialism has continually tried to smash the Third Iranian Revolution. Since the insurrection, the ruling classes have not been able to contain, much less roll back, the overall movement of the exploited and oppressed.

Since November 1979 there has been a new wave of anti-imperialist and anticapitalist mobilizations. These have been sparked by the occupation of the U.S. embassy and the tests of strength with imperialism, the debacle of the U.S. raid at Tabas, and the failure of the plots that were organized in collaboration with the Western secret services.

Anti-imperialist demonstrations have involved millions of people. Struggles of various sectors of the population have deepened and become more closely interconnected: the struggles of workers for the right to organize and to control production; the struggles of the small peasants and agricultural workers for land; the struggles of the plebian masses (the *mostazzafin*) for satisfaction of their most basic social needs; the struggles of the oppressed nationalities for the recognition of their right to self-determination.

This new upturn in the mass movement dates from the period following the failure of the offensive against Kurdistan launched by the Bazargan government and Khomeini in August-September 1979, and the failure of the wave of attacks against democratic rights (press censorship, prohibition of political parties, restrictions on the right to demonstrate).

The deepening crisis of the bourgeois nationalist leadership takes place against this backdrop. That crisis is most clearly seen in the bourgeois nationalist leadership's inability to control the mass movement and reorganize a state apparatus to confront it.

Since then, conflicts between the different factions in the regime have sharpened. All the limitations of this leadership are revealed in the course of the anti-imperialist struggle, especially as that struggle becomes more closely connected with anticapitalist struggles. As a result, the confidence of the exploited and oppressed masses in the leaders of the Islamic Repub-

lic is beginning to decline, which in turn increases centrifugal forces in the country as a whole.

In this context, imperialism is trying to deal blows to this revolution, which had united behind the figure of Khomeini to fight the shah's regime, installed and backed to the end by Washington.

Among the measures currently being employed by Carter against the Iranian Revolution are the imposition of the economic blockade, the freezing of Iranian assets, various kinds of aid given to supporters of the former regime and to conspirators (Bakhtiar, Oveissi, Palisban), increased military presence in the region leading to the abortive April 25 Tabas raid (which was organized in connection with a planned conspiracy within the army), an international diplomatic offensive to isolate the new regime, and the press campaign to slander the revolution.

With the agreement of its Western allies and the aid of reactionary regimes in the region (Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates), and using Iraq's policies, American imperialism is stepping up its maneuvers.

Nonetheless, there are still a number of obstacles along this path. These include the combativity of the Iranian masses and their firm commitment to anti-imperialist struggle, the difficulty of setting up a military and political alternative that could draw a solid social base around itself, the crisis of imperialist domination in the whole region, the danger that an abortive large-scale imperialist counterrevolutionary attempt could provoke a chain reaction, and the Carter administration's problems in overcoming opposition among American working masses to any large-scale military intervention.

2. Three factors are pushing the Iranian workers in the cities and countryside, the plebian masses, and the oppressed masses forward.

a. The Iranian economy is going through a deep crisis provoked by the many deformations caused by imperialist domination and the measures of various imperialist powers to establish a blockade.

The new regime counted on using the oil revenues to get over the immediate difficulties it would have to face after the February victory, and to implement its decisions about priorities in state aid to revive capitalist accumulation.

But there has been a major decline in oil exports. This decline was caused by many factors: the drop in purchases by traditional customers for crude; the lack of

technicians and technical backup; the refusal of the imperialists to deliver certain materials that are needed by the oil industry; the delays in shipments of spare parts and higher prices for those parts; the pricing and production policies of Saudi Arabia, Iraq and the Gulf countries in the context of the recession in the imperialist economies; wage struggles by the oil workers; and sabotage.

In 1980 the Iranian state is expected to receive only one-third of the projected \$23 billion oil income. If this drastic fall in oil revenue is confirmed, it will be even more difficult for the government to make economic concessions to significant layers of the working class (including in the nationalized sector) and it will be impossible for it to set up social programs of sufficient scope to partially fulfill the expectations of the *mostazzafin*.

The continuing agricultural crisis, none of whose basic causes have been eliminated by the policies of the new regime, spells poverty for millions of poor peasants and agricultural workers, causes unemployment and underemployment in the countryside, encourages migration to the urban centers, and could lead to a crisis in food supply.

When these peasants come to the cities, they join the ranks of the unemployed, who total more than 30 percent of the active population. Nearly all of these unemployed receive no social benefits from the state.

The private sector's refusal to invest, the freeze in the construction industry, the layoffs in the traditional industries (textiles, rugs, etc.) and in the nonnationalized companies, the disorganization in public administration and the nationalized sector, and the absence of a plan for large-scale public works projects all combine to increase unemployment.

At the same time, the inflation rate has reached 50 percent, and is even higher for basic necessities. The black market is growing.

Because of the social and economic situation, defense of economic and social interests play an increasingly important part in the mobilizations of the Iranian masses. As a result, their struggles increasingly come into conflict with capitalist property relations, and therefore with the state that defends those relations.

b. The growth of mass actions has been aided by the breakdown of the old state apparatus. The disappearance of SAVAK and its agents in the factories has facilitated the activity and organization of the

workers. In the countryside the rural police and local authorities established by the former regime have been partially paralyzed. The dismemberment of the obligatory cooperative system established during the shah's "White Revolution" has also spurred land occupations and struggles by poor peasants.

Some of the oppressed nationalities have also been able to take advantage of the breakup of the old repressive apparatus to massively assert their legitimate rights and to begin to arm.

Finally, because the entire military hierarchy supported the dictatorship to the end, the population feels an extremely high level of distrust toward the ex-imperial army, and toward the entire former state apparatus.

The repressive operations carried out by this army in the past year and the large number of plots by rebellious officers with ties to imperialism have only served to increase this distrust.

The Khomeini leadership and the Bazargan and Bani-Sadr governments, therefore, have not been able to build an effective instrument to confront these mobilizations. Each time the Iranian masses move forward, they punch a hole in the plans for reorganizing the state apparatus, causing a growth in tensions within it.

The leaders of the Islamic Republic are caught between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand they face the demands of the exploited and oppressed, demands that challenge the social and economic position of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand they must contend with the hostility of a large portion of the cadres in the army and state apparatus. The feuding factions within the regime react in different ways to these pressures and disagree over how to respond to them.

c. In the course of the year of street demonstrations against the shah, which were carried out in face of ferocious repression, as well as the several-months-long general strike and the final insurrection in February 1979, the exploited and oppressed in Iran gained enormous confidence in their own strength.

This self-confidence, and the experiences learned regarding proletarian methods of struggle, continue to mark the activity of the workers, the plebian layers, and the poor peasants.

3. In recent months the workers in the main industrial centers have played an increasingly important part in building demonstrations.

The revolutionary changes led to a number of gains for the workers, particularly those layers who work in the nationalized sector, which comprises about 70 percent of the modern factories. They won higher wages for the lowest paid and reductions in the workweek, a reduced workload, and new social services (transportation, canteens, etc.).

The process of organizing in the workplaces has accelerated. There is more political discussion in the factories, which in itself is a factor in building a workers movement.

At the same time we see the beginnings of a working-class press (newspapers of the organizations and the shoras). Independent organizations (the shoras) have spread and give the workers an initial instrument with which to respond to the immediate problems they face. These independent organizations are already one of the distinctive features of the Third Iranian Revolution.

There have been no major strikes in recent months. One reason is the gains won in the first months of the revolution. But a combination of other factors contribute to this. These include the prestige that Khomeini still has among certain layers of workers, the regime's use of the imperialist threat to launch the "battle for production," the weaknesses of the workers organizations, and the absence of guaranteed democratic rights (resulting in political firings and repression of strikes and demonstrations).

On the other hand, the workers have waged a number of struggles to take over the productive apparatus and institute workers control. These struggles have arisen in response to capitalist sabotage, or to preserve the machinery, or to reestablish production in situations where management and supervisory personnel in the factories have disorganized and obstructed it. The shoras have served to bring the workers together to accomplish these tasks, and they were established semispontaneously, factory by factory, in the very course of these activities.

The movement to set up shoras remains fragmented and uneven. It could not have been otherwise, given the previous lack of even minimal trade-union organizations and mass workers parties. There are big differences from shora to shora in terms of regular, democratic, and united methods of functioning, in terms of the employment categories that are represented (in some there is disproportionate representation for administrative personnel), in terms of the scope of the tasks they take on, and their degree of independence with regard to the factory managers, the institutions of the Islamic Republic, and the Islamic Republican Party.

The wave of anti-imperialist mobilizations after November 1979 has helped the shoras to spread to new regions and to the small- and medium-sized factories, which employ more than 70 percent of the workers.

For the first time the workers are participating as workers, with their own slogans and their own shora contingents in the demonstrations supporting the students who occupied the American embassy.

The demands contained in the manifestos of the shoras have an increasingly

clear anticapitalist character: demands for the nationalization of imperialist property and national capital, for reconversion of industrial production to answer the imperialist blockade and respond to the needs of the people, for breaking the ties with imperialism, for the arming and military training of the masses, for a thoroughgoing purge of the state administration, and for publicizing all the links between American imperialism and the bourgeoisie.

Various declarations of the shoras have taken up the demand for a radical agrarian reform. This points out the tendency for what could become a worker-peasant alliance, within the context of the growing interaction of democratic, anti-imperialist, and anticapitalist slogans.

In parallel fashion, the first steps toward coordinating the shoras is taking place through the establishment of federations that include as many as several hundred shoras (for example the Center of Islamic Workers Shoras includes about 900 shoras nationally).

A layer of advanced workers who are not organized through the nationalist, reformist, or centrist political formations is being forged in the course of this whole process of the shoras' emergence and coordination. Leading the day-to-day activity of the workers, in practice they often oppose the aims of the bourgeois-nationalist leadership, its representatives, and the capitalists. However, the limits to the coordination of the shoras and their tasks reflect the absence of a vanguard revolutionary party with major influence in the working class, and more generally the lack of proletarian class independence on the political level.

As a result, the shoras have not concretely tried to put themselves forward as an alternative pole of attraction and pole of reference to the bourgeois-nationalist leadership. That contradiction will leave its mark on the whole situation to come and will increase the fluctuations in their development.

Khomeini, Bani-Sadr, and the Islamic Republican Party (IRP) are all conscious of the meaning and importance of the growth of the shoras. They are all trying to use the political authority that Khomeini still has among significant layers of the working class to begin a counteroffensive. That counteroffensive combines repression against worker militants and members of workers organizations with an attempt to control the shoras and integrate them into the institutions of the Islamic Republic, in order to empty them of their content and destroy any anticapitalist tendency.

Among the workers, whatever their illusions regarding Khomeini, there is strong resistance to this plan in practice.

4. For the first time in the history of revolutionary upsurges in Iran, millions of poor peasants and agricultural workers are involved in the struggle.

With the fall of the Pahlavi regime,

peasant mobilizations began in the areas inhabited by the oppressed nationalities: Turkmenistan, Kurdistan, and in the territories of the pastoral tribal nomads (calling for a return of the pastureland and forests that came under state control at the beginning of the "White Revolution").

Since mid-1979 various protest movements have arisen among settled peasants in the Persian provinces. These have included refusal to pay the annuities for lands distributed during the shah's agrarian reform, opposition to the usurious interest rates on private debts, conflicts with the Pahlavi-appointed administrators of the cooperatives and the big landlords who still control half the cultivated land.

In late 1979 and early 1980 there was a rise in land occupations. Peasants took over the lands of absentee landlords, using to their own ends Khomeini's call after the embassy occupation for self-sufficiency in food production.

From January 1980 the peasants began organizing demonstrations in the cities (Tehran, Isfahan, and elsewhere) to popularize their demands and pressure the authorities. Because of the crisis of proletarian leadership, however, the ties between the working class and the disinherited peasant masses have still not been firmed up.

Social polarization begins to take place in the villages in the course of these movements. On one side are the poor peasants, the agricultural workers and rural youth—who have been politicized by the urban mobilizations in which they often took part as migrants—and the teachers.

On the other side are the landlords; the bazaar merchants, who play a role as moneylenders in the countryside; the Islamic courts and the mullahs, who are defenders of private property; the rural police; and, usually the Revolutionary Guards (*Pasdaran*).

Most of the time the village committees, which on orders of the religious figures have often included the former notables, have supported the landlords against those trying to take the land, in hopes of preventing the growth of a movement they could no longer control. In some cases this polarization has led to the establishment of peasant shoras.

On several occasions the new regime has moved to repress peasant protests, especially when they are combined with the national question and lead to a direct challenge to the regime's authority.

5. A wave of struggles by the oppressed nationalities, who constitute 60 percent of the Iranian population, has poured through the breach opened by the February 1979 insurrection.

The ongoing struggle of the Kurdish people for self-determination represents the most advanced point of this whole movement. Among the Kurds there has been massive arming of the population,

establishment of militias, appearance of committees (*baqueh*) in various regions, land occupations, and broad mobilization of the population in the towns.

Since February 1979 the leaders of the Kurdish national movement have been proposing to the new government that there be an autonomy law, with the creation of a Kurdish government in charge of local affairs. Tehran has ignored those proposals.

In March, in an attempt to disarm the population and assert its authority, the central government sent the army and the militias of the "Imam's Committees"—which later provided the bulk of the forces for the Pasdaran corps—against the people of the Kurdish city of Sanandaj.

Since then there have been successive military confrontations, interrupted by resistance truces. In October 1979, the Kurdish resistance forces regained control of the towns, having broken the big military offensive launched in August under the direction of the new "commander-in-chief of the armies," Khomeini.

The central government's intransigence led to the breakdown of all negotiations. It did not want a precedent that would encourage struggles by other nationalities.

Following Khomeini's March 21, 1980, *Now Rouz* (New Year) speech, when the number of land occupations in Kurdistan was increasing, there was another joint military offensive by the army and pasdaran against the cities of southern Kurdistan. Several hundred people were killed and thousands were wounded in the bombing, blockade, and siege of the cities. The Khomeini leadership used Iraqi military incursions as justification for increasing its own military strength in Kurdistan.

The Iraqi regime had been shaken by the impact of the Iranian revolution on the most disadvantaged layers of the Iraqi population (who are Shi'ite while the Baathist clique in power is Sunni), and by the revival of the Kurdish military struggle in Iraq.

In addition, there is a longstanding conflict in Iraq between the Shi'ite hierarchy and the regime. Moreover, the Iraqi regime is making adjustments in its diplomacy, with overtures to the Gulf states. Iraq's maneuvers against the Iranian revolution—including the aid given to supporters of the former Iranian regime and the military pressures on Iran—are fed by the Baathist regime's internal difficulties.

In regard to this, on numerous occasions the Kurdish leaders have repeated that they would defend the regime that came out of the February insurrection against any intervention by imperialism and against any reactionary coup. They also supported the occupation of the U.S. embassy.

Nevertheless, the Tehran government has carried out bloody repression against the Kurdish people. It is trying to crush the political and military resistance organiza-

tions. In this, the regime showed that its priority was to reestablish its sovereignty and defend the existing social order.

By refusing to recognize the Kurdish people's right to self-determination the regime directly cuts across its appeals for unity in action against imperialism, Iraqi pressure, and the plotters. Here too, by denying the democratic rights of the oppressed nationalities and opposing the advance of the social revolution (the land question, arming the people, etc.), the leaders of the Islamic Republic show their intrinsic inability to wage a real anti-imperialist struggle.

The Kurdish resistance inspired struggles among other oppressed nationalities in Turkmenistan, Khuzistan, Azerbaijan, and Baluchistan. The movements of the oppressed nationalities provide the framework for a convergence of social and economic demands (for example the agrarian question in Baluchistan and Turkmenistan, the discrimination against the Arab working class in Khuzistan, etc.), as well as defense of civil liberties, and the struggle for the recognition of the right to self-determination and national rights.

Refusal, in the face of the "external threat," to defend the right to self-determination would in fact lead to dividing the ranks of the exploited and oppressed in the face of the external enemy, would facilitate the repression being unleashed by the Khomeini regime, would increase the field of action of the bourgeois-nationalist currents (in Kurdistan as well as Azerbaijan), and would create conditions favoring the maneuvers of the plotters and their Iraqi allies.

But the Tudeh party, a large faction of the Fedayeen, and Maoist organizations have applied precisely that orientation in the name of national unity and the struggle against imperialism, the main enemy.

6. The political role that the members of the Council of the Revolution continue to play is derived from two things: the prestige that Khomeini and a section of the Shi'ite clergy won in the uncompromising struggle against the shah; and from the intrinsic weakness of the Iranian national bourgeoisie, which was stunted by imperialism and the Pahlavi dictatorship, as well as the bankruptcy of bourgeois political formations.

The influence among the masses of the religious movement, which has a vast organizational structure, is explained by:

a. The weakness of the workers movement after twenty-five years of dictatorial repression;

b. The betrayals by the Tudeh Party Stalinists during the second revolution (1945-1953), the support given the shah by the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies, and finally the Tudeh Party's total support for Khomeini for eighteen months;

c. The absence of a revolutionary party with a strong base in the working class and its allies;

d. The fact that the masses' adherence to Islam as a religion facilitates the political hold of this particular leadership.

The ruling classes and the highest levels of the Shi'ite clergy use Islam above all as an argument to defend the existing order and private property, to justify restrictions on civil liberties, to facilitate the restoration of the bourgeois state, to nip class struggles in the bud, and to carry out a vast anti-Marxist and anticommunist campaign.

The Islamic religious institutions function as basically conservative instruments of the social order and spread a reactionary ideology championed by the fundamentalist currents.

Nevertheless, large numbers of the Persian masses view Khomeini as a political and religious leader who symbolizes their hatred for the shah and his dictatorship, for those who supported the shah, especially U.S. imperialism, and for the poverty that the dictatorship caused. Through this, Shi'ite Islam became, and remains, the vehicle for the movements and struggles for all their social, economic, and political demands.

But in the course of their attempts to win these demands, they increasingly come into conflict with the leaders of the various factions of this political leadership of the Islamic Republic.

After the defeat of the Kurdistan offensive in November 1979, the occupation of the U.S. embassy allowed Khomeini to reestablish a portion of his lost authority. He accomplished this by backing the students and rejecting a series of compromises with imperialism proposed by the ruling circles of the Islamic Republic (Bazargan, Yazdi, Ghotbzadeh). In contrast, those figures paid the price for their policies, and began to be exposed before the anti-imperialist movement. From then on the crisis of political leadership in the country would deepen.

The Khomeini leadership fulfills the function of a bourgeois leadership, whatever the struggles it led against the shah, whatever its present positions in the conflicts with American imperialism, and whatever confrontations take place between factions of the Shi'ite hierarchy and sectors of the bourgeoisie. The Khomeini leadership fulfills a bourgeois function through its very longstanding links with factions of the national capitalists (the great bazaar), through the Shi'ite hierarchy's economic resources, which includes the *waqf* religious endowment properties, through its economic, social and political program, through the ties it maintained with one or another sector of imperialism (European, Japanese), and through its role in maintaining the state apparatus.

In June-July 1980 measures were taken to nationalize the banks and insurance companies (in which the great families who had profited from the oil revenues were heavily invested). Nationalization of

the financial institutions brought with it control of much medium as well as large-scale industry, which was closely tied to the banking system. These moves were taken as part of the struggle against the shah, to fight the danger of economic collapse, and also to respond to the expectations of the Iranian masses.

Changes were made in the agreements that had previously been signed with imperialism. Contracts that gave the lion's share to imperialism were cancelled. These moves expressed the new relationship with imperialism and responded to certain demands of the workers (for example regarding the oil industry, the nuclear power industry, and arms purchases). Beginning in July 1980 some imperialist assets were nationalized. For a time the government had to accept a number of measures imposed by the workers and their shoras, such as wage increases.

However, the new regime's desire to protect capitalist property relations was seen in its rejection of a real land reform, which would have to be accompanied by a thoroughgoing transformation of the systems of agricultural prices and credit, and social and technical assistance. The close relationship between the bazaar and the leading circles of the Islamic Republic was seen in the opposition to unleashing a full-scale battle, based on mobilization of the masses, against speculation, hoarding of goods, and the black market organized from the bazaar.

The same could be seen in the lack of any tight state control over foreign trade, at a time when imperialism was increasing its pressures on the commercial level.

Finally, the bourgeois state allocated priority low-interest loans to private enterprises and decided to institute a debt moratorium, while social aide programs were being reduced.

7. Since February 1979 a priority of the leaders of the Islamic Republic has been to reorganize the state apparatus in order to be able to confront the mass movement. They maintained the army with most of its military hierarchy intact, reestablished a high command, and prohibited the formation of soldiers' committees. They disarmed the militias and established the *pasdaran* corps, under the direct authority of the Revolutionary Council.

Within the army, the First and Second Infantry Regiments, which specialize in anti-insurrectionary tasks, were formed from the shah's notorious *Javidan* (Immortals) Guards. Initially, the leaders of the Islamic Republic left virtually the entire administrative apparatus of the Pahlavi state intact.

The great majority of the staff of this state machine remains hostile to the new regime and opposes the religious hierarchy's hold over the state apparatus. In this context, plots hatched by those who are nostalgic for the old regime cannot but proliferate.

Khomeini and most of the Revolutionary Council took a series of measures that aimed to set up more directly controllable instruments and involve the mass movement in the stabilization of the regime and the reorganization of the state:

a. Rapid institutionalization of the Islamic Republic and its organs (referendum on the Islamic Republic, election of the Assembly of Experts, ratification of the Constitution, election of the President of the Republic and the *Majlis* [parliament]);

b. The establishment of institutions that partially duplicate state structures: the Imam's committees, Imam's "representatives," Islamic courts, *pasdaran*;

c. New purges of the ministries.

These plans, however, remain very precarious. Important sectors of the national bourgeoisie—who had either supported the movement against the shah or had remained neutral—have shown a growing mistrust of the politico-religious leaders and their orientation.

These forces do not like the religious hierarchy's desire to take more and more complete control of the state apparatus and social life in general. They note the gap between the religious hierarchy's initiatives and the need to reform both the economy and the state apparatus bequeathed by the shah. They are nervous about the paralysis of the administration and the regime. They disapprove of the appeals that various politico-religious factions direct at the masses to win support for their projects. They are alarmed about the Khomeini leadership's inability to effectively control the mass movement.

For the time being, despite the very widespread opposition to the Khomeini leadership, in the absence of a concrete alternative the bourgeoisie views that leadership as a lesser evil that can stand up to the mass movement. The bourgeoisie is therefore hesitant, divided, and involved in a variety of political solutions, all of which are carried out within the perspective of preparing for coming class confrontations.

Moreover, in a situation where the revolution is on the rise, the origins and composition of the organs established by the "Islamic Revolution" can sometimes lead them to waver, split, and be very directly affected by the pressure of the mass movement. For example, some groups of *pasdaran* have taken part in distributing land, which earned them a severe reprimand from the Islamic Revolutionary Party and the Revolutionary Council.

In the same way, differences and polarizations reflecting their social heterogeneity can also arise among the various groups and parties that claim to follow the "Imam's line" and within the Shi'ite clergy.

All these factors feed the crisis of political leadership that is shaking the regime and foster the growth of multiple "power centers." There are more and more con-

flicts between the various factions that claim to support the Imam. These conflicts involve relations with the old state apparatus, the bourgeoisie, and imperialism, as well as the place and role of the new institutions, and the relations with the mass movement.

In January 1980, for example, Bani-Sadr publicly came out for the dissolution of the pasdaran and the Islamic committees, and gave his support to the leaders of the army. Such confrontations, especially between Bani-Sadr and Beheshti, will increase.

8. The recollection of a century of anti-imperialist struggles, of the first and second Iranian revolutions in 1905-1907 and 1945-53, of the opposition to the plunder of the oil resources combines in the collective memory of the Iranian masses with hatred of the Pahlavi dynasty, which is seen as an agent of imperialist interests. That explains the strength of the movement that arose around the demand for the extradition of the shah and the return of his stolen wealth.

The masses viewed the occupation of the "spy nest" first and foremost as a logical extension of the victory of the people's uprising that had begun eighteen months earlier. It expressed the people's general feeling that the continued American presence—which was identified with the building of SAVAK and the army—left the struggle against the dictatorship unfinished.

For the Khomeini leadership, this resurgence of an anti-imperialist campaign became a means of strengthening "national unity" and covering over class antagonisms, as well as a way to organize the "battle for production" and prohibit strikes, using the economic blockade as justification. They also carried out the consolidation of the state apparatus (the repressive bodies) under this cover.

But very quickly the breadth, impact, and radicalization of the mobilizations went beyond the strict limits in which the leaders of the regime and the fundamentalist organizations wanted to confine them. Unable to openly confront this movement, but needing to respond to something that was challenging their authority, in March-April 1980 they began a new series of attacks against various sectors of the mass movement, trying to isolate them (such as the attacks against Kurdistan, the campaign for moral order, the obligatory wearing of the chador, the attacks against groups that called themselves Marxist or "Islamic leftists").

The attacks against the universities took place in this context. Organizations such as the Fedayeen, the Mujahedeen, the Paykar have strong influence in the universities and the campuses occasionally served as the site of meetings of coordinating committees of workers shoras.

Khomeini's *Now Rouz* speech resurrected the slogan of an "Islamic cultural

revolution." The aim of the Revolutionary Council and the IRP was reactionary in two ways. First it involved a "counterreformation" in the area of ideas, aimed especially against Marxism, through Islamizing education. Second it was an offensive aimed at purging the universities of the various left political organizations.

The Islamic societies and the Muslim Student Organizations took this campaign into the heart of the university by focusing on the slogan of shutting down the universities. They seized upon a real problem and used it for their own ends: that problem being the contradiction between the university system left by the former regime and the social and cultural needs of the disinherited masses. In this campaign they mobilized students who were seeking a revolutionary solution to this social and political question, which the centrist groups had ignored.

The authorities seized that moment to organize the assault against the universities, prior to closing them for an unspecified period.

The blow struck against the student movement is an indication of the regime's policy of confronting the mass movement, through which it is trying to reorganize its apparatus. But that does not mean that there has been a stabilization, much less an ebb, in the revolutionary process. None of the social forces driving the Iranian revolution forward—the working class, the peasants, the plebian masses, and the nationalities—have suffered a major defeat.

Whatever the temporary ebbs and flows, the perspective in Iran remains that of deepgoing instability, growing class struggles, greater interaction between the mobilizations and struggles of different layers of the exploited and oppressed, and a growing crisis of bourgeois political leadership, with the centrifugal effects that flow from that, perhaps even ending up in civil war.

9. The imperialist pressures and threats will not change the laws of the class struggle in Iran. On the contrary, they will push the class conflicts to their culmination.

Sectors of the national bourgeoisie and of the leadership of the new regime might come into conflict with imperialism and its direct allies. But in the event of decisive class battles, their confrontation with imperialism would take a back seat to the irreconcilable antagonism that sets them against the workers and poor peasants, the touchstone of which is defense of private property and the bourgeois state.

In the coming struggles over questions that relate to their direct interest, the laboring masses will on many occasions go beyond the Khomeini leadership, will oppose it more or less directly, and will develop their own instruments of battle (shoras, committees, militias, etc.).

In the course of just such developments and through the growing discontent

among the people, forces like the Mudjahedeen and Fedayeen have seen their audience and their strength grow.

However, without the existence of an alternative proletarian leadership, the masses will, despite everything, remain politically trapped in solutions that in the final analysis do not break with class collaboration.

Basing themselves on the dual conclusions of the likelihood of new struggles and the need for an alternative proletarian leadership, revolutionary Marxists will work to build a workers combat party. Therefore, to strengthen the working masses' sense of belonging to an independent class, they will organize the struggles around all the democratic, national, and transitional (anticapitalist) demands. They will formulate these demands in such a way as to bring them into the very heart of the real mass movement. They understand the effects that the concrete experiences of mobilization have on the consciousness of the masses, as well as the impact of the contradictions between the activities of the masses, the regime's plans, and the ideology put forward by the Khomeini leadership.

That is the only possible way to draw the masses away from the influence of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders. That is the only way to accompany the mass movement, without abandoning a political and ideological offensive against the reactionary content of the "Islamization" campaigns.

a. In the event of the threat of a reactionary military coup or an imperialist military intervention, revolutionary Marxists in Iran will participate in the struggles of the workers, peasants, and oppressed masses to defend the present regime—through their own activity and organization.

This involves military defense, not political support. In a situation where the proletariat and its allies are not capable of replacing the present regime with a higher form of government—a workers and peasants government—military defense of the present regime is necessary. But that defense remains linked to the achievement of the overriding tasks (independent organization of the workers and class independence, anticapitalist measures, radical agrarian reform, self-determination for the oppressed nationalities, arming the people) that push the revolution forward and are the ultimate guarantee for smashing imperialism's plans.

b. Revolutionary Marxists support all the concrete anti-imperialist measures that the government might take. They initiate and participate in anti-imperialist demonstrations. They call for the return of the shah's fortune. Faced with the imperialist economic blackmail, only nationalization under the control of the workers shoras and a monopoly of foreign trade can make

it possible to begin to break Iran's dependence on the world market.

In the face of military threats from imperialism and the former regime's generals, they call for the slogan of the "army of 20 million" to be carried out by establishing and arming workers and peasants militias. In the same vein, they defend the right of the "workers in uniform" in the army or the pasdaran to form their own committees, independent of the hierarchy and institutions of the Islamic Republic.

c. Defense of the workers' gains (wages, hours of work, etc.) against all attacks remains a basic task that revolutionary Marxists take part in.

To counteract the effects of the economic and social crises (the unemployment, inflation, lack of social services, housing shortage, problems in education), they put forward a working-class plan that includes among other things: extension of nationalizations, a plan of industrial reconversion under workers control, big public works projects to meet the basic needs of the masses, radical measures in distribution to fight speculation through workers control and price control committees, massive campaigns around health-care and literacy, etc.

d. In order to begin to apply some of these measures, it is absolutely essential that the shoras be strengthened and spread, and that coordinating bodies be built to provide them with a centralized focus. Unity of the workers ranks can only strengthen the independent organization of the workers. This will be accomplished more easily if there is democratic functioning of the shoras (elections, political pluralism, regularity in functioning, complete independence from the bosses and the institutions of the Islamic Republic).

In contrast to the Stalinists, the revolutionary Marxists do not counterpose building branches of independent unions to the growth of the shoras.

The shoras movement can facilitate the unity of the poor peasants and the city workers, especially if the shoras take up the demand for a radical agrarian reform and take into account the peasants needs in making proposals for industrial reconversion (fertilizer, farm equipment), for use of the unified and nationalized banking system (credit), and for establishing a state purchasing and distribution system for agricultural products.

This can contribute to helping the peasant mobilizations, which are slowly becoming part of the revolutionary scene.

e. The demand for agrarian reform plays a big part in the emancipation of the oppressed nationalities. The revolutionary Marxists throughout the Iranian state support the linguistic and cultural rights and the right to self-determination, including to independence, of the oppressed nationalities.

Full recognition of the rights of the oppressed nationalities can reduce the

divisions provoked by national oppression, can forge a united front of the exploited and the oppressed against the owners and their representatives, and can utilize the national minorities' potential for struggle to help confront imperialism and the plotters under the best conditions.

f. The workers and their allies have no interest in the slightest restrictions on democratic rights. And limitations on the workers right to assembly, association, and to demonstrate, any imposition of censorship, any attacks on women's rights, any physical attacks against working-class, political, and student activists, any institutional restrictions on the exercise of political rights only serves reaction. Such moves serve reaction in two ways. They directly weaken the mass movement, and they become an obstacle to achieving the unity and independence of the workers.

They permit those who are nostalgic for the old regime, like Bakhtiar and Company, to fraudulently play the card of democracy to win the support of certain social layers for their counterrevolutionary aims.

The revolutionary Marxists carry out a constant struggle against the attacks on

democratic rights, explaining and concretely showing that these rights strengthen the unity and activity of the masses. In the same vein, they expose the limitations on political democracy that the Khomeini leadership wants to impose through institutionalizing the "Islamic Revolution."

g. No capitalist government can satisfy all the needs of the exploited and oppressed masses. The revolutionary Marxists put forward the perspective of a workers and farmers government to replace the Khomeini regime. The aim of such a government, based on the shoras and the mobilizations of the workers and their allies, would be to break the power of the imperialists and their local allies, to arm the masses, to establish a planned economy, and to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat, opening the way to socialism.

h. All sections of the Fourth International must continue the campaign of support for the Iranian revolution, centering the campaign on the slogan:

"Imperialism, hands off the Iranian Revolution!"

July 28, 1980

Grenadans Urge End to Fighting, Unity Against Imperialism

'New Jewel' on Iran-Iraq War

[The following article appeared in the November 1 issue of the *New Jewel*, the weekly newspaper of Grenada's New Jewel Movement.]

* * *

The conflict between Iran and Iraq should be settled by peaceful means and not on the battlefield. This war should be stopped immediately.

Iran and Iraq are both Revolutionary and progressive countries in the Middle East. Iraq has always been carrying a progressive, anti-imperialist line and the country has been playing a leading role in the struggle for the rights of the Palestinian people and the recovery of Arab lands seized by Israel in the 1967 war.

Over the past year, the people of Iran were victorious in expelling the late Shah of Iran from their country. This Revolution was not only a triumph for the Iranian people, but also for the entire Arab people, who are struggling against Zionist oppression. Needless to say, many people were murdered, tortured and brutalized during the reign of the Shah. There have also been many problems in restoring order in the country due to imperialist agents who are constantly creating confusion and disorder.

Earlier this year, Iran was also the victim of an American aggressive scheme of invasion, in an attempt to save hostages there. It is quite obvious then, that both countries have nothing to gain in waging a useless war. The only people who benefit are the U.S. imperialists and the Zionists of Israel.

We see it as a dangerous precedent for countries in the area who are giving support to any of these countries. All countries should work towards a peaceful settlement of the crisis, in order to promote peace in the region. We also condemn any country who is adding fuel to the conflict for their own political and opportunist reasons.

The people of Grenada are against such a war. We call on these countries to fuel their revolutionary dynamism against imperialism and Zionism. We call for a total end to the conflict and the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Iranian territory. Therefore, the achievement of a just and lasting peace which ensures respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity is our most fervent desire.

Long live the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism, Zionism and reaction!

Long live peace in the Middle East!

Polish Workers Force Provincial Governor to Resign

By Gerry Foley

The Polish government is continuing to retreat in the face of the mass workers movement and its demands for democratic rights and social progress.

On November 17 workers led by the independent union, Solidarity, forced the resignation of Miroslaw Wierzbicki, the governor of the Czestochowa district in southern Poland.

Wierzbicki is a representative of the ultra-Stalinist wing of the Polish Communist Party that favored crushing Solidarity's protests by military force.

As the confrontation between Solidarity and the government over the question of the union statutes moved toward culmination on the eve of the November 10 Supreme Court ruling (see *Intercontinental*

The factory managers were also to warn the workers that any strike would be considered an attack on People's Poland and would be suppressed by force.

Some of the factory managers began immediately to try to carry out these measures, arousing a wave of anger among the workers.

Wierzbicki himself threatened to evict Solidarity from its offices and prevent it from functioning legally.

So, by the time the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Solidarity a few hours later on November 10, the workers were going on a war footing against Wierzbicki and his administration.

Strike alerts were issued in two hundred factories. The workers' leaders refused to

be evicted by Wierzbicki, into nurseries and preschools. This demand focuses attention on the privileges of the bureaucracy in general, implicitly calling for their abolition.

The advance of the workers movement is clearly having a deep impact on the party itself, forcing some leaders to call openly for democratizing the CP and separating the party from the state.

A notable example of this is the article by Wojciech Lamentowicz in the November 14 issue of *Zycie Warszawy*, Poland's major daily.

Lamentowicz wrote, for instance:

"The crisis of confidence in the government was caused by the crisis of internal democracy within the party, by an arbitrary and conspiratorial style of leadership in which the party was directed by the apparatus and the top circles. The methods and the extent of the party's intervention in social, economic, and cultural life began rightly to be questioned."

Lamentowicz argued, moreover:

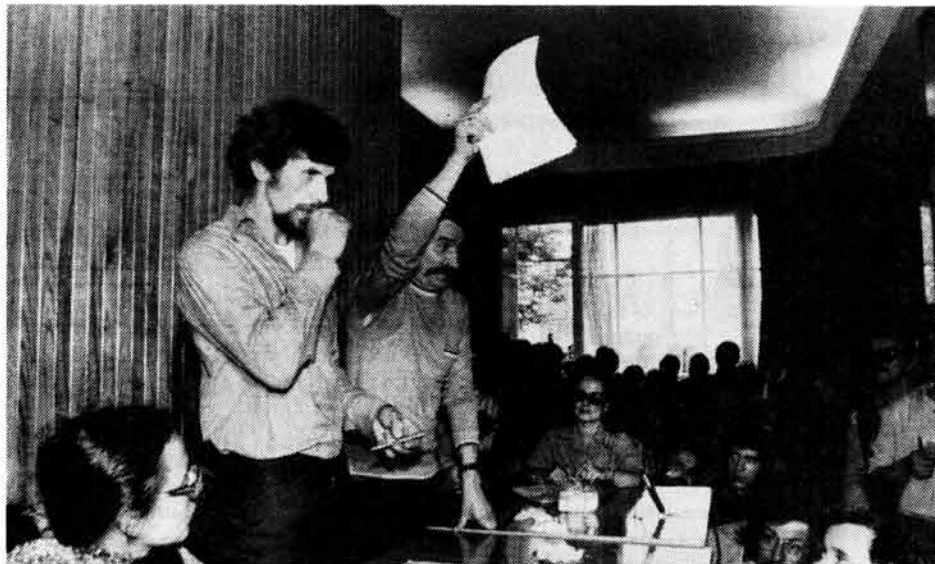
"The party must not take sides against the workers in a conflict. The party cannot be neutral, but it must not let the party apparatus become identical with the state apparatus."

Zycie Warszawy published this piece under the title "A Discussion Article for the Ninth Party Congress." It was apparently the opening shot of a discussion about how to reform the party so that it can regain some political credibility. Obviously some basic questions are going to have to be raised.

The deepening impact of the Polish workers movement can be seen in other ways. At the same time as the Czestochowa workers succeeded in routing their local old-line Stalinists, protesting health workers and teachers and the students supporting them also won a victory with far-reaching implications.

They forced the government to change its priorities with respect to social spending. The government agreed to double the overall appropriation for education in the 1981 budget from 3 percent to 6 percent. It also agreed to allot 5 percent of the budget to health-care.

The breaches that the workers movement has driven into the Stalinist system are rapidly widening. They are beginning to open the way for an entirely different way of organizing society—one in which the masses of working people are able to discuss and decide the fundamental economic and political issues facing the country. □



Polish strike meeting in Gdansk.

Press, November 24, page 1210), the Czestochowa governor began to take steps to crush the union in his area.

On the morning of November 10, Wierzbicki called the local factory managers into his office. He informed them that a state of emergency was going to be declared. They were therefore to deprive the Solidarity leaders and activists of any means of communication.

All typewriters, mimeograph machines, and other duplicating machines were to be gotten out of the hands of the independent trade unions. The unions were to be kept from using the plant radios.

The security forces and party cadres were to force the workers to sign statements of loyalty to the government and the party.

negotiate with the local party bosses and insisted on direct talks with representatives of the central government.

The minister for territorial administration, Jozef Kepa, signed an agreement with the union on November 19. The terms were not made public. But after the conclusion of the agreement, the government information agency announced that the heads of the provincial and municipal council would offer their resignations and that there would be an investigation of four other local officials, including the mayor of the city of Czestochowa.

The Czestochowa workers demanded more than the removal of hated officials. They called for turning government-owned and private villas, including the one occu-